Typology of Word Order in Chinese Dialects: Revisiting the Classification of Min*

⑤SAGE

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On the basis of the degree of subtopic prominence, Liu (2001a) suggests that Wu and Min are weak VO dialects, while Cantonese is a strong VO dialect. The present study examines the word orders exhibited by the directional verb/the directional complement and the theme object/the locative object in Wu, Min and Cantonese, when denoting self-agentive and agentive motion events. The findings of the study show that the word orders exhibited in the three Min dialects studied, namely Fuqing, Hui'an and Chao'an, closely resemble those in Cantonese, but differ significantly from the ones exemplified in Wu. The contrast between Min/Cantonese and Wu is further supported by their differences in the tolerance of postverbal object and in the use of preposition or postposition. The findings of the present study suggest that Min and Cantonese are strong VO dialects while Wu is a weak VO dialect in the sense of Liu (2001a).

Key words: Cantonese, classification of Chinese dialects, Min, typology of word order, Wu

1. Introduction

Greenberg (1966) studies the question of morpheme and word order in 30 languages. He notes that there is an association or correlation between a number of word order characteristics, so that given a single word order characteristic of a language, such as the order of the verb and object, one can, at least in a statistical sense, predict a variety of other characteristics of the language.[1] The following examples from Japanese and Thai illustrate the word order correlations between the relative word order of the verb and the object in declarative sentences and that of the adposition, that is, preposition versus postposition, and the noun in a language.

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[1] Greenberg's universals are not without exceptions. For example, one of Greenberg's implicational universals states that OV languages tend to place the adjective before the noun it modifies. This is not fully supported by Dryer's (1988) study, which finds that the word orders of adjective-noun and noun-adjective are common among OV languages. While Dryer (1988) covers 316 languages, Dryer (2011) is perhaps the most comprehensive study of the typology of word order, covering 1,377 languages.

Japanese

(1)   a.   Taroo   ga   zidoosya   de   Hanako   to   Tokyo   kara   ryokoosita.

         Taroo   NOM[2]   car   by   Hanako   with   Tokyo   from   travel.PST

         'Taroo traveled from Tokyo with Hanako by car.' (Noun + postposition)

     b.   Taroo   ga   tegami   o   kaita.

         Taroo   NOM   letter   ACC   write.PST

         'I wrote a letter.' (O + V)

While the postpositions *ga*, *de*, *to*, and *kara* in (1a) mark the semantic roles of their preceding nouns, that is, subject, instrument, comitative, and source, example (1b) shows that the verb *kaku* 'to write' follows the object *tegami* 'a letter'. In each example, the head, that is, the postposition or the verb, appears as the last element of the constituent, that is, the postpositional phrase or the verb phrase. Languages that exhibit the above properties are referred to as OV or head-final languages.

In contrast, Thai exemplifies characteristics of VO languages. The preposition *tee* 'in' precedes the noun *Pattaya* 'Pattaya' in (2a) and the verb *rak* 'to love' is followed by the object *khun* 'you' in (2b). The head, that is, the preposition or the verb, appears as the first element of the constituent, that is, the prepositional phrase or the verb phrase. Languages that exhibit the above properties are called VO or head-initial languages.

Thai

(2)   a.   tee   Pattaya

         in   Pattaya

         'in Pattaya' (Preposition + noun)

     b.   pom   rak   khun.

         I   love   you

         'I love you.' (V + O)

Dryer (2003) discusses the word order characteristics of Mandarin; according to him Mandarin is considered a VO language. In example (3), the verb *kànjiàn* 看見 'to see' precedes the object *Zhāngsān* 張三 'Zhangsan', exhibiting VO word order.[3] That Mandarin is a VO language is supported by Sun & Givón (1985), who conducted a quantified study of word order in contemporary

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[2] The following list of abbreviations will be used in the discussion: ACC = accusative case, ASP = aspect marker, C_D = deictic directional complement, C_{ND} = non-deictic directional complement, CL = classifier, CM = comparative marker, Conj = conjunction, DM = disposal marker, LP = locative particle, Loc = locative object, NOM = nominative case, O = object, PRT = postverbal particle, PST = past tense, SFP = sentence-final particle, V = verb, V_D = deictic directional verb, and V_{ND} = non-deictic directional verb.

[3] *Pinyin* and *Jyutping*, developed by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong, will be adopted for the romanizations of Mandarin and Cantonese examples. For romanizations of examples of Min and Wu, the International Phonetic Alphabet will be used.

written and spoken Mandarin texts and concluded that Mandarin is synchronically a typical VO language.[4]

(3)　我看見張三。
　　　Wǒ　　kànjiàn　　Zhāngsān.
　　　I　　　see　　　　Zhangsan
　　　'I saw Zhangsan.' (V + O)

Liu (2001a) examines the relative word order of the verb and the object in Chinese dialects. In particular, Liu observes that there is a strong tendency in Wu dialects to topicalize a patient object to the position after the subject and before the verb, a phenomenon which is referred to as subtopic prominence. Subtopicalization thus gives rise to verb-final or OV word order. A similar remark is made in Qian (1997:287), who notes that speakers of Shanghainese often move the object to the topic position (cf. (4a)) or the subtopic position (cf. (4b)).

(4)　a.　月曆我掛好辣牆頭浪。
　　　　　ɦyəʔ¹liʔ²⁴　　ŋu¹³　　ko³³　　hɔ⁴⁴　　ləʔ⁵⁵　　dziã¹¹　　dɤ⁴⁴lã⁴⁴.
　　　　　calendar　　　I　　　hang　　good　　at　　　wall　　　LP
　　　　　'I hung the calendar on the wall properly.'
　　　b.　我月曆掛好辣牆頭浪。
　　　　　ŋu¹³　　ɦyəʔ¹liʔ²⁴　　ko³³　　hɔ⁴⁴　　ləʔ⁵⁵　　dziã¹¹　　dɤ⁴⁴lã⁴⁴.
　　　　　I　　　calendar　　　hang　　good　　at　　　wall　　　LP

The patient object *ɦyəʔ¹liʔ²⁴* 月曆 'the calendar' occurs before the subject *ŋu¹³* 我 'I' and the verb *ko³³* 掛 'to hang', that is, in the topic position, in (4a), and after the subject *ŋu¹³* 我 'I' and before the verb *ko³³* 掛 'to hang', that is, in the subtopic position, in (4b).

Liu further quotes examples of Fuzhou from Chen (1997, 1998) when showing that the use of subtopics is also found in the Eastern Min dialect. The following examples, provided by our informant on Fuqing—another variety of Eastern Min—illustrate the use of subtopics.

(5)　a.　我只蜀本書看了。
　　　　　ŋua⁵　　tɕie³²　　θyo⁴⁴　　muoŋ³²　　tsy⁵³　　kaŋ²¹　　lau³².
　　　　　I　　　this　　　one　　　CL　　　　book　　read　　ASP
　　　　　'I finished reading this book.'

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[4] However, Dryer (2003) also notes that Mandarin is unusual in its word order, as it exhibits properties of both VO and OV languages. For example, while it is a VO language, Mandarin has both prepositions and postpositions where it might be expected to employ only prepositions. Both the preposition *zài* 在 'at' and the postposition *shang* 上 'above', for instance, are used in *wǒ bǎ shū fàng zài zhuōzi shang* 我把書放在桌子上 I-DM-book-put-at-table-LP 'I put the book on the table'. Please refer to Dryer (2003) for further discussion of the mixed word order characteristics of Mandarin. The terms 'locative particle (LP)' and 'postposition' are used interchangeably in this study.

b.　老王厝買了。
　　Lo²¹uoŋ²⁴　　tsʰuɔ²¹　　me³²　　lau³².
　　Wong　　　　house　　buy　　ASP
　　'Wong bought a house.'

The patient objects *tsie³² θyo⁴⁴ muoŋ³² tsy⁵³* 只蜀本書 'this book' and *tsʰuɔ²¹* 厝 'a house' in (5a) and (5b) appear after the subject and before the verb, exemplifying the kind of subtopicalization process observed in Wu (cf. (4b)).

　　Liu also quotes Li (1997), who notes that in the Quanzhou 泉州 variety of Southern Min the object is often placed in the subtopic or topic position, when suggesting that, like Eastern Min, Southern Min is also subtopic prominent. For example,

(6)　a.　汝飼雞阿未？
　　　　Luɯ⁵³　　tsʰi²²　　koi³³　　a³³　　bue²²?
　　　　you　　　feed　　chicken　or　　not
　　　　'Have you fed the chickens?'
　　b.　汝雞飼阿未？
　　　　Luɯ⁵³　　koi³³　　tsʰi²²　　a³³　　bue²²?
　　　　you　　　chicken　feed　　or　　not
　　c.　撮雞汝飼阿未？
　　　　Tsʰoʔ⁵　　koi³³　　luɯ⁵³　　tsʰi²²　　a³³　　bue²²?
　　　　CL　　　chicken　you　　feed　　or　　not

Examples (6a)–(6c) were provided by our informant on Chao'an, a variety of Southern Min. The object *koi³³* 雞 'chicken' appears after the subject *luɯ⁵³* 汝 'you' and the verb *tsʰi²²* 飼 'to feed' in (6a), that is, in the postverbal position, but after the subject *luɯ⁵³* 汝 'you' and before the verb *tsʰi²²* 飼 'to feed' in (6b), that is, in the subtopic position. In example (6c), *tsʰoʔ⁵ koi³³* 撮雞 'the chicken' occurs before the subject *luɯ⁵³* 汝 'you' and the verb *tsʰi²²* 飼 'to feed', that is, in the topic position.

　　On the basis of the descriptions and examples provided in various papers in Li & Chang (1997), Liu further suggests that dialects such as Mandarin, Hakka, Gan, and Hui are not as subtopic prominent as Wu or Min.

　　As for Cantonese, Liu suggests that it is a strong VO dialect, as it shows the following characteristics: (i) subtopicalization is not prominent (cf. (7a)); (ii) the use of the disposal construction is not productive (cf. (7b)); (iii) a locative object can appear after a deictic directional verb (cf. (7c)); (iv) postverbal adverbs such as *do¹* 多 'many', *siu²* 少 'less', *sin¹* 先 'first', *tim¹* 添 'also', and *saai³* 晒 'all' are used (cf. (7d)); and (v) the comparative construction shows the pattern 'adjective + marker + standard' (cf. (7e)).[5]

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[5]　The characteristics are related to the strong tendency in Cantonese to have the head, that is, the verb in (7a)–(7d) and the adjective in (7e), before the dependent, that is, the patient object in (7a) and (7b), the locative object in (7c), the postverbal adverb in (7d), and the comparative marker and the standard in (7e). Please refer to Liu (2000) for further discussion of the typological characteristics of Cantonese.

(7)   a.   ?佢飯食咗。
Keoi⁵   faan⁶   sik⁶   zo².
s/he   rice   eat   ASP
'S/he had a meal.'

b.   ??嗰套戲將佢嚇親。
Go²   tou³   hei³   joeng¹   keoi⁵   haak³   can¹.
that   CL   movie   DM   him/her   scare   PRT
'The movie scared him/her.'

c.   佢去咗美國。
Keoi⁵   heoi³   zo²   Mei²gwok³.
s/he   go   ASP   States
'S/he went to the States.'

d.   佢又唔去添。
Keoi⁵   jau⁶   m⁴   heoi³   tim¹.
s/he   again   not   go   also
'S/he is not going again.'

e.   我高過你。
Ngo⁵   gou¹   gwo³   nei⁵.
I   tall   CM   you
'I am taller than you.'

To sum up, Liu suggests that Wu and Min are weak VO dialects; Mandarin, Hakka, Gan, and Hui are moderate VO dialects; and Cantonese is a strong VO dialect.

Liu's study is one of the few that have attempted to classify Chinese dialects according to grammatical criteria.[6] However, some of the dialectal data on which Liu bases his suggestion of a continuum of the strong VO and the weak VO Chinese dialects are second-hand, a weakness which gives rise to its failure to provide a complete picture on subtopicalization in other Chinese dialects, a discourse-sensitive construction which requires closer scrutiny. For example, Liu tries to show that Min is as subtopic prominent as Wu. However, our first-hand fieldwork data show that, although a patient object can be moved to the subtopic position in Min, it can also stay in the postverbal position, thus suggesting that the tendency to move a patient object to the subtopic position in Min is not as strong as it is in Wu. As a result, additional evidence is needed for classifying Min and Wu in the same group. Another word order parameter examined below, that is, the relative word

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[6] The classification of Chinese dialects has always been a major issue in Chinese dialectology. For a long time, the classification has been based essentially on phonological criteria such as the development of the Middle Chinese voiced initials, stop endings, nasal endings, and tones into the modern dialects (cf. Chao et al. 1991; Li 1973; Li 1989; Ting, 1982; Yuan 2001; Zhang 1997). Two other important suggestions for the classification of Chinese dialects are Norman (1988) and Hashimoto (2008). While both suggestions cover the phonological, lexical, and morphological characteristics of dialects, only the one put forward by Hashimoto also touches on the syntactic aspect.

orders exhibited by the directional verb/the directional complement and the theme object[7]/the locative object, will illustrate that the word orders exhibited in Min closely resemble those in Cantonese but differ substantially from those in Wu.

Yuan (2001:235) divides Min into five groups: Eastern Min (e.g. Fuzhou 福州), Puxian 莆仙 (e.g. Puxian), Southern Min (e.g. Quanzhou 泉州), Central Min (e.g. Yongan 永安), and Northern Min (e.g. Jianou 建甌). In the following discussion, we shall study the word order characteristics of three varieties of Min, of which Fuqing 福清 belongs to Eastern Min spoken in Fujian 福建, Hui'an 惠安 is a Southern Min dialect spoken in Fujian, and Chao'an 潮安 is a Southern Min dialect spoken in Guangdong 廣東. As pointed out by scholars, Southern Min spoken in Guangdong may be under the strong influence of Canotnese, the Hui'an variety of Southern Min is chosen to contrast with the Chao'an variety of Southern Min.[8]

2. Word orders exhibited by the directional verb and the locative object/the theme object

As noted above, on the basis of the descriptions provided by Chen (1997, 1998) and Li (1997) on subtopicalization in Eastern and Southern Min, namely, the Fuzhou 福州 and the Quanzhou 泉州 varieties, Liu (2001a) suggests that the word order of Min resembles that of Wu, and both dialects should be considered VO dialects. Our study will examine another word order characteristic exhibited in Wu, namely Shanghainese, the three Min dialects, namely Fuqing, Hui'an, and Chao'an, and Cantonese, that is, the variety spoken in Hong Kong.[9] Specifically, we will examine the word orders associated with the directional verb/the directional complement and the locative object/the theme object when denoting self-agentive and agentive motion events.[10] It will be shown

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[7] The term 'theme object' used in the discussion is basically equivalent to 'patient object' in Liu (2001a). While they are both affected by the action, a theme object is made to undergo a change of location, while a patient object may be affected in some way other than moving from one location to another. In order to highlight the fact that change of location is concerned, we use the term 'theme object' rather than 'patient object' in our discussion.

[8] Wu (2010) shows that the use of the comparative construction "X + Adjective + 'to surpass' + Y" is found only in the Min dialects spoken in Guangdong and Hainan, but is not observed in the Min dialects spoken elsewhere. Therefore, doubt regarding the possible influence of Cantonese on Min spoken in Guangdong arises.

[9] The data presented in this study were collected during 2009–2011 in Hong Kong and Chao'an. For Fuqing and Hui'an, one informant on each of the dialects was invited for an interview. For Shanghainese and Chao'an, at least two or more informants were interviewed. The Cantonese examples were provided by the author and were checked by at least one native speaker of Cantonese. Moreover, some Wu (Shanghainese) and Cantonese (spoken in Hong Kong) examples were drawn from the Chinese Pear Stories, details of which can be found at the following website: http://www.pearstories.org/. The informants of the present study and those of the Chinese Pear Stories were people aged from 20 to 60.

[10] The terms 'self-agentive motion event' and 'agentive motion event' used in Lamarre (2003) are adopted in this study. The subject of the former moves spontaneously, whereas the subject of the latter causes another entity to undergo a movement.

that the word orders displayed in the three Min dialects are almost identical to those of Cantonese, but are significantly different from those in Wu.

2.1 Word orders exhibited by the directional verb and the locative object in sentences that denote self-agentive motion events

In sentences that denote a self-agentive motion event, the directional verb specifies the direction of the movement. The subject represents the entity that undergoes a change of location, while the locative object indicates the orientation point of the movement, which often refers to the goal of the movement.[11]

Wu

(8)   a.   伊再下樹。(V$_{ND}$ + Loc)
           I^{34} tsɛ^{34} **ɦo^{11}**   zɻ^{44}.
           he   again   descend   tree
           'He then descended from the tree again.'

      b.   然後伊就到梯子上頭去。(to + Loc + V$_D$)
           Zø^{11} ɦɤ^{44} i^{34} dʑiɤ^{13} tɔ^{34} tʰi^{55} tsɻ^2 zã^{11} dɤ^{44} tɕʰi^{34}.
           afterward   he   then   to   ladder   LP   go
           'Then he went up the ladder.'

Example (8a) involves the non-deictic directional verb *ɦo^{11}* 下 'to descend', which is followed by the locative object *zɻ^{44}* 樹 'the tree', which denotes the source of the movement.[12] When a deictic directional verb and a locative object are involved in a sentence, our Wu informant has pointed out that the use of *tɔ^{34}* 到 'to' to introduce a locative object before the deictic directional verb, that is, "to + Loc + V$_D$", sounds more natural than placing a locative object after the deictic directional verb, that is, "V$_D$ + Loc".[13] An example of "to + Loc + V$_D$" in Wu is illustrated in (8b), in which

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[11]   The term 'orientation point' used in this study is basically equivalent to the notion of 'ground' or 'reference entity' in Talmy (2000a:184), according to whom 'The Ground is a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure's site, path or orientation is characterized'.

[12]   The orientation point of a non-deictic directional verb does not involve the location of the speaker, whereas that of a deictic directional verb in general does, except for cases when the subject is the speaker, when the location of the addressee becomes the orientation point.

[13]   The status of *dào* 到 in *dào xuéxiào lái* 到學校來 arrive-school-come 'to come to school' is controversial. Some scholars (cf. Liu 1998; Lü 1996) treat it as a verb, while others consider it a preposition or a coverb (Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981). The present study will adopt the preposition/coverb suggestion for *dào* 到 for the following reasons: (i) *dào* 到 cannot be directly followed by a deictic directional complement (e.g. **dào lai* 到來 arrive-come 'to arrive here'), but most directional verbs can (e.g. *shàng lai* 上來 ascend-come 'to ascend here') (cf. Lamarre 2008; Zhu 1997); (ii) *dào* 到 cannot be combined with *lai* 來 'to come' or *qu* 去 'to go' to form a compound directional complement (e.g. **zǒu dao lai* 走到來 walk-arrive-come 'to walk here'), but most directional verbs can (e.g. *zǒu shang lai* 走上來 walk-ascend-come 'to walk up here'); (iii) *dào* 到 and the following goal object can appear in the preverbal or the postverbal position (e.g. *dào xuéxiào*

the locative object t^hi^{55} tsr^2 $z\tilde{a}^{11}$ dr^{44} 梯子上頭 'the ladder' is introduced by $tɔ^{34}$ 到 'to' and is followed by the deictic directional verb $tɕʰi^{34}$ 去 'to go'. Liu (2001b:13) also points out that the word order in which a locative object is placed after a non-deictic directional verb, that is, "V_{ND} + Loc", is not productive in Wu. The acceptability of such word order differs depending on the non-deictic verb involved. As for the use of a locative object after a deictic directional verb, that is "V_D + Loc", it is not observed in Liu's data but is noted to have been used by the minority of Wu speakers influenced by Mandarin. Instead, the use of "to + Loc + V_D" is adopted for the expression of "$V_{ND/D}$ + Loc". Moreover, $tɔ^{34}$ 到 'to' in "to + Loc + V_D" is often omitted in colloquial speech, resulting in the pattern "Loc + V_D" (e.g. i^{34} $ɕi^{55}$ $ø^2$ $tɕʰi^{34}$ 伊西安去 he-Xian-go 'He goes to Xian'). On the basis of the description of our informant and Liu's observations, we shall assume that the use of "V_{ND} + Loc" is not productive and the use of "V_D + Loc" is impossible in Wu.

In the three Min dialects, a non-deictic or a deictic directional verb can be followed by a locative object, that is, "$V_{ND/D}$ + Loc", (cf. (a) and (b) examples in (9)–(11)). It is further observed that Fuqing and Hui'an can employ a preposition which is equivalent to *dào* 到 'to' in Mandarin to introduce a locative object, and the resulting prepositional phrase is followed by a deictic directional verb, that is, "to + Loc + V_D" (cf. (9c)–(10c)). Such a word order, however, while found in Wu, is not found in Chao'an.

Fuqing

(9) a. 落了樓骹 (V_{ND} + Loc)
        lo^{53} lau^{32} lau^{44} k^ha^{53}
        descend   ASP   downstairs
        'went downstairs'

   b. 來學校 (V_D + Loc)
        li^{44} $hoʔ^3$ hau^{42}
        come   school
        'to come to school'

   c. 遘學校來 (to + Loc + V_D)
        kau^{21} $hoʔ^3$ hau^{42} li^{44}
        to   school   come
        'to come to school'

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lái 到學校來 arrive-school-come 'to come to school' vs. *lái dào xuéxiào* 來到學校 come-arrive-school), but the other directional verbs cannot, without changing the meaning (e.g. *shàng sān lóu lái* 上三樓來 ascend-third-floor-come 'to ascend to the third floor' vs. *lái shàng sān lóu* 來上三樓 come-ascend-third-floor 'to come and to ascend to the third floor'); and (iv) the goal object after *dào* 到 and before *lái* 來 or *qù* 去 cannot be omitted (e.g. *dào* *(xuéxiào) lái/qù* 到(學校)來/去 arrive-school-come/go 'to arrive (at school) here/ there'), but it can be omitted after most of the directional verbs (e.g. *shàng (sān lóu) lái/qù* 上(三樓)來/去 ascend-third-floor-come/go 'to ascend (to the third floor) here/there'). What has been said about *dào* 到 in Mandarin is also observed in the other dialects. Therefore, *dào* 到 in Mandarin and its equivalents in the other dialects, assumed to have been grammaticalized from the corresponding verb form, will be glossed as 'to'.

Hui'an

(10) a. 落樓骹[14] (V_{ND} + Loc)
          loʔ^{22} lau^{22} k^{h}a^{33}
          descend   downstairs
          'to go downstairs'

   b. 來學堂 (V_D + Loc)
       lai^{22} oʔ^{22}tŋ^{24}
       come   school
       'to come to school'

   c. 遘學堂來 (to + Loc + V_D)
       kau^{22} oʔ^{22} tŋ^{24} lai^{24}
       to   school   come
       'to come to school'

Chao'an

(11) a. 落樓下 (V_{ND} + Loc)
          loʔ^{2} lau^{213}e^{35}
          descend   downstairs
          'to go downstairs'

   b. 來學校 (V_D + Loc)
       lai^{213} hak^{2}hau^{35}
       come   school
       'to come to school'

Both non-deictic and deictic directional verbs (cf. (12a)–(12b)) can be followed by a locative object in Cantonese, while the use of a preposition to introduce a locative object before the deictic directional verb, that is, "to + Loc + V_D", is ruled out.

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[14] Our Hui'an informant considered (10a) to be unnatural as she preferred a deictic directional complement rather than a locative object after the non-deictic directional verb *loʔ^{22}* 落 'to descend'. In fact, according to the informant, a non-deictic directional verb or a non-deictic directional complement is often followed by a deictic directional complement rather than a locative object. Therefore, the unnaturalness of (10a) is not related to the type of locative object after *loʔ^{22}* 落 'to descend', that is, a locative object that denotes the source, the route or the goal of the movement, but the strong tendency for a non-deictic directional verb or a non-deictic directional complement to be followed by a deictic directional complement. However, the use of "V_{ND} + Loc" is found in the *Xiamen Fangyan Cidian* (廈門方言詞典), which represents a major variety of Southern Min spoken in Fujian. The relevant examples are *lo$\text{ʔ}^{5\text{-}2}$su$\tilde{\text{a}}^{33}$*落山 descend-hill 'to go downhill' and *loʔ^{2}lau^{213}t^{h}ui^{33}* 落樓梯 descend-staircase 'to go down the staircase' (cf. Li & Zhou 1998:410). On the other hand, our Hui'an informant found the use of "V + C_{ND} + Loc" (e.g. *tsau^{54} loʔ^{22} lau^{22} k^{h}a^{33}* 走落樓骹 run-descend-downstairs 'to run downstairs') acceptable. Since the informant was not consistent in her judgment and since we have not observed any cases in which a non-deictic directional verb can be followed by a locative object when it functions as a complement but cannot when it functions as a main verb, we shall treat "V_{ND} + Loc" as an acceptable word order pattern in Hui'an.

Cantonese

(12) a. 佢落咗三樓。(V$_{ND}$ + Loc)

Keoi^5 lok^6 zo^2 saam^1 lau^2.

s/he   descend   ASP   third   floor

'S/he descended to the third floor.'

  b. 佢嚟咗學校。(V$_D$ + Loc)

Keoi^5 lai^4 zo^2 hok^{6}gaau^6.

s/he   come   ASP   school

'S/he came to the school.'

Table 1 summarizes the word orders exhibited by the directional verb and the locative object in sentences that denote self-agentive motion events in Wu, Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese. It is clear that the dialects can be divided into three groups: (i) Wu; (ii) Fuqing and Hui'an; and (iii) Chao'an and Cantonese. Regarding the possibility for a deictic directional verb or a non-deictic directional verb to be followed by a locative object, all three Min dialects differ from Wu in that the occurrence of a locative object in the postverbal position is allowed in the former but not in the latter. On the other hand, the pattern of "to + Loc + V$_D$" is found in Wu, Fuqing, and Hui'an, but is not allowed in Chao'an and Cantonese.

Table 1: Word orders exhibited by the directional verb and the locative object in sentences that denote self-agentive motion events in the five dialects[15]

	V$_{ND}$ + Loc 下樓[16]	V$_D$ + Loc 來學校	to + Loc + V$_D$ 到學校來
Wu	?	✘	✓
Fuqing	✓	✓	✓
Hui'an	✓	✓	✓
Chao'an	✓	✓	✘
Cantonese	✓	✓	✘

2.2 Word orders exhibited by the directional verb and the theme object in sentences that denote agentive motion events

In sentences that denote an agentive motion event, the directional verb refers to the action which is carried out by the agent subject and which causes the theme object to move in a certain direction, as illustrated by the Cantonese examples in (13a) and (13b):[17]

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[15] '✓' indicates that the word order is available in the dialect concerned; '✘' means that the word order is not available; and '?' means that the word order is marginal or unproductive.

[16] The examples are for easy reference and are not associated with grammaticality judgment.

[17] The use of a directional verb to denote an agentive motion event is also found in Cantonese texts published in the 19th century (e.g. *wan^2 lau^6 dau^2 lai^4 jap^6 zau^2* 揾漏斗嚟入酒 find-funnel-in order to-enter-wine 'to find a funnel to put in the wine' (cf. Bridgman 1841).

(13) a. 佢入咗啲錢喺個信封(度)。
Keoi⁵   jap⁶   zo²   di¹   cin²   hai²   go³   seon³fung¹   (dou⁶).
s/he   enter   ASP   CL   money   at   CL   envelope   LP
'S/he put the money into the envelope.'

    b. 佢落咗糖喺杯咖啡(度)。
Keoi⁵   lok⁶   zo²   tong⁴   hai²   bui¹   gaa³fe¹   (dou⁶).
s/he   descend   ASP   sugar   at   CL   coffee   LP
'S/he put sugar into the cup of coffee.'

The subject *keoi⁵* 佢 's/he' in (13a) and (13b) represents the agent which causes the objects, that is, *di¹ cin²* 啲錢 'the money' and *tong⁴* 糖 'sugar', to move in the direction specified by the directional verbs *jap⁶* 入 'to enter' and *lok⁶* 落 'to descend'. The goal of the movement is signaled by the postverbal prepositional phrase, that is, *hai² go³ seon³fung¹* (*dou⁶*) 喺個信封(度) 'in the envelope' and *hai² bui¹ gaa³fe¹* (*dou⁶*) 喺杯咖啡(度) 'in the cup of coffee'. None of the Wu or Min informants we consulted accepts the use of directional verbs in sentences that denote agentive motion events, except for a Chao'an informant who pointed out that the non-deictic directional verbs *dzik⁵* 入 'to enter' and *loʔ⁵* 落 'to descend' exhibit such use. For example,[18]

(14) 落包糖在個杯
loʔ²   pau³³   tʰɯŋ⁵⁵   to²¹   kai²¹³   pue³³
descend   CL   sugar   at   CL   cup
'to add one packet of sugar to the cup'

Moreover, examples which show the agentive use of *dzik⁵* 入 'to enter' and *loʔ⁵* 落 'to descend' are found in Li & Zhou's (1998) Xiamen dictionary.

(15) a. 入滾水
dzik²   kuŋ³⁵   tsui²¹
enter   boiling   water
'to pour hot water into X'

    b. 鼎落淡薄油通炒菜
tiã⁵³   loʔ²   tã²¹poʔ²   iu⁵⁵   tʰaŋ³³   tsʰa³⁵   tsʰai²¹³
wok   descend   little   oil   can   fry   vegetables
'to add a little cooking oil to the wok to fry the vegetables'

In examples (15a) and (15b), the directional verbs *dzik²* 入 'to enter' and *loʔ²* 落 'to descend' are followed by the theme objects *kuŋ³⁵ tsui²¹* 滾水 'hot water' and *tã²¹ poʔ² iu⁵⁵* 淡薄油 'a little

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[18] Lien (2006) notes that the agentive use is observed in some directional verbs in *Lijingji*, for example *dzik⁵* 入 'to enter' in *dzik² naŋ²¹³ tsue³⁵* 入人罪 enter-man-sin 'to accuse someone of X'. However, an abstract movement rather than a physical movement is involved in most of the cases suggested by Lien, unlike the Min examples above (cf. (14)–(15)). He further points out in footnote 47 of his 2006 paper that *dzik⁵* 入 'to enter' in modern Min also exhibits the agentive use.

cooking oil', and they express the meanings of causing the following theme objects to move into a three-dimensional location and a two-dimensional location respectively.[19]

Table 2 summarizes the availability of the agentive use of directional verbs in Wu, Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese. It can be seen that the five dialects fall into two groups: (i) Wu and Fuqing; and (ii) Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese. While (i) does not exhibit the agentive use of directional verbs, (ii) does.

Table 2: Availability of the agentive use of directional verbs in the five dialects

	V_{ND} + O
Wu	✘
Fuqing	✘
Hui'an	✓
Chao'an	✓
Cantonese	✓

3. Word orders exhibited by the simple directional complement and the locative object/the theme object

A directional verb can function as a main verb, as well as a complement of another verb, indicating the direction of a movement in sentences that express self-agentive and agentive motion events. It will be shown that the word orders exhibited in the three Min dialects are more similar to those in Cantonese than they are to those in Wu.

3.1 Word orders exhibited by the simple directional complement and the locative object in sentences that denote self-agentive motion events

In sentences that denote a self-agentive motion event, the main verb or the co-event verb denotes the manner in which the movement is carried out by the subject, while the simple directional complement indicates the direction of the movement. The locative object represents the orientation point of the movement. It should also be pointed out that a co-event verb cannot generally be immediately followed by a locative object. Instead, the use of a directional complement or a preposition is necessary to serve as a bridge between the co-event verb and the locative object.

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[19] Since examples of the agentive use of directional verbs are found in *Xiamen Fangyan Cidian*, which represents a major variety of Southern Min spoken in Fujian, we shall assume that the Southern Min dialects spoken in Fujian, including Hui'an, also have the agentive use. Moreover, the agentive use is also observed in a Min text compiled in the 19th century in the Xiamen dialect (e.g. ts^hai^{213} $lo\text{ʔ}^2$ bi^{53} tsu^{35} $pu\eta^{22}$ 纔落米煮飯 then-descend-rice-cook-rice 'then put in the rice and boil it', thus further supporting the agentive use of directional verbs in the Southern Min dialect (cf. MacGowan 1869). Moreover, it should be pointed out that deictic directional verbs do not seem to exhibit the agentive use in the dialects.

In the Wu Pear Stories, it can be seen that the occurrence of a locative object after a non-deictic directional complement is possible (cf. (16a)). When a deictic complement and a locative object are involved, $tɔ^{44}$ 到 'to' is used to introduce the locative object after the main verb and before the deictic directional complement, that is, "V + to + Loc + C_D" (cf. (16b)).

Wu

(16)　a.　後頭伊就踏上腳踏車… (V + C_{ND} + Loc)

　　　　$ɦɤ^{11}$　$dɤ^{44}$　i^{34}　$dʑiɤ^{13}$　$dəʔ^{12}$　$zã^{13}$　　$tɕiəʔ^{55}dəʔ^{55}tsʰo^2$ …

　　　　afterward　he　then　ride　ascend　bicycle

　　　　'Afterward, he mounted the bicycle…'

　　b.　然後就爬到樹高頭去了… (V + to + Loc + C_D)

　　　　$Zø^{11}ɦɤ^{44}$　$dʑiɤ^{13}$　bo^{11}　　$tɔ^{44}$　$zɿ^{11}$　$kɔ^{44}dɤ^2$　$tɕʰi^{34}$　$ləʔ^{55}$…

　　　　afterward　then　climb　to　tree　LP　　go　SFP

　　　　'Then he climbed up the tree…'

However, Liu (2001b:18) points out that the acceptability of the use of a non-deictic directional complement to introduce a locative object varies. For example, the use of the complement $tɕin^{34}$ 進 'to enter' to introduce a locative object is relatively natural, as in $tsɤ^{33}$ $tɕin^{44}$ $tɕiɔ^{33}sə^{44}$ li 走進教室裡 walk-enter-classroom-LP 'to walk into the classroom' and $kʰɛ^{55}$ $tɕin^{44}$ $Zã^{11}ɦɛ^{44}$ 開進上海 drive-enter-Shanghai '(the car) entered Shanghai'. The combination of the complement $tsʰəʔ^{55}$ 出 'to exit' and a locative object such as $dɔ^{11}$ $tsʰəʔ^{44}$ $kɛ^{55}$ $lɔ^2$ 逃出監牢 escape-exit-prison 'to escape from prison' and $tʰiɔ^{33}$ $tsʰəʔ^{44}$ $tɕʰyø^{55}tsɿ^2$ 跳出圈子 jump-exit-circle 'to jump out of a circle' is acceptable, but rarely used. The occurrence of a locative object after the complements $zã^{13}$ 上 'to ascend' and $ɦo^{13}$ 下 'to descend' is not possible, as in *bo^{11} $zã^{44}$ $sɛ^{55}$ tin^2 爬上山頂 climb-ascend-mountain-top 'to climb up to the top of the mountain' and *$kuən^{33}$ $ɦo^{44}$ $sɛ^{55}$ $pʰu^2$ 滾下山坡 roll-descend-mountain-slope 'to roll down the mountainside'. Instead, $ləʔ^{55}$ 勒 'at' or $tɔ^{34}$ 到 'to' is employed to introduce a locative object after a co-event verb, as in bo^{13} $ləʔ^{55}/tɔ^{34}$ $sɛ^{55}$ tin^5 $lã^2$ 爬勒/到山頂上 climb-at/to-mountain-top-LP 'to climb up to the top of the mountain' and $kuən^{34}$ $ləʔ^{55}/tɔ^{34}$ $sɛ^{55}$ $tɕiəʔ^{55}$ $ɦo^2$ 滾勒/到山腳下 roll-at/to-mountain-foot-LP 'to roll down to the foot of the mountain'. On the other hand, when a deictic directional complement and a locative object are involved, as in (16b), the locative object is often introduced by $tɔ^{34}$ 到 'to', displaying the pattern "V + to + Loc + C_D". It seems therefore that the occurrence of a locative object after a deictic or a non-deictic directional complement in Wu is not as unrestricted as it is in the three Min dialects and Cantonese, as will be shown later.

As regards expressing self-agentive motion events, it can be seen that a difference exists between Fuqing and Hui'an on the one hand, and Chao'an on the other. While all three Min dialects allow the occurrence of a locative object after a deictic or a non-deictic directional complement, that is, "V + $C_{ND/D}$ + Loc" (cf. (a) and (b) in (17)–(19)), only Fuqing and Hui'an introduce the locative object with the preposition, displaying the word order "V + to + Loc + C_D", a word order that is exhibited in Wu but not in Chao'an (cf. (17c)–(18c)).[20]

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[20]　See Cheng (1982) for a detailed discussion on the use of directional complements in Taiwanese. It should be pointed out that the use in Taiwanese is quite different from that discussed in the present study.

Fuqing

(17)   a.   行落樓骹 (V + C$_{ND}$ + Loc)

          kiaŋ^{44} lo^{42} lau^{44} k^{h}a^{53}

          walk   descend   downstairs

          'to walk downstairs'

       b.   行來學校 (V + C$_{D}$ + Loc)

          kiaŋ^{44} li^{44} hoʔ^{3} hau^{42}

          walk   come   school

          'to walk to school'

       c.   行遘學校來 (V + to + Loc + C$_{D}$)

          kiaŋ^{44} kau^{21} hoʔ^{3} hau^{42} li^{44}

          walk   to   school   come

          'to walk to school'

Hui'an

(18)   a.   走落樓骹 (V + C$_{ND}$ + Loc)

          tsau^{54} loʔ^{22} lau^{22} k^{h}a^{33}

          run   descend downstairs

          'to run downstairs'

       b.   走來學堂 (V + C$_{D}$ + Loc)

          tsau^{54} lai^{22} oʔ^{22} tŋ^{24}

          run   come   school

          'to run to school'

       c.   走遘學堂來 (V + to + Loc + C$_{D}$)

          tsau^{54} kau^{22} oʔ^{22} tŋ^{24} lai^{24}

          run   to   school   come

          'to run to school'

Chao'an

(19)   a.   走落樓下 (V + C$_{ND}$ + Loc)

          tsau^{35} loʔ^{2} lau^{213}e^{35}

          run   descend   downstairs

          'to run downstairs'

       b.   走來學校 (V + C$_{D}$ + Loc)

          tsau^{35} lai^{213} hak^{2}hau^{35}

          run   come   school

          'to run to school'

The occurrence of a locative object after a non-deictic directional complement (cf. (20a)) or a deictic directional complement (cf. (20b)) is also observed in Cantonese.

Cantonese

(20)   a.   行落三樓 (V + C$_{ND}$ + Loc)

          haang^{4} lok^{6} saam^{1} lau^{2}

          walk   descend third   floor

          'to walk down to the third floor'

b. 行嚟學校 (V + C$_D$ + Loc)
haang^4 lai^4 hok^{6}haau^6
walk   come   school
'to walk toward the school'

Table 3 summarizes the word orders exhibited by the simple directional complement and the locative object in sentences that denote self-agentive motion events in Wu, Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese. It is demonstrated that the dialects can be divided into three groups: (i) Wu; (ii) Fuqing and Hui'an; and (iii) Chao'an and Cantonese. Regarding the possibility for a non-deictic directional complement or a deictic directional complement to be followed by a locative object, all three Min dialects differ from Wu in that the occurrence of a locative object after a non-deictic or a deictic directional complement is allowed in the former, but is marginal or is even ruled out in the latter. On the other hand, the use of the preposition to introduce a locative object after the main verb and before the deictic directional complement, that is, "V + to + Loc + V$_D$", is found in Wu, Fuqing, and Hui'an but is not allowed in Chao'an or Cantonese.

Table 3: Word orders exhibited by the simple directional complement and the locative object in sentences that denote self-agentive motion events in the five dialects

	V + C$_{ND}$ + Loc 走下樓下	V + C$_D$ + Loc 走來學校	V + to + Loc + C$_D$ 走到學校來
Wu	?	✗	✓
Fuqing	✓	✓	✓
Hui'an	✓	✓	✓
Chao'an	✓	✓	✗
Cantonese	✓	✓	✗

3.2 Word orders exhibited by the simple directional complement and the theme object in sentences that denote agentive motion events

In sentences that denote agentive motion events, the main verb or the co-event verb indicates the cause of the movement which is instigated by the agent subject and which brings about the change of location of the theme object. The simple directional complement specifies the direction of the movement experienced by the theme object.

Wu
(21) a. 伊踢進兩隻球。(V + C$_{ND}$ + O)
I^{34} t^{h}iəʔ^3 tɕin^{44} liã^{13} tsəʔ^{55} dʑiɤ^{13}.
s/he   kick   enter   two   CL   ball
'S/he kicked in two balls.'

b. 伊寄來一封信。(V + C_D + O)

I^{34}	tɕi^{33}	lɛ^{44}	iəʔ^3	foŋ^{44}	ɕin^{34}.
s/he	send	come	one	CL	letter

'S/he sent a letter here.'

c. 伊寄了一封信來。(V + O + C_D)

I^{34}	tɕi^{33}	ləʔ^4	iəʔ^3	foŋ^{44}	ɕin^{34}	lɛ^{13}.
s/he	send	ASP	one	CL	letter	come

'S/he sent a letter here.'

In Wu, a theme object can appear after a co-event verb and a non-deictic directional complement, as in (21a). Examples (21b) and (21c) show that when a theme object and a deictic directional complement are involved, the word orders "V + C_D + O" and "V + O + C_D" are displayed.

Among the three word orders observed in Wu, "V + C_{ND} + O" and "V + O + C_D" are used in the three Min dialects and Cantonese (cf. (a) and (c) in (22)–(25)). On the other hand, although "V + C_D + O" is reported to be possible in the four dialects, all of the informants note that the use of "V + O + C_D" is more natural than "V + C_D + O" (cf. (b) in (22)–(25)).

Fuqing

(22) a. 伊踢底兩粒球。(V + C_{ND} + O)

I^5	tʰeʔ^2	te^{32}	laŋ^{44}	laʔ^5	kiu^{44}.
s/he	kick	enter	two	CL	ball

'S/he kicked in two balls.'

b. ?伊寄來蜀張批。(V + C_D + O)

I^5	kia^{21}	li^{44}	θyo^{44}	lyoŋ^{53}	pʰie^{53}.
s/he	send	come	one	CL	letter

'S/he sent a letter here.'

c. 伊寄蜀張批來。(V + O + C_D)

I^5	kia^{21}	θyo^{44}	lyoŋ^{53}	pʰie^{53}	li^{44}.
s/he	send	one	CL	letter	come

'S/he sent a letter here.'

Hui'an

(23) a. 伊踢入兩個球。(V + C_{ND} + O)

I^{33}	tʰat^{54}	liəp	lŋ^{22}	e^{22}	kiu^{24}.
s/he	kick	enter	two	CL	ball

'S/he kicked in two balls.'

b. ?伊寄來蜀張批。(V + C_D + O)

I^{33}	kia^{22}	lai	tsit^{22}	tiũ^{33}	pʰue^{33}.
s/he	send	come	one	CL	letter

'S/he sent a letter here.'

c. 伊寄張批來。(V + O + C_D)

I^{33}	kia^{22}	tiũ^{33}	pʰue^{33}	lai^{24}.
s/he	send	CL	letter	come

'S/he sent a letter here.'

Chao'an

(24) a. 伊踢入兩粒球。(V + C_{ND} + O)
I^{33} t^{h}ak^5 ʥik^2 nõ^{21} liak^2 kiu^{55}.
s/he   kick   enter   two   CL   ball
'S/he kicked in two balls.'

  b. ?伊寄來封信。(V + C_D + O)
I^{33} kia^{53} lai^{213} hoŋ^{33} seŋ^{213}.
s/he   send   come   CL   letter
'S/he sent a letter here.'

  c. 伊寄封信來。(V + O + C_D)
I^{33} kia^{53} hoŋ^{33} seŋ^{213} lai^{55}.
s/he   send   CL   letter   come
'S/he sent a letter here.'

Cantonese

(25) a. 佢踢入咗三個波。(V + C_{ND} + O)
Keoi^5 tek^3 jap^6 zo^2 saam^1 go^3 bo^1.
s/he   kick   enter   ASP   three   CL   ball
'S/he kicked in three balls.'

  b. ?佢寄嚟咗一封信。(V + C_D + O)
Keoi^5 gei^3 lai^4 zo^2 jat^1 fung^1 seon^3.
s/he   send   come   ASP   one   CL   letter
'S/he sent a letter here.'

  c. 佢寄咗一封信嚟。(V + O + C_D)
Keoi^5 gei^3 zo^2 jat^1 fung^1 seon^3 lai^4.
s/he   send   ASP   one   CL   letter   come
'S/he sent a letter here.'

Table 4 summarizes the word orders exhibited by the simple directional complement and the theme object in sentences that denote agentive motion events in Wu, Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese.

Table 4: Word orders exhibited by the simple directional complement and the theme object in sentences that denote agentive motion events in the five dialects

	V + C_{ND} + O 踢進兩個球	V + C_D + O 寄來一封信	V + O + C_D 寄一封信來
Wu	✓	✓	✓
Fuqing	✓	?	✓
Hui'an	✓	?	✓
Chao'an	✓	?	✓
Cantonese	✓	?	✓

Table 4 shows that the five dialects can be divided into two groups: (i) Wu; and (ii) Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese. The only difference between the two groups is that there is more freedom in the first than the second to employ the word order "V + C_D + O".

4. Word orders exhibited by the compound directional complement and the locative object/the theme object

A non-deictic directional complement and a deictic directional complement can be combined to form a compound directional complement. The order in which the two directional complements appear is fixed with the non-deictic directional complement preceding the deictic one.[21] It will be shown that the word orders exhibited in the three Min dialects are closer to those in Cantonese than they are to Wu.

4.1 Word orders exhibited by the compound directional complement and the locative object in sentences that denote self-agentive motion events

A compound directional complement consists of a non-deictic directional complement which is followed by a deictic directional complement. Wu, which does not allow a deictic directional complement to be followed by a locative object, also does not place the locative object after a compound directional complement, that is, "V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc", a word order that is employed in the three Min dialects and Cantonese. Instead, the occurrence of the locative object after the non-deictic directional complement and before the deictic one, that is, "V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D", is found in the Wu Pear Stories (cf. (26a)). Moreover, the use of a preposition rather than a non-deictic directional complement, that is, "V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D", to introduce the locative object after the main verb, and before the deictic directional complement, that is, "V + to + Loc + C_D", is more common, according to our Wu informant (cf. (26b)). It is further found that in the Wu Pear Stories, examples showing the word order "V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D" are much rarer than examples showing the "V + to + Loc + C_D" order, a situation which suggests that the use of a non-deictic complement to introduce a locative object in Wu is not productive. Therefore, we shall assume that the use of "V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D" is marginal in Wu.

Wu

(26) a. 難末伊就爬下梯子來。(V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D)

Nɛ¹¹məʔ⁴   i³⁴   dʑiɤ¹³   bo¹¹   ɦo⁴⁴   tʰi⁵⁵tsʅ²   lɛ².
then   he   then   climb   descend   ladder   come
'Then he climbed down from the ladder.'

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[21] In Cantonese, a compound directional complement can be made up of two non-deictic directional complements and a deictic directional complement, for example *faan¹ jap⁶ lai⁴* 返入嚟 'to return, to enter, and to come'. The existence of a compound directional complement made up of three simple directional complements has never been reported in any other Chinese dialect besides Cantonese. Please refer to Yiu (2005) for a detailed discussion of the use of this peculiar compound directional complement in Cantonese.

b. 爬到梯子上頭去 (V + to + Loc + V_D)

bo[11]   tɔ[44]   tʰi[55]tsɿ[2]   zã[11] dɤ[44]   tɕʰi[34]
climb   to   ladder   LP   go
'to climb up the ladder'

In the three Min dialects and Cantonese, a locative object can appear after a compound directional complement.[22]

Fuqing
(27) 伊行上來三樓。(V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc)
I[5]   kiaŋ[44]   θyoŋ[42]   li   θaŋ[44]   lau[44].
s/he   walk   ascend   come   third   floor
'S/he walks up to the third floor.'

Hui'an
(28) 伊爬起去山頂。(V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc)
I[33]   peʔ[34]   kʰi·[24]   kʰɯ[22]   suã[33]   tiŋ[54].
s/he   climb   rise   go   mountain   top
'S/he climbs up to the top of the mountain.'

Chao'an
(29) 伊爬起去山頂。(V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc)
I[33]   peʔ[5]   kʰi[35]   kʰɯ[53]   suã[33]   teŋ[53].
s/he   climb   rise   go   mountain   top
'S/he climbs up to the top of the mountain.'

Cantonese
(30) 佢爬咗上去山頂。(V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc)
Keoi[5] paa[4]   zo[2]   soeng[5]   heoi[3]   saan[1]   deng[2].
s/he   climb   ASP   ascend   go   mountain   top
'S/he climbed up to the top of the mountain.'

Table 5 summarizes the word orders exhibited by the compound directional complement and the locative object in sentences that denote self-agentive motion events in Wu, Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an and Cantonese.[23] Two groups emerge: (i) Wu; (ii) Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese.

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[22] The use of "V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D" (e.g. ??*i[33] peʔ[34] kʰi[24] suã[33] tiŋ[54] kʰɯ[22]* 伊爬起山頂去 s/he-climb-rise-mountain-top-go 'S/he climbs up to the top of the mountain.') was reported to be possible by our Hui'an informant. However, she also pointed out that its use is not as natural as "V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc". On the other hand, according to our Fuqing and Chao'an informants, they use only "V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc" (cf. (27) and (29)). Moreover, they remarked that 去 in "V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D" expresses not a directional meaning, but an aspectual meaning. We shall therefore assume that the prototypical word order in Min is "V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc".

[23] For a compound directional complement which consists of three simple directional complements in Cantonese, the locative object also appears after the complement, for example *haang[4] faan[1] jap[6] lai[4] haak[3]teng[1]* 行返入嚟客廳 walk-return-enter-come-living room 'to walk back in toward the living room'.

Table 5: Word orders exhibited by the compound directional complement and the locative object in sentences that denote self-agentive motion events in the five dialects

	V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D 爬上山頂去	V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc 爬上去山頂
Wu	?	✖
Fuqing	✖	✓
Hui'an	✖	✓
Chao'an	✖	✓
Cantonese	✖	✓

4.2 Word orders exhibited by the compound directional complement and the theme object in sentences that denote agentive motion events

In sentences that denote agentive motion events, Wu exhibits three word orders. The theme object can appear in front of the compound directional complement (cf. (31a)), in between the non-deictic directional complement and the deictic directional complement (cf. (31b)), or after the compound directional complement (cf. (31c)).

Wu

(31) a. 伊牽一隻牛過來。(V + O + C_{ND} + C_D)
I³⁴ tɕʰi⁵³ iəʔ³ tsəʔ⁴⁴ ŋiɤ⁴⁴ ku³³ lɛ⁴⁴.
s/he drag one CL cow pass come
'S/he dragged a cow over here.'

b. 伊拿出兩本書來。(V + C_{ND} + O + C_D)
I³⁴ nɛ⁵⁵ tsʰəʔ² liã¹¹ pən⁴⁴ sɿ⁵³ lɛ̃¹³.
s/he take exit two CL book come
'S/he took out two books.'

c. 拿出來三隻 (V + C_{ND} + C_D + O)
nɛ⁵⁵ tsʰəʔ² lɛ¹³ sɛ⁵⁵ tsəʔ²
take exit come three CL
'(He) took out three (pears).'

While the word order "V + O + C_{ND} + C_D" is employed in the three Min dialects and Cantonese (cf. (a) in (32)–(33) and (34)–(35)), the word order "V + C_{ND} + C_D + O" is only observed in Fuqing and Hui'an (cf. (32b)–(33b)). None of the four dialects exhibits the use of "V + C_{ND} + O + C_D".

Fuqing

(32) a. 踢兩粒球底來 (V + O + C_{ND} + C_D)
tʰeʔ² laŋ⁴⁴ laʔ⁵ kiu⁴⁴ te³² li
kick two CL ball enter come
'to kick two balls into here'

Table 7 summarizes all the word orders exhibited in Wu, Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese in sentences that denote self-agentive and agentive motion events.

Three points stand out prominently in Table 7. First, the word orders exhibited in the three Min dialects differ substantially from those in Wu. One major difference is that deictic directional verbs and deictic directional complements in the Min dialects can be followed by a locative object, while in Wu they cannot. Another major difference is that in Wu the use of non-deictic directional verbs

Table 7: Word orders exhibited in Wu, Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese

	Wu	Fuqing	Hui'an	Chao'an	Cantonese
Directional verbs: Self-agentive motion events					
1. V_{ND} + Loc	?	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Dir_D + Loc	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
3. to + Loc + V_D	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
Directional verbs: Agentive motion events					
4. V_{ND} + O	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓
Simple directional complements: Self-agentive motion events					
5. V + C_{ND} + Loc	?	✓	✓	✓	✓
6. V + C_D + Loc	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
7. V + to + Loc + C_D	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
Simple directional complements: Agentive motion events					
8. V + C_{ND} + O	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
9. V + C_D + O	✓	?	?	?	?
10. V + O + C_D	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Compound directional complements: Self-agentive motion events					
11. V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D	?	✗	✗	✗	✗
12. V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Compound directional complements: Agentive motion events					
13. V + O + C_{ND} + C_D	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
14. V + C_{ND} + O + C_D	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
15. V + C_{ND} + C_D + O	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
Number of shaded cells[24]	0	8	9	12	12

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[24] Shaded cells represent the differences between Wu and the dialect concerned in terms of the 15 word orders.

and non-deictic directional complements to introduce a locative object is restricted, while in the Min dialects it is not. The second point to note is that the closer the Min dialect is to Wu geographically, the fewer are the differences existing between the two. Fuqing and Hui'an are spoken in Fujian, while Chao'an is spoken in Guangdong. Fuqing and Hui'an are geographically closer to Wu than Chao'an, and differ less drastically from Wu than Chao'an does (that is, eight differences between Fuqing and Wu and nine differences between Hui'an and Wu; and 12 differences between Chao'an and Wu). The final point is that the word orders in Chao'an and Cantonese are identical, but there are three differences between the two Southern Min dialects, and one difference between Fuqing and Hui'an.

Table 7 shows that there are a number of differences, that is, from eight to 12, in word orders between Wu and the three Min dialects, thus casting serious doubt on the validity of classifying Wu and Min in the same group, a suggestion put forward in Liu (2001a). Moreover, the three Min dialects seem to be pulled from two different directions, that is, from Cantonese spoken to the south and from Mandarin and Wu spoken to the north. Specifically, the more northern the area in which a Min dialect is spoken, the more northern features it exhibits.[25] For example, the following word orders are found in Mandarin and Wu: "to + Loc + V_D", "V + to + Loc + C_D" and "V + C_{ND} + C_D + O" (cf. Items 3, 7 and 15 in Table 7). Among the three Min dialects, Fuqing and Hui'an are closer to Mandarin and Wu geographically and they display all three word orders. Chao'an, which is farther away from Mandarin and Wu, exhibits none of the three word orders.[26] However, Chen (2003:192) notes that the word order "to + Loc + V_D" in Fuzhou does not sound natural, so it is not a native word order in Fuzhou. Similarly, as noted by our Hui'an informant, the use of "V + to + Loc + C_D" (cf. (18c)) is acceptable but not as natural as "V + C_D + Loc" (cf. (18b)). Both remarks suggest that the use of "to + Loc + V_D" and "V + to + Loc + C_D" in Eastern and Southern Min might have been borrowed from other dialects, Mandarin in particular. On the other hand, although examples showing the use of a non-deictic directional verb or a non-deictic directional complement to introduce a locative object are acceptable in Mandarin, Lamarre (2004) and Tang & Lamarre (2007) observe that in varieties of Mandarin spoken in Shaanxi 陝西 and Hebei 河北 (i.e. the Guanzhong 關中, the Xian, and the Jizhou 冀州 dialects), the use of dào 到 'to' is more common than the use of non-deictic directional verbs to introduce a locative object. A similar remark was made by our Pekingese informant, according to whom dào 到 'to' is subject to fewer restrictions than non-deictic complements when introducing a locative object. If the use of dào 到 'to' to introduce a locative object is as common as reported for the Mandarin dialects, it is possible that

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[25] Only the word orders of Wu are included in Table 7 for comparison, as we are trying to determine whether Wu and Min should be classified in the same group. However, it should be noted that the word orders of Mandarin are very similar to those of Wu, and we mention Mandarin here because it will be shown later that the variations within the three Min dialects are caused by the influence of Mandarin rather than of Wu.

[26] Historical materials for Southern Min will be used to show that the identical word orders exhibited in Chao'an and Cantonese are not likely to have resulted directly from dialect contact, because communication between Min speakers and Cantonese speakers was not as easy a few centuries ago as it is nowadays. Nevertheless, the geographical proximity of Southern Min spoken in Guangdong and Cantonese does help the former to resist the strong influence of the standard language and to preserve a word order that has been in use since the 16th century.

it has spread to other dialects including Wu. Such a speculation is not without grounds, given that the influence of the standard language on other dialects is strongly felt. For example, Yue (1997) suggests that the use of the *bi* 比-comparative in Cantonese is a result of the influence of Mandarin. Qian (2003:291) notes that the word order "V + O + C_{ND} + C_D" (e.g. *tɔ³⁴ iəʔ³ ø⁴⁴ zo¹³ tsʰəʔ³ lɛ⁴⁴* 倒一碗茶出來 pour-one-CL-tea-exit-come 'to pour out a bowl of tea') exists in the Wu texts compiled in the 19th century, but is now being replaced by the Mandarin word order of "V + C_{ND} + O + C_D" (e.g. *tʰoŋ⁵⁵ tsʰəʔ² iəʔ³ kən⁴⁴ kø³³tsɿ⁴⁴ lɛ¹³* 通出一根管子來 pull-exit-one-CL-tube-come 'to pull out a tube') (cf. Qian 2003:355).[27]

On the other hand, the identical word orders observed in Chao'an and Cantonese again raise the question of the strong influence of the latter on Chao'an. However, the speculation does not seem to be borne out by the facts observed in the historical materials in Min. In *Doctrina Christiana* 基督要理, a theological text published in the 17th century,[28] and the Jiajing edition of *Lijingji* 荔鏡記, a drama composed in 1566, the word orders "to + Loc + V_D" and "V + to + Loc + C_D" are not found.[29]

Self-agentive motion

(36) a. 即來恁厝做奴婢。(V$_D$ + Loc) (*Lijingji*)

Tsiak⁵   lai²¹³   neŋ³⁵   tsʰu²¹³   tso⁵³   nou²¹³pi³⁵.

immediately come   your   home   do   slave

'(I) immediately came to your home to serve as a slave.'

b. 不免共安童返去厝。(V + C$_D$ + Loc) (*Lijingji*)

Puk⁵miaŋ³⁵   kaŋ²²   Aŋ³³toŋ⁵⁵   tɯŋ³⁵   kʰɯ⁵³   tsʰu²¹³.

inevitably   Conj   Antong   return   go   home

'Master should return home with Antong.'

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[27] According to Xiaonong Zhu (personal communication), a Wu speaker, *tɔ³⁴ iəʔ³ ø⁴⁴ zo¹³ tsʰəʔ³ lɛ⁴⁴* 倒一碗茶出來 pour-one-CL-tea-exit-come is ambiguous in meaning. One meaning is 'X poured a bowl of tea (in the kitchen) and brought it out (to the living room)'; another meaning is 'X poured out a bowl of tea (from a teapot)'. Of the two meanings, only the second is expressed by *tɔ³⁴ tsʰəʔ³ iəʔ³ ø⁴⁴ zo¹³ lɛ⁴⁴* 倒出一碗茶來 pour-exit-one-CL-tea-come 'to pour out a bowl of tea (from a teapot)'. On the other hand, according to our Wu informant, the meanings conveyed by "V + O + C_{ND} + C_D" and "V + C_{ND} + O + C_D" are identical.

[28] As noted in Yue (1999), *Doctrina Christiana* probably reflects the Haicheng 海澄 variety of Min spoken in Fujian at the time according to van der Loon (1966). On the other hand, *Lijingji* is believed to reflect the Quanzhou and Chaozhou dialects of Southern Min spoken at the time.

[29] The following example *tsʰiã³⁵ ʔ Li³⁵ koŋ³³ kau⁵³ tsʰu²¹³ lai⁵⁵* 請卜李公到厝來 invite-want-Li-master-to-house-come 'to invite Master Lee to come to our home' is found in *Lijingji*, in which the locative object *ɕʰu²¹³* 厝 'home' occurs between *kau²¹³* 到 'to' and *lai⁵⁵* 來 'to come'. However, examples like this are rare. The dominant patterns used when a deictic directional verb/a deictic directional complement and a locative object are involved are "V$_D$ + Loc" and "V + C$_D$ + Loc". Moreover, Samuel Cheung (personal communication) points out that the above example may be a line of verse from a song, as it consists of seven syllables. Consequently the language reflected by the example is literary rather than colloquial, thus explaining why *kau²¹³* 到 'to' is employed to introduce a locative object, a use that is different from that in (36b) and (36c). On the other hand, as noted in footnote 22, our Hui'an informant remarked that the word order "V + C$_{ND}$ + Loc + C$_D$" is marginally acceptable. Only a few such examples are found in *Lijingji* and they all involve the non-deictic directional complement *kue²¹³* 過 'to pass'. It is therefore not clear how widespread this word order was at that time.

c. 跟同陳三私奔走去泉州。(V + C$_D$ + Loc) (*Lijingji*)

Kɯŋ^{33}taŋ^{213} Taŋ^{213} sã^{33} sɿ^{33}puŋ^{33} ʦau^{35} k^{h}ɯ^{53} Tsuã^{213}tsiu^{33}.

Conj   Chensan   run away   run   go   Quanzhou

'(She) ran away with Chensan to Quanzhou.'

In example (36a), the deictic directional verb *lai^{213}* 來 'to come' is followed by the locative object *neŋ^{35} ʦ^{h}u^{213}* 恁厝 'your home'. In examples (36b) and (36c), the deictic directional complement *k^{h}ɯ^{53}* 去 'to go' is followed by the locative objects *ʦ^{h}u^{213}* 厝 'home' and *Tsuã^{213}tsiu^{33}* 泉州 'Quanzhou'. The "to + Loc + V$_D$" and "V + to + Loc + C$_D$" used in Hui'an in self-agentive motion events is not found in the historical documents. Neither is the word order of "V + C$_{ND}$ + C$_D$ + O" observed in the historical materials.

Agentive motion

(37)   a.   贖汝子出來。(V + O + C$_{ND}$ + C$_D$) (*Doctrina*)

Sok^2 lɯ^{35} kiã^{21} ts^{h}uk^5 lai^{21}.

bail   your   son   exit   come

'You bailed out your son.'

b.   待益春討蜀香案出來。(V + O + C$_{ND}$ + C$_D$) (*Lijingji*)

T^{h}ai^{21} Iaʔ^{5}ts^{h}uŋ^{33} t^{h}o^{35} tsek^2 hiõ^{33}uã^{213} ts^{h}uk^5 lai^{21}.

wait   Yichun   bring   one   incense table   exit   come

'Wait for Yichun to bring out an incense table.'

The two agentive examples show that whether the theme object is definite (e.g. *lɯ^{35} kiã^{21}* 汝子 'your son' in (37a)) or indefinite (e.g. *tsek^2 hiõ^{33}uã^{213}* 蜀香案 'an incense table' in (37b)), the only word order used is "V + O + C$_{ND}$ + C$_D$".[30] Again, the word order "V + C$_{ND}$ + C$_D$ + O" observed in Hui'an is not found.

All in all, the findings from the Min historical texts suggest that among the word orders exhibited by the two Southern Min dialects, the word order patterns in Chao'an closely resemble those in the early Min texts, while the word orders "to + Loc + V$_D$", "V + to + Loc + C$_D$", and "V + C$_{ND}$ + C$_D$ + O", said to be possible in Hui'an but not found in the historical materials, might have come into use in Hui'an at a later time. The findings from the Min historical documents not only help dispel the suspicion that the similarity in word orders seen in Cantonese and Chao'an is a result of the influence of the former on the latter, they also allow us to reconstruct the early grammar of Min by differentiating the word orders native to the dialects from those that are foreign. The above discussion thus suggests that Min, at least Southern Min, should be grouped with Cantonese. If the influence of Cantonese on Southern Min is real, it would have come into effect at least three centuries ago. As for the status of Fuqing, it is possible that it originally behaved in the same way as the Southern Min dialects but then began moving away from them, toward

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[30] Lien's (1997) study points out that the pattern "V + C$_{ND}$ + C$_D$ + O" is not possible in the Southern Min dialect spoken in Taiwan. Similarly, in his study of *Lijingji*, Lien (2006) also observes that only the word order "V + O + C$_{ND}$ + C$_D$" is used, and the word order "V + C$_{ND}$ + C$_D$ + O" is not available.

Mandarin. As noted earlier, Wu is itself under the influence of Mandarin; it is therefore difficult to imagine how it is influenced by Mandarin on the one hand but influences Fuqing on the other. As a result, it is more likely that the use of "V + C_{ND} + C_D + O" in Wu as well as in Min is a result of the influence of Mandarin.

With the help of historical documents in the Min dialect, it can be seen that Min and Cantonese exhibit essentially the same word orders when expressing self-agentive and agentive motion events. The present study, therefore, suggests that the two dialects should be classified in the same group, contrary to the suggestion put forward in Liu (2001a) that Min and Wu belong to the same group.

The discussion thus far has demonstrated that the three Min dialects share more word order characteristics with Cantonese in sentences that denote self-agentive and agentive motion events than they do with Wu, thus casting doubt on Liu's (2001a) suggestion that Min and Wu should be classified in the same group. The next question is how these word order characteristics shed light on the typology of word order, or Liu's (2001a) continuum of strong VO dialects and weak VO dialects, an issue which the following discussion will address.

In the following discussion we shall re-examine the 15 word orders in Table 7 and discover the number of VO characteristics that Wu, Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese exhibit. Before we count the number of VO characteristics that each dialect exhibits, we have to determine which of the 15 word orders display the VO word order. A close examination of the 15 word orders in Table 7 shows that not all of them involve an object (a locative object or a theme object). Those that lack an object are not relevant to the current discussion, which concerns VO and OV word orders. These irrelevant word orders include those that use the preposition *to* to introduce the locative object, that is, Items 3 and 7 which exhibit the "to + Loc + V_D" order and the "V + to + Loc + C_D" order. Since the locative object in these two word orders is part of the prepositional phrase headed by *to*, the structures are analyzed respectively as "Prepositional phrase + V" and "V + Prepositional phrase + C_D" and they will be excluded from the list of VO word orders.

For Items 1, 2 and 4 in Table 7, the word orders involve a directional verb (both deictic and non-deictic ones) followed by a locative object or a theme object. The VO word order is exhibited, and these items will be included.

The word order characteristics of sentences that involve a simple or a compound directional complement is not straightfoward, as more than one verb is involved. The issue regarding the head in a VV sequence is controversial. While some scholars argue that the first verb is the head (cf. Shen 2003; Talmy 2000b), some consider the second verb as the head (cf. Tai 2003). For Items 5–6, 8–9, 12 and 15, in Table 7, both the main verb and the simple or compound directional complement precede the locative object or the theme object. Whether the first verbal element or the second verbal element is analyzed as the head will not affect our seeing the VVO sequence as displaying the VO word order. They will therefore be included.

In the word orders associated with Items 10–11 and 13–14, namely, "V + O + C_D", "V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D", "V + O + C_{ND} + C_D", and "V + C_{ND} + O + C_D", the issue of headedness will affect whether the sequence is analyzed as a VO word order or an OV word order. Among these fourword orders, all five dialects exhibit the word orders of Items 10 and 13, that is, "V + O + C_D" and "V + O + C_{ND} + C_D". The exclusion of these two items will not have any direct effect on our result, that is, which dialect(s) show(s) more VO characteristics and which dialect(s) less, except that all

five dialects will be said to exhibit two less VO characteristics, and they will be excluded from our list of VO word orders. As for Item 11, that is, "V + C_{ND} + Loc + C_D", since the word order concerned is marginal in Wu and is ruled out in the other four dialects, its exclusion will not affect our result and will therefore also be excluded from our list of VO word orders. For Item 14, that is, "V + C_{ND} + O + C_D", Wu allows it but the other four dialects do not. Since the issue of headedness will affect whether Wu is said to exhibit one less VO characteristic or one more, and since we are not entirely sure how cases like this should be handled, we shall exclude it.[31]

After excluding six word orders from Table 7, namely Items 3, 7, 10, 11, 13, and 14, for the reasons given above, nine VO word orders remain. Table 8 summarizes the relevant VO characteristics exhibited by Wu, Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese in Table 7.

In Table 8, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese exhibit the most VO characteristics, followed by Fuqing, and Wu shows the fewest VO characteristics. It is clearly demonstrated that the three Min dialects and Cantonese exhibit significantly more VO characteristics than Wu, thus supporting our suggestion that Min and Cantonese should be classified in the same group. Moreover, to put it in

Table 8: VO characteristics exhibited by Wu, Fuqing, Hui'an, Chao'an, and Cantonese

	Wu	Fuqing	Hui'an	Chao'an	Cantonese
Directional verbs: Self-agentive motion events					
1. V_{ND} + Loc	?	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Dir_D + Loc	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Directional verbs: Agentive motion events					
3. V_{ND} + O	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓
Simple directional complements: Self-agentive motion events					
4. V + C_{ND} + Loc	?	✓	✓	✓	✓
5. V + C_D + Loc	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Simple directional complements: Agentive motion events					
6. V + C_{ND} + O	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
7. V + C_D + O	✓	?	?	?	?
Compound directional complements: Self-agentive motion events					
8. V + C_{ND} + C_D + Loc	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Compound directional complements: Agentive motion events					
9. V + C_{ND} + C_D + O	✓	—[32]	—	✗	✗
Number of VO characteristics exhibited	3	6	7	7	7

[31] Even though, if the word order "V + C_{ND} + O + C_D" is included, the number of VO characteristics displayed by Wu, namely four, is still less than those exhibited by the other four dialects.

[32] '—' indicates that the word order is not relevant to the dialects concerned as it is probably not a native word order of the dialects. Please refer to the preceding discussion in this section for the relevant discussion.

Liu's words, Min—at least Southern Min—and Cantonese are strong VO dialects, while Wu is a weak VO dialect.

5. Additional evidence for the grouping together of Min and Cantonese

Two additional pieces of evidence, namely the low tolerance of postverbal objects and the stronger call for the use of postpositions, will be provided in § 5.1 and § 5.2 to show that Min—specifically Southern Min—and Cantonese exhibit more VO features than Wu.

5.1 Low tolerance of postverbal objects

In §3.2 and §4.2, we have examined the word orders exhibited by the simple directional complement/the compound directional complement and the theme object when expressing agentive motion events. While the discussion in those two sections involves only one postverbal object, namely a theme object, the following section will explore the possibility of having two postverbal objects, that is, a theme object and a locative object, in Wu, Chao'an (Southern Min) and Cantonese.[33]

In example (38), the object $tsə\textit{Ɂ}^2 dzi\textit{ɤ}^2$ 隻球 'the ball' and the locative object $dzi\textit{ɤ}^{11}mən^{44}$ 球門 'the goal' in Wu are introduced by the disposal marker $nɛ^{55}$ 拿 and the preposition $tɔ^{44}$ 到 and they appear before the main verb $t^hiə\textit{Ɂ}^3$ 踢 'to kick' and the deictic directional complement $tɕ^hi^{34}$ 去 'to go'.

Wu

(38) 伊拿隻球踢到球門裡廂去。

I^{34}	nɛ^{55}	tsəɁ^2	dziɤ^2	tʰiəɁ^3	tɔ^{44}	dziɤ^{11} mən^{44}	li^{11} ɕiã^{44}	tɕʰi^{34}.
s/he	DM	CL	ball	kick	to	goal	LP	go

'S/he kicked the ball into the goal.'

In contrast, examples (39)–(40) demonstrate that the main verb and the non-deictic complement (cf. (39a)–(40a))/the deictic directional complement (cf. (39b)–(40b)) in Chao'an and Cantonese can each have its own object, thus exhibiting VO word order.

Chao'an

(39) a. 伊踢三粒球入球門。(V + O + C$_{ND}$ + Loc)

I^{33}	tʰak^5	sã^{33}	liak^2	kiu^{55}	dzik^2	kiu^{213}muŋ^{55}.
s/he	kick	three	CL	ball	enter	goal

'S/he kicked three balls into the goal.'

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[33] It might be argued that the word orders "V + O + C$_D$" and "V + O + C$_{ND}$ + C$_D$" found in the three Min dialects and Cantonese, by contrast, argue for the use of the OV word order in the four dialects, as the simple directional complement or the compound directional complement follows rather than precedes the theme object. However, the main verb or the co-event verb, rather than the complement, is the verbal element that governs the theme object in the above two cases. As a result, the word order of VO rather than OV is exhibited in sentences that denote agentive motion events.

b.　伊挽兩籃梨去樓下。(V + O + C$_D$ + Loc)
I^{33}　　maŋ^{35}　nõ^{21}　nã^{213}　lai^{55}　kʰɯ^{53}　lau^{213}e^{35}.
s/he　pick　two　CL　pear　go　downstairs
'S/he carried two baskets of pears downstairs.'

Cantonese

(40)　a.　咁跟住就攞一籮啤梨上架單車度囉。(V + O + C$_{ND}$ + Loc)
Gam^2 gan^{1}zyu^6 zau^6 lo^2　jat^1　lo^4　be^{1}lei^2　soeng^5　gaa^3　daan^{1}ce^1　dou^6　lo^1.
then　follow　then take one CL pear　ascend CL　bicycle　LP　SFP
'Then (he) put a basket of pears onto the bicycle.'

b.　佢放咗本書嚟張檯度。(V + O + C$_D$ + Loc)
Keoi^5　fong^3　zo^2　bun^2　syu^2　lai^4　　zoeng^1　toi^2　dou^6.
s/he　put　ASP　CL　book　come　CL　　table　LP
'S/he put the book on the table.'

Although in Chao'an and Cantonese it is also possible to move the object to the preverbal position and mark it with a disposal marker, the use of the disposal construction in these two dialects is not generally as productive as it is in Wu.

It should be pointed out that the disposal marker ne^{55} 拿 / the preposition to^{44} 到 and their respective theme object and locative object in (38) may be analyzed as a prepositional phrase. As a result, the structure "Prepositional phrase + V + Prepositional phrase + V" emerges, exhibiting neither VO word order nor OV word order. However, the fact that Chao'an and Cantonese allow the occurrence of the theme object and the locative object after the main verb, and the directional complement, which is a verb by nature, suggests that the tendency to place an object after the verb is stronger in Chao'an and Cantonese than it is in Wu.

5.2　Use of prepositions versus postpositions

As noted in §1, there is a tendency in OV languages to use postpositions (cf. (1a) and (1b)). Liu (2001b:19) demonstrates that the use of postpositions in Wu is always obligatory, unlike Mandarin, a contrast which the author uses to show that Wu exhibits more characteristics of OV languages than Mandarin. For example, in Wu the use of the preposition $ləʔ^{55}$ 勒 'at' and the post-position li^{13} 里 'inside' in $ləʔ^{55}$ $ɦoʔ^{11}$ $dã^{44}$ li^{13} 勒學堂里 at-school-LP 'at school' is necessary. By contrast, Mandarin can employ only $zài$ 在 'in' without the use of $lǐ$ 里 'inside' in $zài$ $xuéxiào$ 在 學校 'in school'. The situation in Cantonese is that the use of prepositions is always necessary, while the use of postpositions can be optional. For example,

Cantonese

(41)　a.　掛一幅畫喺牆(度)
gwaa^3　jat^1　fuk^1　waa^2　hai^2　coeng^4　(dou^6)
hang　one　CL　picture　on　wall　LP
'to hang a picture on the wall'

b. 瞓喺地(度)
fan^3 hai^2 dei^2 (dou^6)
sleep   on   floor   LP
'to sleep on the floor'

c. 放喺枱(度)
fong^3 hai^2 toi^2 (dou^6)
put   on   table   LP
'to put on the table'

A similar contrast in the use of prepositions and postpositions is also observed in Chao'an:[34]

Chao'an

(42) a. 睡在沙發
ŋʔ^5 to^{21} sua^{33}huak^2
sleep   on   sofa
'to sleep on the sofa'

b. 放在眠床
paŋ^{53} to^{21} meŋ^{213}tsʰɯŋ^{55}
put   on   bed
'to put on the bed'

The above contrast in the use of prepositions and postpositions again lends additional support to our suggestion that Cantonese and Min should be classified in the same group.

6. Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that the word order characteristics of Min closely resemble those of Cantonese, but differ significantly from those of Wu, a finding which is completely different from the view put forward in Liu (2001a), where Wu and Min are classified in the same group as weak VO dialects. While the classification of Liu is based primarily on the degree of subtopic prominence exemplified in the Chinese dialects he has examined, ours rests on the word orders exhibited by the directional verb/the directional complement and the object (including the locative object and the theme object) when denoting self-agentive and agentive motion events in Wu, in the three Min dialects—namely, Fuqing (an Eastern Min dialect spoken in Fujian), Hui'an (a Southern Min dialect spoken in Fujian), and Chao'an (a Southern Min dialect spoken in Guangdong)—and in Cantonese. Our view that Min and Cantonese, rather than Min and Wu, should be classified in the same group is further supported by two additional pieces of evidence from the word order characteristics exemplified in the two dialects. In particular, both Min and Cantonese are more tolerant of postverbal objects than Wu. Moreover, the use of prepositions is more prominent in Min

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[34] In the Wu equivalent of (41b) and (42a) (e.g. *tia^{55} tia^2 kʰuən^{33} ləʔ^4 zã^{11} lã^{44}* 爹爹睏勒床浪 father-sleep-at-bed-LP 'father slept in bed'), the use of the preposition as well as the postposition is required, according to Liu (2003:202).

and Cantonese, while the use of postpositions is more common in Wu. The findings of the present study suggest that Min and Cantonese are strong VO dialects, while Wu is a weak VO dialect in the sense of Liu (2001a).

On the other hand, the findings also show that Mandarin, Wu, Fuqing and Hui'an share a number of word order characteristics that are not found in Chao'an and in the Min historical texts. The present study further suggests that the variations exhibited by Fuqing and Hui'an on the one hand, and Chao'an on the other may be attributed to the different degrees of influence from Mandarin on the three Min dialects. Fuqing and Hui'an are spoken in Fujian and Chao'an is spoken in Guangdong, of which Fujian is geographically closer than Guangdong to the area where Mandarin is spoken. As a result, the influence of Mandarin on Fuqing and Hui'an would be stronger than it is on Chao'an, thus accounting for the use of a certain word orders in Mandarin, Fuqing and Hui'an but not in Chao'an.[35]

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[35] On the basis of lexical and phonological evidence, Ting (2006) reiterates the suggestion he once made about the existence of a close relationship between Wu and Min. Specifically, the Wu stratum in Min suggests that the origin of the present-day Min dialect can be traced back to the Wu dialect spoken during the Northern and Southern dynasties (Nanbeichao). It should be pointed out that Ting's suggestion of a close relationship between Wu and Min is not in conflict with the Min/Cantonese grouping posited in the present study. In the first place, Ting's study adopts a lexical and phonological perspective, while ours is syntactic. Lexical, phonological, and syntactic developments in a language do not happen at the same time. Neither do they proceed at the same rate. As a result, it is not surprising to find that dialectal groupings based on these different criteria vary. Secondly, Ting's study tries to relate the present-day dialects to the history of Chinese, while ours is primarily concerned with the word order characteristics of the present-day dialects, characteristics which reflect not only internal development but also external influence. Since the two studies have different objectives, the different conclusions reached are to be expected.

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漢語方言的語序類型：再探閩語的分區

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根據次話題優先，劉丹青 (2001a) 建議吳語和閩語是弱 VO 型方言，而粵語則是強 VO 型方言。本文考察吳、閩、粵在表示自移事件和致移事件時，趨向動詞／趨向補語和賓語（包括受事賓語和處所賓語）所顯示的語序。結果說明被調查的三個閩方言，包括福清話、惠安話、潮安話，所呈現的語序跟粵語的語序十分相似，而跟吳語的有相當大的差異。閩／粵語和吳語在語序上的差異進一步得到兩者對動後賓語的不同程度的包容性和使用前置詞或後置詞的差異的支持。本文認為閩語和粵語都是劉文所謂的強 VO 方言，而吳語則是弱 VO 方言。

關鍵詞：粵語，漢語方言分區，閩語，語序類型，吳語