

CODING CAUSATIVES AND PUTATIVES IN A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE*

Chinfa Lien

ABSTRACT

The paper examines types of coding causatives and putatives in a diachronic perspective. Lexical and analytic coding of these two grammatical patterns are brought up for discussion. In general, Chinese witnesses a shift from lexical coding to analytic coding in its evolution from Old Chinese to Modern Chinese. Both labile causatives and putatives as ways of lexical coding prevalent in Old Chinese have the syntactic frame in common, and a verb or adjective in the frame may be construed as a labile causative or putative depending on the pragmatics-fed information. For analytic coding in modern Chinese in contrast to lexical coding in Old Chinese a survey of *Li Jing Ji*, a Southern Min script of a Ming play (1566 AD), turns up a range of verbs used as analytic

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causatives and putatives and types of grammatical constructions in which they occur. There is unmistakable evidence of interaction of lexico-semantic properties and syntactic patterns.

1. INTRODUCTION

The paper explores causatives and putatives in a typological and diachronic perspective. Main attention is focused on causatives and putatives in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記, Romance of the Lychee Mirror, a Ming script of a play (1566 AD) written in Southern Min as a dialect group mainly spoken in southern Fujian and Taiwan. Typologically speaking, there are at least three ways of coding causatives in Chinese: (1) lexical causatives, (2) synthetic (or morphological) causatives, and (3) analytic (or syntactic) causatives (Lien 1999). Lexical causatives can be further classified into two subtypes: (1a) labile causatives and (1b) suppletive causatives. Labile (or covert) causatives involve conversion or zero derivation (Marchand 1969, Clark & Clark 1979, Matthews 1991: 65, 81 & Lien 1999). Due to its typological characteristics Old Chinese as a more synthetic language tends to feature lexical and morphological coding of causatives. In the case of lexical causatives there is a noteworthy close parallelism of labile causatives and putatives especially manifested in the ambiguous grammatical constructions in which they occur.

Chinese has witnessed a gradual overhaul of typology from a synthetic to analytic way of coding causatives and putatives. Southern Min as an important Chinese dialect group is no exception, and the written document of the *Li Jing Ji* attests to the full-fledged development of analytic causatives and putatives as early as the sixteenth century. There is a set of verbs such as *khit⁴* 乞, *thoo³* 度, *kah⁴* 甲 (<教), *sai²* 使, *chhe¹* 差, *kio³* 叫, *hoan¹-hu³* 分付, *chhod⁷* 𢵿 (=挫), *Jia²* 惹, *in²* 引, *ti³* 致, and *thai⁷* 待 that occur in analytic causative constructions. By contrast, putative constructions embrace a relatively modest list of verbs such as *kio³-si⁷* 叫是 and *koo⁷* 怙.¹ Here the semantic distinction between

¹ The transliteration of Taiwanese Southern Min is largely based on the Church Romanization of Douglas (1873) with some minor modifications. For example, the diacritic tone marks have been abandoned in favor of numerical superscripts. No

analytic causatives and putatives, a pair of structurally parallel constructions, is captured in terms of a distinction between realis and irrealis, or put in more commonly used terms a discrepancy between fact and fiction.

2. THE CODING OF CAUSATIVES AND PUTATIVES

There are various ways of coding causatives in Chinese as (1) lexical causatives, (2) synthetic (or morphological) causatives, and (3) analytic (or syntactic) causatives (Lien 1999). Lexical causatives fall into two subtypes: labile causatives and suppletive causatives. Labile (or covert) causatives involve conversion by means of zero derivation (Marchand 1969, Clark & Clark 1979, & Matthews 1991: 65, 81). In terms of Beard (1993), conversion means there is no overt affixation but covert derivation. For example, we do not know the grammatical category of *shu*⁴ 樹 in Old Chinese (5 c. B.C. to 200 A.D.)² until it is used in a construction, as in *shu*⁴ *zhi*¹ *yi*³ *sang*¹ 樹之以桑 to plant-it-with-mulberry ‘the mulberry is planted’³. In other words, the determination hinges on a construction in which a word involving zero derivation occurs. Likewise, while it cannot be determined pending further research whether or not there are any synthetic putatives, we can be sure that there are labile and analytic putatives in Chinese.

distinction is made between *ch*, *chh* and *ts*, *tsh*, as they do not stand for phonemic contrast. The open *o* (i.e., /ɔ/) and the closed *o* are rendered as *oo* and *o*, as in *oo*¹ 烏 ‘black’ and *o*¹ 鍋 ‘cookware’.

² Old Chinese refers to what Norman (1988: 83-84) calls Classical period. See Tai and Chan (1999) for detailed discussion of issues relating to periodization.

³ The syntactic fragment is extracted from the protasis, *Wu*³ *mu*³ *zhi*¹ *zhai*², *shu*⁴ *zhi*¹ *yi*³ *sang*¹, ... 五畝之宅, 樹之以桑, ... five-A UNIT OF AREA-homestead plant-it-with-mulberry ‘(If) the mulberry is planted in every homestead of five mus of land’, of a conditional sentence in Mencius (Lau 1970: 51).

3. LEXICAL CODING

3.1 LABILE CAUSATIVES

Labile causatives take on the V_t -N construction in Old Chinese. There are four types of labile causatives in terms of the derivational history of the causative verb: (1) Transitivity V_t derived from V_i , as in *tui⁴ zhi¹* 退之 retreat-3RD SG. & PL. PRONOUN ‘cause somebody to retreat; hold him back’(Book XI)⁴, (2) Deadjectival V_t derived from Adj., as in *fu⁴ zhi¹* 富之 to rich-SG. & PL. PRONOUN ‘cause somebody to be rich; improve their circumstances’(Book XIII),⁵ (3) Denominal V_t derived from N, as in *Qi² Wei¹ Wang² yu⁴ jiang⁴ Sun¹ Bin⁴* 齊威王欲將孫臏 Qi-Wei-King-want-general-Sun Bin ‘King Wei of Qi wanted to make Sun Bin a general’, and (4) Complex V_t derived from simplex V_t , as in *Chang² dan⁴ wo³ yi³ yi² tao²* 嘗啖我以遺桃 once-eat-I-with-remnant-peach ‘have caused me to eat (viz., treated me to) the peaches that remain’ (Pan 1982: 221-225, Liu 1994: 198-203). All these examples involve a hidden abstract causative verb that has been lexically incorporated into the main verb (cf. Hale and Keyser 1993). The hidden abstract causative verb will emerge as the main verb in analytic causatives in modern Chinese.

3.2 LABILE PUTATIVES

Labile putatives are also realized as the V_t -N construction in Old Chinese.⁶ There are two types of labile causatives in terms of their derivational history: (1) denominal V_t derived from N, as in *Meng⁴ Chang² Jun¹ ke⁴ wo³* 孟嘗君客我 Meng Chang Jun-guest-me ‘Meng Chang Jun took me as his guest’, and (2) V_t derived from Adj., as in *Yu²*

⁴ Examples in (1) and (2) are both taken from Lun Yun 論語 *The Analects* recording sayings of Confucius translated by D. C. Lau (Lau 1992) to which each example owes its second rendition.

⁵ See Chou (1972: 121-136) for a detailed discussion of the distribution of adjectives in Old Chinese.

⁶ Like ‘regard sth. as’ in English a putative is a construction in which a property is imputed to an entity realized as a grammatical object (see Liu 1955).

*ren*² *shen*⁴ *yi*⁴ *zhi*¹ 漁人甚異之 fisherman-very-strange-it ‘The fisherman found it quite strange’ (Liu 1994: 195-198). One can see that there is a hidden putative verb incorporated into the main verb. The hidden verb will surface when the putative meaning is rendered analytically. Since labile causatives and putatives share the *V_t-N* construction, ambiguity between causative and putative interpretation is to be expected.

4. AMBIGUITY OF THE *V_t-N* CONSTRUCTION

Since labile causatives and putatives share the *V_t-N* construction, ambiguity between causative and putative interpretation is to be expected.⁷ For example, the *V_t xiao*³ 小 in the *V_t-N* construction can be understood as a causative verb meaning ‘make sth. smaller’, as in *Jiang*⁴ *ren*² *zhuo*² *er*² *xiao*³ *zhi*¹ 匠人斫而小之 carpenter-hack-and-small-it ‘The carpenter spoils this timber by whittling it away’ (Lau 1970: 68)⁸, or as a putative verb meaning ‘regard sth. as small’, as in *Kong*³ *zi*³ *deng*¹ *dong*¹ *shan*¹ *er*² *xiao*³ *lu*³ 孔子登東山而小魯 Confucius-ascend-East Hills-and-small-Lu ‘When Confucius climbed the Eastern Hills, the state of Lu looked small to him’ (Dobson 1959: 39). Yang (1930: 133-143) provides ambiguous examples of causatives and putatives. Pan (1982: 218-228) touches on the distinction between causatives and putatives in terms of different semantic roles of the object, but I believe that the distinction between them we arrive at is fed by pragmatic information especially in the cases of ambiguity. Here pragmatic information plays a part in sentence interpretation.

In a sense, labile causatives and putatives as a way of lexical coding (viz., zero derivation) are actually overtly structurally marked. In short, for labile classes the coding is structurally dependent. A consideration of the additional sense that *xiao*³ 小 takes on in *xiao*³ *tian*¹ *-xia*⁴ 小天下

⁷ Dobson (1959: 39) observes that a word used as a determinant word (attributive) in syntagma (see 2.6.2. class 2) occurring at β may be used factitively or putatively. Note that class 2 means the template of adj. + N. See also Ma (1993: 66-75) for discussion of labile causatives and putatives in Old Chinese.

⁸ The sentence is rendered as ‘The carpenter having cut it [the wood] up, made it too small’ (Dobson 1959: 39)

small-empire ‘take the empire to be small’⁹ in contrast to the simple qualitative sense of its counterpart (viz., the predicative use) in *tian¹-xia⁴ xiao³* 天下小 empire-small ‘The empire is small’ shows that it is the V_t-N construction that contributes the putative sense of ‘regard sth. as (adj.)’. In other words, special constructions may contribute meanings to sentence interpretation. It would be more economic to attribute the causative and putative meanings to constructions rather than list them for each lexical item.¹⁰

5. ANALYTIC CODING—ANALYTIC CAUSATIVES AND PUTATIVES

Aside from labile causatives and putatives as discussed above, analytic causatives and putatives (viz., the complex construction consisting of two verbs) also occurred in Old Chinese. The pivotal construction featuring the template of (*yi³* 以)-(*wei²* 爲) meaning ‘take ... as’ is a way of analytic coding in Old Chinese. X-V₁(*yi³* 以)-Y-V₂(*wei²* 爲)-Z as a pivotal construction is ambiguous between causative and putative interpretation.¹¹ For example, *Yi³ Chang²-an¹ jun¹ wei² zhi⁴* 以長安君爲質 take-Chang-an-prince-make-hostage ‘Take the prince from Chang-an as a hostage’ has a causative reading. A causative denotes a causal relation between two events: event 1 brings about event 2. The above clause means that the agent’s activity causes the prince from Chang-an to become a hostage. That is, he makes the prince from Chang-an a hostage. Here we can see that something has taken place

⁹ Of course, *xiao³ tian¹-xia⁴* 小天下 small-empire may also be taken as an attributive-noun construction meaning ‘small empire’ where *xiao³* 小 small functions as an attributive adjective rather than a putative verb.

¹⁰ For major claims of the theory of Construction Grammar see Fillmore et al (1988), Goldberg (1995), Michaelis & Lambrecht (1996), Jackendoff (1997) and Kay (1997).

¹¹ See Tang (1999) for a re-examination of pivotal construction in Chinese in terms of its syntactic and semantic properties. See Chou (1972: 77-81) for the construction involving the discontinuous form *yi³...wei²* 以...爲 take...make and the solid form *yi³ wei²* 以爲 that can be taken as a causative or a putative. It seems to be safe to observe that the modern use of *yi³ wei²* 以爲 as a verb that takes a clausal complement, be it a counterfactual or non-factive, is a further development of the putative use of *yi³...wei²* 以...爲.

turning the prince from Chang-an into a hostage. In short, Y changes into Z.

When $X - V_1(yi^3 \text{ 以 }) - Y - V_2(wei^2 \text{ 爲 }) - Z$ is given a putative interpretation, Y and Z are not the same, yet the subject (viz., the agent) tries to establish a metaphorical relation between them in terms of the semiotic principle of iconicity (Peirce 1955). In other words, a metaphorical mapping is explicitly expressed here since both source (Y) and target (Z) are present. Admittedly metaphorical mapping takes place on the level of proposition and Y and Z as nominal expressions alone do not constitute a proposition, but the propositional function containing Y and Z as shown above will yield a proposition when the variables in it are fleshed out by constants.¹² There are two mental spaces or rather two worlds (i.e., Y and Z) related by the linker *wei*².¹³ The subject acts as a creator that takes hold of one world and makes it into a new world. If the creation occurs in the real world, it is a causative; whereas if it occurs in the imaginary world then it is a putative. The distinction between them is in actuality a distinction between *realis* and *irrealis*. It is justifiable to speculate in terms of the usual route of grammaticalization proceeding from concrete to abstract domain that *realis* reading emerges before *irrealis* reading. Analytic putatives are exemplified by the following two clauses: (1) *yi*³ *lin*² *wei*² *he*⁴ 以鄰爲壑 take-neighbor-make-gully ‘take the neighboring state to be a pool’, and (2) *bu*⁴ *yi*³ *guo*²-*jia*¹ *wei*² *shi*⁴ 不以國家爲事 not-take-state-make-matter ‘do not take the state as an important matter’. As in the *labile* case, the difference between causative (*realis*) and putative (*irrealis*) readings is arrived at on the basis of pragmatic information. In a theory where the line between pragmatics and semantics is to be clearly drawn, one has yet to admit that there is an interaction between semantics and pragmatics. That is, sentence interpretation (semantics proper) is fed by our knowledge of the world (pragmatics proper).

¹² By contrast, *kia*ⁿ⁵ *te*² *loo*⁷ 行短路 walk-short-road ‘shorten one’s way, kill oneself’ involves an implicit metaphorical mapping, since the metaphor ‘Life is like a journey’ underlying such an expression is not covertly expressed.

¹³ See Fauconnier (1985) for the thesis of mental space. For the interesting idea of worldmaking, see Goodman (1978).

6. ANALYTIC CAUSATIVES IN LI JING JI

X-V₁(yi³ 以)-Y-V₂(wei² 爲)-Z as discussed above can be regarded as a kind of sui generis construction used exclusively to express causative and putative meaning in that the two verbs are invariably realized as yi³ 以 and wei² 爲 respectively.¹⁴ Another type of pivotal construction used as a causative featuring almost the same template, viz., X-V₁-Y-V₂, does not have such a restriction on the selection of verbs. In other words, V₁-is realized as common causative verbs like shi³ 使, ling⁴ 令, ming⁴ 命, qian³ 遣, etc., (Ma 1993: 63), and V₂ seems to be open-ended and can be filled by any verb as long as no semantic restriction is violated. As shall be clear from the following discussion, there are few Old Chinese causative survivals in Southern Min as attested in Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴ 荔鏡記 (Romance of the Lychee Mirror), a Ming script of a play (1566 AD), supposedly the earliest Southern Min colloquial text, written in a mixture of Chaozhou and Quanzhou Dialects. In the following, we will deal with a range of analytic causative verbs and putative verbs gleaned from Li Jing Ji.¹⁵

6.1 KHIT⁴ 乞

Khit⁴ 乞 as a polysemous word can be used in the dative (double-object) construction, as in (Goa²) beh⁴ phah⁴ chhiu²-chi² khit⁴ li² (我) 卜打手指乞你 (5.103) (I)-want-make-ring-give-you 'I will give you a ring', the pivotal construction, as in Li² tan³ loh⁸ nai⁷-chi¹ khit⁴ gun² ui⁵ ki³ 你揀落荔枝乞阮爲記 (26.353) you-throw-fall-lychee-give-me-as-sign 'You cast the lychee before me as a token (of love)', and the passive construction, as in Li² kang⁷ goa² khit⁴ lang⁵ chhi⁷ 你共我乞人

¹⁴ For the importance of studying special constructions in language see Bolinger (1961), Wierzbicka (1987), Fillmore et al. (1988), Wang (1991), Jackendoff (1997) and Culicover (1999).

¹⁵ See Wu (1970) for his important contribution to the challenging task of annotating Li Jing Ji. The two numerals enclosed in each pair of the parentheses following each example denote the act and the line where it occurs.

飼 (13.045) you-and-I-give-person-raise ‘You and I were enslaved’ (Lien 2002). In particular, *khit*⁴ 乞 has undergone further grammatical extension beyond its role as a ditransitive verb used primarily in the double-object construction. Its grammatical extension is manifested in four types of constructions (viz., A, B, & C), as shown in each of the following tables. besides V₁

Type A (S V₁ O₁ [乞 O₂] V₂) as a pivotal construction is an extension of the double-object construction (S V₁ O₁ 乞 O₂) with the addition of V₂. It can be regarded as the amalgam of two clauses¹⁶, viz., S V₁ O₁ 乞 O₂ (a double-object construction)+ S 乞 O₂ V₂ O₁ (a causative construction), where O₁ is the underlying object of V₂ besides V₁, as exemplified by *Phang*⁵ *chui*² *lai*⁵ [*khit*⁴ *goa*²] *soe*² *bin*⁷ 捧水來[乞我]洗面 (22.059) hold water come give me wash face ‘Fetch me the water (to wash my face with)’, where a deictic verb like *lai*⁵ 來 is optionally present between O₁ and 乞.¹⁷

Type A
S V ₁ O ₁ [乞 O ₂] V ₂
<i>Goa</i> ² <i>boe</i> ⁷ <i>mih</i> ⁸ [<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>li</i> ²] <i>chiah</i> ⁸ 我買物[乞你]食(22.309) I buy thing give you eat ‘I bought you something (to eat)’
<i>Gun</i> ² <i>pe</i> ⁷ <i>kah</i> ⁴ <i>goa</i> ² <i>lai</i> ⁵ <i>boe</i> ⁷ [<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>lang</i> ⁵] <i>chhi</i> ⁷ 阮父甲我來賣[乞人]飼 (13.050) my father ACC me come sell give person raise ‘My father sold me to somebody as his bondman’
<i>Bo</i> ⁵ <i>lang</i> ⁵ <i>thang</i> ⁷ <i>theh</i> ⁸ <i>i</i> ² [<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>li</i> ²] <i>che</i> ⁷ 無人通提椅[乞你]坐 (14.007) No person can take chair give you sit ‘No one can fetch the chair for you (to sit on)’
Type A

¹⁶ The notion of amalgam or more exactly syntactic amalgam is due to Bolinger (1961) and Lakoff (1974) where it is construed as a result of telescoping more than one proposition into a single sentence.

¹⁷ One can avoid each of the cumbersome translations that follow by ignoring the part enclosed in parentheses. *Kah*⁴ 甲, *liah*⁵ 力(<捌), and *chiong*⁷ 將 each can function as an accusative marker (abbreviated as ACC) signaling that the noun in question is a theme.

<i>Thai⁷ sio²-be⁷ tho² koa² the⁵-png⁷ lai⁵ [khit⁴ li²] chiah⁸</i> 待小妹討些兒茶飯來[乞你]食(25.050) wait little-sister beg some tea rice come give you eat ‘Let me get you some food and tea (to eat)’
<i>Gun² chhiuⁿ³ san¹ ko¹ [khit⁴ lin²] thiaⁿ¹</i> 阮唱山歌[乞恁]聽 (7.075) I sing mountain song give you listen ‘I will sing folk songs for you (to listen to)’
<i>Goa² khit⁴ chit⁸ siⁿ¹ geh⁸ [khit⁴ li²] king²</i> 我乞一生月來[乞你]檢 (9.059) I get one be-born month come give you pick ‘I will get the month of birth that you can examine’
<i>Pho⁷ kiam²-chng¹ lai⁵ [khit⁴ a¹-nia⁵] soe¹ thau⁵</i> 抱檢粧來[乞啞娘]梳頭’ (46.098) hold toilet-box come give young-lady comb head ‘Fetch my young lady the box (to come her hair)’

Type B (S (O₁)V₁ [乞 O₂] V₂) differs from Type A in the occurrence of O₁ in front of V₁, as in *Goa² taⁿ¹ liah⁸ choa⁵ oe⁷ seh⁴ khit⁴ li² thiaⁿ¹* 我今力拙話說乞你聽 (29.049) I-now-ACC-this-word-say-give-you-listen ‘Now I say this to you (and you listen), now I tell you this’, or its suppression, as in *Iah⁴-chhun¹, pho⁷ [khit⁴ i¹] boa⁵* 益春, 抱[乞伊]磨 (19.90) Yichun hold-give-him-polish ‘Take it (viz., the mirror) to him (to polish), Yichun’. Omission of S due to the constraint of information packaging yields a sentence like (*Goa² chi² chui² phang⁵ beh⁴ khit⁴ gun² a¹-nia⁵ soe² bin⁷* 我只水捧卜乞阮啞娘洗面 (22.063) (I)-this-water-carry-want-give-my-lady-wash-face ‘(I) fetch my young lady a basin of water (to wash her face with)’.¹⁸

Type B
S (O ₁)V ₁ [乞 O ₂] V ₂
<i>tan³ loh⁸ [khit⁴ i¹] khioh⁴ khi³</i> 掞落[乞伊]拾去(17.032) throw-fall-give-him-pick up-away ‘Drop it (viz., the wrapped lychee) and let him pick it up’
Type B

¹⁸ When an intransitive verb instead of a transitive verb occurs as V₂, a causative (rather than passive) reading can be ascertained, as in *phah⁴ khit⁴ li² si²* 打乞你死 (14.396) beat-give-you-die ‘beat you to death’.

<i>A¹-kong¹ hoah⁴ [khit⁴ i¹] jip⁸ khi³</i> 啞公喝[乞伊]入去(14.193) Grandpa call out-give-him/her-enter-go 'Grandpa asked her in'
<i>Chhiaⁿ² Chioh⁴ chit⁸ chun⁷ hong¹ chhe¹ [sang³ khit⁴ thiaⁿ¹</i> 請借一陣風吹 [送乞]聽 Pray borrow a whiff wind blow send give him listen (24.114) 'Pray for the wind to blow the message to him'
<i>Li² chiu³ choa⁷ tioh⁸ chiu³ [khit⁴ i¹] bing⁵-pik⁸</i> 你咒誓著咒[乞伊]明白 (26.528) You swear oath should swear give it clear 'You should make a clear oath'
<i>po³ [khit⁴ tai⁷-jin⁵/tia¹-ma²/saⁿ¹-chik⁴/lau⁷ toa⁷-lang⁵] tit⁴ chai¹</i> 報[乞大人/爹媽/三叔/老大人]得知 (49.141, 47.047 & 49.137) report give your excellency/ father mother/third uncle/the old man get k now 'Report to your excellency/parents/Third Uncle/the old man'
<i>Goa² chiong¹ si⁸ oe⁷ seh⁴ [khit⁴ li²] chai¹</i> 我將實話說[乞你]知(23.029) I ACC real word say give you know 'I tell you the truth'
<i>Goa² sau² [khit⁴ li²] khoaⁿ³</i> 我掃[乞你]看(26.431) I sweep give you look 'Let me clean it (viz., the court) and you can take a look'
<i>Goa² beh⁴ phah⁴ [khit⁴ li²] si²</i> 我卜打[乞你]死 (14.396) I want beat give you die 'I will beat you to death'

Type C featuring the construction *khi³ 乞 + NP+VP/AP* falls into two subtypes: (1) Type C1 in which complement clauses consist of verb phrases, and (2) Type C2 where complement clauses are composed of adjectival phases.

khi³ 乞 which originates as a ditransitive verb or rather a verb of giving undergoes further development in Type C1, and as exemplified by the following examples where it can serve as a causative verb or an agent marker in the passive construction (marked by +).¹⁹ Since causative construction and passive

¹⁹ The lexical convergence of passive and causative reading is also exhibited in *hoo⁷* 與 as a counterpart of *khit⁴ 乞* in modern Taiwanese Southern Min, *jiao⁴* 叫, *rang⁴* 讓 & *gei³* 給 in Mandarin, and *zhao²* 著 as attested in Middle Chinese texts (Zhang 1979:

construction involve different argument types, it is only when the verb in question is transitive can the construction be ambiguous between causative reading and passive reading. The resolution of ambiguity solely hinges on the pragmatic information involved. If the verb in question is intransitive the only reading available is in a causative sense. For example, *khit⁴ li² khi³* 乞你去 (50.091) where *khi³* 去 ‘go’ is an intransitive verb inevitably leads to a causative reading ‘Let you go’, whereas *khit⁴ lang⁵ chhi⁷* 乞人飼 (13.045) where *chhi⁷* 飼 ‘raise, feed’ is a transitive verb has a context-induced passive reading ‘be raised’, but it could take on a causative reading ‘Let somebody raise somebody else/an animal’ given an appropriate context (Lien 2003).

Type C1
S [乞 O ₂] V
<i>Tho² lai⁵ [khit⁴ li²] khi³ pa⁷ liau²</i> 討來[乞你]去罷了(22.281) Ask-for come give you go PRT(particle) ‘Fetch it and I will let you go’
<i>Niu⁵-kiaⁿ² chi² siu³-pang⁵ bo⁵ [khit⁴ lang⁵] kiaⁿ⁵</i> 娘子只繡房無[乞人]行(21.047) lady this chamber no give person walk ‘The lady’s chamber does not allow anyone to sneak about’
<i>Oan¹-hun⁵ kah⁴ a¹-kong¹ [khit⁴ i¹] tng² khi³</i> (冤魂)甲阿公[乞伊]返去 (24.289) (unavenged ghost) ask grandpa give him return away ‘The unavenged ghost urged grandpa to let him return’
+ <i>Gun² niu⁵-kiaⁿ² [khit⁴ li²] seh⁴ tit⁴ bo⁵ i³ su¹</i> 阮娘子[乞你]說得無意思(22.177) my young lady give you speak to-such-an-extent not-have sense ‘(My lady) was embarrassed by your talking’
<i>[khit⁴ goa²] seh⁴ oe⁷</i> [乞我]說話(45.186) give me say word ‘Let me speak’
Type C1
<i>M¹ thang¹ [khit⁴ a¹-kong¹ a¹-ma²] chai¹</i> 不通[乞啞公啞媽]知 (15.120)

Not can give grandpa grandma know 'Don't let grandparents know'
<i>M'</i> [<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>goa</i> ²] <i>chai</i> ¹ 不[乞我]知 (24.313) Not give me know 'Keep me in the dark'
<i>Bo</i> ⁵ [<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>i</i> ¹] <i>boa</i> ⁵ 無[乞伊]磨(19.061) No give him polish 'Don't let him polish it (viz., the mirror)'
[<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>i</i> ¹] <i>khioh</i> ⁴ <i>khi</i> ³ <i>khod</i> ⁿ³ [乞伊]拾去看(23.051) give him pick-up go look 'Let him pick it up and look at it'
+(<i>Goa</i> ²) [<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>a</i> ¹ - <i>kong</i> ¹] <i>khioh</i> ⁴ <i>lai</i> ⁵ <i>chhi</i> ⁷ (我)[乞啞公]拾來飼(22.360) I give grandpa collect come raise 'I was picked up by grandpa (to be raised)'.
[<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>li</i> / <i>gun</i> ²] <i>ke</i> ³ <i>khi</i> ³ [乞你/阮]過去(26.497/26.500, 26.507) give you/us pass 'Let you/us pass'
[<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>a</i> ¹ - <i>niu</i> ⁵] <i>tui</i> ⁵ [乞啞娘]搥 (26.201) give young-lady beat-with-fist 'Let you beat (Chen San) with your fist'
<i>Niu</i> ⁵ - <i>kia</i> ⁿ² <i>iu</i> ⁷ <i>bo</i> ⁵ [<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>goa</i> ²] <i>sau</i> ³ 娘子又無[乞我]掃 (26.433) Young lady also no give me sweep 'Why, you did not have me clean it (viz., the court)'
[<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>lin</i> ²] <i>khun</i> ³ [乞恁]睏 (29.100) give you sleep 'Let you (pl.) sleep'
<i>Chi</i> ⁿ⁵ - <i>gun</i> ⁵ <i>bo</i> ⁵ <i>thang</i> ¹ [<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>goa</i> ²] <i>than</i> ³ 錢銀無通[乞我]趁 (51.003) money no can give me earn 'I cannot make money'
[<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>gun</i> ²] <i>chhi</i> ⁷ <i>koa</i> ² <i>png</i> ⁷ [乞阮]飼些兒飯 (45.206) give me feed a little rice 'Let me feed you a bit'
+ <i>Li</i> ² <i>kang</i> ⁷ <i>goa</i> ² [<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>lang</i> ⁵] <i>chhi</i> ⁷ 你共我[乞人]飼 (13.045) you and I give person raise 'You and I were enslaved'
Type C1
<i>Sio</i> ² - <i>lang</i> ⁵ <i>theh</i> ⁸ <i>chhut</i> ⁴ <i>lai</i> ⁵ [<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>niu</i> ⁵ <i>kia</i> ⁿ² <i>li</i> ²] <i>khod</i> ⁿ³ 小人提出來, [乞娘仔尒]看 (22.292)

lowly person take exit out give young-lady you look 'Let me get it and show it to you'
<i>Siⁿ¹ geh⁸ [khit⁴ i¹] khi³ khoaⁿ³</i> 生月[乞伊]去看 (11.072) Born month give him go look 'Let him take a look at the month of birth'
<i>[khit⁴ li²] boe² mih⁸ chiah⁸</i> [乞你]買物食 (19.338) give you buy thing eat 'Let you buy something to eat'
<i>Ling⁵ hoe¹ kiaⁿ³ pho⁷ lai⁵ [khit⁴ niu⁵] chio³ bin⁷ bai⁵</i> 菱花鏡抱來[乞娘]照面眉 (22.009) water chestnut mirror hold come give young-lady shine face brow 'Fetch the mirror and let my lady look at her eyebrows in it'
<i>[khit⁴ sio² be⁷] boe² chiam¹ soaⁿ³</i> [乞小妹]買鍼線 (25.211) give little-sister buy needle thread '(I) give you this (to buy needlework)'
<i>[khit⁴ sio² be⁷] kuiⁿ¹ the² mng⁵</i> [乞小妹]關宅門 (24.381) give little-sister close residence gate 'Let me close the gate'
<i>kah⁴ niu⁵-kiaⁿ² chhut⁴ lai⁵ [khit⁴ goa²] kiⁿ³ chit⁸ e⁷</i> 甲娘子出來乞我]見一下 (37.026) order young lady exit come give me meet once 'Ask the young lady to come and see me'
<i>[khit⁴ goa²] chim¹ chit⁸ e⁷</i> [乞我]斟一下 (55.022) give me kiss once 'Let me kiss you'
<i>+ [khit⁴ lang⁵] liah⁸ chit⁸ tioh⁸</i> [乞人]力一著 (5.0381) give me catch one CL(classifier). 'be caught'

Type C2 involves the use of adjectival phrases in complement clauses, as in *khit⁴ gun² kiaⁿ¹ chit⁸ thau⁵ ling² koaⁿ⁷ to¹ tih⁴* 乞阮驚一頭冷汗都滴 (29.119) '(It) so scared me that my head was dripping with cold sweat'.

Type C2
S [乞 O] Adj
<i>[khit⁴ goa²] kiaⁿ¹ chit⁸ tng³</i> [乞我]驚一頓 (24.167)

give me scare a CL. 'Gave me a start'
[<i>khit</i> ⁴ <i>gun</i> ²] <i>kia</i> ⁿ¹ <i>chit</i> ⁸ <i>thau</i> ⁵ <i>ling</i> ² <i>koa</i> ⁿ⁷ <i>to</i> ¹ <i>tih</i> ⁴ 乞阮驚一頭冷汗都滴 (29.119) give me a head cold sweat all drop '(It) so scared me that my head was dripping with cold sweat'.

6.2 THOO³ 度

The causative use of *thoo*³ 度 in the pivotal construction S -V₁-O₁ - 度_v - O₂ - V₂ can be illustrated by *Pang*⁵ *thng*¹ *lai*⁵ *thoo*³ *goa*² *soe*² *bin*⁷ 捧湯來度我洗面 (22: 076) carry-hot water-come-give-me-wash-face 'Bring me a basin of hot water to wash my face with'. Here O₂ as the goal or recipient is at once the object of *thoo*³ 度_v and the subject of V₂, whereas O₁ is the theme of V₁ and the instrument of V₂. The above construction must have originated from the following structure: S-V-O₁-度_v -O₂, exemplified by *Tho*² *he*²-*iu*⁵ *chi*ⁿ⁵ *thoo*³ *goa*² 討油火錢度我 beg-oil fire money-give-me 'fetch the contribution for me' (45.178).²⁰ If a verb like *ing*⁷ 用 'use' is added, it will become a serial verb construction in which the second part is a pivotal construction with a causative meaning. Thus, the whole expression means 'fetch the contribution and let me use it'.

From the above discussion we can see *thoo*³ 度 functions like *khit*⁴ 乞 except that it does not occur in the passive construction. It occurs far less frequently than *khit*⁴ 乞, and seems to be a dialectal variant. If *thoo*³ 度 is regarded as a precursor of *hoo*⁷ 與²¹, then it is quite plausible that the

²⁰ This is what a jailer told a prisoner's visitor. *He*²-*iu*⁵ *chi*ⁿ⁵ 油火錢 oil-fire-money literally peanut oil charge is the bribe that the jailer collects for favors done.

²¹ If we focus on the phonological shapes alone while ignoring graphic representations for the time being, it can be conjectured that *hoo*⁷/hɔ/ may be derived from *thoo*³ /t'ɔ/ through spirantization of the aspirated stop initial. That is, if 與 is a viable etymon for *hoo*⁷ in modern Southern Min, its earlier form may be *too*³, which was written as 度 in the Middle Chinese period. The rationale is that the MC 以 initial of 與 alternates with the MC *d- (定) initial in the Old Chinese period (Zhou 1992 72-74). Thus, the initial /t'/ of *thoo*² as a reflex of the 以 initial of 與 is to be expected. In other words, it turns out that /t'ɔ/ and /h'ɔ/ represent different stages of phonological development and can be traced to a common origin. The tonal discrepancy of *hoo*⁷ and

dialectal variants have developed into a competing relationship in some Southern Min dialects, especially as spoken in Taiwan where *hoo*⁷ 與 has crowded out *khit*⁴ 乞. However, *khit*⁴ 乞 is still quite robust in Chaozhou and Fuzhou dialects.²² Evidently its fate varies with sub-dialects.

6.3 *KAH*⁴ 甲 (<教)

*Kah*⁴ 甲 is a demotic character for 教 as a causative verb, as in *kah*⁴ *i'* *tng*² *khi*³ 甲伊轉去 (24.309) order-him-turn-away 'order him to return', *Sa*ⁿ¹ *ko*¹ *kah*⁴ *goa*² *kang*⁷ *li*² *chau*² *khi*³ *choan*⁵ *chui*¹ 三哥甲我共你走去泉州 (33.044) third brother-order-me-and-you-run-go-Quanzhou 'Third brother asked me to escape to Quanzhou with you', and *Li*² *kah*⁴ *Sio*² *chhit*⁴ *phah*⁴ *goa*² 你甲小七打我 (37.070) you-order-Little Seven-beat-me 'You had Little Seven beat me'.

Besides its use as a causative verb, *kah*⁴ 甲 can also be used as a demotic word for *ka*⁷ (<*kang*⁷) 共, as in (*Gun*² *pe*⁷) *ka*⁷ *goa*² *lai*⁵ *boe*⁷ *khit*⁴ *lang*⁵ *chhi*⁷ (阮父) 甲我來賣乞人飼 (13.050) (my father)-ACC-me-come-sell-give person-raise ' (My father) sold me to someone (for him to bring me up)' where *ka*⁷ is a theme marker in a disposal construction, and *Sio*²-*chhit*⁴ *ka*⁷ *a*¹-*ma*² *tho*² *chit*⁸ *tui*³ *kim*¹ *hoe*¹ 小七甲啞媽討一對金花 (13.114) Little Seven-from-grandma-ask for-a pair-golden flower 'Little Seven asked the grandma for a pair of gold flowers' where *ka*⁷ is a source marker.

6.4 *SAI*² 使

The causative verb *sai*² 使 as a survival of OC causative verbs is quite productive in Li Jing Ji, as in *Gun*² *cha*⁷-*boo*⁷-*jit*⁸ *sai*² *Iah*⁴-*chhun*¹ *lai*⁵ *kang*⁷ *li*² *seh*⁴ 阮昨暮日使益春來共你說 (14.008) I-yesterday-order-Yichun-come-with-you-speak 'I had Yichun tell you yesterday', and *Niu*⁵-*kia*ⁿ² *sai*² *kan*² *chut*⁴-*lai*⁵ *thia*ⁿ¹ 娘仔使簡

*thoo*³ can be explained away quite easily since Tone 3 of 度 *thoo*³ in present-day Quanzhou dialect is a result of the merger of earlier Tone 3 and Tone 7. Note that 度 as a verb of giving is attested in Middle Chinese texts (Wang 2001: 43-44).

²² See Chappell (2000) for a list/table of Min dialects using *khit* versus *hoo*.

出來聽 (19.012) Young lady-order-maid-exit-come-listen ‘The lady got me (the maid) to come out and listen’. It seems to have been phased out in modern Southern Min probably due to homophonic clash with its taboo sense, as in *sai² lin² nia⁵* 使恁娘 drive-your mother ‘fuck your mother’, where *sai²* 使 is a four-letter word to be avoided in decent speech.²³

6.5 CHHE¹ 差

Chhe¹ 差 did not develop its causative function until the late OC period. From the data extracted from Li Jing Ji we find that it is less productive than *sai²* 使, as in *Chhe¹ lang⁵ liah⁸ kau³ kong¹-thiaⁿ¹* 差人力到公廳 (44.155) dispatch-person-catch-to-court ‘dispatch a yamen runner to bring him to the court’, and *Gun² si⁷ ti¹-chiu¹ chhe¹ lai⁵ liah⁸ lin² san¹ lang⁵* 阮是知州差來力恁三人 (43.009) we-be-magistrate-send-come-seize-you-three-person ‘The magistrate sent us to arrest you three’. Moreover, the range of its use is more limited and only usable in some very special contexts.

6.6 KIO³ 叫

Kio³ 叫 is a very productive polysemous word. It can be used as a verb of sound emission, a verb of naming and a causative verb, as in *pang³, gun² kio³* 放, 阮叫 (26.459) let go-I-call ‘Let me go, or I will call’, and *kio³ i¹ choe³ koaⁿ¹ lang⁵* 叫伊做官人 (29.123) call-him-make-official ‘call him my lord/husband’, and *kio³ Iah⁴-chhun¹ siu¹-sip⁸ hing⁵-li²* 叫益春收拾行李 (33.085) order-Yi-chun-pack-luggage ‘have Yi-chun pack the luggage’. It can even function as a quotative marker or rather a marker of reported speech, as in *Kio³, li² chiong⁷ siⁿ¹-hun⁷* 叫, 你障生分 (19.063) call-you-so-strange “‘you are so strange to us”, quoth (my lady)’. This is interesting in terms of its metalinguistic function, viz.,

²³ As elucidated in Stimson (1966) some sporadic irregular phonological change can be attributed to homophonic clash since the taboo form is more resilient and not liable to erosion. In our case, a syntactic construction can be squeezed out by a taboo form. But the form *sai²* 使 is still used in polysyllabic modal verbs like *e⁷-sai²-tit⁴* 會使得 ‘can’ and *be⁷-sai²-tit⁴* 袂使得 ‘may not’; its survival may be due to its insulation in combination form immune from the onslaught of taboo forms.

the function of mention (vs. use) in the sense of Quine (1940). *Hoan*¹-*hu*³ 分付 means ‘tell, instruct, command’, ‘caution’ and ‘enjoin, tell, exhort’, somewhat similar in meaning to *kau*¹-*tai*³ 交代 ‘tell, order, command, bid, direct, instruct a person to do something’ (cf. *ding*¹-*ning*² 叮嚀/*ding*¹-*zhu*³ 叮囑 ‘to urge again and again, warn, exhort’ in Mandarin).

6.7 HOAN¹-HU³ 分付

*Hoan*¹-*hu*³ 分付 means ‘tell, instruct, command’, ‘caution’ and ‘enjoin, tell, exhort’, somewhat similar in meaning to *kau*¹-*tai*³ 交代 ‘tell, order, command, bid, direct, instruct a person to do something’ (cf. *ding*¹-*ning*² 叮嚀/*ding*¹-*zhu*³ 叮囑 ‘to urge again and again, warn, exhort’ in Mandarin).

*Hoan*¹-*hu*³ 分付 is ambiguous between the verb of communication and the causative verb, as in *Goa*² *hoan*¹-*hu*³ *nng*⁷ *kia*ⁿ²-*ji*⁵, *chi*² *khi*³ *loo*⁷ *siong*⁷ *tioh*⁸ *soe*³-*ji*⁷ 我分付二仔兒, 只去路上著細膩 (2.108, 109) I-instruct-two-child this-go-road-on-should-careful ‘I warn my two children (viz., son and daughter-in-law) that they should be careful on their journey’ and *Toa*⁷-*lang*⁵ *hoan*¹-*hu*³ *an*¹-*pai*⁵ *toh*⁴ *kang*⁷ *i*² 大人分付安排桌共椅 (13.034) master-instruct-arrange-table-and-chair ‘The master gave instructions that tables and chairs be put in order’.

6.8 CHHOA⁷ 𢵇 (= 𢵇)

𢵇 is the demotic character used in Li Jing Ji to render the etymologically viable lexeme 𢵇 *choa*⁷ pronounced *ye*⁴ in Mandarin.²⁴ This lexeme has three senses, viz., (1) ‘take, lead’, (2) ‘(a male) marries (a female)’, and (3) ‘cause’, in Li Jing Ji. While the first and second senses are still very much alive in modern Southern Min, the third sense,

²⁴ *Ye*⁴ 𢵇 has the sound gloss: *Yang*² *lie*⁴ *qie*¹ 羊列切, *yin*¹ *yi*⁴ 音曳, *ru*⁴ 入, *xue*¹ *yun*⁴ 薛韻, *yu*⁴ *si*⁴ 喻四 (Wang et al 2000: 356). Note that *Ye*⁴ 𢵇 and *ye*⁴ 𢵇 are graphic variants. Lin (1999: 146) turns up the documentary evidence: *Tui*¹ *er*² *xing*², *ye*⁴ *er*² *hou*⁴ *wang*³ 推而行, 曳而後往 push-and-move pull-and-then-go ‘He has to be pushed before he will move and dragged before he will take a step’ (Lin 1957: 75) (*Zhang*¹-*Zi*³, *Tian*¹-*xia*⁴ 莊子天下, Cao 2000: 496-498). In *Guang*³-*yun*⁴ 廣韻, *yi*⁴ 曳 is taken to mean *qian*¹ *ye*³ 牽也 ‘to pull’.

viz., its causative function, has become extinct. The first sense can be found in the following two sentences: *Chhien¹-ban⁷ chhoa⁷ gun² khi³ kiⁿ³ goaⁿ¹-lang¹* 千萬掙阮去見阮官人 (45.152) by all means-lead-us-to-meet-our master ‘take us to see our master (viz., husband) by all means’ and *I¹ saⁿ¹ lang⁵ si⁷ saⁿ¹ chhoa⁷ chau²* 伊三人是相掙走 (40.022) he-three-person-mutually-lead-run ‘The threesome eloped’. The second sense is illustrated by *Iok⁴-ding⁷ chi² kau² geh⁸ beh⁴ chhoa⁷ niu⁵-kiaⁿ²* 約定只九月卜掙娘仔 (30.025) appoint-this-ninth-moon-want-marry ‘The ninth moon was appointed for marrying the young lady’.

The causative verb *choa⁷* 掙 (i.e., the third sense) is used in the X-V₁-Y-V₂/Adj construction where X may be an NP or a clause and V₂ or Adj. denotes a resultative state. That is, a factive subject or a sentential subject, not an agentive subject, brings about a state of affairs, as in *Chi² king² chhoa⁷ lang⁵ sim¹ chiau⁵-chhui⁷* 只景掙人心憔悴 (2.070) this-scene-cause-person-heart-emaciated ‘The situation made me miserable’, *Jit⁸-thau⁵ tng⁵, chhoa⁷ lang⁵ bo⁵-i³* 日頭長, 掙人無意 (24.006) sun-long cause-person-no-sense ‘The long day made one bored’, and *Chhiu⁷-na⁵ oo¹-am³ chhoa⁷ lang⁵ kiaⁿ¹* 樹林烏暗掙人驚 (49.007) woods-dark-cause-person-scared ‘The darkness of the woods scared me’.

6.9 JIA² 惹

Jia² 惹 as a causative verb is used in songs as well as colloquial speech, as in *Lim⁵ hiaⁿ¹ li² ai³ jia² su⁷* 林兄你愛惹事 (5.075) Lim-older brother-you-love-cause-matter ‘You like to make trouble, Brother Lin’, *kim¹-toaⁿ³ jia²-chhut⁴ chi² tai⁷-chi⁷* 今旦惹出只事志 (36.019) now-you-cause-out-this-matter ‘You make such trouble now’, *Jia² tit⁴ i¹ sim¹ tang⁷* 惹得伊心動 (23.059) cause-to such an extent-she-heart-stir ‘arouse her love’, *ti³-jia² chit⁸ piⁿ⁷ u⁷ chui⁵ ti¹* 致惹一病有誰知 (25.004) such that-cause-one-illness-have-who-know ‘Who knows that I got ill?’ and *In²-lia² i¹ lang⁵ choe³ mih⁴* 引惹伊人做乜 (26.141) cause-him-person-do-what ‘What did you provoke him for?’.

6.10 IN² 引

In² 引 as an ordinary verb means ‘lead, guide’, as in *Thai⁷ gun² in² gun² niu⁵-kiaⁿ² khi³ hoe¹-hng⁵ lai⁷ khoaⁿ³ hoe¹* 待阮引阮娘仔去花園內看花 (23.049) wait-me-guide-my lady-go-garden-inside-watch-flower ‘Let

me take my lady to view the flowers in the garden’. As a causative verb it is often used in songs, as in *Se¹-hong¹ ling² bi⁵-bi⁵, in²-jia² lang⁵ sim¹ pi¹* 西風冷微微, 引惹人心悲 (25.019-20) west wind-coldish cause-person-heart-sad ‘The freezing cold of the west wind made one sad’, and *Too⁷-koan¹ kio³ goat⁸, in²-tang⁷ sim¹-chiaⁿ⁵* 杜鵑叫月, 引動心情 (24.170-71) cuckoo-cry-moon cause-move-mood ‘The cry of the cuckoo under the moonlight disturbed my heart’.

6.11 *ti³* 致

The causative verb *ti³* 致 tends to form a part of V-O compound verbs, as in 三哥不必致疑 *saⁿ¹-ko¹ put⁴-pit⁴ ti³ gi⁵* (26.598) third-older brother-not-necessary-tend toward-doubt ‘Third Brother need not have doubts’, and *Un¹-khun⁵ ti³ i³ pai³ m²-m²* 殷勤致意拜姆姆 (53.025) attentively-devotedly-do obeisance-mother-in-law ‘pay respects to one’s mother-in-law courteously and whole-heartedly’.

6.12 *thai⁷* 待

Thai⁷ 待 as a synonym of *tan²* 等 is a quite productive free form in Li Jing Ji. *Thai⁷* 待 seems to lose the competition to its synonymous counterpart *tan²* 等 in modern Southern Min as well as Mandarin; *thai⁷* 待 is a bound form whereas *tan²* 等 is a free form.

As attested in Li Jing Ji, *thai⁷* 待 functions like a causative verb in a pivotal construction, especially followed by an object denoting the speaker realized either as a first person pronoun or a personal name. It means ‘let’ or ‘allow’, as in *Thai⁷ gun² kio³ Iah⁴-Chun¹ chhut⁴ lai⁵ siong¹-liong⁵* 待阮叫益春出來商量 (33.037) wait-me-call-Yi-chun-exit-out-discuss ‘Let me send for Yi-chun for discussion’, and *Thai⁷ Sio²-Be⁷ khi³ tho² lai⁵* 待小妹去討來 (22.298) wait-little sister-go-beg-come ‘Let me (humble sister) go and fetch it’.

Thai⁷ 待 has two basic senses: (1) ‘treat, deal with’ and (2) ‘wait for’. Its causative sense may develop from the second sense, since there are many examples showing this use, as in *Thai⁷ bing⁵-todⁿ³ ke¹ lang⁵ lai⁵* 待明旦家人來 (45.042) wait-tomorrow-family member-come ‘Wait until

tomorrow when my family members/servants come'.²⁵

7. ANALYTIC PUTATIVES IN LI JING JI

Compared with analytic causatives, analytic putatives seem to be quite rare, an intriguing phenomenon whose motivation remains a mystery to me.

7.1 *KIO*³-*SI*⁷ 叫是

In its putative function *kio*³-*si*⁷ 叫是 means 'take X as Y', but it has developed a counterfactive sense, as in *kio*³ *si*⁷ *choan*⁵-*chiu*¹ *lang*⁵ *phah*⁴ *phoa*³ 叫是泉州人打破 call-be-Quanzhou-person-strike-broken (19.298) 'thought that it was the man from Quanzhou that broke it', and *Goa*² *choo*¹-*thau*⁵ *kio*³ *si*⁷ *chiao*² 我初頭叫是鳥 (24.116) I-at first-call-be-bird 'I thought at first that it was a bird'.

*Kio*³-*si*⁷ 叫是 might be a telescoped form of the pivotal construction *kio*³ X *si*⁷ Y where X and Y are a discontinuous sequence and the copula *si*⁷ 是 enjoys its independent status as a verb. That is, Y is first limited to noun phrases and later extends to clauses when *si*⁷ 是 ceases to be independent and co-occurs with the verb *kio*³ 叫 to form a compound verb. The loss of *si*⁷ 是's independence and the new proposition-denoting role that Y assumes may conspire to induce a counterfactive meaning in the compound verb *kio*³-*si*⁷ 叫是. A parallel example of counterfactives in modern Taiwanese Southern Min is *liah*⁸-*cho*³ 擗做 seize-make 'thought (mistakenly)', and its counterpart in Mandarin *yi*³-*wei*² 以為. All these examples may owe their counterfactive meaning to the shift of construction types.

²⁵ In Zu Tang Ji 祖堂集 (ca. 952 A.D.), a Chan Buddhist text dating back to the late Tang dynasty, *dai*⁴ 待 was still used a free form meaning 'wait', as in *Dai*⁴ *wo*³ *mie*⁴ *hou*⁴ *liu*⁴ *shi*² *qi*¹ *nian*² 待我滅後六十七年 (1.063.08) wait-me-perish-after-sixty-seven-year 'Wait until sixty seven years later following my extinction' and *Dai*⁴ *wo*³ *si*³ *hou*⁴ *ji*² *xiang*⁴ *ru*² *dao*⁴ 待我死後即向汝道 (1.106.11) wait-I-die-after-then-to-you-say 'will tell you right after my death' (Yanagida (1980: 679-680). Dr. Hilary Chappell (p.c.) notes that *deng*³ 等, a synonym of *dai*⁴ 待, is used as a passive marker in some dialects.

7.2 KOO⁷ 怙

*koo*⁷ 怙 is glossed as ‘trust in’, as in *koo*⁷ *chit*⁸ *ki*¹ *chhui*² 怙蜀枝喙 rely on-one-mouth ‘have nothing to trust to but one’s own talking’ (Douglas 1873: 232). Tung (2001: 671) takes it to mean ‘solely rely on’, as in *koo*⁷ *chit*⁴ *ki*¹ *chhui*³ *kong*², *bo*⁵ *loo*⁷ *ing*⁷ 怙蜀枝喙講, 無路用 rely on-one-mouth-speak no-use ‘It is useless merely talking’. Its sense of dependence is attested in Li Jing Ji, as in *tia*¹-*ma*² *koo*⁷ *li*² *hong*⁷-*thai*⁷ 爹媽怙你奉侍 (51.093) father-mother-depend on-you-wait on ‘Parents depend on your attendance’, *Gun*² *ta*ⁿ¹ *chit*⁸ *sin*¹ *chn*⁵ *koo*⁷ *goa*² *gun*¹ *chu*²-*i*³ 阮今一身全怙我君主意 (33.076) I-now-one-body-rely on-my-lord-determine ‘Now my entire self is solely dependent on your (my lord’s) discretion’, and *koo*⁷ *li*² *siong*¹ *chiong*¹-*chiu*⁷ 怙你相將就 (25.226) depend on-you-mutually-put up with ‘It depends on your bearing with me’,²⁶ but there are cases where *koo*⁷ 怙 and *koo*⁷-*kio*³ 怙叫 or its graphic variant 辜叫 yield the putative sense, as in *Goa*² *koo*⁷ *li*² *u*⁷ *chin*¹-*sim*¹ 我怙你有真心 (26.357) I-trust-you-have-real-heart ‘I trust (viz., rely on the fact) that your love is true’, and *Goa*² *koo*⁷ *kio*³ *si*⁷ *tien*¹-*hui*¹ *ma*² 我怙叫是天妃媽 (6.209) I-think mistakenly-be-goddess-goddess ‘I thought that it was the Goddess of Ma-zu’. The last example reminds us of analytic putatives in Old Chinese, as discussed in 5.

8. CLOSING REMARKS

In this paper we have addressed the issue of coding semantic categories as to how causativity and assumption are expressed in Chinese. These two semantic categories are different and denote real and imaginary worlds respectively. Yet they seem to be convergent in some respects. The use of identical constructions for both purposes seems to indicate that there is a link between them. Perhaps the notion of causativity plays a pivotal and fundamental role in our epistemological world, and real and imaginary worlds

²⁶ Here the reciprocal adverb *siong*¹ 相 which used to mean ‘mutually, each other’ has taken on a unidirectional sense, and functions pretty much like a first person pronoun referring to the speaker herself. See Lien (1994) for more discussions.

are essentially instances of possible worlds. In coming to terms with reality world-making is important to us. One of the major means of world creation is metaphor by which one establishes a connection between different worlds by sensing or even forging similarity between them, viz., in terms of the principle of iconicity.

Two major types of coding causatives and putatives, viz., lexical and analytic coding, in *Li Jing Ji* 荔鏡記, are brought up for discussion among other types of coding. Lexical, labile causatives and putatives are quite common in Old Chinese and have vanished in modern Chinese due to typological shift in the evolution of Chinese language. They involve covert coding. (viz., conversion or zero derivation), and it is necessary to postulate hidden abstract (viz., causative and putative) predicates to account for them. The covert semantic category of causativity and assumption can be viewed as being coded structurally. That is, it is the construction in which the labile verb occurs that contributes causative or putative interpretation. The choice of each of the two interpretations is pragmatically-driven; that is, semantics is not autonomous and needs to be fed by pragmatic information.

Language is always in a state of constant permutation, and notwithstanding its creative nature it is also a product of historical development. It is full of prefabs and *sui generis* constructions that we have inherited and have to grapple with in the path of our growth. As shown in the above discussion, causatives and putatives manifest the dynamic aspects of lexical, semantic and syntactic change in Southern Min as attested in *Li Jing Ji*. One can see the co-existence and competition of senses of polysemous verbs in action, and oftentimes there is an inevitable tension between lexical and grammatical aspects of lexical items. The trade-off may not be always clean-cut and there are always incomplete change or rather residues as a result of competition.²⁷

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²⁷ Although the thesis of competition as a cause of residue was originally proposed to account for phonological phenomena (Wang 1969), it can be extended beyond phonology to syntactic change and even semantic change. See Yue (1992, 1993) and Lien (1997) among others for exploring such a possibility.

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Chinfa Lien
Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Tsing Hua University
Hsinchu, Taiwan 300
cflien@mx.nthu.edu.tw

使動式和意動式表現法的流變

連金發

國立清華大學

本文從歷時的觀點探討使動式和意動式表現類型的演變，特別著眼於這兩種語式的詞彙和分析表現法。漢語自上古漢語到現代漢語的其中一種演變大體上可以看成是由詞彙表現法轉入分析表現法。上古漢語中無定性的使動或意動述詞(即詞彙表現法的一種)出現於動賓式中。述詞，不論是動詞或形容詞，在動賓式中或解作使動動詞或解作意動動詞，端賴語用信息而定。現代漢語的分析表現法有別於古代漢語的詞彙表現法，這點可以從明代閩南語戲文荔鏡記(西元1566年)的語料得到印証，從其中我們歸納出一系列分析的使動和意動動詞及幾種相關的語法格式，由此可以明顯看出詞彙語意屬性和句法格式的互動關係。