

## Relative Clauses in Hui'an Dialect<sup>1</sup>

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Based on the definition of the relative clause from Song (2001), this paper examines the relative clause in the Hui'an dialect from four parameters: (a) the relativization marker used; (b) the position of the head noun relative to the restricting clause; (c) the role and encoding of the head noun in the restricting clause; and (d) the role and encoding of the head noun in the main clause. The Hui'an dialect, spoken in Hui'an County, Fujian province, belongs to the Quan-Zhang subgroup of the Southern Min dialect family. The data used are mainly collected from naturally occurring conversations among native speakers. Findings include: (i) the dialect allows head-initial as well as head-final relative clause structures; (ii) internally-headed relative clauses do not occur; and (iii) light-headed relatives do occur.

### 0. Introduction

The relative clause consists of two components: the head noun and the restricting clause. The semantic function of the head noun is to establish a set of entities, which can be called the domain of relativization, whereas that of the restricting clause is to identify a subset of the domain by imposing a semantic condition on the domain of relativization referred to by the head noun. (Song 2001: 211) The following is an example of the relative clause provided by Song (2001: 211).

(1) The girl whom Miss Edge coached won the game.

The domain of relativization is denoted by the head noun *the girl*. This domain of relativization is then 'narrowed down' to the only entity that can satisfy the condition expressed by the restricting clause *whom Miss Edge coached*. Strictly speaking, the definition of the relative clause proposed by Song (2001) is a definition of the restrictive relative clause, which is our focus in this paper.

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<sup>1</sup> Special thanks extend to Dr. Stephen Matthews for his valuable comments and suggestions to all the previous versions of this work. For helpful comments and feedback we thank Prof. Audrey Li, Dr. Joaquim Io-Kei Kuong and Johnny Hsu-Te Cheng.

In general, there are four parameters to be taken into account when we investigate the restrictive relative clause in a specific language: (1) the relativization marker used; (2) the position of the head noun relative to the restricting clause; (3) the role and encoding of the head noun in the restricting clause; and (4) the role and encoding of the head noun in the main clause. In the present paper, we examine the restrictive relative clause in the Hui'an dialect in terms of these four parameters. The dialect is spoken in Hui'an County, Fujian province, and belongs to the Quan-Zhang subgroup of the Southern Min dialect family. The data used are mainly collected from naturally occurring conversations among native speakers. The following sections are organized as follows. In Section 1, relative clauses are classified into two types based on the relativization marker used, i.e. relatives with *e2* and demonstrative relatives. Particular focus is placed on demonstrative relatives. Section 2 discusses the position of the head noun in relation to the restricting clause. Section 3 examines the roles of the head noun in the restricting clause and the relativization strategies of gapping and pronoun-retention. Section 4 explores the roles that the head noun plays in the main clause, and headed relatives, headless relatives and light-headed relatives. Section 5 is a summary of our major findings.

### 1. Relatives with *e2* and Demonstrative Relatives

Matthews and Yip (1994, 2001) show that restrictive relative clauses in Cantonese can be divided into two types: classifier relatives and relatives with *ge3*, in which, *ge3* is a counterpart of *de* in Mandarin Chinese. These two types are also reported in the Jieyang dialect by Xu (2007), i.e. classifier relatives and relatives with *kai55/ti3*. The classifier and the counterparts of *de* in Mandarin Chinese (i.e. *ge3* and *kai55/ti3*) can be regarded as relativization markers. The classifier can be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, which is optional in classifier relatives in Cantonese and the Jieyang dialect. In the Hui'an dialect, however, the demonstrative pronoun is obligatory while the classifier is optional. As with Cantonese and the Jieyang dialect, the Hui'an dialect can also use the counterpart of *de* in Mandarin Chinese (i.e. *e2*) as relativization marker. Thus, we suggest that relative clauses in the Hui'an dialect fall into two types: demonstrative relatives and relatives with *e2*.

In the remainder of this section, we offer an illustration of relatives with *e2* in Section 1.1, followed by a detailed description of the demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative relatives they occur in Section 1.2. In Section 1.3, we discuss whether *e2* can be followed by a demonstrative.

#### 1.1. Relatives with *e2*

As mentioned above, the Hui'an dialect can use the counterpart of *de* in Mandarin Chinese (i.e. *e2*) to link the head noun and the restricting clause of the relative clause. This type of relative clause indicates a general referent with its head noun encoded by a generic noun. This can be exemplified by (2) below.

- (2) ts 1 e2-4<sup>2</sup> tshu5  
 rent E<sup>3</sup> house  
 ‘rented houses’

This example refers to a subset of houses (i.e. rented houses) in general, but not an entity. The head noun *tshu5* ‘house’ is a generic noun.

## 1.2. Demonstrative Relatives

Before exploring demonstrative relatives in the Hui’an dialect (Section 1.2.2), the syntactic contexts and category status of demonstratives proposed by Diessel (1999) and a general schema of demonstratives, especially demonstrative pronouns, in the Hui’an dialect are introduced in Section 1.2.1.

### 1.2.1. Demonstratives in Hui’an Dialect

Diessel (1999) puts forward four different syntactic contexts in which demonstratives may occur: (i) pronominal, i.e. demonstratives are used as independent pronouns in argument positions of verbs and adpositions; (ii) adnominal, i.e. demonstratives cooccur with a noun in a noun phrase; (iii) adverbial, i.e. demonstratives function as verb modifiers, and (iv) identificational demonstrative, i.e. demonstratives occur in copular and nonverbal clauses. Diessel uses demonstrative pronoun, demonstrative determiner, demonstrative adverb and demonstrative identifier to indicate the categorical status of demonstratives in these four syntactic contexts, respectively.

The Hui’an dialect uses the same demonstrative forms in syntactic contexts (i), (ii) and (iv), and particular forms in syntactic context (iii). Thus, demonstratives in the Hui’an dialect fall into two grammatical categories, which can be labeled as ‘demonstrative pronouns’ and ‘demonstrative adverbs’. Here we only focus on demonstrative pronouns due to their close relationship with demonstrative relatives. Thus, we use ‘demonstratives’ for short.

The Hui’an dialect has four sets of demonstratives with a two-way distinction (i.e. proximal and distal), which are shown in Table 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Hui’an dialect has seven citation tones, i.e. high level (*yinping*), low level (*yangping*), high rising (*yinshang*), low rising (*yangshang*), going (*qusheng*), high entering (*yinru*) and low entering (*yangru*), which are labeled by numerals 1 through 7. In addition, 0 is used to denote neutral tone. Sandhi tone is shown in the examples when it occurs. For example, in ‘e2-4’, ‘2’ is a citation tone (*yangping*) while ‘4’ is a sandhi tone (*yangshang*). Sandhi tone occurs in connected speech, in juxtaposition to other tone-carrying syllables (Chen 2000: 39).

<sup>3</sup> *e2* is glossed as ‘E’, since *e2* in the Hui’an dialect takes on a range of functions, e.g. nominalization marker, possessive marker and relativization marker. Sometimes, *e2* can be regarded as representing different markers in the same string. Thus, we use ‘E’ to avoid confusion.

Proximal	Distal
<i>tsit6</i> (+Num) + CL (this) (this kind of)	<i>hit6</i> (+Num) + CL (that) (that kind of)
<i>tsat6</i> (this)	<i>hat6</i> (that)
<i>tse2</i> (this kind of) (generic)	<i>h 2</i> (that kind of) (generic)
<i>tsuai2</i> (these)	<i>huai2</i> (those)

Table 1. Demonstratives in the Hui'an dialect

In Table 1 above, the first set of demonstratives '*tsit6/hit6* (+Num) + CL' is formed from a demonstrative root (i.e. *tsit6* and *hit6*, respectively) and a classifier, or a demonstrative root and a numeral and a classifier. These two demonstratives and the noun phrases they occur represent an entity or a member of an entire category, depending on the classifier. Examples are given in (3).

- (3) a. tsit6-4 lia 3-2 sa 1  
       this CL coat  
       'this coat'  
   b. hit6-4 tsi 3-2 tho5-4-pa 2  
       that CL suite  
       'that kind of suite'

The second set of demonstratives *tsat6/hat6* and the noun phrases they occur only refer to an entity, as shown in (4).

- (4) a. tsat6 sia 2  
       this what  
       'What is this?'  
   b. hat6 ten5-4-lo3  
       that computer  
       'that computer'

The following examples are to show that demonstratives *tse2/h 2* and the noun phrases they occur can represent a member of an entire category (e.g. (5a)) or an entire category (e.g. (5b)).

- (5) a. tse2 to5 tsia 7 kha 6-4 ho3-2 tsia 7  
       this-kind-of table eat comparatively good eat  
       'This kind of table is better for meals (than other kinds of tables).'  
   b. tse2 tshia 2 bo2-4 pai4-hai5  
       this orange no harm  
       'There is no harm in (eating) oranges.'

Demonstratives *tsuai2/huai2* can be glossed as ‘these/those’, as shown in (6).

- (6) a. tsuai2 si4 un3 o 6-t 2 e2-4<sup>4</sup> lau2  
 these be we school E building  
 ‘These are the buildings of our school.’  
 b. huai2 tho5-4-pa 2 kha 6 am5  
 those suite comparatively dark  
 ‘Those suites are darker (than these suites).’

### 1.2.2. Demonstrative Relatives

In this type of relative clause, demonstratives are mainly encoded by distal demonstratives. The following examples show that all the four distal demonstratives in the Hui’an dialect can be used in demonstrative relatives.

- (7) a. l 3 bue3 hit6 pun3-2 tshe5  
 you buy that CL book  
 ‘that book you bought’  
 b. un3 tshia 3 hat6 la 2  
 we hire that person  
 ‘that person we hired’  
 c. khio 6-4 khe5 h 2  
 pick passenger that-kind  
 ‘that kind of (car) which picks up the passengers (along the way)’  
 d. hep6 huai2 si 5  
 take those pictures  
 ‘those pictures that were taken’

It can be seen from the examples above that unlike relatives with *e2*, the restricting clause in demonstrative relatives is used to modify a definite entity, category or plural entities. For example, (7a) and (7b) both refer to a definite, specific and individual referent, while (7c) and (7d) refer to a category and plural entities, respectively. Demonstrative relatives also differ from relatives with *e2* in that the demonstrative can be used together with the head noun (e.g. (7a)), or itself be used as the head noun (e.g. (7c)), while the relativization marker *e2* is more like a linking word between the head noun and the restricting clause.

Besides distal demonstratives, however, we also find an example (8) using the proximal demonstrative *tsit6 e2* ‘this’ as the relativization marker.

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<sup>4</sup> ‘e2-4’ here functions as a possessive marker.

- (8) A1: hit6 e2-4 tsui3-2-kha 1 ti4-le4 pua 5-4-ti 1-ui 1  
 that CL flume in middle  
 ‘That flume is in the middle.’  
 B: 1 3-4 s 5-4 pa 2 lai5-4-pa5 hit6 e2?  
 2sg say room inside that CL  
 ‘Are you talking about that (flume) inside the room?’  
 A2: i 1-kai1 si4 sue3-2-sen1 tsit6 e2-4 kha 1 ka1 ui3-2-khai5  
 should be take-shower this CL flume disposal-verb inclose  
 ‘This flume for taking shower should be enclosed.’

In (8), speaker A is talking about a flume inside the room in A1, but hearer B is not sure about which flume A is talking about. Thus, in A2, speaker A uses a relative clause to make the referent be identifiable. This example differs from the examples above in that the referent encoded by the relative clause has been mentioned in the previous discourse. We suggest that this is one reason why a proximal demonstrative is used.

### 1.3. Can *e2* be followed by a Demonstrative?

In Mandarin Chinese, the relativization marker *de* can be followed by a demonstrative, as shown in (9) below.

- (9) wo kan dao de na ge xue-sheng  
 I see RVC DE that CL student  
 ‘that student I saw’

Now, the question is (a) whether this can happen in the Hui’an dialect, and (b) whether this type of relative clause is the source of demonstrative relatives such as those in (7). From the corpus of the Hui’an dialect, we do find an example, and only one example, of a relative clause in which *e2* is followed by a demonstrative, as shown in (10). However, the demonstrative *huai2* in (10) is also used as the head noun, i.e., it is not followed by a head noun like Mandarin Chinese in (9).

- (10) khio5 e2-4 huai2  
 deduct E those  
 ‘those that were deducted’

It would be unnatural to add an *e2* before the demonstrative in other examples of demonstrative relatives such as those in (7). It also should be mentioned that this example is produced by a younger speaker. Thus, we suggest that example (10) may be influenced by Mandarin Chinese.

The same is true of Cantonese, where it would be unnatural to add *ge3* before the classifier in classifier relatives (Matthews and Yip 2001: 273). We therefore doubt that

demonstrative relatives in the Hui'an dialect and classifier relatives in Cantonese can be derived from relative clauses like (9) and (10).

## 2. The Position of the Head Noun

There are three possibilities for the position of the head noun in relation to the restricting clause: (i) head-initial, i.e. the restricting clause follows the head noun; (ii) head-final, i.e. the restricting clause precedes the head noun; and (iii) head-internal, i.e. the head noun is inside the restricting clause. In this section, we examine head-final and head-initial types of relative clause (section 2.1) and discuss whether there is a head-internal type of relative clause in the Hui'an dialect (section 2.2).

### 2.1. Head-final and Head-initial Types

Typologically, SVO languages have a distinct preference to use the head-initial type of relative clause. As with Mandarin Chinese, however, relative clauses in the Hui'an dialect, including relatives with *e2* and demonstrative relatives, mainly belong to the head-final type. Examples are given in (11).

- (11) a. *than5 e2-4 tsin2*  
 earn E money  
 'the money earned'  
 b. *il t 2 l 3-5 huai2*  
 3sg give 2sg those  
 'those he gave you'

In (11a), the restricting clause *than5 e2-4* 'that (someone) earned' precedes the head noun *tsin2* 'money'. In (11b), the restricting clause *il t 2 l 3-5* 'he gave you' precedes the head noun *huai2* 'those'.

Although the head-final type shows a strong tendency in the Hui'an dialect, we also find the following examples of a head-initial type of relative clause.

- (12) *lu3 e2-0<sup>5</sup> hit6 k 1 tha3-4 ti 1-bun2 e2-0*  
 female E that CL study Chinese E  
 'that girl who studies Chinese'  
 (13) *un3 bue3-2 tsai4 h 2 tsit6-4-pa 6-4-kh 1 e5-4 lia 2-4 h 3 ts 3-2 tshai5*  
 1pl buy one that one-hundred can burn fire cook dish  
 'We bought one (utensil) that costs one hundred and can be used for cooking'

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<sup>5</sup> 'e2-0' here serves as a nominalization marker.

In (12), the restricting clause *tha3-4 ti 1-bun2 e2-0* ‘who studies Chinese’ follows the head noun *lu3 e2-0 hit6 k 1* ‘that girl’. The speaker thinks that the head noun may not be able to activate the hearer’s memory, thus the restricting clause is added to help the hearer identify the referent encoded by the head noun. Even though it can be analyzed as a case of ‘afterthought’, this example is still different from the non-restrictive relative clause. The restricting clause in the non-restrictive relative clause helps to tell something about the head noun, while that in the restrictive relative clause is used to restrict or limit the meaning of the head noun. In addition, the restricting clause in the restrictive relative clause is always used to refer to or identify a person or an object who or which is known to both the speaker and the hearer. In example (12), the hearer knows the person whom the speaker is talking about. The restricting clause *tha3-4 ti 1-bun2 e2-0* ‘who studies Chinese’ is not a piece of new information about the referent, but helps to limit the reference of the head noun and to make the referent identifiable.

In (13), the restricting clause *tsit6-4-pa 6-4-kh 1 e5-4 lia 2-4 h 3 ts 3-2 tshai5* ‘one hundred and can be used for cooking’ follows the head noun *h 2* ‘that’. In this example, the restricting clause is somewhat complicated, which may be one reason why a head-initial type of relative clause is chosen.

It should be mentioned that the restricting clause in (12) and (13) can be put before the head noun, which means the head-initial type can be changed into the head-final type. However, *e2-0* in *tha3-4 ti 1-bun2 e2-0* ‘who studies Chinese’ in (12) has to be deleted.

## 2.2. Is There a Head-internal Type?

The head-internal type is a form of relative clause which presents a domain noun internal to the restricting clause and is thus syntactically headless (Keenan 1985: 161). The following are examples of internally headed relative clauses and headed relative clauses in Ancash Quechua from Cole (1987: 279).

### (14) a. Headed Relative Clause

[ <sub>NP</sub> [ <sub>S</sub> nuna 1 <sub>i</sub> ranti-shqa-n]	bestya <sub>i</sub> ]	all <sub>i</sub>
man	buy-PERFECT-3	horse(NOM)
good		
bestya-m	ka-rquo-n	
horse-EVIDENTIAL	be-PAST-3	

The horse the man bought was a good horse.

### b. Internally Headed Relative Clause

[ <sub>NP</sub> nuna bestya-ta ranti-shqa-n]	all <sub>i</sub>
man horse-ACC	buy-PERFECT-3
good	
bestya-m	ka-rqo-n
horse-EVIDENTIAL	be-PAST-3

The horse the man bought was a good horse.



As Basilico (1996: 499) points out, the difference between these two examples above is that in the externally headed relative clause, the noun *bestya* ‘horse’ is not a constituent of the clause *nuna ranti-shaq-n* ‘that the man bought’, while in the internally headed relative clause, the noun is a constituent of the clause.

Matthews and Yip (2007) propose that the object classifier relative in Cantonese has two possible analyses: head-final type and head-internal type, as shown in (15).

- (15) a. Head-final  
 [[keoi maai<sub>s</sub>] go cang lau<sub>NP</sub>] hou leng  
 3sg buy that CL flat very nice  
 ‘The flat she’s buying is really nice.’
- b. Head-internal  
 [S<sub>NP</sub> keoi maai go cang lau] hou leng  
 3sg buy that CL flat very nice  
 ‘The flat she’s buying is really nice.’

However, it is hard to distinguish the head-internal type from head-final type of relative clause in Cantonese (Matthews & Yip 2001, 2007).

As we mentioned above, as with Cantonese, there also exist classifier relatives in the Jieyang dialect. However, the object classifier relative in the Jieyang dialect can be shown to belong to the head-final type. This is illustrated by example (16) from Xu (2007: 118).

- (16) [[ku<sup>55-11</sup>-ni<sup>55</sup> ua<sup>53</sup> poi<sup>53</sup> s] t’au<sup>213-53</sup> ts’u<sup>213</sup><sub>NP</sub>] ho<sup>2</sup> tua<sup>11</sup>  
 last-year 1sg buy CL house very big  
 The house which I bought last year is very big.

The tone of the verb *poi53* ‘buy’ must be a sandhi tone when it is followed by an object *t’au<sup>213-53</sup> ts’u<sup>213</sup>* ‘house’. In (16), however, the verb *poi53* does not undergo tone sandhi, which suggests that *t’au<sup>213-53</sup> ts’u<sup>213</sup>* ‘house’ is not a constituent of the clause *ku<sup>55-11</sup>-ni<sup>55</sup> ua<sup>53</sup> poi<sup>53</sup>* ‘I bought last year’.

Now, let’s look at the relative clause in the Hui’an dialect. In fact, as with the Jieyang dialect, the object demonstrative relative in the Hui’an dialect is also clearly of the head-final type. This can be illustrated by a comparison between (17) and (18) below.

- (17) ua3-4 tsio 6-4 hit6 pun3-2 tshe5  
 I borrow that CL book  
 ‘I borrowed that book.’
- (18) [[ua3-4 tsio 6s] hit6 pun3-2 tshe5<sub>NP</sub>]  
 I borrow that CL book  
 ‘that book I borrowed’

In (17), *hit6 pun3-2 tshē5* ‘that book’ is an object of the verb *tsio 6-4* ‘borrow’, and the verb undergoes tone sandhi. While in (18), the verb *tsio 6* ‘borrow’ does not undergo tone sandhi, which indicates *hit6 pun3-2 tshē5* ‘that book’ is not a constituent of the clause *ua3-4 tsio 6* ‘I borrowed’. Thus, we can conclude that (18) is an example of head-final type, and we have no evidence for a head-internal type of relative clause in the Hui’an dialect.

### 3. The Role and Encoding of the Head Noun in the Restricting Clause

According to the role of the head noun in the restricting clause, relative clauses can be classified into three types: argument relative clauses, adjunct relative clauses and ‘aboutness’ relative clauses. Argument relative clauses and adjunct relative clauses refer to those in which the head noun takes an argument position and an adjunct position, respectively. The term ‘aboutness’ relative clauses, proposed by Cheng and Sybesma (2005), is used to refer to a kind of noun-modifying clauses discussed in Comrie (1996) and Matsumoto (2007), as shown in (19) from Matsumoto (2007: 133).

- (19) [[atama ga yoku-naru] hon]  
 head NOM good-become book  
 ‘the book (by reading which) (x’s) head gets better, i.e. x becomes smarter’

Matsumoto suggests that in this kind of clause (e.g. (19)) the subordinate clause does not contain a clear syntactic gap that is bound to the head noun. For example, there is no syntactic gap in the clause *atama ga yoku-naru* ‘head gets better’ in (19), since the predicate is an intransitive verb.

Matsumoto also points out that this kind of clauses fall outside (or that fall in both of) the conventional domains of the relative clause and noun complement constructions. This kind of noun-modifying clause is widespread in Asia, e.g. Korean, Mandarin and some other Sino-Tibetan languages etc (Comrie 1996). Comrie also points out that this kind of clause ‘do not receive a relative clause interpretation’. Both Matsumoto and Comrie compare this kind of clause with the relative clause from a syntactic viewpoint. However, according to the definition of the relative clause in Song (2001) mentioned above, we suggest that this kind of clause can also be grouped into the relative clause.

The ways in which the head noun is encoded in the restricting clause are also called relativization strategies. Keenan (1985) and Comrie (1989) both recognize that there are at least four different relativization strategies: (i) gapping or obliteration; (ii) pronoun-retention; (iii) relative-pronoun; and (iv) non-reduction. However, whether there is a ‘gap’ in the relative clause in languages such as Japanese, Korean and Chinese is controversial. Comrie (1996) suggests that ‘aboutness’ relative clauses are gapless and, argument relative clauses in languages such as Japanese are also gapless since these languages have zero anaphora. While Ning (1993) aligns ‘aboutness’ relative clauses to

adjunct relative clauses in Mandarin Chinese, assuming that a non-overt adjunct plays a role in the syntax of these clauses (Cheng and Sybesma 2005).

Thus, for ease of presentation, I use ‘relative clauses with a resumptive pronoun’ and ‘relative clauses with a gap’ to refer to those using a ‘pronoun-retention’ strategy and those without a resumptive pronoun, respectively. Now, we can classify the relative clause in the Hui’an dialect as follows.

- (20) A. argument relative clauses
  - (a) argument relative clauses with a gap
  - (b) argument relative clauses with a resumptive pronoun
- B. adjunct relative clauses
  - (a) adjunct relative clauses with a gap
  - (b) adjunct relative clauses with a resumptive pronoun
- C. ‘aboutness’ relative clauses

In the following sections, we examine these three types of relative clause one by one.

### 3.1. Argument Relative Clauses

The following two examples indicate that the ‘gapping’ strategy is used when the head noun is the subject or object of the restricting clause.

- (21) *bo2-4 tha3-4 tshe5 e2-4 la 2*  
 no read book E people  
 ‘the people who do not go to school’

- (22) *i1 khua 5 e2-4 tshe5*  
 3sg read E book  
 ‘the books he read’

In (21), the head noun *la 2* ‘people’ is the subject in the restricting clause *bo2-4 tha3-4 tshe5* ‘do not go to school’. In (22), the head noun *tshe5* ‘book’ is the object in the restricting clause *i1 khua 5* ‘he read’. We do not see a resumptive pronoun which is bound to the head noun in the restricting clause in both (21) and (22).

The ‘pronoun-retention’ strategy has to be used when the head noun functions as an indirect object in the restricting clause. This is exemplified by (23) below.

- (23) *ua3-4 sa 5-4 i1 ho5-4-kha3 hit6 e2-4 lau3-s 1*  
 1sg send 3sg card that CL teacher  
 ‘that teacher to whom I sent a card’

In (23), the head noun *hit6 e2-4 lau3-s 1* ‘that teacher’ is coreferential with the indirect object in the restricting clause, i.e. the pronoun *il* ‘3sg’.

### 3.2. Adjunct Relative Clauses

When the head noun serves as an adjunct such as temporal, locative, causal, instrumental and agentive etc. in the restricting clause, the ‘gapping’ strategy can be used. The following are temporal and locative examples.

(24) *tsh 5-4 ka 1-tso 6 e2-4 si2-4-tsam5*  
 search job E time  
 ‘the time when (one is) looking for a job’

(25) *un3 khe5 ten5-4-si4 hit6-4 t 5-4 to5*  
 we put television that CL table  
 ‘that table where we put the television’

In (24) and (25), the head noun *si2-4-tsam5* ‘time’ and *hit6-4 t 5-4 to5* ‘that table’ serve as the temporal adjunct and locative adjunct in the restricting clause *tsh 5-4 ka 1-tso 6 e2-4* ‘looking for a job’ and *un3 khe5 ten5-4-si4* ‘we put the television’, respectively.

There must be a resumptive pronoun in the restricting clause when the head noun is the object of a preposition such as *pi3* ‘compare’ and *ka 6* ‘with’, as shown in (26) and (27).

(26) *un3-2 ba 2 pi3-2 il kha 6 tua5 hit6 k 1 lu3 e2-0*  
 1pl mother compare 3sg comparatively old that CL female E  
 ‘that woman whom my mother is older than’

(27) *ua3 ka 6 il uan1-ke1 hit6 k 1 la 2*  
 I with 3rg quarrel that CL person  
 ‘that person with whom I had a fight’

In (26), the head noun *hit6 k 1 lu3 e2-0* ‘that woman’ is coreferential with the object of comparison in the restricting clause, i.e. pronoun *il* ‘3sg’. In (27), the head noun *hit6 k 1 la 2* ‘that person’ is coreferential with the object of preposition *ka 6* ‘with’ in the restricting clause, i.e. *il* ‘3sg’.

### 3.3. ‘Aboutness’ Relative Clauses

Attested examples of ‘aboutness’ relative clauses are given in (28) - (30) below.

(28) l 3 bue3-2 ki1 phio5 hit6 k 1 lam2 e2-0  
 you buy air ticket that CL male E  
 ‘the man whom (we met when) you bought your air ticket’

(29) ki 5-4-ben5 e2-4 si2-4-kan1 kha 6 tsio3  
 meet E time comparatively little  
 ‘The time for meeting (each other) is less (than before).’

(30) tse2 si4 un3 tshu5-4-lai5 khua 5 tsho5-4-kh 5 e2-4 tsai2-i4  
 this be 1pl house look out E morning  
 ‘This is (a view of) morning (when we) look outside from our house.’

In these examples, the restricting clause does not contain a clear syntactic gap that is bound to the head noun. Take (28) for an example, the head noun *hit6 k 1 lam2 e2-0* ‘that man’ cannot be an argument or an adjunct in the restricting clause *l 3 bue3-2 ki1 phio5* ‘you bought your air ticket’.

## 4. The Role and Encoding of the Head Noun in the Main Clause

In this section, we examine the roles of the head noun in the main clause in Section 4.1, and headed, headless and light-headed relatives in Section 4.2.

### 4.1. The Role of the Head Noun in the Main Clause

In the Hui’an dialect, the head noun of the relative clause mainly functions as topic, subject, object and predicate nominal<sup>6</sup> in the main clause. Examples are given in (31) – (34).

(31) hep6 huai2 si 5 kh 5-4 len3-2 pa2 a0 khua 5 (topic)  
 take those pictures give 2pl father Suffix look  
 ‘Have your father look at the pictures that (you) took.’

(32) tsh 5 hat6 le4 ka5-4 tshe5 (subject)  
 find that be teach book  
 ‘(Her) lover is a teacher.’

<sup>6</sup> ‘Predicate nominal’ is put forward by Fox and Thompson (1990), in which, the role of head noun in main clause can be subject, object, prepositional phrase object, predicate nominal and existential.

- (33) khua 5-4 en1 hep6 e2-4 si 5 (object)  
 look 3pl take E picture  
 ‘Look at the pictures they took.’
- (34) tse2 si4 pun3-2-lai2 ts 1 e2-4 tshu5 (predicate nominal)  
 this be previously rent E house  
 ‘This is the house (we) rented previously.’

#### 4.2. The Encoding of the Head Noun in the Main Clause

According to the encoding of the head noun in the main clause, relative clauses are usually divided into headed and headless types. Citko (2004), however, proposes another type of relative clause, i.e. light-headed relatives. In Citko (2004: 95), the terms ‘headed relatives’ and ‘headless relatives’ are used to refer to the relatives involving an external nominal head, and those lacking an overt nominal head, respectively; and, the term ‘light-headed relatives’ refers to the relatives which are headed by morphologically ‘light’ elements. These ‘light’ elements can be demonstrative, indefinites, negative indefinites and universals etc. The following is an example of the demonstrative light head in Polish from Citko (2004: 96).

- (35) Jan czyta to, co Maria czyta.  
 Jan reads this what Maria reads  
 ‘John reads what Marry reads’

In the Hui’an dialect, the light head in the relative clause can be the demonstrative or the ‘demonstrative (+numeral) + classifier’ complex.

(36) below is an example of a headless relative, while examples of light-headed relatives are given in (37) – (39).

- (36) un3 tshu5-4-lai5 tshun5 e2-0 i1 tsi 4-lai2 m4 tsia 7 (headless relative)  
 1pl house leave E 3sg always not eat  
 ‘He never eats the leftovers at home.’
- (37) l 3 bue3 huai2 k 5 bo2-4-s 5-4 kui5 (demonstrative)  
 2sg buy those still no expensive  
 ‘Those you bought are not expensive.’
- (38) l 3 kia2 hit6 l 5-4 t 5 (‘demonstrative + numeral + classifier’)  
 2sg take that two CL  
 ‘two (chairs) that you took’

- (39) len3-2 pa2 lia3 hit6 tsia5 ('demonstrative + classifier')  
 2pl father take that CL  
 'that (duck) that your father took'

In (37), the head noun is encoded by the demonstrative *huai2* 'those'. In (38), the head noun *hit6 l 5-4 t 5* 'two (chairs)' is formed by a demonstrative, a numeral and a classifier. In (39), the head noun is encoded by 'demonstrative + classifier' *hit6 tsia5* 'that (one)'.

## 5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined the restrictive relative clause in the Hui'an dialect based on four parameters: (1) the relativization marker used; (2) the position of the head noun in relation to the restricting clause; (3) the role and encoding of the head noun in the restricting clause; and (4) the role and encoding of the head noun in the main clause.

There are two relativization markers in the Hui'an dialect, i.e. *e2* and the demonstratives. *e2* is the counterpart of *de* in Mandarin Chinese. Demonstratives, mainly encoded by distal demonstratives, can be used together with the head noun or itself used as the head noun. Relative clauses fall into two types based on the relativization marker used, i.e. relatives with *e2* and demonstrative relatives. The former indicates a general referent, while the latter refers to an entity, plural entities or a category.

As with Mandarin Chinese, the relative clause in the Hui'an dialect mainly belongs to the head-final type, however, the head-initial type can also be used. There is no evidence for any head-internal type of relative clause.

According to the role of the head noun in the restricting clause, relative clauses in the Hui'an dialect can be classified into three types: argument relative clauses, adjunct relative clauses and 'aboutness' relative clauses. The 'gapping' strategy is used when the head noun serves as an argument such as subject and object or an adjunct such as temporal, locative, causal, instrumental and agentive etc. in the restricting clause. The 'pronoun-retention' strategy has to be used when the head noun functions as an indirect object or the object of a preposition in the restricting clause.

The head noun of the relative clause mainly functions as topic, subject, object and predicate nominal in the main clause. According to the encoding of the head noun in the main clause, relative clauses in the Hui'an dialect can be divided into headed relatives, headless relatives and light-headed relatives. The light-head is mainly encoded by the demonstrative and the 'demonstrative (+numeral) + classifier' complex.

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