

From negative to conjunctive

無 *bo*⁵⁵ in the Jieyang Southern Min dialect

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In the Jieyang Southern Min dialect, the negative 無 *bo*⁵⁵ has evolved into a conjunctive that is used in multiple constructions: negative conditionals, cause and effect, disjunctives, and proposals. This paper aims to describe the multiple functions of 無 *bo*⁵⁵ and to construct its grammaticalization path as compared with those of 否則 *fouze* ‘otherwise or else’, and 要不 *yaobu* ‘if not’, in Mandarin. It is common in Chinese and other languages for a negative to combine with its adjacent conjunctive to develop a new conjunctive. However, the Jieyang dialect exhibits a unique feature in that 無 *bo*⁵⁵ is grammaticalized into a conjunctive *per se* by applying a complicated process of reasoning involving the logical relations among clauses without the support of any conjunctive constituents. This phenomenon can provide a new model for the study of grammatical evolution.

Keywords: 無 *bo*⁵⁵, negative, conjunctive, grammaticalization, Jieyang Southern Min dialect

1. Introduction

In this paper, we discuss the negative 無 *bo*⁵⁵ ‘not.have’, and its development from a negative to a conjunctive in the Jieyang dialect. The Jieyang dialect belongs to the Chao-Shan dialect group, a group of Southern Min dialects spoken in the coastal region of eastern Guangdong Province, China, including Chaozhou, Shantou, and Jieyang, etc. The Jieyang dialect described in this paper refers to the variety spoken in Jieyang city.

It is common in Chinese for a negative to combine with its adjacent conjunctive to develop a new conjunctive, such as 否則 *fouze* ‘not.then’, ‘otherwise, or else’, 要不 *yaobu* ‘if.not’, and (要)不然 (*yao*)*buran* ‘(if.)not.so’, ‘if not so’, in Mandarin,

which are now generally used in negative conditional constructions, as in (1), disjunctive constructions, as in (2), and proposal constructions, as in (3).

- (1) 他 學習 很 認真, 否則/要不/(要) 不然 考 不 了 第一名。
ta xuexi hen renzhen, fouze/yaobu/(yao)buran kao bu liao di yi ming.
3SG study very conscientious otherwise get NEG PC first place
‘He studied very hard; otherwise, he couldn’t get first place.’
- (2) 要不 你 去, 要不 我 去。
yaobu ni qu, yaobu wo qu.
otherwise 2SG go otherwise 1SG go
‘Either you will go or I will go.’
- (3) 要不 我們 回 家!
yaobu women hui jia.
how about 1PL back home
‘Why don’t we go home!’

This phenomenon has attracted the attention of many researchers. Lü (1980), Chen Changyi (1990), Xing (2002), and Ji (2019) discuss these words from the perspective of semantics and logic. Chen Roujun (2000), Wang Can-long (2008), and Wang Bo (2019) explore their functions with respect to textual cohesion. Some scholars explore the grammaticalization of these words. Shi (2005) examines the grammaticalization process undergone by 要不 *yaobu* and proposes two semantic evolution paths: otherwise > no wonder; otherwise > or > proposal. Cao & Zhang (2009) investigate historical documents in Chinese and find that the grammaticalization levels of 否則 *fouze*, 要不 *yaobu* and (要)不然 *(yao)buran* are different synchronically because of their different processes of grammaticalization.

In the Jieyang dialect, the negative 無 *bo*⁵⁵ has undergone a similar evolution to that experienced by 否則 *fouze* ‘otherwise’, and 要不 *yaobu* ‘if not’, but two factors make the former process unique:

- i. In Mandarin, most conjunctives, such as 否則 *fouze* ‘or else’, 要不 *yaobu* ‘if not’, and (要)不然 *(yao)buran* ‘if not so’, are derived from a combination of two constituents, i.e. a negative and a conjunctive; however, in the Jieyang dialect, 無 *bo*⁵⁵ is derived from a single negative.
- ii. In the Jieyang dialect, 無 *bo*⁵⁵ has a higher degree of grammaticalization since it can be used not only in negative conditional constructions, disjunctive constructions and proposal constructions but also in cause and effect constructions, which is a function that 否則 *fouze* ‘otherwise’, 要不 *yaobu* ‘if not’, and (要)不然 *(yao)buran* ‘if not so’, do not have in Mandarin.

To date, no studies have been conducted to examine the conjunctive function of 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in the Jieyang dialect or in other examples of the Chao-Shan dialect group. Xu (2007) describes the grammar of the Jieyang dialect in an introductory way, but she does not mention the conjunctive function of 無 *bo*⁵⁵. Nevertheless, some scholars are studying this special use of 無 *bo* in other varieties of Southern Min. Chang (1997) analyzes the initial 無 *bo* in Taiwan Southern Min as a conditional marker. Li (2007) suggests that 無 *bo* can be used in Fujian Southern Min as a conjunctive, which is equivalent to (要)不然 (*yao*)*buran* ‘if not so’, and 要不 *yaobu* ‘if not’, in Mandarin. Yang Hui-Ling (2014) also mentions such a discourse use of 無 *bo* in Taiwan Southern Min. Lien (2015) points out that 無 *bo* can be used in Taiwan Southern Min to express suggestions at the beginning of sentences, but he does not provide any detailed description or discussion. Chen Manjun (2009) investigates the usage of 無 *bo* in Fujian Hui’an Southern Min, focusing on the semantic features of the clauses connected by 無 *bo* and the ambiguity of 無 *bo*-sentences. The function of 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in the Jieyang dialect is very similar to its role in Hui’an Southern Min; thus, the research of Chen Manjun (2009) provides an important reference for this paper. In addition to the semantic features and ambiguity discussed in Chen’s paper, the logical relationship between the clauses connected by 無 *bo* and the evolutionary process of 無 *bo* remain in need of further exploration. Therefore, this paper attempts to explore the evolutionary process of 無 *bo* on the basis of a detailed description of the functions of 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in the Jieyang dialect and further discusses the process of evolution from negatives to conjunctives from a cross-linguistic perspective.

Data were collected during fieldwork from July–September 2020, mainly from five informants: HSF, male, 68 years old, farmer; YQZ, male, 36 years old, teacher; WMR, female, 57 years old, teacher; HYY, female, 57 years old, teacher; WJ, female, 53 years old, teacher. The examples were collected via questionnaires and through conversations focusing on the grammaticality of various functions of 無 *bo*⁵⁵. As the Jieyang dialect is the native tongue of the first two authors, some of the contrastive examples were provided by the authors and judged by the informants.

This paper is organized as follows. §2 introduces the functions of 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in detail. §3 explores the evolutionary process of 無 *bo*⁵⁵. §4 discusses the process of evolution from negatives to conjunctives from a cross-linguistic perspective. §5 concludes.

2. Functions of 無 *bo*⁵⁵

無 *bo*⁵⁵ is a negative (negative verb and negative adverb) in the Jieyang dialect, which is nearly equivalent to 沒(有) *mei(you)* ‘not.have’, in Mandarin, as in (4–5):

- (4) 我 無 錢。
*ua*⁴² *bo*⁵⁵⁻²² *tɕi*⁵⁵.
 1SG NEG money
 ‘I have no money.’
- (5) 我 無 去。
*ua*⁴² *bo*⁵⁵⁻²² *khui*²¹³.
 1SG NEG go
 ‘I did not go.’

In addition, 無 *bo*⁵⁵ can also be used as a conjunctive. We differentiate four uses of 無 *bo*⁵⁵ according to its functions: 無 *bo*⁵⁵₁ refers to the term’s use in negative conditional constructions, 無 *bo*⁵⁵₂ indicates its use in causal constructions, 無 *bo*⁵⁵₃ pertains to its use in disjunctive constructions, and 無 *bo*⁵⁵₄ is used in proposal constructions.

2.1 無 *bo*⁵⁵₁ in negative conditional constructions

In the conditional construction “P, 無 *bo*⁵⁵₁ +Q”, 無 *bo*⁵⁵₁ is an exponent indicating a polar conditional protasis and simultaneously introduces a consequence under this negative condition (a consequence of the condition that the previous statement is false), which is equivalent to 否則 *fouze* ‘or else’, 要不 *yaobu* ‘if not’ and (要)不然 *(yao)buran* ‘if not so’ in Mandarin.

- (6) 伊 學習 過 認真, 無 無變 考
*i*³³ *hak*⁵⁻² *sip*⁵ *kue*²¹³⁻⁴² *dzen*²²⁻²¹ *tɕen*³³, *bo*⁵⁵ *bo*⁵⁵⁻²² *pian*²¹³⁻⁴² *khau*⁴²⁻²⁴
 3SG study very conscientious NEG unable examine
 第一名。
*toi*³⁵⁻²¹ *ek*²⁻⁵ *miā*⁵⁵.
 first place
 ‘He studied very hard; otherwise, he couldn’t get first place.’
- (7) 伊 整 過 容, 無 野樣 死。
*i*³³ *tsiā*⁴²⁻³⁵ *kue*²¹³⁻⁵³ *ioŋ*⁵⁵, *bo*⁵⁵ *iā*⁵³⁻²⁴ *iō*²²⁻²¹ *si*⁴².
 3SG make ASP.exp appearance NEG ugly die
 ‘She must have had cosmetic surgery; otherwise, she would be very ugly.’

- (8) 汝 著 聽話, 無 我 就 奮 惜 汝 了。
lu⁴² tio⁶⁻² thiā³³ ue²², bo⁵⁵ ua⁴² tsu³⁵⁻²¹ boi³⁵⁻²¹ sio² lu⁴²⁻²¹³ au⁴²⁻²¹³.
 2SG must obedient NEG 1SG then will.not love 2SG ASP.perf
 ‘You have to be obedient or I won’t spoil you.’

In this construction, 無 *bo⁵⁵₁* can be interpreted as ‘if it is not so’, which is equivalent to an if-conditional with a negative protasis (a negative counterpart of the preceding clause).

除非 *tuu⁵⁵⁻²² hui³³* ‘unless’, can be used before P,¹ thereby forming an “exceptive conditional” (see Yang Fang-Pei 2007). Taking (6) as an example:

- (6') 除非 伊 學習 過 認真, 無 無變
tuu⁵⁵⁻²² hui³³ i³³ hak⁵⁻² sip⁵ kue²¹³⁻⁴² dzer²²⁻²¹ tser³³, bo⁵⁵ bo⁵⁵⁻²² pian²¹³⁻⁴²
 unless 3SG study very hard NEG unable
 考 第一名。
khau⁴²⁻²⁴ toi³⁵⁻²¹ ek²⁻⁵ miā⁵⁵.
 examine first place
 ‘He studied very hard; otherwise, he couldn’t get first place.’

“P, 無 *bo⁵⁵₁* Q” has the following entailments:

- (9) a. If not-P, then Q; b. Only if P, then not-Q.

In other words, not-P is a sufficient condition for Q, while P is a necessary condition for not-Q. For example, (6) entails that (i) if he did not study hard, he could not get first place and that (ii) only if he studied hard could he get first place.

The speaker particularly highlights the importance of P, that is, he or she emphasizes that P is a necessary condition for fulfilling the consequent not-Q. For example, (6) emphasizes the fact that ‘study hard’ is the necessary condition for ‘ranking first in the exam’.

2.2 無 *bo⁵⁵₂* in cause and effect constructions

The cause and effect construction “P, 無 *bo⁵⁵₂* Q” is used to present a cause and effect relation between P and Q.

- (10) 硬否 個 假 個, 無 照 便。
ŋe³⁵⁻²¹ hou⁴²⁻³⁵ kai⁵⁵ ke⁴² kai⁵⁵⁻²², bo⁵⁵ tsio²¹³⁻⁴² phi³³.
 definitely COP false SFP NEG SO cheap
 ‘It must be fake, that’s why it’s so cheap.’

1. Although 除非 *tuu⁵⁵⁻²² hui³³* may be borrowed from Mandarin and seems to be literal or formal, it is grammatical and acceptable when used before P.

The construction is often distributed during a conversation, such that P is spoken by one person and “無 bo^{55}_2 Q” is then expressed by another person:

- (11) [Person A has heard bad news about Person B (such as news regarding an illness) from others. One day, he met B and said the following:]

A: 聽 了 艱苦 死。

thia³³ liau⁴² kaŋ³³ khou⁴²⁻³⁵ si⁴²⁻²¹.

Hear ASP sad DC

‘It is very sad to hear about it’.

B: 無 我 無 愛 個= 汝 咀。

bo⁵⁵ ua⁴² bo⁵⁵⁻²² ai²¹³⁻⁴² kai⁵⁵⁻²² lu⁴²⁻²⁴ tã²¹³.

NEG 1SG NEG want to 2SG speak

‘So, I did not tell you about that./That is why I didn’t tell you’.

- (12) A: 別儂 攏 無 來 相輔, □² 伊 阿弟

pak⁵⁻² naŋ⁵⁵ loŋ⁴²⁻²⁴ bo⁵⁵⁻²² lai⁵⁵⁻²² sio³³ hu³⁵, ne⁴²⁻²⁴ i³³ a³³ ti³⁵

others all NEG come help only 3SG younger brother

來 定。

lai⁵⁵ tiã²².

come only

‘No one else came to help, only his brother’.

B: 無 正 咀 □ 是 親 兄弟 好。

bo⁵⁵ tsiã²¹³⁻⁴² tã²¹³⁻⁴² hã⁴²⁻²⁴ si³⁵⁻²¹ tshen³³ hiã³³ ti³⁵ ho⁴².

NEG just say still COP blood brother good

Literally: ‘That’s why it is said that it is better to have a brother’.

Meaning: ‘You can always count on your siblings’.

“P, 無 bo^{55}_2 Q” has the following logical equivalence:

- (13) P, so Q.

P is the reason for Q and Q results from P. As shown in (11), A heard that an unfortunate event (such as an illness) happened to B, and he said to B that “he feels so sad about that”. Subsequently, B explains to A that “that is the reason why he has not told him about it”.

無 bo^{55}_2 can still be interpreted as ‘if it is not so’ as in the case of 無 bo^{55}_1 , but the process of inference is more complicated in the present case. This process can be generally understood as follows:

- (11’) If it is not so (i.e. if you will not get upset), then I would tell you. However, (I suggest) it is so (i.e. you will be upset), so I have not told you.

2. There are some morphemes for which we cannot find the corresponding Chinese characters. We follow the convention in the literature and use “□” to replace them.

As in (11'), the process of reasoning involved in this case is complex, and some of the relevant elements are oblique and condensed.

The “P, 無 bo^{55}_2 Q” construction has the discourse-pragmatic function of emphasizing that P is the precise cause of Q, thereby expressing the importance and indispensability of the cause; thus, a more accurate translation of the “P, 無 bo^{55}_2 Q” construction is “This is exactly the reason why...”.

The effect Q that is introduced by 無 bo^{55}_2 can be located before the cause P. In this situation, the cause is traced back from the result. For example:

- (14) 無 咁 還 是 當 老師 好, 放假 也
 bo^{55} $tā^{213-42}$ $hā^{42-24}$ si^{35-21} $tuŋ^{33}$ lau^{42-24} su^{33} ho^{42} , $paŋ^{213-42}$ $kiā^{42-21}$ ia^{22-21}
 NEG say still COP work teacher good holiday still have
 有 工資。
 u^{35-21} $kaŋ^{33}$ tsu^{33} .
 salary
 ‘That is why people say that it is nice to be a teacher; (because) they get paid even during holidays.’

2.3 無 bo^{55}_3 in disjunctive constructions

無 bo^{55}_3 is used to introduce two or more alternative states of affairs and must be followed by the topic marker 哩 le^{33} .

- (15) 無 哩 伊 去, 無 哩 我 去。
 bo^{55-22} le^{33} i^{33} $khui^{213-21}$, bo^{55-22} le^{33} ua^{42} $khui^{213-21}$.
 NEG TOP 3SG go NEG TOP 1SG go
 ‘Either he will go or I will go.’
- (16) 伊 蜀日 無 哩 夙 晏晏, 無 哩 早早 就
 i^{33} $tsek^{5-2}$ zek^{5} bo^{55-22} le^{33} i^{35-21} $uā^{213-42}$ $uā^{213}$, bo^{55-22} le^{33} tsa^{42-35} tsa^{42} tsu^{35-21}
 3SG everyday NEG TOP sleep late NEG TOP early then
 出門, 過 唔 正常。
 $tshuk^{2-5}$ $muŋ^{55}$, kue^{213-42} $ŋ^{35-21}$ $tsiā^{213-53}$ $siō^{55}$.
 go out very NEG normal
 ‘He goes to bed very late or goes out very early every day. It is very abnormal.’

無 bo^{55}_3 and the topic marker 哩 le^{33} tend to lexicalize as one word and form the alternative sentence pattern 無哩 bo^{55-22} le^{33}無哩 bo^{55-22} le^{33}, which is equivalent to 要麼 $yaome$要麼 $yaome$ ‘(either)... or...’ in Mandarin.

2.4 無 bo^{55}_4 in proposal constructions

無 bo^{55}_4 is used to introduce a proposal and may be followed by the topic marker 哩 le^{33} . Because it indicates a suggestion, it can only be used in non-realistic contexts, e.g.

- (17)

我 唔 閑 無變 去, 無 (哩) 汝 去?
ua⁴² m³⁵⁻²¹ āi⁵⁵ bo⁵⁵⁻²² pian²¹³⁻⁴² khuu²¹³, bo⁵⁵ (le³³) lu⁴² khuu²¹³⁻²¹.
1SG NEG available unable go NEG (TOP) 2SG go
'I have no time and cannot go. How about you go instead?'
- (18)

無 (哩) 乞 我 試 下 睇?
bo⁵⁵ (le³³) khe²⁻⁵ ua⁴²⁻²¹ tshi²¹³⁻²¹ e³⁵⁻²¹ thōi⁴²⁻²¹³.
NEG (TOP) permit 1SG try CL look
'How about letting me have a try?'

To summarize, the logical relations among and other features of the four constructions involving 無 bo^{55} are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The four constructions of the conjunctive 無 bo^{55}

	Sentence pattern	Logical equivalence	P	Q
Conditional construction	P, 無 bo^{55}_1 Q	If not-P, then Q (not- P→Q)	Protasis	Apodosis
Cause and effect construction	P, 無 bo^{55}_2 Q	P, so Q	Cause	Effect
Disjunctive construction	無 bo^{55}_3 哩 le^{33} P, 無 bo^{55}_3 哩 le^{33} Q	P, or Q (P∨Q / P∨Q)	Alternative	Alternative
Proposal construction	無 bo^{55}_4 (哩 le^{33}) P	How about P	Proposal	

3. Evolution of 無 bo^{55}

In the previous section, we described the conjunctive functions of 無 bo^{55} . In this section, we discuss how 無 bo^{55} derives these functions from a negative.

3.1 Negative > negative conditional conjunctive

Throughout the history of the Chinese language, it is common for a negative phrase to develop into a negative conditional conjunctive, in which context 要不 *yaobu* ‘if not’, and 否則 *fouze* ‘or else’, are most similar to 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in the Jieyang dialect. The difference is that the former two words are derived from a combination of a negative particle and a conjunctive. 要不 *yaobu* is lexicalized by the conditional particle 要 *yao* ‘if’, and the negative particle 不 *bu* ‘not’, while 否則 *fouze* is lexicalized by the negative particle 否 *fou* ‘not’, and the conjunction 則 *ze* ‘then’. 要 *yao* ‘if’, and 則 *ze* ‘then’, are originally conditional conjunctives; thus, it is unsurprising that 要不 *yaobu* and 否則 *fouze* have evolved into negative conditional conjunctives. However, the conjunctive 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in the Jieyang dialect is special. It is derived from a negative particle alone without the inclusion of any conjunctive element. As such, how does 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in the Jieyang dialect develop a similar conjunctive function to that of 要不 *yaobu* and 否則 *fouze* in Mandarin?

As mentioned above, 無₁ can be interpreted as ‘if it is not so’, which is equivalent to an if-conditional with a negative protasis, so (6) can be rewritten as follows:

- (19) 伊 學習 過 認真, 若是 無 學習 過
*i*³³ *hak*⁵⁻² *sip*⁵ *kue*²¹³⁻⁴² *dzerŋ*²²⁻²¹ *tseŋ*³³, *nai*²²⁻²¹ *si*³⁵⁻²¹ *bo*⁵⁵⁻²² *hak*⁵⁻² *sip*⁵ *kue*²¹³⁻⁴²
 3SG study very conscientious if NEG study very
 認真, 無變 考 第一名。
*dzerŋ*²²⁻²¹ *tseŋ*³³, *bo*⁵⁵⁻²² *pian*²¹³⁻⁴² *kəu*⁴²⁻²⁴ *toi*³⁵⁻²¹ *ek*²⁻⁵ *miā*⁵⁵.
 conscientious unable examine first place
 ‘He studied very hard. If he had not studied very hard, he couldn’t get first place’.

In (19), the fact that “study very hard” follows 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in the second clause is a repetition of the preceding clause, which is in fact redundant. To avoid redundancy, it can be omitted:

- (19') 伊 學習 過 認真, 若是 無, 無變
*i*³³ *hak*⁵⁻² *sip*⁵ *kue*²¹³⁻⁴² *dzerŋ*²²⁻²¹ *tseŋ*³³, *nai*²²⁻²¹ *si*³⁵⁻²¹ *bo*⁵⁵, *bo*⁵⁵⁻²² *pian*²¹³⁻⁴²
 3SG study very conscientious if NEG unable
 考 第一名。
*kəu*⁴²⁻²⁴ *toi*³⁵⁻²¹ *ek*²⁻⁵ *miā*⁵⁵.
 examine first place
 ‘He studied very hard; if not, he couldn’t get first place’.

As in (19'), after the omission of the repeated part, 無 *bo*⁵⁵ stands for the negative counterpart of the preceding clause by itself.

However, in the Jieyang dialect, conjunctions are not necessarily used, and the logical relation between clauses usually depends on context.³ Therefore, 若 (是) *nai*²²⁻²¹(*si*³⁵⁻²¹) in (19') can be reduced further:

- (19') 伊 學習 過 認真, 無, 無變 考
*i*³³ *hak*⁵⁻²*sip*⁵ *kue*²¹³⁻⁴² *dzeŋ*²²⁻²¹*tseŋ*³³, *bo*⁵⁵, *bo*⁵⁵⁻²²*piaŋ*²¹³⁻⁴² *khau*⁴²⁻²⁴
 3SG study very conscientious NEG unable examine
 第一名。
*toi*³⁵⁻²¹*ek*²⁻⁵*miā*⁵⁵.
 first place
 'He studied very hard; if not, he couldn't have gotten first place.'

Thus, 無 *bo*⁵⁵ occurs independently between two clauses, following the same pattern as that of 否 *fou* 'not', in ancient Chinese. In ancient Chinese, the negative 否 *fou* can be used on its own without any conjunctive. For example:

- (20) 願 君 留意 臣 之 計。 否, 必 為 二子 所
Yuan jun liu yi chen zhi ji. fou, bi wei er zi suo
 hope 2SG pay attention 1SG POSS scheme NEG must COP CL person NMLZ
 擒 矣。
*qin yi*⁴
 capture SFP
 'I suggest that you, your majesty, pay attention to my scheme; otherwise, you will certainly be captured by the two persons.' (《史記(Shiji)》)

3. The logical relation between clauses in the Jieyang dialect usually depends on context rather than being marked explicitly by conjunctive words. For example:

- (i) 伊 呔 伊 愛 來 個, 結局 無 來。
*i*³³ *tā*²¹³⁻⁴² *i*³³ *āi*²¹³⁻⁵³ *lai*⁵⁵ *kai*⁵⁵⁻²², *kak*²⁻⁵*kek*⁵ *bo*⁵⁵⁻²² *lai*⁵⁵.
 3SG say 3SG want come SFP result NEG come
 'He said he was going to come, (but) ended up not coming.'

When translating from Mandarin to the Jieyang dialect, we always find that no conjunctive is needed or that we have to borrow conjunctives from Mandarin, such as 因為 *yinwei* 'because', 但是 *danshi* 'but', or 除非 *chufei* 'unless'.

4. Following convention, I transcribe the sentences from historical texts included here into modern standard Chinese.

- (21) 慎 慮 而 從 之 者, 此 己 志 也, 欲 其 必 有
Shen lü er cong zhi zhe, ci ji zhi ye, yü qi bi you
 careful consider and follow 3SG NMLZ this self will SFP want 3SG surely have
 成 也。否, 謂 非 己 志 也, 孰 慮 而 從 之,
cheng ye. fou, wei fei ji zhi ye, shu lü er cong zhi,
 succeed SFP NEG call NEG self will SFP cautious consider and follow 3SG
 又 計 於 己 利 害 也。
you ji yu ji li hai ye.
 also calculate on self gain loss SFP
 ‘The one who takes action after careful consideration, it is his own will, he
 wants it to succeed; if not (if it differs from his own will), he takes action
 deeply considering his own benefits.’ (《禮記(Liji)》)

In (20) and (21), 否 *fou* occurs alone as a negative clause, just as in the case of 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in (19”).

However, the usage of 否 *fou*, as in (20) and (21), is rare in ancient Chinese. It often occurs with 則 *ze* ‘then’, as shown in (22). Therefore, 否 *fou* did not evolve into a conjunctive on its own but combined with 則 *ze* and lexicalized into the conjunction 否則 *fouze* ‘or else’.

- (22) 故 君 使 其 臣, 得 志 則 慎 慮 而
gu jun shi qi chen, dezhi ze shen lü er
 so monarch employ POSS.3SG minister succeed then careful consider and
 從 之; 否, 則 孰 慮 而 從 之。
cong zhi; fou, ze shu lü er cong zhi.
 follow 3SG NEG then cautious consider and follow 3SG
 ‘So, when the monarch asks his ministers for advice, if they are ascendant, he
 (the monarch) should carefully consider before following it; if they are not, he
 should deeply consider before following it.’ (《禮記(Liji)》)

In contrast, in the Jieyang dialect, 無 *bo*⁵⁵ is not lexicalized via the conditional particle 就 *tsu*³⁵ ‘then’, as in the case of 否則 *fouze* in Mandarin because 就 *tsu*³⁵ ‘then’, can be used flexibly in different syntactic positions, as shown in (23) below.

- (23) a. 猛 猛 去, 無 就 著 乞 我 拍。
mẽ⁴²⁻³⁵ mẽ⁴² khu²¹³, bo⁵⁵ tsu³⁵⁻²¹ tio⁷⁵⁻² khe⁷²⁻³ ua⁴²⁻²⁴ pha⁷².
 Quickly go NEG then must PASS 1SG beat
 ‘Go quickly, or (you) will have to be beaten by me then.’
 b. 猛 猛 去, 無 汝 就 著 乞 我 拍。
mẽ⁴²⁻³⁵ mẽ⁴² khu²¹³, bo⁵⁵ lu⁴² tsu³⁵⁻²¹ tio⁷⁵⁻² khe⁷²⁻³ ua⁴²⁻²⁴ pha⁷².
 quickly go NEG 2SG then must PASS 1SG beat
 ‘Go quickly, or you will have to be beaten by me then.’

- c. 猛猛 去, 無 汝 等下 就 著 乞 我 拍。
 $m\bar{e}^{42-35} m\bar{e}^{42} kh\bar{u}^{213}$, $bo^{55} lu^{42} ta\eta^{42} e^{21} tsu^{35-21} tio^{6-2} khe^{2-3} ua^{42-24} pha^{22}$.
 quickly go NEG 2SG later then must PASS 1SG beat
 ‘Go quickly, or you will have to be beaten by me then.’

Additionally, 無 bo^{55} is not lexicalized via 若是 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21}$ ‘if’. 若是 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21} bo^{55}$ in (19') can be analyzed only as a conditional clause but not a conjunction, because (I) it must be followed by a pause (in written language, a comma) and because (II) other components can be inserted between 若是 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21}$ and 無 bo^{55} , e.g., 若是伊無 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21} i^{33} bo^{55}$ ‘if he (does) not’. Therefore, 若是 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21}$ and 無 bo^{55} remain two separate words: 若是 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21}$ is a conjunction meaning ‘if’, while 無 bo^{55} is a negative verb or adverb.

Two reasons explain why 若是無 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21} bo^{55}$ is not lexicalized:

- I. Because the logical relations between clauses are often established implicitly in context rather than expressed explicitly by logical-grammatical connectors, the conditional conjunctive 若是 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21}$ ‘if’ is not used frequently in this construction in the Jieyang dialect.
- II. There are three syllables in 若是無 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21} bo^{55}$. It is easier to lexicalize a two-syllable fragment than a three-syllable fragment.

Some readers may consider that this conjunctive function of 無 bo^{55} involves the ellipsis of 若是 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21}$ ‘if’. However, 若是無 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21} bo^{55}$ is different from 要不 *yaobu* in Mandarin. Primarily, the former is **not** a conjunction, so the conjunction 無 bo^{55} cannot develop from the ellipsis of 若是 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21}$ in the 若是無 $nai^{22-21} si^{35-21} bo^{55}$ fragment.

Therefore, 無 bo^{55} is not combined with any other elements, but develops into a conjunctive independently. As in (19''), 無 bo^{55} occurs between two clauses, gradually absorbs meaning from the context and develops into a conjunctive particle. This grammaticalization mechanism is called **absorption of context** (Bybee et al. 1994). Absorption of context differs from inference in that the meaning absorbed by an element is derived from the linguistic context, the context of the clause and its function in the sentence, rather than simply from the general pragmatic context (Bybee et al. 1994). In (19''), 無 bo^{55} occurs alone without any conjunctives, so the logical relation between the clauses is not shown explicitly by a conjunction but inferred from the specific context. Because of its special syntactic position (i.e. the fact that it is located between two clauses that stand in a relation of “condition and result under the opposite condition”), which is suitable for developing a conjunctive in the language, 無 bo^{55} absorbs the implied mean-

ing of ‘if’, and is then conventionalized and becomes a conjunctive particle. As a conjunctive, 無 bo^{55}_1 transforms into a negative operator as well as a conditional operator (If+NEG).

In summation, the difference between 無 bo^{55} in the Jieyang dialect and 否 *fou* in ancient Chinese pertains to the fact that 無 bo^{55} is often used independently, while 否 *fou* often takes the conjunctive 則 *ze*. 要不 *yaobu* in Mandarin is also a combination of a negative and a conjunctive due to their frequent co-occurrence. The origins of 要不 *yaobu*, 否則 *fouze* and 無 bo^{55} are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The origins of 要不 *yaobu*, 否則 *fouze* and 無 bo^{55}

	Conjunctive element ‘if’	Negative element	Conjunctive element ‘then’
要不 <i>yaobu</i>	要 <i>yao</i>	不 <i>bu</i>	
否則 <i>fouze</i>		否 <i>fou</i>	則 <i>ze</i>
無 bo^{55}		無 bo^{55}	

3.2 Negative conditional conjunctive > cause and effect conjunctive

After evolving into a negative conditional conjunctive, 無 bo^{55} further evolves into a cause and effect conjunctive. This evolution occurs when Q in “P, 無 bo^{55}_1 Q” is a rhetorical question. When the rhetorical tone of Q is lost, its meaning shifts to the opposite polarity, and the logical relation between P and Q also changes; accordingly, the negative conditional construction “P, 無 bo^{55}_1 Q” turns into the cause and effect construction “P, 無 bo^{55}_2 Q”. The condition and result relation occasionally implies a cause and effect relation; for example, in the sentence “*If you touch that wire, you will get an electric shock*”, *touch that wire* is the cause of *get an electric shock*. Therefore, when the meaning of the phrase shifts to the opposite polarity, a negative conditional relation can be changed into a cause and effect relation.

To explore this evolutionary process, we first compare the following instances:

- (24) a. 硬否 個 假 個, 無, 無 照 便。
 $\eta\bar{e}^{35-21}hou^{42-35}kai^{55}ke^{42}kai^{55-22}, bo^{55}_1bo^{55-22}tsio^{213-42}p\bar{h}i^{33}$.
 definitely COP false SFP NEG NEG so cheap
 ‘It must be fake; otherwise, it would not be so cheap.’
- b. 硬否 個 假 個, 無, 照 便。
 $\eta\bar{e}^{35-21}hou^{42-35}kai^{55}ke^{42}kai^{55-22}, bo^{55}_2tsio^{213-42}p\bar{h}i^{33}$.
 definitely COP false SFP NEG SO cheap
 ‘It must be fake; that’s why it’s so cheap.’

- (25) A: 伊 學習 過 認真。
*i*³³ *hak*⁵⁻² *sip*⁵ *kue*²¹³⁻⁴² *dzen*²²⁻²¹ *tseŋ*³³.
 3SG study very conscientious
 ‘He studied really seriously.’
- B: a. 無₁ 伊 無變 考 第一名。
*bo*⁵⁵ *i*³³ *bo*⁵⁵⁻²² *piaŋ*²¹³⁻⁴² *kʰau*⁴²⁻²⁴ *toi*³⁵⁻²¹ *ek*²⁻⁵ *miã*⁵⁵.
 NEG 3SG unable examine first place
 ‘Otherwise, he would not get first place.’
- b. 無₂ 伊 有變 考 第一名。
*bo*⁵⁵ *i*³³ *u*³⁵⁻²¹ *piaŋ*²¹³⁻⁴² *kʰau*⁴²⁻²⁴ *toi*³⁵⁻²¹ *ek*²⁻⁵ *miã*⁵⁵.
 NEG 3SG able examine first place
 ‘So, he could get first place.’

In (24), we find that 照便 *tso*²¹³⁻⁴² *phĩ*³³ ‘so cheap’, which is underlined in (24b), is the opposing counterpart of 無照便 ‘not so cheap’, in (24a). The case is similar in (25). We also find that (24b) and (25b) can be transformed into rhetorical questions by adding the interrogative 做呢 *tso*²¹³⁻⁴² *ni*⁵⁵ ‘why’:

- (24') 硬否 個 假 個, 無 做呢 照 便?
*ŋẽ*³⁵⁻²¹ *hou*⁴²⁻³⁵ *kai*⁵⁵ *ke*⁴² *kai*⁵⁵⁻²², *bo*⁵⁵ *tso*²¹³⁻⁴² *ni*⁵⁵⁻²² *tso*²¹³⁻⁴² *phĩ*³³?
 definitely COP false SFP NEG why so cheap
 ‘It must be fake; otherwise, why is it so cheap?’
- (25') 無 伊 做呢 有變 考 第一名?
*bo*⁵⁵ *i*³³ *tso*²¹³⁻⁴² *ni*⁵⁵⁻²² *u*³⁵⁻²¹ *piaŋ*²¹³⁻⁴² *kʰau*⁴²⁻²⁴ *toi*³⁵⁻²¹ *ek*²⁻⁵ *miã*⁵⁵?
 NEG 3SG why able examine first place
 ‘Otherwise, why could he get first place?’

A rhetorical question has the illocutionary force of an assertion featuring the opposite polarity from its literal meaning. That is, a positive rhetorical question has the illocutionary force of a negative assertion, and a rhetorical negative question has the illocutionary force of a positive assertion (Han 2002).

In the Jieyang dialect, 做呢 *tso*²¹³⁻⁴² *ni*⁵⁵ means ‘why/how’ in ordinary questions, as shown below:

- (26) 汝 做呢 又 遲到?
*lu*⁴² *tso*²¹³⁻⁴² *ni*⁵⁵⁻²² *iu*³⁵ *tʃhi*⁵⁵⁻²² *kau*²¹³⁻²¹?
 2SG why again late
 ‘Why are you late again?’

Furthermore, 做呢 *tso*²¹³⁻⁴² *ni*⁵⁵ can have a rhetorical use, as in (24') and (25'), each of which has the syntactic form of a question but does not demand an answer. Since a rhetorical question is an assertion featuring the opposite polarity from what is apparently asked, 做呢照便 *tso*²¹³⁻⁴² *ni*⁵⁵⁻²² *tso*²¹³⁻⁴² *phĩ*³³ is equivalent to 無

照便 $bo^{55-22}tsio^{213-42}phĩ^{33}$ in (24a), and 伊做呢有變考第一名 equivalent to 伊無變考第一名 in (25a). Thus, the relation between the two clauses is also a negative conditional; thus, in the rhetorical questions (24') and (25'), 無 bo^{55} remains 無 bo^{55}_1 .

If 做呢 $tso^{213-42}ni^{55}$ 'why' is removed from (24') and (25') and the last syllables of the sentences are uttered in an elongated or raising tone, the sentences can remain rhetorical questions. Therefore, by removing 做呢 $tso^{213-42}ni^{55}$, the sentences can be interpreted either as rhetorical questions or as indicatives according to different tones:

- (24") a. 硬否 個 假 個, 無₁ 做呢 照 便?
 $ŋe^{35-21}hou^{42-35} kai^{55} ke^{42} kai^{55-22}, bo^{55} \overline{tso^{213-42}ni^{55-22}} tsio^{213-42} phĩ^{33}?$
 definitely COP false SFP NEG why so cheap
 'It must be fake; otherwise, why is it so cheap?'
 b. 硬否 個 假 個, 無₁ 照 便?
 $ŋe^{35-21}hou^{42-35} kai^{55} ke^{42} kai^{55-22}, bo^{55} tsio^{213-42} phĩ^{33}?$
 definitely COP false SFP NEG so cheap
 'It must be fake; otherwise, why is it so cheap?'
 c. 硬否 個 假 個, 無₂ 照 便。
 $ŋe^{35-21}hou^{42-35} kai^{55} ke^{42} kai^{55-22}, bo^{55} tsio^{213-42} phĩ^{33}.$
 definitely COP false SFP NEG so cheap
 'It must be fake, that's why it is so cheap.'

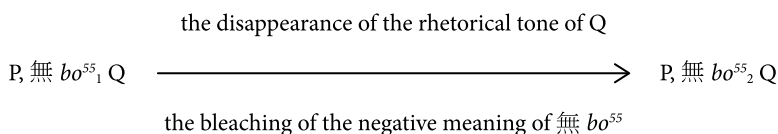
In (24"a), the interrogative 做呢 $tso^{213-42}ni^{55}$ is used explicitly, so (24"a) is obviously a rhetorical question. In (24"b), after removing 做呢 $tso^{213-42}ni^{55}$, the illocutionary force of the rhetorical question is weakened, but it remains a rhetorical question as long as the rhetorical tone continues to be used. In this case, 無 bo^{55} is still a negative conditional conjunctive, i.e. 無 bo^{55}_1 . (24"c) is an indicative that is uttered in a falling tone. Without the illocutionary force of a rhetorical question, the meaning returns to the positive polarity, the relation between the two clauses becomes a cause and effect relation, and 無 bo^{55}_1 changes into 無 bo^{55}_2 .

(24") shows the bridging context for the development from 無 bo^{55}_1 to 無 bo^{55}_2 , which can be interpreted in two different ways according to the different tones that can be used. Furthermore, in (27) below, which is the switch context of this development, the clause after 無 can be understood only as an indicative rather than as a rhetorical question, and 無 bo^{55} can be interpreted only as 無 bo^{55}_2 .

- (27) A: 聽 了 艱苦 死。
thiã liau⁴² kaŋ³³ khou⁴²⁻³⁵ si⁴².
 listen ASP unwell DC
 ‘It was very uncomfortable to hear.’
- B1: 無 我 無 愛 □ 汝 咀。
bo⁵⁵ ua⁴² bo⁵⁵⁻²² āi²¹³⁻⁴² kai⁵⁵⁻²² lu⁴²⁻²⁴ tã²¹³.
 NEG 1SG NEG want to 2SG speak
 ‘So, I did not tell you about that.’ / That is why I didn’t tell you.’
- B2: ? 無 我 做呢 無 愛 □ 汝 咀?
bo⁵⁵ ua⁴² tso²¹³⁻⁴² ni⁵⁵⁻²² bo⁵⁵⁻²² āi²¹³⁻⁴² kai⁵⁵⁻²² lu⁴²⁻²⁴ tã²¹³?
 NEG 1SG why NEG want to 2SG speak
 ‘Otherwise, why wouldn’t I tell you about that?’
- B3: *無 我 無 愛 □ 汝 咀?
bo⁵⁵ ua⁴² bo⁵⁵⁻²² āi²¹³⁻⁴² kai⁵⁵⁻²² lu⁴²⁻²⁴ tã²¹³?
 NEG 1SG NEG want to 2SG speak
 ‘Otherwise, why wouldn’t I tell you about that?’

When the rhetorical tone is lost, the grammatical function of 無 *bo⁵⁵* shifts from expressing the negative hypothetical to “cause and effect”.

In other words, the evolution from 無 *bo⁵⁵₁* to 無 *bo⁵⁵₂* is a process through which both the rhetorical tone and the negative meaning of 無 *bo₁* are lost. Because two negatives make a positive, the logical relation between P and Q can be maintained correctly only when the rhetorical tone and the negative meaning of 無 *bo⁵⁵* are lost simultaneously.



Thus, the evolution occurs in contexts in which Q is a rhetorical question. When the interrogative and rhetorical tone fade or even disappear, the meaning of Q shifts to the opposite polarity, and the logical relation between P and Q also changes.

When comparing the evolution of 無 *bo⁵⁵* in the Jieyang dialect with that of 要不 *yaobu* in Mandarin, we find that 要不 *yaobu* exhibits a similar evolutionary path to that of 無 *bo⁵⁵* in the Jieyang dialect.

In Early Mandarin Chinese, 要不 *yaobu* is a conjunction indicating negative hypothetical relations (Cao & Zhang 2009). See the following examples:

- (28) 虧 我 進 去 問 聲, 要不, 這 不 又 做 下 不是
kui wo jin qu wen sheng, yaobu, zhe bu you zuo xia bushi
 fortunately 1SG enter PVC ask CL otherwise this NEG again do PVC wrong
 了。
le.
 ASP
 ‘Luckily, I went in and asked; otherwise, something wrong would be done
 again.’ (《醒世姻緣傳(Xingshi Yinyuan Zhuan)》)

Between the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic of China, 要不 *yaobu* developed a rhetorical use:

- (29) 其實 兩 次 杭州 搗, 傷 人、 弄 死 人, 都 是 這
qishi liang ci Hangzhou lei, shang ren, nong si ren, dou shi zhe
 in fact two CL Hangzhou arena hurt people make die people all COP this
 張旺, 要不 他 怎麼 叫 壞 包事 呢?
Zhang Wang, yaobu ta zenme jiao huai baoshi ne?
 Zhang Wang otherwise 3SG why call bad baoshi Q
 ‘In fact, it is Zhang Wang who hurt and killed people in the two Hangzhou
 rings; otherwise, why would he be called ‘Bad Baoshi?’
 (《雍正劍俠圖(Yongzheng Jian Xia Tu)》)

Given their high frequency of use and the simplification of the process of inference, interrogatives such as 怎麼 *zenme* ‘why/how’, are gradually reduced, and the illocutionary force of the rhetorical question weakens (Shi 2005), as shown in the following instances:

- (30) 我 這 個 人 哪, 滿 身 都 是 缺點, 又 粗魯 又 傻,
wo zhe ge ren na, man shen dou shi quedian, you culu you sha,
 1SG this CL person ASP whole body all COP fault also rude also stupid
 要不 人家 都 跟 我 叫 傻子 呢, 你 可能 不 了解 我。
yaobu renjia dou gen wo jiao shazi ne, ni keneng bu liaojie wo.
 otherwise others all DISP 1SG call fool SFP 2SG maybe NEG know 1SG
 ‘(Li Tie quickly says ‘OK. OK.) I am full of faults, rudeness and stupidity; otherwise, why did others call me a fool? You may not know me.’
 (雪克Xue Ke 《戰鬥的青春(Zhandou de Qingchun)》)
- (31) 要不 我 頭 一 眼 就 看 著 您 不 凡 呢!
yaobu wo tou yi yan jiu kan zhe nin bufan ne!
 otherwise 1SG first one CL then see ASP 2SG special SFP
 ‘Otherwise, why did I have a hunch that you were extraordinary at first
 glance!’ (鄧友梅Deng Youmei 《那五(Na Wu)》)

Although interrogatives such as 怎麼 *zenme* ‘why/how’, have disappeared, the final particle 呢 *ne*, which expresses an interrogative tone, occurs at the end of the sentences; thus, the rhetorical tone more-or-less remains. Tang & Ma (2016) believe that 呢 *ne* has been reanalyzed and has no interrogative function. However, either question marks or other sorts of punctuations have been observed with respect to the “要不 *yaobu*.....呢 *ne*” sentence pattern in written examples, demonstrating that this sentence pattern is still undergoing development and that the tone remains unstable. Even the same writer may use different types of punctuation, such as the well-known contemporary writer Wang Shuo:

- (32) 嘿，弟弟 也 算 小 知識份子， 要不 跟 你 有
hei, didi ye suan xiao zhishifenzi, yaobu gen ni you
 hey younger brother also reckon small intelligentsia otherwise with 2SG have
 話 說？
hua shuo?
 word speak
 ‘Hey, younger brother is also a bit of an intellectual; otherwise, how would he
 have topics to talk about with you?’
 (王朔Wang Shuo 《無人喝彩(Wu Ren Hecai)》)
- (33) 這 點 倒 跟 你們 家 馬銳 有點 像， 要不
zhe dian dao gen nimen jia Ma Rui youdian xiang, yaobu
 this point actually with 2SG.PL home Ma Rui little like otherwise
 臭味相投 呢。
chouweixiangtou ne.
 same rotten tastes SFP
 ‘He is a bit like your Ma Rui in this sense; otherwise, how would they share the
 same rotten tastes?’ (王朔Wang Shuo 《我是你爸爸(Wo Shi Ni Baba)》)

The writer uses a question mark in (32) but a period in (33). The use of punctuation reflects the writer’s judgment regarding the tone of the sentences. If the same writer uses both question marks and other sorts of punctuation, then the rhetorical tone remains in these sentences to some degree. Even in contemporary Mandarin, the 要不 *yaobu*-clauses retain a certain rhetorical tone and have not developed into indicatives as in the case of the 無 *bo*⁵⁵-clauses in the Jieyang dialect; therefore, a literal translation of the following sentence into Mandarin is ungrammatical:

Jieyang dialect

A: 聽 了 艱苦 死。
thiā³³ liau⁴² kaŋ³³ khou⁴²⁻³⁵ si⁴²⁻²¹.
 hear ASP sad DC

‘It is very sad to hear about it.’

B: 無 我 無 愛 個= 汝 咀。
bo⁵⁵ ua⁴² bo⁵⁵⁻²² āi²¹³⁻⁴² kai⁵⁵⁻²² lw⁴²⁻²⁴ tā²¹³.
 NEG 1SG NEG want to 2SG speak
 ‘So, I did not tell you about that.’

Mandarin

A: 聽 了 很 難受。
ting le hen nanshou.
 hear ASP very sad

B: *要不 我 不 告 訴 你。
**yaobu wo bu gaosu ni.*
 *NEG 1SG NEG tell 2SG

Since a rhetorical tone expressing a meaning with the opposite polarity remains, the two clauses connected by 要不 *yaobu* are still in a negative conditional relation. Therefore, the degree of grammaticalization exhibited by 要不 *yaobu* remains the same as that shown by 無 *bo⁵⁵₁*. In contrast, in the Jieyang dialect, since there is no final rhetorical particle corresponding to 呢 *ne* in Mandarin, after 做呢 *tso²¹³⁻⁴²ni⁵⁵* is lost, the rhetorical tone in 無 *bo⁵⁵* clauses fades away.

3.3 Negative conditional conjunctive > disjunctive conjunctive

The disjunctive conjunctive 無 *bo⁵⁵₃* is derived from the negative conditional conjunctive 無 *bo⁵⁵₁*. 無 *bo⁵⁵₁* means ‘if not’, thereby introducing a consequence featuring the opposite polarity of the preceding condition. Sometimes this reference to the opposite polarity can be regarded as a way of providing an alternative. As Cohen (2021: 158) notes, alternative states of affairs are viewed as mutually exclusive possibilities, i.e. as merely potential or possible states – since only one of them will eventually be realized (i.e. they are very similar to mutually exclusive conditionals). The following examples have the implication that Q is an alternative to P.

- (34) 拍 電話 叫 伊 來, 無 汝 就 家自 去
pha²²⁻³ tian³⁵⁻²¹ ue²² kio²¹³⁻⁴² i³³ lai⁵⁵, bo⁵⁵ lu⁴² tsu³⁵⁻²¹ ka³³ti³³ khu²¹³⁻⁴²
 call telephone ask 3SG come NEG 2SG then self go
 □ 伊。
tshue²² i³³⁻²².
 find 3SG
 ‘Call him and ask him to come, or you should go visit him yourself’.

- (35) 伊 咁 下 個 月 就 結 婚, 無 就
i³³ tā²¹³⁻⁴² e³⁵⁻²¹ kai⁵⁵⁻²² ŋueŋ⁵ tsu³⁵⁻²¹ kak²⁻³ huŋ³³, bo⁵⁵ tsu³⁵⁻²¹
 3SG say next CL month then marry NEG then
 分手。
huŋ³³ tshiu⁴².
 break up
 'He said that they would get married next month, or they would break up.'

The relation between the two clauses in (34–35) is a negative conditional, but it also implicates a disjunctive relation. Therefore, sentences such as (34–35) can be rewritten in accordance with the typical disjunctive sentence pattern 無哩 *bo⁵⁵⁻²² le³³* 無哩 *bo⁵⁵⁻²² le³³*:

- (34') 無 哩 拍 電話 叫 伊 來, 無 哩 汝 就
bo⁵⁵⁻²² le³³ phaŋ²⁻³ tianŋ³⁵⁻²¹ ue²² kio²¹³⁻⁴² i³³ lai⁵⁵, bo⁵⁵⁻²² le³³ lu⁴² tsu³⁵⁻²¹
 NEG TOP call telephone ask 3SG come NEG TOP 2SG then
 家自 去 口 伊。
ka³³ ti³³ khu²¹³⁻⁴² tshue²² i³³⁻²².
 self go find 3SG
 'Call him, or you should go visit him yourself.'

- (35') 伊 咁 無 哩 下 個 月 就 結 婚, 無 哩
i³³ tā²¹³⁻⁴² bo⁵⁵⁻²² le³³ e³⁵⁻²¹ kai⁵⁵⁻²² ŋueŋ⁵ tsu³⁵⁻²¹ kak²⁻³ huŋ³³, bo⁵⁵⁻²² le³³
 3SG say NEG TOP next CL month then marry NEG TOP
 就 分手。
tsu³⁵⁻²¹ huŋ³³ tshiu⁴².
 then break up
 'He said that they would get married next month, or they would break up.'

Despite the implication of an alternative relation, (34–35) belong to the negative conditional construction “P, 無 *bo⁵⁵* ₁ Q”, which emphasizes P and is thus asymmetric between the two clauses. The speaker favors the preceding alternative: in (34), the speaker suggests that the addressee should choose 拍電話叫伊來 ‘call him to come’, and in (35), the speaker suggests that the addressee should choose 下個月就結婚 ‘marry next month’. When there is no inclination to choose one of the two alternatives, the speaker uses 無 before both clauses, as in (36). In this situation, 無 becomes a disjunctive connective.

- (36) 無 哩 口日 去, 無 哩 口日 去。
bo⁵⁵⁻²² le³³ keŋ³³ zek⁵ khu²¹³⁻²¹, bo⁵⁵⁻²² le³³ muā²¹³⁻⁵³ zek⁵ khu²¹³⁻²¹.
 NEG TOP today go NEG TOP tomorrow go
 'Go either today or tomorrow.'

In the disjunctive construction, the order of P and Q is reversible, so (36) can be rewritten as (36') with the same meaning:

- (36') 無 哩 □日 去, 無 哩 □日 去。
*bo*⁵⁵⁻²² *le*³³ *muā*²¹³⁻⁵³ *zek*⁵ *khui*²¹³⁻²¹, *bo*⁵⁵⁻²² *le*³³ *keŋ*³³ *zek*⁵ *khui*²¹³⁻²¹.
 NEG TOP tomorrow go NEG TOP today go
 'Go either tomorrow or today.'

There is a close and affinitive relationship between the negative conditional function and the disjunctive function. In addition to 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in the Jieyang dialect, 要不 *yaobu* in Mandarin, or in English and *ulašūma* in Old Babylonian Akkadian (Cohen 2021) both have these two functions.

要不 *yaobu* in Mandarin:

- (37) a. negative conditional construction
 快點 跑, 要不 就 要 遲到 了。
kuaidian pao, yaobu jiu yao chidao le.
 quick run otherwise then will late ASP
 'Run quickly, or you'll be late.'
- b. disjunctive construction
 要不 你 去, 要不 我 去。
yaobu ni qu, yaobu wo qu.
 DISJ 2SG go DISJ 1SG go
 'Either you go or I go.'

Or in English:

- (38) a. negative conditional construction
 It's raining! Come inside, or you'll catch a cold!
- b. disjunctive construction
 He might get cancer, or be hit by a bus, or God knows what.

(Cited from <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/or>)

Ulašūma in Old Babylonian Akkadian:

- (39) a. negative conditional construction
bēl-ū [sic] arn-im šūrēm Ulašūma ana PN
 owner-NOM.PL sin-GEN direct.IMP.DAT.1SG OR ELSE to PN
idiš-šunūti-ma l-i-dūk-ū-šunūti
 give.IMP-ACC.3MPL-CONN JUSS-3-kill-MPL-ACC.3MPL
 'Direct the rebels to me, or else give them to PN, and they should kill them.'
 (Cohen 2021: 152)

b. disjunctive construction

[ʃu]mma PN [la] illak ulū n-idāk-šū u¹la¹šūma
 IF PN NEG 3SG.GO.NPST DISJ 1PL-kill.NPST-ACC.3MSG DISJ
 ina kuss-i-šū n-udappar-šū
 from throne-GEN-GEN.3MSG 1PL-remove.NPST-ACC.3MSG
 ‘If PN does [not] come, either (= ulū) we kill him or (= ulašūma) we drive
 him off his throne.’ (Cohen 2021: 158)

3.4 Disjunctive conjunctive > proposal conjunctive

Providing a suggestion is also essentially providing a choice (Wang Bo 2019). 無 bo^{55}_3 is used to elicit two or more choices, and when there is only one choice, the only choice becomes a suggestion. Let us compare the following examples:

(40) 【three persons present】

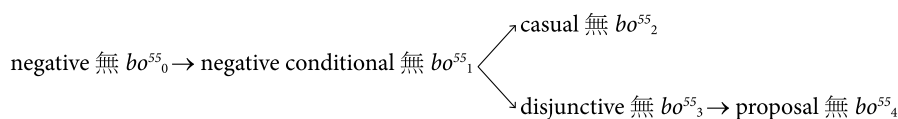
我 無變 去, 無 哩 汝 去, 無 哩 伊
 ua⁴² bo⁵⁵⁻²² pian²¹³⁻⁴² khuu²¹³ bo⁵⁵⁻²² le³³ lu⁴² khuu²¹³⁻²¹, bo⁵⁵⁻²² le³³ i³³
 1SG cannot go NEG TOP 2SG go NEG TOP 3SG
 去。
 khuu²¹³⁻²¹.
 go
 ‘I cannot go. Either you go or let him go.’

(41) 【two persons present】

我 無變 去, 無 哩 汝 去?
 ua⁴² bo⁵⁵⁻²² pian²¹³⁻⁴² khuu²¹³ bo⁵⁵ le³³ lu⁴² khuu²¹³⁻²¹?
 1SG cannot go NEG TOP 2SG go
 ‘I cannot go. How about you go?’

When there are only two people on the scene, if one option is eliminated, there is only one choice left. If this choice is proposed as a suggestion, then 無 bo^{55}_3 accordingly evolves into 無 bo^{55}_4 in this context.

In conclusion, the negative conditional conjunctive 無 bo^{55}_1 is derived directly from the negative 無 bo^{55}_0 , while both 無 bo^{55}_2 and 無 bo^{55}_3 are derived from 無 bo^{55}_1 . 無 bo^{55}_4 is derived from 無 bo^{55}_3 . The evolution of 無 bo^{55} can be summarized as follows:



According to Shi (2005), Cao & Zhang (2009), Yu (2012), and others, the grammaticalization of 要不 *yaobu* and other similar conjunctives is also a process of subjectification and intersubjectification in Mandarin Chinese. The same is true for 無 *bo*⁵⁵ in the Jieyang dialect.

In the construction “P, 無 *bo*⁵⁵₁ + Q”, the speaker emphasizes that P is a necessary condition for fulfilling the consequent not-Q, while the “P, 無 *bo*⁵⁵₂ Q” construction has the discourse-pragmatic function of emphasizing that P is the precise cause of Q, so both 無 *bo*⁵⁵₁ and 無 *bo*⁵⁵₂ reflect the subjective stance or attitude of the speaker. 無 *bo*⁵⁵₃ is used to introduce two or more alternatives. When providing choices for the recipients, the construction involves intersubjectivity. 無 *bo*⁵⁵₄ indicates suggestion, which always involves intersubjectivity.

4. The typological features of the evolution of the negative in Southern Min

The development by which a negative combines with a conjunctive to form a new conjunctive is a quite common cross-linguistic phenomenon. Apart from 否則 *fouze* ‘otherwise, or else’, 要不 *yaobu* ‘if not’, and (要)不然 (*yao*)*buran* ‘if not’, in Mandarin, as mentioned above, this kind of evolution also occurs in other languages.

In Malayalam, *illenkil* ‘if not’, is a combination of the negative *illa* ‘no’, and the conjunctive *enkil* ‘if... then’:

- (42) *Satjam para illenkil ninne ja:n kollum.*
 truth tell.IMP if.not 2SG.ACC 1SG.NOM kill:FUT
 ‘Tell the truth, lest I will kill you.’ (Jacob & Mehta 2017: 41)

In Bulgarian, (*za*) *da ne*, which indicates a negative purpose clause, consists of the conjunctive *da* and the negative *ne*:

- (43) *Zatvori vratata, (za) da ne nastineš.*
 close door.DEF (for) CONJ:PART NEG get.a.cold:2SG:PRES
 ‘Close the door, lest you get a cold.’ (Kuteva et al. 2019: 292)

In addition, the particle *wālō* ‘if not’, in Biblical Hebrew consists of the connective *w- and the negative particle *lō* (Cohen 2021).

This phenomenon seems to be universal across languages. Kuteva et al. (2019) summarize this grammaticalization path as the “NEGATION>LEST-clause”. However, the conjunctives that introduce negative purpose clauses in languages such as Malayalam and Bulgarian are all derived from the combination of a negative with a conjunctive element, as in the cases of 否則 *fouze* and 要不 *yaobu*

in Mandarin. Therefore, the “NEGATION>LEST-clause” cannot explain the evolutionary pathway of *illenkil* in Malayalam, (*za*) *da ne* in Bulgarian, *wālō* in Biblical Hebrew, as well as 否則 *fouze* and 要不 *yaobu* in Mandarin precisely.

The most important result of this article is its discovery of a grammaticalization path by which a negative develops directly into a conjunctive, which is rarely found in other languages. This kind of evolution occurs not only in the Jieyang dialect but also in other Southern Min dialects. Table 3 shows our findings with respect to different varieties of Southern Min:

Table 3. The development from negative to conjunctive in Southern Min*

Functions \ Varieties	Negative conditional	Causal	Disjunctive	Proposal
揭陽 (梅雲) Jieyang (Meiyun)	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>
揭陽 (仙橋) Jieyang (Xianqiao)	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 嬲 <i>mai</i>
揭陽 Jieyang	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i>
潮州 Chaozhou	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i> , 嬲 <i>mai</i> , 嬲 唔 <i>mai m</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i> , 嬲 唔 <i>mai m</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i> , 嬲 <i>mai</i>
澄海 Chenghai	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i> , 嬲 <i>mai</i>
汕頭 Shantou	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i> , 嬲 <i>mai</i>
海豐 Haifeng	唔 <i>m</i>	唔 <i>m</i>	唔 <i>m</i>	唔 <i>m</i>
泉州 Quanzhou	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>
永春 Yongchun	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i> , 唔 <i>m</i>	無 <i>bo</i> ,
漳州 Zhangzhou	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>
茂名 Maoming	無 <i>bo</i>	–	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>
海口 Haikou	無 <i>bo</i>	–	無 <i>bo</i>	無 <i>bo</i>

* The data are collected by the first two authors through questionnaires and conversations focusing on the use of negatives in these dialects.

The data in Table 3 show that 無 *bo* is the most common example of a negative developing into a conjunctive, but the situation is more complex in the case of the Chaozhou variety, in which several negatives can be used as conjunctives, e.g., 無 *bo*, 唔 *ŋ*, 𠵿 *mai*,⁶ and even a composite form, 𠵿 唔 *mai ŋ*. Generally, more than one form is used in urban areas. The conjunctive function of other forms may be derived from an analogy to 無 *bo*.

As shown in Table 3, conjunctives in different varieties of Southern Min are all derived from a negative without any conjunctive elements.⁷ This phenomenon has not been reported in other languages or dialects, and it fully demonstrates the context-sensitive nature of Southern Min, in which logical relations are derived from context rather than expressed explicitly by logical-grammatical connectors, a feature which is called 意合 *yihe* ‘implicit cohesion’,⁸ in traditional Chinese language.

5. Conclusion

The integration of a negative and its adjacent conjunctive (conjunctive₁), which thereby evolves into a new conjunctive (conjunctive₂), is universal across languages. From (za) *da ne* in Bulgarian, as shown by Kuteva et al. (2019), to 否則 *fouze* and 要不 *yaobu* in Mandarin, all these functional words exhibit a grammaticalization path as follows:

(44) Negative + Conjunctive₁ / Conjunctive₁ + Negative > Conjunctive₂

6. The negative system in Southern Min is rather complex. 唔 *ŋ* is the default negator, while other forms are simply phonetic fusions of 唔 *ŋ* with other affirmative elements (Lin 2004; Tang 1994; Teng 1992); e.g., 無 *bo* is the phonetic fusion of 唔 *ŋ* and 有 *u* ‘have’, and 𠵿 *mai* is the phonetic fusion of 唔 *ŋ* and 愛 *ai* ‘want’. Accordingly, these examples have additional semantic properties. Although 唔 *ŋ*, 無 *bo* and 𠵿 *mai* are different when used as negatives, their functions are the same when used as conjunctions. When used as negative conditional connectives, 唔 *ŋ*, 無 *bo*, 𠵿 *mai* and 𠵿 唔 *mai ŋ* are interchangeable.

7. Although 無 *bo* sometimes co-occurs with 若(是) *nai (si)* or 就 *tsuu*, which did play a certain role in the initial phase of the evolution of 無 *bo*, 無 *bo* more often occurs alone and evolved into a conjunction independently.

8. 意合 *yihe* is the opposite of 形合 *xinghe* ‘explicit cohesion’, which indicates that the logical relation is explicitly marked by logical-grammatical connectors. (Lian 1993; Nida 1982) 意合 *yihe* is an important feature of the Chinese language, unlike the Indo-European languages, which belong to the 形合 *xinghe* type. Mandarin, especially written Mandarin, shows a tendency towards Indo-Europeanization, while dialects have a stronger tendency to retain this feature.

To date, the literature we have reviewed has not mentioned other related grammaticalization paths. A reason for this gap may be that the previously mentioned grammaticalization path is common in most languages worldwide.

In the Jieyang dialect, 無 *bo*⁵⁵ has grammaticalized directly into a conjunctive without the support of a conjunctive via a complicated process of reasoning regarding the logical relation between clauses, thus demonstrating a new grammaticalization path: negative > conjunctive. This evolutionary path, which is different from those found in most languages, can provide a new model for the study of grammatical evolution. Since the conjunctive elements that are adjacent to the negative are not necessary factors in the process of evolution, the two types of evolution can be summarized jointly:

(45) Negative + (Conjunctive₀) / (Conjunctive₀) + Negative > Conjunctive

From the perspective of the Southern Min dialect, the negative 無 *bo*⁵⁵ can develop into a conjunctive independently without the participation of any conjunctives and can thus become a word with multiple grammatical functions. In addition to 無 *bo*⁵⁵, negatives such as 唔 *m* and 𪗇 *mai* exhibit similar grammatical functions, which shows that these evolutions share common regional characteristics in Southern Min. Further exploration and research to investigate whether this type of evolution is unique to Southern Min dialects or occurs in other Chinese dialects or languages around the world must still be conducted.

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List of abbreviations

ASP	aspect marker	DISP	disposal marker
CL	classifier	GENE	generic
DC	degree of complement	MOD	modifier

NMLZ	nominalizer	PVC	resultative verbal complement
PC	phase complement	SFP	sentence final particle


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