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# Complementation in Waxiang: an unclassified Sinitic language of Hunan

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# Layout

- I. Introduction on Waxiang
- II. Sinitic complementation
- III. Waxiang Complementation
  - III (i) Speech act, cognitive & perception matrix verbs
  - III (ii) Matrix modals

# Part I: Introduction on Waxiang 瓦乡话



- Waxiang is an as yet unaffiliated language spoken in the Xiangxi 湘西 region of Northwestern Hunan.
- Elicitation of narratives, conversations and data, have been collected principally during 10 fieldwork trips from 2006 to 2019.



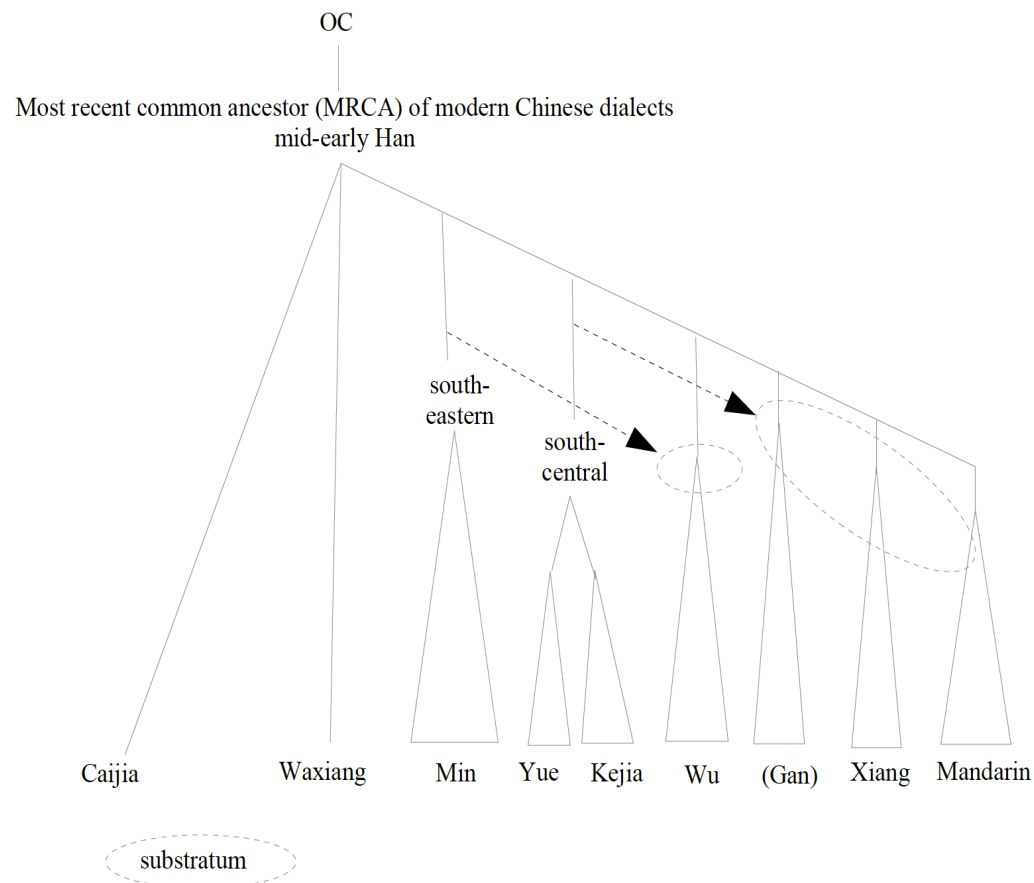
- surrounded by genetically unrelated languages
- Hmong (Hmong-Mien) and Tujia (Tibeto-Burman)
- major influence in the last century has been from Southwestern Mandarin 西南官话, one of the eight main varieties of the large Mandarin group of dialects

# Location of Guzhang county in Hunan

Guzhang county 古丈县



# Early Southwestern Sinitic



- According to Sagart (2011) and Baxter & Sagart (2015), Waxiang and Caijia are two lexically and phonologically archaic Sinitic languages which represent the first split from the family tree in the early years of the Han dynasty (206BC – 220AD) to form a Southwestern group.
- Morphosyntactically, Waxiang disprefers verbal aspect marking, instead making use of resultative verb compounds

# Aims

- Consider the nature of complementation in Waxiang and the concept of finiteness for two types of complement clauses
- Compare with Sinitic complementation in general
- Conclude that finiteness is an identifiable feature for Sinitic languages

# I. Introduction



# Finiteness & complementation

- Questions of verb classes, finiteness and tense are strongly interwoven in discussions of complementation:
- verb classes allowed as the matrix verb and
- finiteness of the complement clause for which tense traditionally plays a major role.
- These topics have been highly debated in formal grammar approaches in Chinese linguistics and mainly with respect to data from Standard Chinese (Mandarin).
- Huang (2022) proposes a three-way classification of matrix verbs along a continuum of finiteness which includes

# Complement types

## Type I Propositional

More independent, c.f. time reference  
Less integrated  
Higher degree of finiteness

## Type II Situation

« somewhat infinitival »  
Time reference – irrealis, future

## Type III Events & actions

Higher degree of non-finiteness  
Less independent,  
More highly integrated  
Share time reference with matrix verb



# Huang's Type I. PROPOSITIONAL - Speech act and cognitive verbs

Take independent propositions as their complement

Shuō 说 'say'、juéde 觉得 'feel that'、gàosù 告诉 'tell'、jìde 记得 'recall'、xīwàng 希望 'hope'、zhīdào 知道 'know'

Standard Chinese example (Huang 2022:26)

Zhangsan tingshuo [Lisi dao guowai nian boshi qu le].

Zhangsan heard Lisi to abroad study PhD go SFP

'Zhangsan heard that Lisi has gone abroad for Ph.D. study.'

# Huang's Type II: SITUATION

- time reference of complement clause event is posterior to that of matrix verb; :

zhǔnbèi 准备 'prepare'、 juéding 决定 'decide'、  
dǎsuàn 打算 'plan'、 quàn 劝 'persuade'

Combine with 'somewhat non-finite' complement clauses;

wo quan ta jie-guo yan.

I persuade him quit-EXP cigarette

'I persuaded him to quit smoking before.'

# Huang's Type III EVENTS ,ACTIONS (EFFECTIVE predicates) & MODALS

chángshì 尝试 'try', xǐhuān 喜欢 'like', xíguàn 习惯 'be accustomed';

also phase verbs such as 开始 kāishǐ 'begin' , jìxù 继续 'continue',  
tíngzhǐ 停止, 'stop'

modals: néng 'able', kěyǐ 'be permitted', kěn 'be willing'

- identical time reference of matrix and complement verbs

Combine with non-finite phrases:

Zhangsan [[neng qu Taipei] le]

Zhangsan be-able-to go Taipei SFP

'It is now the case that Zhangsan can go to Taipei.'

# What is finiteness without tense?

Huang (2022) , Sybesma (2017a,b), Hu et al (2003)

- Finite *complement* clauses are essentially identifiable in Mandarin from the following diagnostics:
- Stand-alone as independent clauses
- Complement clause (CC) may be aspectually modified, be negated, or include modal verbs that take a non-finite complement themselves
- signs of minimum integration of the two parts of the clause

# Category of complementizers

- Only consider signature properties of the canonical structure for Types I and III
- consider the question of the category of the **complementizer** which is a hallmark of Type I, used with certain of Type II, and is generally less likely with Type III (modals) in Mandarin
- complementizers serve to mark the operation of clause-combining with an independent, syntactically ‘complete’, clause
- so first an orientation on complementation in Sinitic and its structural properties

## II. Sinitic complementation



# Complementizers in Sinitic

- Not all Sinitic languages possess the category of the complementizer
- In Chappell (2008), on the basis of discourse data and a sample of ten Sinitic varieties, the following languages were found to make use of complementizers:

Beijing Mandarin

Taiwanese Mandarin

Southern Min and

Cantonese Yue

# Sources in Sinitic

- complementizers typically have their source in speech act verbs such as the quotative SAY: SHUO 说 in Mandarin varieties and cognates of JIANG 講 or HUÀ 話 in other varieties
- Southern Min and other Min dialects, such as Chaozhou, also have a SEE-derived complementizer:  $k'ua^{n3}$  看 which co-occurs with interrogative complements.

# Non-obligatory use

- Unlike German or French, complementizers in Sinitic languages are not required syntactically for the embedding process, though be it their presence engenders a **different attitudinal stance** on the part of the speaker. Southern Min example:

|               |             |                        |          |                                      |          |                 |
|---------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|----------|-----------------|
| 阿叔            | 講           | (kóng)                 | 伊        | 明年                                   | 會        | 轉來。             |
| <i>á-chek</i> | <i>kóng</i> | (kóng)                 | <i>i</i> | <i>mê<sup>n</sup>-nî<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>tńg-lâi.</i> |
| uncle         | say         | (SAY <sub>THAT</sub> ) | 3SG      | next-year                            | will     | return          |

‘Your uncle said (that) she will return home next year.’ (*Fate* 23b)

- complementizer adds a different nuance in its modality:
- less commitment on the part of the speaker – here, regarding the certainty of Yu-Chin’s return home to Taiwan for good

# Subject vs. object complementation

- Also noteworthy is the fact that Sinitic complementizer languages do not have subject complementation such as in English :
- *That Trump will stand for re-election* is not a scoop.
- By contrast, **juxtaposition** of the matrix and embedded clause is the typical strategy used in many Sinitic languages in clause-combining

## Complementizer – matrix or complement clause?

- In generative grammar, the complementizer has generally been treated as belonging to the complement clause as its head.
- theoretically, this would show a nice case of harmony with the head-initial VO characteristics of the verb phrase in many Sinitic languages.

- Huang (2022:48)

Lisi dasuan [shuo nian-di dao Ouzhou dujia].

Lisi plan SHUO year-end to Europe go-on-vacation

‘Lisi plans to take a vacation in Europe at the end of the year.’

# Southern Min (Hokkien) complementation

- However, for SAY-complementation in Southern Min, this is clearly not the case: the complementizer *kong*<sup>2</sup> 講 (< 'say') does not belong to the complement clause, but rather to the **matrix in head-final position**. This is verifiable from both intonational and tone sandhi features.
- A pause is frequently perceptible after Verb-*kong*<sup>2</sup> while *kong*<sup>2</sup> undergoes regular tone sandhi to *kong*<sup>1</sup> (from high falling 41 to high level 44)
- The complement clause is generally in a separate intonation unit from the matrix.

# Southern Min - Intonation break

伊 干單 唸 講, //

*i kan-na liām kóng<sup>41-44</sup>,*

3SG just nag SAY<sub>THAT</sub>

阿和 趁 足濟 錢 ,

*á-hô thàn chiok-chē chî<sup>n</sup>*

NAME earn a:lot money

‘He kept insisting that A-Ho earns a lot of money.’ (*Fate* 455-456)

# Uneven distribution of feature

- In contrast to Southern Min, in many other Sinitic languages, this pathway of grammaticalization is either absent or emergent for Type I clause-combining, such as in the data for the Hakka, Xiang & Gan varieties in my sample
- Let's look at the case for Waxiang to see if *kaŋ*<sup>25</sup> 'say' shows signs of a complementizer development with other speech act and cognitive matrix verbs.



# III. Waxiang complementation

# Waxiang complementation

- Consider just two types for Waxiang – finite and non-finite
- Type I: Finite  
Principally speech act and cognitive verbs  
which take finite complements
- Type III: Non-finite  
Principally modal verbs which take non-finite  
complements

III.i

Type I: Speech act cognitive, &  
perception matrix verbs

# Lexical verb use of ‘say’

ŋi<sup>25</sup> iau<sup>55</sup>      zɿ<sup>33</sup>      kan<sup>25</sup>      sɿ<sup>41</sup>-kəw<sup>33</sup> ?  
2SG with      3SG      say      what  
‘What are you saying to him? 你邀他講什个？’

kan<sup>25</sup>      dza<sup>33</sup>  
speak      word      ‘to talk’ 講字

# Direct speech

ze<sup>33</sup> po<sup>13</sup> kai<sup>55</sup> ze<sup>33</sup> kaŋ<sup>25</sup>,  
3SG mother with 3SG say  
□她 婆 跟 □她 講,

« Ts<sup>h</sup>ɣ<sup>25</sup> ɲa<sup>25</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ɛŋ<sup>55</sup>.

be cliff

ɦoŋ<sup>25</sup> – pu<sup>25</sup> – tsəŋ<sup>25</sup>

行不上

walk-NEG-up

kau<sup>55</sup> ti. »

高 的

top

PRT

‘Her mother told her : « There are cliffs. We can’t go up there. »’

(Text: *Climbing to the pavillion*)

# Indirect speech

zɿ<sup>33</sup> kan<sup>25</sup> [zɿ<sup>33</sup> tau<sup>33</sup>      za<sup>33</sup> tɕi<sup>41</sup> mon<sup>33</sup>-tie<sup>41</sup>-hai<sup>41</sup>.] **Co.CL:O**  
3SG say 3SG PROG<sub><go</sub> build house busy-EXT-very

‘He<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> is very busy building a house.’

□他講□他到造室忙得很。

# GUESS/THINK – complement

- u<sup>25</sup> ts'a<sup>25</sup>      [ɕiaŋ<sup>33</sup> tɕin<sup>55</sup>-tɕin<sup>55</sup>      xa<sup>25</sup>      zɛ<sup>13</sup>.]Co.CL:O  
1SG    guess                    PN                                    FUT<sub><can</sub> come

‘I guess (that) Xiang Jingjing will come.’ 我猜向晶晶会来。

-u<sup>25</sup>    ɕiŋ<sup>25</sup>    [∅      pu<sup>25</sup>    xa<sup>25</sup>                    zɛ<sup>13</sup>.]Co.CL:O  
1SG    think                    NEG    FUT<sub><can</sub> come

‘I think she won’t.’ 我想(∅)不回来。(lit: I think won’t come.)

- Negation of lower clause in second example
- Compare: In my Southern Min texts, ‘think-COMP<sub><SAY</sub>’ is the most frequent combination with 17/48 occurrences in 58 mins recording over 3 narratives and conversations.

# SEE – complement

ɲian<sup>13</sup>

small

□<sub>小</sub>

[va<sup>25</sup>

there.be

有

San<sup>55</sup> Mao<sup>13</sup>

PN

三毛

pa<sup>41</sup>

CLF<sub>INDEF</sub>

□<sub>個</sub>

mɲŋ<sup>33</sup>tɕi<sup>33</sup>

see

望見

ɲiəu<sup>25</sup>-ŋo<sup>55</sup>tsɿ

girl-child

女伢子

ta<sup>25</sup>

trip

跌

i<sup>13</sup>-ka<sup>55</sup>.] Co.CL:O

one-VCL

一迦。

‘Little San Mao saw (that) there was a girl who’d tripped over.’

– mɲŋ<sup>33</sup>tɕi<sup>33</sup> ‘see’ also introduces a fully independent complement clause.



## NOT KNOW – Complement with embedded question

Embedded questions: polar and WH-information

u<sup>25</sup> pu<sup>13</sup> ɕiau<sup>25</sup>-tɿ<sup>21</sup> [ŋi<sup>25</sup> ɿ<sup>41</sup>-tau<sup>33</sup> ɿ<sup>41</sup>-pu<sup>13</sup>-tau<sup>33</sup> u<sup>25</sup>? ]<sub>Co.CL:O</sub>  
1SG NEG know 2SG recall-ACH recall-NEG-ACH 1SG

‘I don’t know if you remember me or not?’ 我不晓得你记得不记得我。

Pu<sup>13</sup> ɕiau<sup>25</sup>tɿ<sup>33</sup> [ (va<sup>25</sup>) tɕi<sup>25</sup> tai<sup>25</sup> tsou<sup>55</sup> ti. ]<sub>Co.CL:O</sub>  
NEG know there.be how.many hour clock PRT<sub>ASST</sub>

‘(I) don’t know what time it is.’

不晓得有几点钟嘢。

# Taiwanese Mandarin KNOW–*shuō*<sub><SAY</sub>

Taiwanese Mandarin: (cited from Huang Shuan-fan 2003: 440)

260. .. 他們 不 知道 說、

*tāmen*      *bù*      *zhīdao*      ***shuō***

3PL                      NEG      know      **say<sub>COMP</sub>**

261. .. 係 裏面 最近 有什麼樣的事情。

*xì*      *lǐmian*      *zuìjìn*      *yǒu*      *shémeyàng de*      *shìqing.*

dept      inside                      lately                      have      what:kind                      LIG                      matter

‘They didn’t know what was happening in the department.’

# Think complementation in Southern Min

爸： 啊 我，  
*a goá,*

PRT 1SG

想 講 我 唔 識 做 善事。

*siū<sup>n</sup>=kóng goá m bat chò siān-sū*

think=SAY<sub>THAT</sub> 1SG NEG EVD do good:deed

Father: ‘Me, - I thought that I’d never done any good deeds.’ (*Fate*: 81-82)

HEAR – [O/S pivot] – say:[Quotation]

Typical environment for Sinitic complementizer development:

(u<sup>25</sup>) t<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>33</sup>tɕi<sup>33</sup>    n̩i<sup>25</sup>    kaŋ<sup>25</sup> // [n̩i<sup>25</sup>    iau<sup>33</sup>    tau<sup>333</sup>  
1SG    hear                    2SG    say                    2SG    want<sub>FUT</sub>            to

Gu<sup>25</sup>za<sup>33</sup>foŋ<sup>55</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>ɣ<sup>33</sup>, ts<sup>h</sup>ɣ<sup>25</sup> ba<sup>0?</sup> ]**Co.CL:O**  
Guzhang                    go    be    Q

‘I heard you say you will go to Guzhang, right?’

我聽見你講//你要到古丈坊去，是吧？

# Ellipsis of O/S pivot

- Hearsay quotative + complement

u<sup>25</sup> t<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>55</sup>tɕi<sup>33</sup> ∅ kan<sup>25</sup> [ɕiaŋ<sup>33</sup> tɕin<sup>55</sup>-tɕin<sup>55</sup> o<sup>41</sup> kəu<sup>33</sup>  
1SG hear ∅ say PN next CLF  
ŋyɛ<sup>33</sup> iau<sup>33</sup> zɛ<sup>13</sup>.]Co.CL:O  
month want<sub>FUT</sub>come

‘I heard (it said) (that) Xiang JingJing will come next month.’

我聽見講向晶晶下個月要來。

# Ellipsis of both sentential subject and O/S pivot

-T<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>55</sup>tɕi<sup>33</sup> kaŋ<sup>25</sup> [Kau<sup>55</sup>fɤŋ<sup>55</sup> mɔŋ<sup>55</sup>lai sɛ<sup>25</sup> /kau<sup>55</sup>zun<sup>55</sup>/SWM] Co.CL:O

hear say PN next.year build high.school

‘(I) heard (that) a high school will be built in Gaofeng next year.’

- 聽見講高峰明年修高中。

-Ba<sup>13</sup> t<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>55</sup>tɕi<sup>33</sup> kaŋ<sup>25</sup>.

NEG hear say

- ‘(I) haven’t heard (that).’

- 口無聽見講。

- **t<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>55</sup>tɕi<sup>33</sup> kaŋ<sup>25</sup>** acts like an integrated unit ‘to hear (that)’ – as seen in response above
- We can analyse this as a kind of clause-initial hearsay evidential
- = the literal meaning of **t<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>55</sup>tɕi<sup>33</sup> kaŋ<sup>25</sup>**
- analogous to the use of tīngshuō 听说 in Mandarin, but with different morphological composition
- Nor does kaŋ<sup>25</sup> ‘say’ occur as V2 after verbs of perception & cognition in Waxiang

# Implicational hierarchy

- Waxiang basically allows for *propositional complementation* with the same classes of matrix verbs up to **(iii)** that can take complementizers in Taiwanese Southern Min, and the Mandarin varieties spoken in Beijing and Taiwan.
- The latter follow the implicational hierarchy of verb classes co-occurring with quotative complementizers:  
**(i) factive verbs in general**  $\supset$  **(ii) modal verbs**  $\supset$  **(iii) stative and emotion verbs**  $\supset$  **(iv) cognition and perception verbs**  $\supset$  **(v) speech act verbs**

# Summing up

- In terms of the currently recognized ‘diagnostics’ used for defining finiteness of complement clauses, the Waxiang complement clauses can be negated, contain modal verbs and aspect markers and even question forms of both polar and interrogative pronoun types.
- We also saw that Waxiang has a clause-initial hearsay evidential emerging from ‘X hear Y say’ through ellipsis of X and Y, a common discourse feature of Sinitic languages for given information, and maybe an ‘ignorative’ marker’ < NOT KNOW



## III.ii Matrix Modals

# Nature of modals

- As Wang & Shen (2017) have outlined, most of the Mandarin modal verbs are polysemous and many can be used with epistemic, deontic and dynamic interpretations in distinct syntactic contexts (they use Palmer's tripartite model).

Take the following two as one such example of polysemy:

(i) Wǎncān      **yīnggài**      Yuēhan      zhǔnbèi-hǎo      le  
dinner            should            PN            prepare-done            CRS

‘As for dinner, it is the case that Johann should have prepared it.’

(ii) Yuēhan      **yīnggài**      shuìjiào      le.  
PN            should            sleep            CRS

‘Johann should be in bed (requirement).’

- consider a couple of examples to show the different canonical realization of matrix modals and the higher degree of integration of the non-finite phrase, basically a VP, including a single verb, into the larger complex predicate.
- generally, no verbal aspect marking permitted
- clause-final modification permitted with discourse modal markers
- DMs take whole clause in scope

# Waxiang polysemous modals

## Participant-external modality - obligation

zan<sup>55</sup> min<sup>13</sup>                      t<sup>h</sup>ou<sup>55</sup>                      sɛŋ<sup>55</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>ŋ<sup>55</sup>                      tsua<sup>33</sup>                      liau<sup>25</sup>,  
PN    all    30    year    CRS

ka<sup>55</sup>                      zɿŋ<sup>13</sup>-tɕia<sup>55</sup>.

should                      form-family

张明都三十岁了， 应该成家。

‘Zhang Min is already 30 years old; (he) **should** get married.’

## Epistemic necessity

zɿ<sup>33</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>33</sup>tɕiəu<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>33</sup>                      ti,  
3SG                      yesterday                      go                      PRT<sub>ASST</sub>

ai<sup>55</sup>tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>33</sup>                      ∅                      ka<sup>55</sup>                      tau<sup>33</sup>                      pɿ<sup>41</sup>tɕŋ<sup>55</sup>                      ti.  
now                      ∅                      should arrive                      Beijing                      PRT<sub>ASST</sub>

他昨天走的， 现在应该到北京了。

‘He left yesterday, so he **should** have arrived Beijing by now.’

= ‘it **should be the case** that ...’

# Tripartition of modal verbs

So Waxiang has the same ‘problem’.

Adopting Plungian & van der Auwera’s (1998) framework for modality, we can draw up the following table of modals (indicating the correspondence with Palmer 1968)

- modal verbs tightly integrate with following verb phrase that acts as their complement

Table 1: Tripartition for modal auxiliary verbs  
(Plungian & van der Auwera 1998, Palmer 1968)

| EPISTEMIC 认识情态  | PARTICIPANT-EXTERNAL<br>Largely deontic 道义情态          | PARTICIPANT-INTERNAL<br>Largely volitional 动力情态  |
|---|---|--|
| POSSIBILITY<br>xa <sup>25</sup> 会 ‘it is possible that’<br>tie <sup>41</sup> 得 ‘it might be that’ | PERMISSION<br>tie <sup>41</sup> 得 ‘may’, ‘must’       | ABILITY – includes skill and physical ability<br>xa <sup>25</sup> 会 ‘can’<br>tie <sup>41</sup> 得 ‘able to’ (capacity)<br>Potential verb construction   |
| NECESSITY<br>ka <sup>55</sup> 该 ‘should (be the case)’  | OBLIGATION<br>ka <sup>55</sup> 该 ‘should’             | <u>WILLINGNESS, INTENTION</u><br>eiŋ <sup>25</sup> 想 ‘will’<br>k <sup>h</sup> ŋ <sup>25</sup> 肯  |
|   | NECESSITY<br>idu <sup>33</sup> 要 ‘have to’, ‘need to’ | <u>DESIRE</u><br>idu <sup>33</sup> 要 ‘want’<br><br>Clause <sub>1</sub> , [ tciəu <sup>25</sup> xau <sup>25</sup> 就好]<br>‘I <u>wish</u> Clause <sub>1</sub> ’<br><br>xŋ <sup>55</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ŋ <sup>33</sup> 欢喜 ‘like’, ‘ <u>wish</u> ’ |

Permission modal  $ti\epsilon^{41} \sim t\gamma^{41}$  得 ‘may’, ‘must’

Volitional modal  $\zeta i\eta^{25}$  想 ‘want, wish’ + non-finite phrase

36、  $z\epsilon^{33}$       **zuai**<sup>25</sup>  $\eta i^{25}$        $xo\eta^{25}$   $t\zeta^{hi\epsilon^{55}}$ ,  $\eta i^{25}$        $t\zeta i\omega^{25}$       **t $\gamma$** <sup>41</sup>       $k^{h\gamma^{33}}$ .  
3SG      allow 2SG      visit relatives 2SG      then      must      go  
他准你行亲去，你就得去。

37、 **pu**<sup>13</sup>      **zuai**<sup>25</sup>  $\eta i^{25}$        $xo\eta^{25}$   $t\zeta^{hi\epsilon^{55}}$ ,  $\eta i^{25}$        $ia^{25}$       **pu**<sup>13</sup>      **t $\gamma$** <sup>41</sup>       $k^{h\gamma^{33}}$ .  
NEG      allow 2SG      visit relatives 2SG      also      NEG      must      go  
不准你行亲，你也不得去：

38、  $\eta i^{25}$       **\zeta i\eta**<sup>25</sup>  $k^{h\gamma^{33}}$ ,  $pu^{13}$       **t $\gamma$** <sup>41</sup>       $k^{h\gamma^{33}}$ .  
2SG      want go      NEG      must      go  
你想去，不得去。

‘If they let you (= bride) visit your family, then you have to go. If they don’t let you visit home, then you may not go. Even if you want to go, you may not go.’ (Text: *Traditional marriage customs*)

# Modal complementation

- This short talk has not taken into account the pivot construction which also could be said to combine predicates in a distinct manner from the propositional and modal types.
- In the last example, the constituent  $n_i^{25}$  'you' is both the direct object of  $zuai^{25}$  'allow' and subject of the following verb phrase:  $xon^{25} t\epsilon^{hi\epsilon^{55}}$  'visit relatives'.
- At least, that is the parsing according to the notion of 'pivot construction'.



- In a stricter complementation approach, it would be a case of juxtaposition complementation and thus would belong to Huang's Type II control verbs which take complements that are 'somewhat non-finite':
- 
- [they allow] [you visit relatives]
- Verbal aspect marking, use of modals is certainly not possible for the lower complement clause which is understood to be posterior to the act of allowing

# Conclusion (i)

- This presentation has the purpose of providing an overview of two main types of clause-combining in Sinitic, with a focus on Waxiang
- The conclusions are the following:
- While there is no verbal morphology signalling finiteness, Waxiang can be shown through other ‘signature properties’ of its predicates to have both finite and non-finite types of complementation
- The language is arguably showing signs of an emerging clause-initial hearsay evidential which introduces a propositional complement, a category also found in other Sinitic languages

## Conclusion (ii)

- Waxiang does not make use of any complementizer as an enclitic to the first stage in the grammaticalization chain of speech act, cognition or perception verbs
- Furthermore, the language also has a large number of verbs which partake in the so-called 'pivot construction' which we leave open for discussion as to its place in complementation vis-à-vis SVCs – serial verb constructions

# Looking forward to your feedback!



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# Target examples II: Southern Min 閩南話 kóng “講”

(2) <Q 這 事 感覺 講,

<Q tsit4 su7 kam2-kak kong1

this matter feel saythat

這 足 危險 Q >

tse1 tsiok hui5-hiam3 Q >

this very dangerous

[Toyotomi said,] ‘I feel that the situation is very dangerous.’ (Japanese tales 1081-1083)