Valence-changing phenomena and stance marking in Chinese: On the development of 共 in Classical Chinese and Southern Min

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Stance marking at the periphery: RP

• Stance can be marked in various ways.
• And at different levels.

• Chinese is known for its sentence final particles (SFPs).
• These have recently been discussed in terms of ‘right periphery’ (RP) stance markers.

(1) 這 房子 是 新 蓋 的 吧？ (Mandarin)

zhe  fangzi  shi  xin  gai  de  ba
this  house  COP  newly  build  PRT  SFP

‘Is this house newly built?’

Note: This sentence involves speculation: ‘I think it may be newly built.’

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Stance marking at the periphery: LP

• Like other languages, Chinese also has many discourse markers in utterance-initial position.
• These discourse markers also often convey the speaker’s subjective and intersubjective stance.
• These, alternatively, have been referred to as ‘left periphery’ (LP) stance markers.

(2) 好了，别玩了 (Mandarin)

Haole, bie wan le
DM don’t play PFV
‘Ok, don’t play anymore (it’s enough).’
Non-periphery stance marking

• In recent years, there have also been more studies on non-periphery stance markers.

• Examples include the following:
  • attitudinal markers derived from postverbal directional particles (Chor 2012, 2014)
    – Cantonese *maai* (marker of speaker’s negative evaluation)
    – Cantonese *faan* (marker of speaker’s positive evaluation)
(3) 沖返個涼

\[ \text{cung faan go loeng} \]

wash FAAN CL shower

‘(Let me) enjoy a shower.’

(鬼馬雙星 Games Gamblers Play 1974)
你識埋嘅朋友，映衰我呀！
‘You’ve fallen in with awful company – it reflects badly on me!’

(逃學威龍Ⅱ Fight Back to School II 1992)
Non-periphery stance marking:

• This study will focus on another non-periphery stance marker, namely the speaker-affectedness marker in unaccusative ‘give’ constructions.
• Lin (2011) refers to this marker as an adversity marker.
• It also signals the speaker’s unexpectedness.

(5) 花與伊死去 (Hui’an)

flower give 3SG die go

‘Unfortunately, the flower has died.’
Objectives

• To trace the development of 共 from Classical Chinese to contemporary Sinitic languages
  VERB > Object marker > Stance marker

• To examine the valence-changing phenomena in 共 constructions in Classical Chinese and Southern Min
  As an object marker, 共 extends from 3P > 2P constructions.

• To investigate the relationship between valence change and stance marking
  As a stance marker, 共 signals the speaker’s (inter)subjective stance, often conveying a warning to the addressee.

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Overview

• Defining valence change
  – Examples of ‘give’ constructions to illustrate valence change phenomena

• Development of 共 in Classical Chinese and Southern Min
  – Extended functions of 共 – some parallels to ‘give’
  – Frequency distribution of 共 in Archaic Chinese and Late Middle Chinese

• Relationship between valence change and stance marking

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Valence reduction

- Languages often have some **3-place predicates**.
  - ditransitive constructions

- **2-place predicates** are also common.
  - transitive verb constructions

- 3-place predicates are often reducible to **2-place predicates**
  - e.g. causative > passivize

- Less commonly attested but found in some Sinitic varieties, 2-place predicates can be further reduced to **1-place predicates**.

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6) *Mama* `gei-le wo yige pingguo*  
   mother give-PFV 1SG one.CL apple  
   ‘Mother gave me an apple.’

7) *Wo gang chi-le nage pingguo*  
   1SG just eat-PFV that.CL apple  
   ‘I’ve just eaten that apple.’

8) *Nage pingguo gei wo chi-le*  
   that.CL apple GIVE 1SG eat-PFV  
   ‘The apple was eaten by me.’

9) *Pingguo gei lan-le*  
   apple GIVE rot-PFV  
   ‘The apple has become rotten.’  
   (attested in some Mandarin varieties such as Xi’an Mandarin)
Examples of ‘give’ constructions to illustrate valence change

– Lexical ‘give’

– Dative and benefactive ‘give’
  • Lord (1993); Chappell (2000); Lord, Yap & Iwasaki (2002)

– Causative > passive ‘give’
  • Nedjalkov (1993); Yap & Iwasaki (2003)

– Unaccusative ‘give’
  • Matthews, Xu & Yip (2005); Chen (2011); Lin (2011); Yap, Chen & Wong (2012); Huang (2013); Chen & Yap (forthcoming); Chen, Yap & Xu (forthcoming)
Examples of ‘give’ constructions to illustrate valence change

– Lexical ‘give’

– Dative and benefactive ‘give’

– Causative > passive ‘give’

– Unaccusative ‘give’

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Grammaticalization of ‘give’

- The dative pathway
  - Dative
  - Benefactive
  - Malefactive

- The causative pathway
  - Lexical causative
  - Syntactic causative
  - Reflexive
  - Unintentional causative
  - Passive
  - Unaccusative
How did unaccusative ‘give’ emerge?

• Is it via the passive?

• Or did it emerge more directly via the unintentional causative?
Are there parallels in the development of 共?

• No passive!

• No causative either.
Grammaticalization of 共

- No syntactic causative pathway
The comitative pathway

The causative pathway
Grammaticalization of 共

• The dative pathway (goal)

- Lexical causative

  目 Source ‘from’
  目 Goal ‘to’
  共 Comitative ‘with’

• The comitative pathway

- Conjunction

  源 Source ‘from’
  分 Share together
  共 Comitative ‘with’

• The causative pathway

- Reflexive
  Unintentional causative

- Passive
  Unaccusative

共

Stance
Valence-reduction of in Classical Chinese

- From ditransitive ‘to provide’ (3-P) > ‘to share with’ (3-P) > coverb ‘with’ (found with 2-P predicates)

(10) a. 願車馬，衣輕裘，與朋友共。(3-place predicate)
‘I should like, having chariots and horses, and light fur clothes, to share them with my friends.’ (Spring and Autumn Period, *Analects V.25*, transl. James Legge)

b. 榮即共穆結異姓兄弟。(2-place predicate)
‘Wing and Muk immediately become sworn brothers’ (Six Dynasties, 洛陽伽藍記) Lit ‘Wing immediately forms brothers of different surnames with Muk.’

共 does not occur with 1-P predicates

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
共 as object marker in Southern Min

• Disposal construction with *ka* used as an object marker in 3-place and 2-place predicates

(11) a. 書 共 伊 擲 與 我
   book *KA 3SG take give 1SG
   ‘Give me the book.’ (patient focus, 3-place predicate)
   Lit. ‘The book, give it to me.’

b. 門 共 伊 關 起來
   door *KA 3SG close RVC
   ‘Close the door.’ (patient focus, 2-place predicate)
   Lit. ‘The door, close it.’

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Previous studies on 共 in Southern Min

• Syntax of comitative 共 (Chappell 2000)

• The syntactic properties of 共 in Lijingji 荔鏡記 (Lien 2002)
  • Conjunction ‘and’
  • Goal marker
  • Source marker
  • Benefactive marker
Development of 共 in Archaic Chinese

**kloŋ 共供
‘to provide’

**kłoŋs 供
‘to do oblation’

**gloŋs 共
‘to share with (together)’

‘together’
Ancient form of the character 共

- Two hands holding something, possibly a jade, to present to somebody

- To hold in one’s hands > to present > to provide

(from the Chinese Etymology website)

(from 《漢字字源字典》, 《字解》)
**Sino-Caucasian etymology**

**Proto-Sino-Caucasian**
*\(xkw\nu\nu\nu\)
‘handful, to hold in hand’

**Proto-Sino-Tibetan**
*\(kj\ken\)(\(H\)) (~g-)
‘to hold in hand’

**Proto-Yenisseian**
*\(\chi\en\)
‘fathom’

**Burmese**
\(k\en\)
‘hold in hand, use, employ’

**Archaic Chinese**
*\(klo\en\)
(‘to present’ >) ‘to provide’

**Tibetan**
\(\ekh\en\-\ba\) (p., i. \(kh\en\))
‘to bring’

**Archaic Chinese**
*\(klo\en\)
(‘to join the hands’ > ‘to form an arch’)

**Archaic Chinese**
*\(klo\en\)
‘respectful’

*Cf.* The Tower of Bable: An Etymological Database Project, by George Starostin

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As a ditransitive verb ‘to provide’ (= 供)

(12) 共其羊牲

*gung kei joeng sang*
KUNG 3SG.poss sheep animal.for.ritual
‘Supply them sheep for ritual.’
Lit. ‘Provide their sheep for ritual.’

(Western Zhou Period, The Rites of Zhou, 《周禮·夏官·羊人》)

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
As a manner adverb ‘together’

(13) 我二人共貞
ngo ji jan gung ting
1SG two person KUNG endeavour.to.take.on
‘We two must together sustain the responsibility.’

(Western Zhou period, The Book of Documents 5-8, transl. James Legge)

Note: 貞 ⇒ 鼎
‘to share with (together)’
(stative verb)

(14) 願車馬、衣、輕裘，與朋友共

 Lyme geoi maa ji hing kau jyu pangjau gung

wish chariot horse clothes light fur with friend KUNG

‘I should like, having chariots and horses, and light fur clothes, to share them with my friends’

(Spring and Autumn Period, Analects V.25, transl. James Legge)

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Data for Quantitative Analysis

- Academia Sinica Tagged Corpus of Old Chinese
- Academia Sinica Tagged Corpus of Early Mandarin Chinese
- The Text Database of Folk Songs in Southern Min Dialect
Frequency distribution of the major functions of 共 in Archaic Chinese

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<th>POS</th>
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<td>stative verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>others</td>
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<td>‘together’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
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New functions in Middle Chinese

**kloŋ 共供**
‘to provide’

**gloŋs 共**
‘to share with (together)’ (v.)

**kjuŋ**

‘together’ (adv.)

('all together') > ‘sum, in total’

Middle Chinese

*kJuŋ*

Coverb
‘with’

*Gjuŋ*

Connective
‘and’
As a coverb ‘with’

(15) 禮即共穆結異姓兄弟

Lit. ‘Wing with Muk immediately became sworn brothers.’

‘Wing and Muk immediately became sworn brothers.’

(Six Dynasties, 220-589 AD《洛陽伽藍記》)
(16) 秋水 共 長天一色

cau seoi gung coeng tin jat sik

autumn water KUNG long sky one color

Lit. ‘In autumn, the water (shares) the same color with the expansive sky.’
‘In autumn, it looks as though the water (in the river) is connected with the sky.’

(Tang verse, 675 A.D., 王勃：《 滕王閣序》)
As a conjunction ‘and’

(17) 侯光共 歡即喫直淨盡

haugwong  gung  fun  zik  hek  zik  zingzeon
PN  KUNG  PN  at.once  eat  almost  nothing.left
‘Hau-gwong and Fun immediately gobbled up everything such that virtually nothing was left.’

(《敦煌變文集新書》〈搜神記〉 Dunhuang manuscript, earliest known year 748)
As a quantitative adverb ‘sum; in total’

(18) 天女當共三個姊妹

*tin neoi dong gung saam go zimui*

sky female seem KUNG three CL sister

‘There should in total be three ladies from the sky.’
Lit. ‘As for the ladies from the sky, there seems to be altogether three sisters.’

([《敦煌變文集新書》〈搜神記〉 Dunhuang manuscript,
earliest known year 748])
Frequency distribution of the major functions of 共 in Tang and the Five Dynasties

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<td>66</td>
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<td>‘totally’</td>
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<td>conjunction</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
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《敦煌變文集新書》 (Dunhuang manuscript, Tang period, earliest known year 748) ($\Sigma=168$)

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<tr>
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<td>‘and’</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
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《祖堂集》 (Zen stories, Published 952) ($\Sigma=61$)

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<td>8.2%</td>
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</table>

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Development of **kloŋ and **gloŋs in the modern Sinitic languages

Archaic Chinese

**kloŋ 共供
‘to provide’

**gloŋs 共
‘to share with (together)’ (v.)

‘together’ (adv.)

Middle Chinese

*kuoŋ

*gjuoŋ

Coverb ‘with’

Connective ‘and’

(‘all together’ >) ‘sum; in total’

Modern Sinitic Languages

Mandarin kuŋ
Cantonese koŋ
Taiwan S. Min kiŋ
Chaozhou keŋ

Mandarin kuŋ
Cantonese koŋ
Taiwan S. Min kiŋ
Chaozhou keŋ

‘to give support for schooling’
‘to pay by installment’
(‘to provide information of crime’ >) ‘to disclose’

Coverb ‘for’

Confession

Stance marker

Disposal marker

Southern Min kaŋ > ka

Mandarin kuŋ
Cantonese koŋ
Taiwan S. Min kiŋ
Chaozhou keŋ
供 in the contemporary Sinitic languages

- Mandarin **kuŋ**\(^{55}\) Cantonese **koŋ**\(^{55}\)
- Southern Min **kiŋ**\(^{44}\)

- Verb: ‘to give support for schooling’
- Verb: ‘to pay by installment’
- Verb: ‘to disclose’ (< ‘to provide information of crime’)

- Noun: ‘confession’

- Coverb: ‘for’
As a verb ‘to give support for schooling’

Mandarin *gōng*

(19) 供他讀書  
* gōng ta dushu  
KUNG 3SG study

• ‘To provide support for all s/he needs for schooling’
• ‘To provide support for him to study’

Cantonese *gung1*

(20) 供佢讀書  
* gung keoi duksyu  
KUNG 3SG study

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
As a verb ‘to pay by installment’

• Most probably Cantonese only

• In the past ...

(21) 供車 供樓 供遊艇
   gung ce  gung lau  gung jauteng
   KUNG car  KUNG flat  KUNG yacht

• Now also ...

(22) 供相機 供電話 供洗衣機
   gung soenggei  gung dinwaa  gung saijigei
   KUNG camera  KUNG phone  KUNG washing.machine
   (usually mobile phone)
As a verb ‘to disclose’
(< ‘to provide information of crime’)

• Mandarin gòng

(23) 供出 作案同夥

*gong-chu zuoan tonghuo*
KUNG.out commit.crime partner

‘To disclose the partners in crime’

• Note that gòng is pronounced with the departing tone, which means it may have been developed from Archaic Chinese **kloŋs** ‘to do oblation’ and not from **kloŋ** ‘to provide’
As a verb ‘to disclose’
(< ‘to provide information of crime’)

• Southern Min (Taiwan) *king*

(24) 伊 供 出 真 濟 人
i  *king*-tshut  tsin  tsē  lâng
3SG  KUNG.out  very  many  people
‘He has disclosed (information on crime of) many people.’
As a noun ‘confession’

• Mandarin

(25) 問不出 供 來
wen bu chu gong lai
ask NEG out KUNG come
‘There is no way to get him confessed.’
Lit. ‘Not being able to ask for confession.’

([現代漢語辭典 Modern Chinese Dictionary])
As a noun ‘confession’

- Taiwan Southern Min *king*

(26) 認供
    *jīn*   *king*
    confess  confession
    ‘to confess’
    Lit. ‘to confess the confession’
共 in the contemporary Sinitic languages

- Mandarin *kun*⁵¹ Cantonese *kon*²²
- Taiwan Southern Min *kan*³³, *ka*³³, *kion*³³
- Teochew Southern Min *kan*¹¹

- Quantitative adverb: ‘sum; in total’
- Manner adverb: ‘together’
- Conjunction: ‘and’
- Coverb: ‘with’
- Disposal marker
- Stance marker

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Quantitative adverb ‘sum; in total’

- Written Chinese
- Mandarin *kuǒn*, Cantonese *koŋ*, Southern Min *kiong*

(28) 全書共十卷
*quan shu gong shi juan* (Mandarin)
*cyun syu gung sap gyun* (Cantonese)

whole book KUNG ten CL

‘In this book, there are totally 10 *juans.*’

- Sounds bookish in Cantonese and Mandarin
- Colloquial: 一共 *yīgòng* (Mandarin)
  *jat6gung6* (Cantonese)

總共 *zǒnggòng* (Mandarin)
*zung2gung6* (Cantonese)
*tsóng-kiōng* (Southern Min)
Manner adverb ‘together’

- Written Chinese, not productive

(29) 共患難
  gong huannan (Mandarin)
  gung waannaan (Cantonese)
  KUNG trials.and.tribulations
  ‘Sharing the trials and tribulations together.’

(30) 共創明天
  gong chuang mingtian (Mandarin)
  gung cong mingtin (Cantonese)
  KUNG create tomorrow
  ‘Creating tomorrow together.’
• Being used productively in Cantonese songs
• But not in daily use

(31) 共訴心中所愛 讓我一生都為那音樂存在
together ‘Pour out the love in the heart together…’

(張學友、陳潔儀：《花與琴的流星》)

(32) 遲了抱緊雙手差點經已同行共老
together ‘… walk together and grow old together.’

(許志安：《昨遲人》)
Manner adverb ‘together’

- Historical Teochew chapbook: ‘The Butterfly Lovers’

(33) 夜間寢宿共 同床

\[iakan \ ts^h \ im \ kaŋ \ tan \ ts^h \ unŋ\]

night sleep KUNG same bed

‘At night (Liang and Tsok) slept together on the same bed.’

(The Texts Database of Folk Songs in Southern Min Dialect, 14\textsuperscript{th} -18\textsuperscript{th} c.,
閩南語俗曲唱本「歌仔冊」全文資料庫/木刻本/58冊 圖像英臺歌/58冊 新刻倥像英臺念歌 一)

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Manner adverb ‘together’

- Historical Teochew chapbook

(34) 與弟同床共檯食

wu ti tan tsʰwŋ kəŋ thai tsiaʔ

with younger.brother same bed KUNG table eat

‘He slept on the same bed and ate at the same table with ‘him’ whom he regarded as his younger brother.’

(The Texts Database of Folk Songs in Southern Min Dialect, 14th-18th c., 閩南語俗曲唱本「歌仔冊」全文資料庫/木刻本/58冊 圖像英臺歌/58冊 新刻恠像英臺念歌一)
Coverb ‘with’

- Being used productively in Cantonese songs
- But has faded out of daily use in contemporary Cantonese

(35) 如共你從沒開始，不會有終結，誰人在意
‘If (I) have never started (a relation) with you ...’
( 容祖兒：《逃避你》 )

(36) 共你同在，無盡永恆中
‘Be with you in eternity.’
( 張學友：《愛是永恆》 )

(37) 祈求可以共你活一天，完全去把你所有都發現
‘... to live/stay with you for one day only...'  
( 張學友、陳潔儀：《原來祗要你共活一天》 )

- A residue of historical Cantonese
- Mandarin?
- Cf. Contemporary Cantonese 同 tung4
Coverb ‘with’

• Historical Teochew chapbook

(38) 共兄哥仝咒誓

kanŋ hiāko tang tsiutsua
KANG brothers together swear
‘Swear with brothers together.’

(The Texts Database of Folk Songs in Southern Min Dialect, 14th - 18th c.,
閩南語俗曲唱本「歌仔冊」全文資料庫/木刻本/6冊 子弟歌)
As a coverb ‘for’

- Written Chinese

供讀者參攷

\( gong \)  duzhe  cankao  (Mandarin)
\( gung \)  dukze  caamhaau  (Cantonese)
KUNG  reader  refer

“For readers’ reference”
Lit. ‘For the readers to refer to’
Conjunction ‘and’

- Historical Teochew chapbook

(44) 救出關興共張苞

kiu  tsʰuk  kueŋheŋ  kaŋ  tsiaŋpau

rescue  out  PN  KUNG  PN

‘(Kueng Hungtsiang) rescued Kueng Heng and Tsiang Pau.’

(The Texts Database of Folk Songs in Southern Min Dialect, 14th-18th c., 閩南語俗曲唱本「歌仔冊」全文資料庫/木刻本/4冊 新刻上大人歌)
### Conjunction ‘and’

- **Historical Text of Southern Min: *Lijingji* 荔鏡記 (Lien 2002)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>15</th>
<th>N 共 N</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>Adj N 共 Adj N</th>
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<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td>toh⁴ kang⁷ i²</td>
<td>16a</td>
<td>khoo² tho⁵ kang⁷ siap⁴ li²</td>
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<td></td>
<td>桌 共 椅</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>tables and chairs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15b</td>
<td>hoe¹ kang⁷ chiu²</td>
<td>16b</td>
<td>ing⁵ siaⁿ¹ kang⁷ ing⁵ khi³</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>花 共 酒</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>flowers and wine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15c</td>
<td>Tiuⁿ¹ Kiong⁵ kang⁷ Iŋ¹ Iŋ¹</td>
<td>16c</td>
<td>hoe¹ khau² kang⁵ hoe¹ chih⁸</td>
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<td></td>
<td>張拱共鶯鶯</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Zhang Gong and Ying Ying</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>花口共花舌</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>sweet words and glib tongue</td>
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<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17</th>
<th>Pred 共 Pred</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>Cl 共 Cl</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17a</td>
<td>ui¹ Iu² kang⁷ toe⁵ si¹</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Oan³ thi³ kang⁷ niau² kio³</td>
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<td></td>
<td>畫柳共題詩</td>
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<td>drawing willows and composing poems</td>
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<tr>
<td>17b</td>
<td>ke³ soaⁿ¹ kang⁷ ke³ nia²</td>
<td></td>
<td>猿啼共鳥叫</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>過山共過嶺</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crossing hill and dale.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Conjunction ‘and’

- Being used productively in Cantonese songs
- But has faded out of daily use in contemporary Cantonese

(45) 友共情不變，那種眞找不到缺點
‘Friendship and sensation do not change ...’
( 古巨基：《友共情》 )

(46) 蛇共蟻 刘并蒂【⇒流鼻涕】 神合體
‘Snakes and ants ...’
( 陈慧娴：《跳舞街》)

- A residue of historical Cantonese
- *Cf.* Contemporary Cantonese 同 tung4

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Frequency distribution of 共 in the chapbooks 歌仔冊 of Historical Teochew

• In the Text Database of Folk Songs in Southern Min Dialect, there were 9297 tokens of the character 共. We have so far sampled 1%, i.e. 93 tokens and conducted the following statistics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of Speech (POS)</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Σ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manner adverb</td>
<td>‘together’</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverb</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverb</td>
<td>'(talk) to'</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverb</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>‘and’ (NP 共 NP)</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>‘and’ (VP 共 VP)</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of compound</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ</td>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Coverb ‘to’

— Historical Teochew chapbook

(41) 將軍就共二娘說
tsianʔkuŋ tsu kŋ zi niē sue?
general then KANG second daughter? say
‘The general then talked to the second mother/daughter.’

(木刻本/10冊 曾二娘歌)

(42) 共伊說
kŋ i sue?
KANG 3SG say
‘Talked to him/her.’

(木刻本/32冊 新選笑談俗語歌/32冊 俗語歌 一)
Coverb ‘from’

- Historical Teochew chapbook

(43) 是多是少共伊買，是好是卻共君收

\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
  si & to & si & tsie & kan & i & boi  \\
  COP & many & COP & little & KANG & 3SG & buy \\
  si & ho & si & huai & kang & kun & siu  \\
  COP & good & COP & bad & KANG & 2SG & receive \\
\end{tabular}

‘Whether many or few, I will buy (it) from him/her. Whether good or bad, I will collect (it) from you.’

(The Texts Database of Folk Songs in Southern Min Dialect, 14th - 18th c., 閩南語俗曲唱本「歌仔冊」全文資料庫 / 木刻本 / 35冊 又桃花過渡)
Coverb ‘from’

• Historical Teochew chapbook

(43) 是多是少共伊買是好是卻共君收

si to si tsie kanŋ i boi
COP many COP little KANG 3SG buy

si ho si huai kang kunŋ siu
COP good COP bad KANG 2SG receive

‘Whether many or few, I will buy it.
Whether good or bad, I will collect (it) from you.’

(The Texts Database of Folk Songs in Southern Min Dialect, 14th-18th c.,
閩南語俗曲唱本「歌仔冊」全文資料庫/木刻本/35冊 又桃花過渡)
Coverb ‘with’ and ‘for’

Southern Min kāng/kā

(39) 我共你講
guá kāng/kā lí kóng
1SG KA 2SG say
‘I tell you.’
Lit. ‘I with you say.’

Southern Min kā

(40) 共伊鬥做
kā i tàu tsò
KA 3SG help do
‘Help him to do.’
Lit. ‘For him, help to do.’

• Benefactive marker?

Cf. Contemporary Cantonese 同 tung4
Innovations in Southern Min

- Disposal marker = 把, 將
- Stance marker

Southern Min $\text{kan} \rightarrow \text{ka}$

Coverb ‘with’ → Disposal marker

Southern Min $\text{ka}$

Stance marker
As a disposal marker

- Southern Min (Huian)

\[ (47) \quad \text{冊 共 伊 擿 與 我！} \]

\[ \text{tshe}^{7} \quad \text{ka}^{5-4} \quad i^{1} \quad \text{thue}^{8-4} \quad \text{kh}^{5-4} \quad \text{gua}^{3} \]

book   KA   3SG   take   give   1SG

‘Give me the book.’
Lit. ‘The book, give it to me.’

- Patient focus, with a 3-place predicate
As a disposal marker

- Southern Min (Huian)

(48) 門共伊關起來

\[b\eta^2 \quad ka^{5-4} \quad i^1 \quad kuin^1 \quad khai^0\]

doctor KA 3SG close RVC

‘Close the door.’
Lit. ‘The door, close it.’

- Patient focus, with a 2-place predicate
As a stance marker

- Southern Min (Taiwan)

(49) 你共我會記咧！

lí kā guá ē kì --leh!

2SG KA 1SG FUT remember SFP

‘Bear this in mind!’

Lit. ‘You for me remember this!’

- Marker of speaker’s subjective stance
  ➞ warning the addressee

- Derived from benefactive marker kā?

-- marks a neutral tone

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
As a stance marker

• Southern Min (Taiwan)

(50) 莫共我哭
$mài \ kā \ guá \ khàu$
don’t KE me cry
‘Don’t you dare cry!’

• Marker of speaker’s subjective stance
  ⇒ warning the addressee
Development of **kloŋ and **gloŋs in contemporary Mandarin

Archaic Chinese

**kloŋ 共供
‘to provide’

**gloŋs 共
‘to share with (together)’ (v.)

Middle Chinese

**kloŋ 共供
‘to provide’

*kjuon
‘to provide information of crime’ >) ‘to disclose’

*gjuon
Coverb ‘with’

Connective ‘and’

‘to give support for schooling’

‘to pay by installment’

Modern Sinitic Languages

kung
Confession

‘to provide information of crime’ >) ‘to disclose’

kung
Coverb ‘for’

Disposal marker

Stance marker

Colloquial language
Written language
Fade out of daily use

('all together’) ‘sum; in total’

('all together’) ‘sum; in total’
Development of **kloŋ and **gloŋs in contemporary Cantonese

**kloŋ 共供
‘to provide’

**gloŋs 共
‘to share with (together)’ (v.)

‘together’ (adv.)

‘all together’ -> ‘sum; in total’

Middle Chinese

*kjuon

‘to give support for schooling’
‘to pay by installment’
('to provide information of crime') -> ‘to disclose’

Modern Sinitic Languages

kong

Coverb ‘for’

Stance marker

Disposal marker

Colloquial language

Written language

Historical text

Fade out of daily use

Archaic Chinese

Middle Chinese

Modern Sinitic Languages
Development of **kloŋ and **gloŋs in contemporary Southern Min

**kloŋ 共供
‘to provide’

**gloŋs 共供
‘to share with (together)’ (v.)

‘together’ (adv.)

‘all together’ >) ‘sum; in total’ kioŋ

Archaic Chinese

Middle Chinese

Modern Sinitic Languages

□king
‘to give support for schooling’
‘to pay by installment’
(‘to provide information of crime’ >) ‘to disclose’

Confession

Disposal marker

Stance marker

Coverb ‘for’

Coverb ‘with’

Connective ‘and’

Colloquial language

Written language

Historical text

Fade out of daily use
Valence-changing phenomena

Valence-changing phenomena

a. 願車馬，衣輕裘，與朋友共。(3-place predicate)
   ‘I should like, having chariots and horses, and light fur clothes, to share them with my friends.’ (Spring and Autumn Period, Analects V.25, transl. James Legge)

b. 榮即共穆結異姓兄弟。(2-place predicate)
   ‘Wing and Muk immediately become sworn brothers’ (Six Dynasties, 洛陽伽藍記)
   Lit ‘Wing immediately forms brothers of different surnames with Muk.’

a. 冊 共 伊 擰 與 我
   book KA 3SG take give 1SG
   ‘Give me the book.’ (patient focus, 3-place predicate)
   Lit. ‘The book, give it to me.’

b. 門 共 伊 關 起來
   door KA 3SG close RVC
   ‘Close the door.’ (patient focus, 2-place predicate)
   Lit. ‘The door, close it.’

Wong, Yap and Chen 2014
Valence-reduction for **GIVE constructions:**

3P > 2P > 1P predicates
- Lexical ‘give’ verb > passive marker marker > stance marker
- Emergence of subjective speaker-affectedness stance marker

Valence-reduction of **共 constructions:**

3P > 2P predicates
- Lexical ‘provide’ verb > dative/benefactive/ablative > stance marker
- Emergence of intersubjective addressee-oriented speaker insistence stance marker (warning type)
Conclusion

With valence-reduction, we see semantic reanalysis that gives rise to pragmatic uses.

For lexical verbs, there is a loss in valence as they become reanalyzed as case markers and stance markers.

As case markers, they profile particular arguments, typically oblique ones.

As stance markers, they signal the speaker’s subjective and/or intersubjective moods, evaluations or attitudes.
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<http://twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict_new/index.html>
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