

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.’

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)

Non-periphery stance marking

(3) 沖返個涼



cung faan go loeng

wash **FAAN** CL shower

'(Let me) enjoy a shower.'

(鬼馬雙星 Games Gamblers Play 1974)

Non-periphery stance marking

(4) 你識埋啲嘅嘅朋友，映衰我呀！



*lei sik **maai** di gam ge pangjau,*

2SG know **MAAI** CL such ADN friend

jing seoi ngo aa!

reflect bad 1SG SFP

‘You’ve fallen in with awful company –

it reflects badly on me!’

(逃學威龍 II Fight Back to School II 1992)

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.

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

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**.

3-P

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

2-P

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.'

1-P

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)

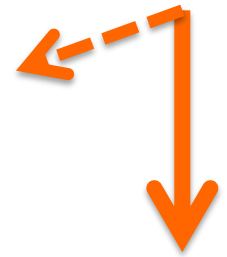
– Causative > passive 'give'

- 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)

3-P



3-P > 2-P



1-P

Examples of 'give' constructions to illustrate valence change

– Lexical 'give'

– Dative and benefactive 'give'

– Causative > passive 'give'

– Unaccusative 'give'

Ditransitive verb

Case marker of oblique arguments

Passive marker
(marker of defocused agent)

Stance marker
(marker of speaker's affectedness)

3-P

2-P

1-P

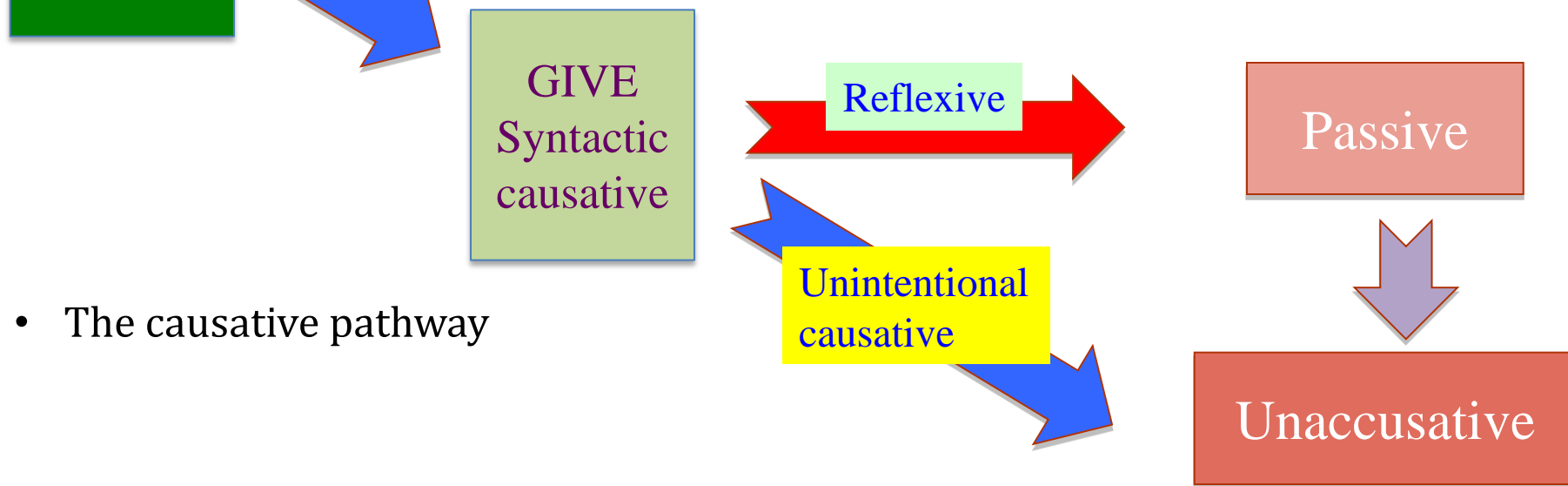


Grammaticalization of 'give'

- The dative pathway

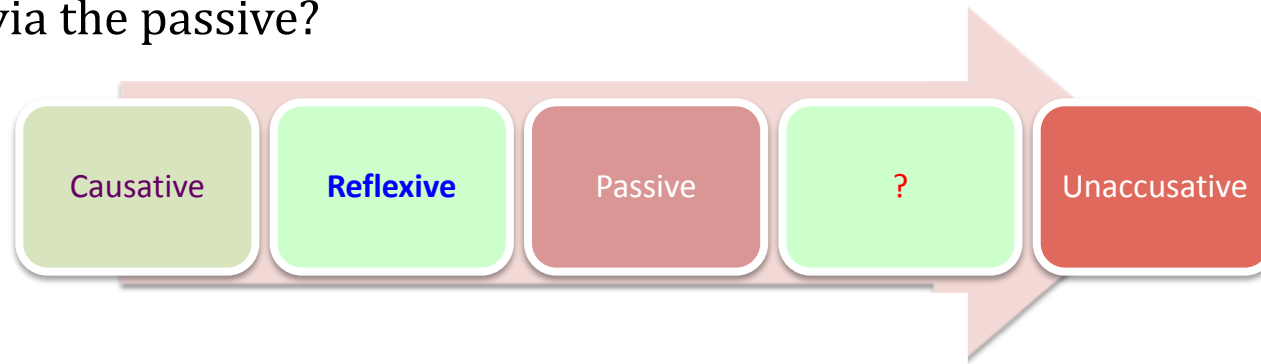


- The causative pathway

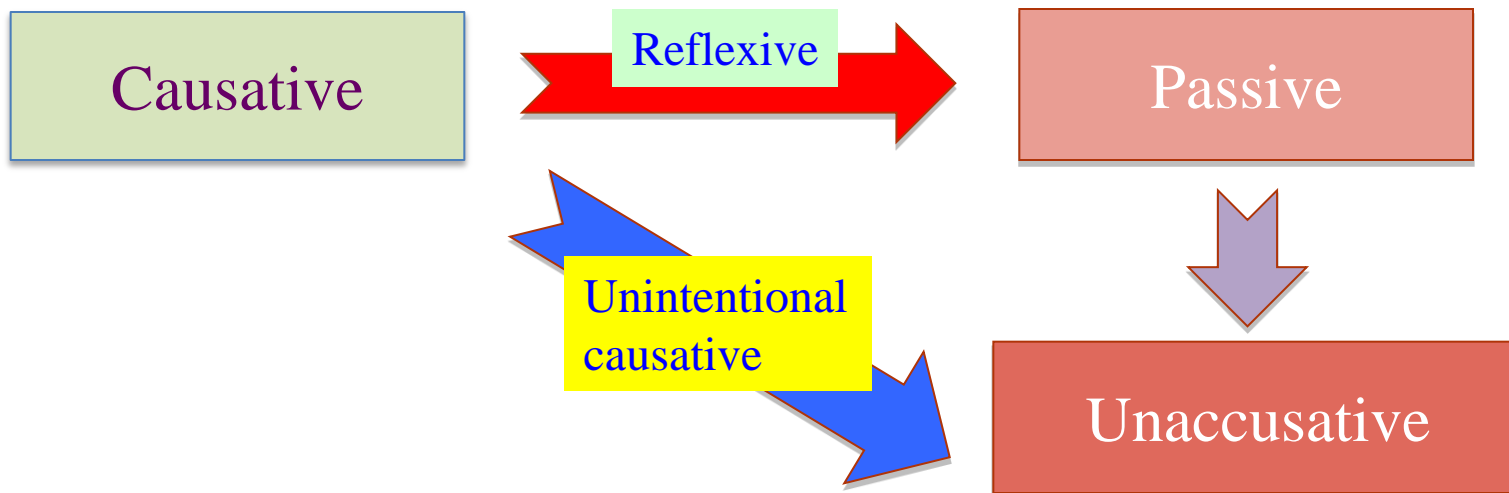


How did unaccusative 'give' emerge?

- Is it via the passive?

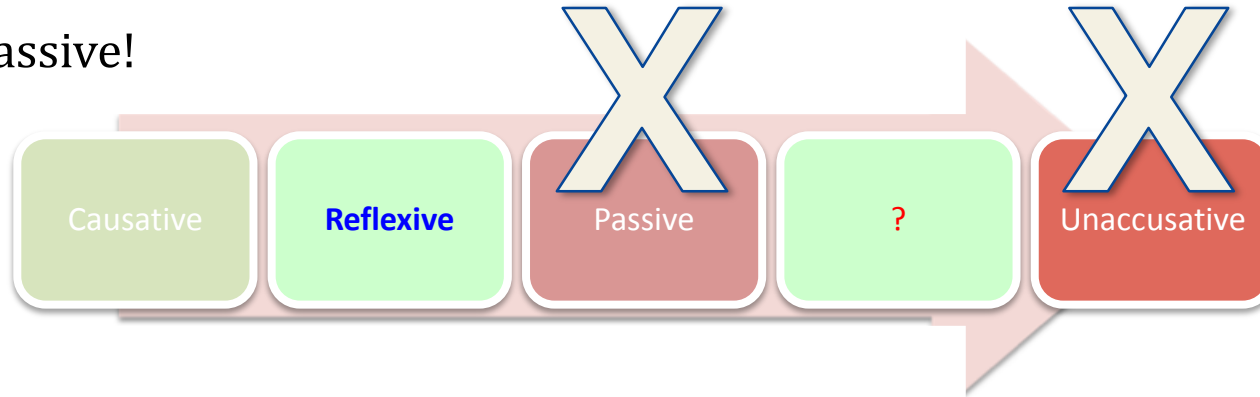


- Or did it emerge more directly via the unintentional causative?

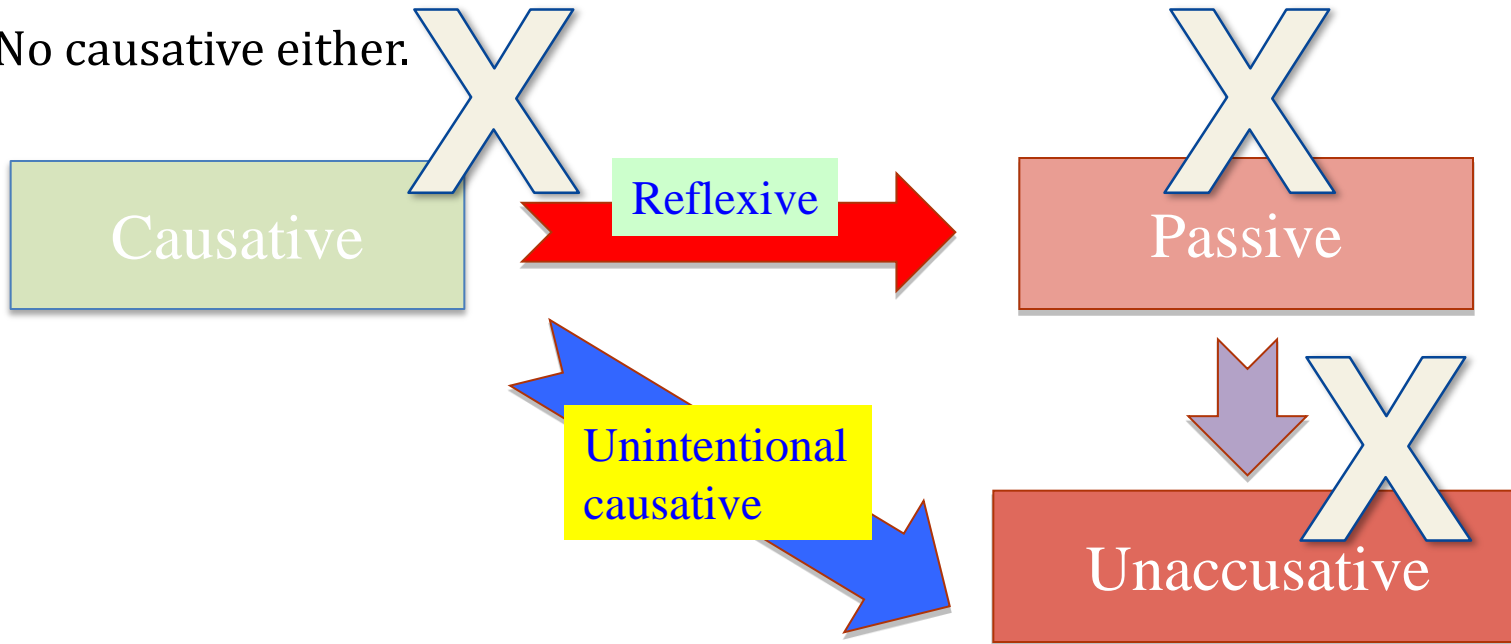


Are there parallels in the development of 共?

- No passive!

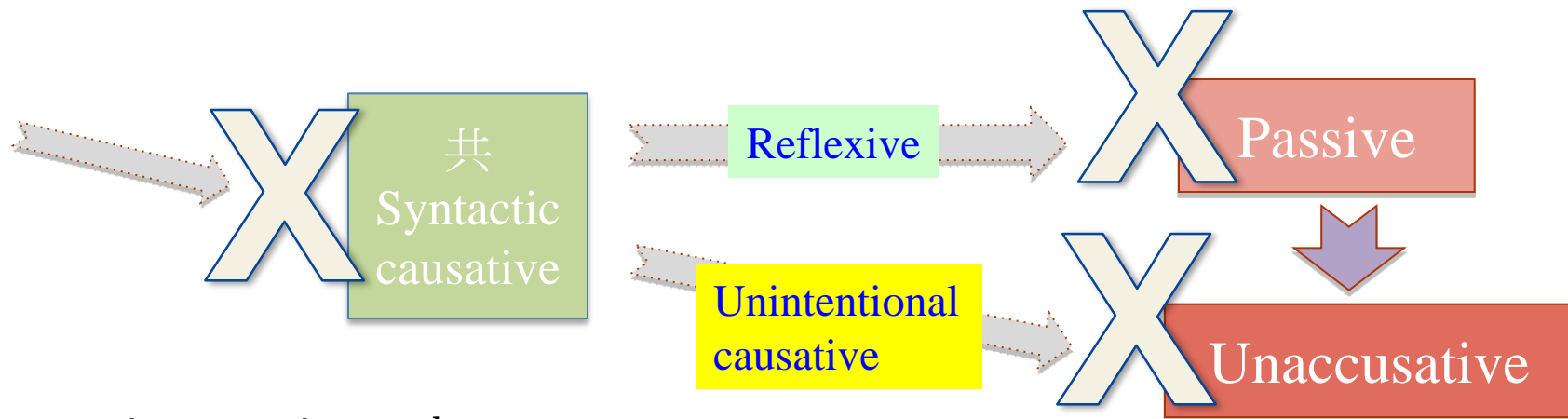


- No causative either.



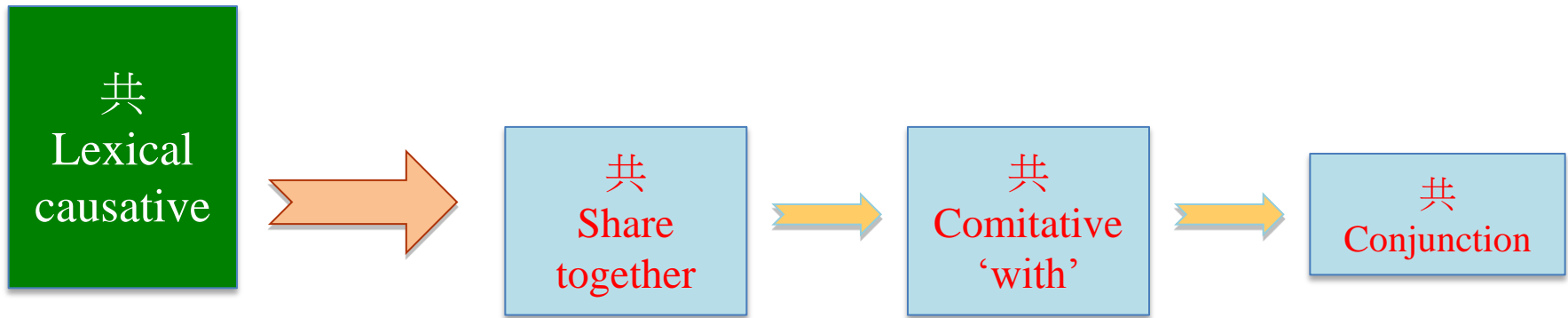
Grammaticalization of 共

共
Lexical
causative

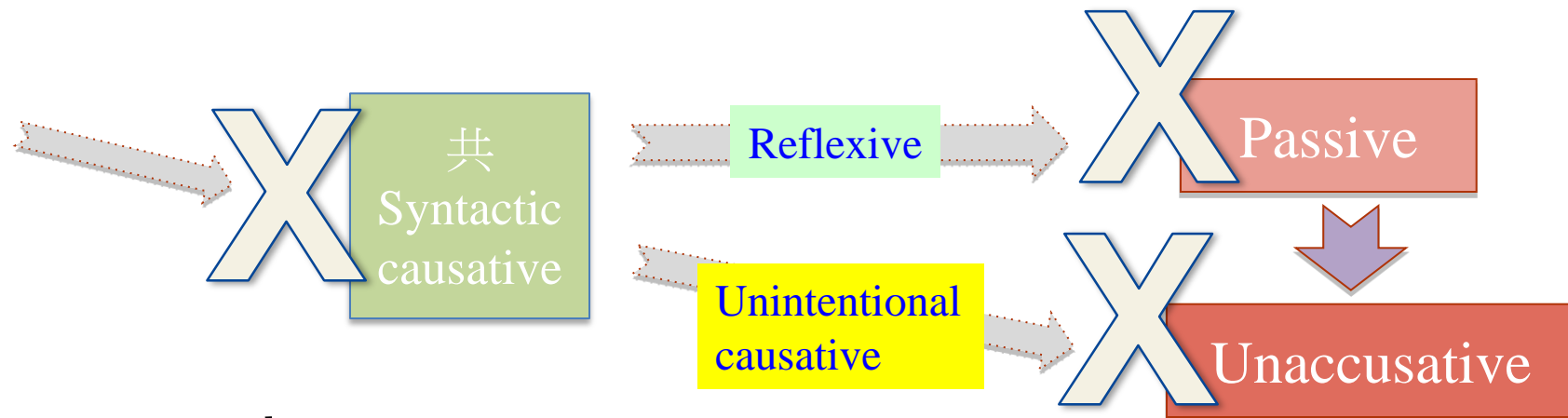


- No syntactic causative pathway

Grammaticalization of 共



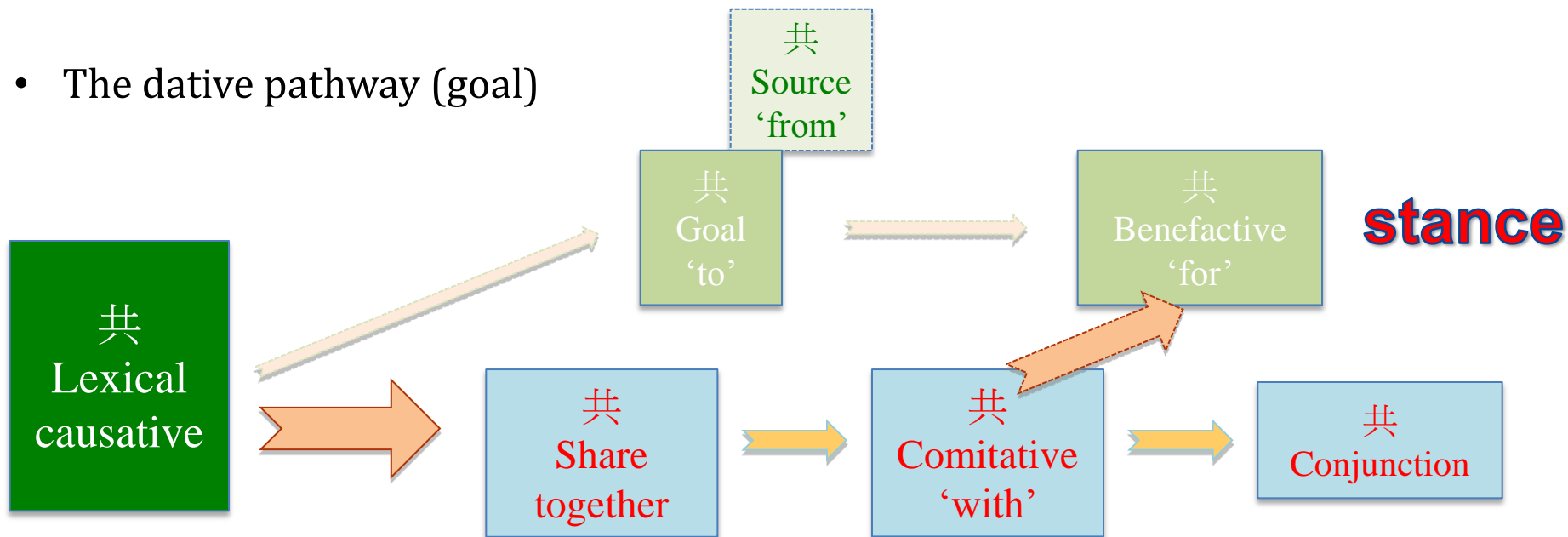
- The comitative pathway



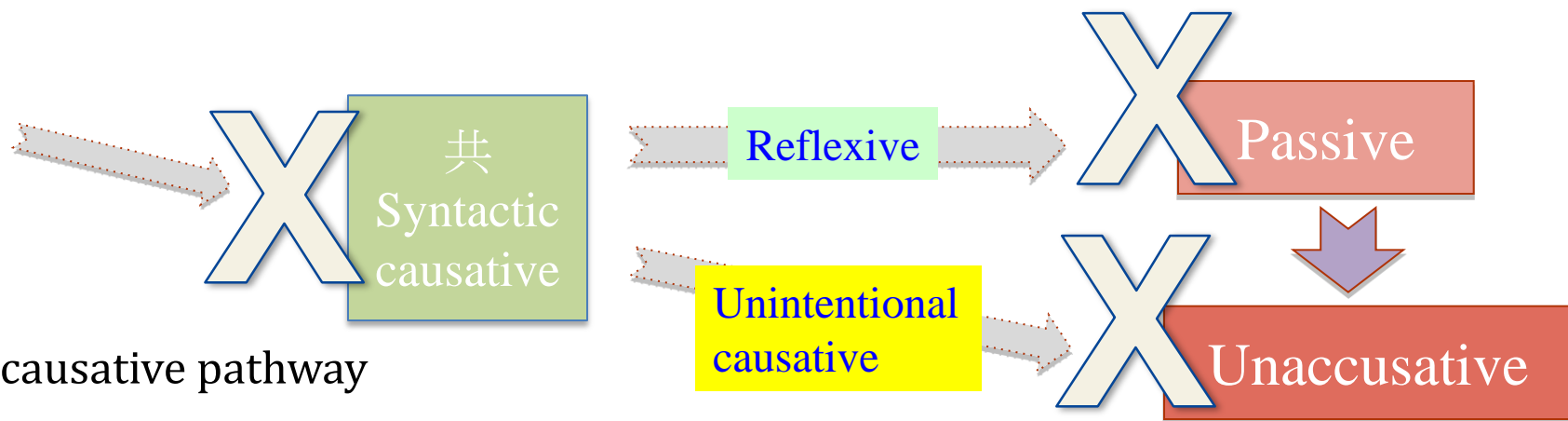
- The causative pathway

Grammaticalization of 共

- The dative pathway (goal)



- The comitative pathway



- The causative pathway

Valence-reduction of 共 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. 榮卽共穆結異姓兄弟。 (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

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. 冊 共 伊 搨 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.'

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'

****kloŋs** 供
'to do oblation'

****gloŋs** 共
'to share with (together)'

'together'

VERB

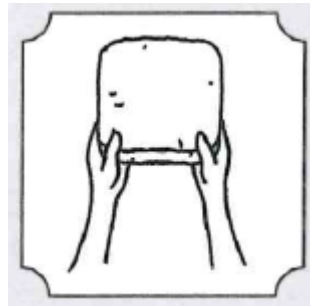
ADVERB

Ancient form of the character 共



(from the *Chinese Etymology* website)

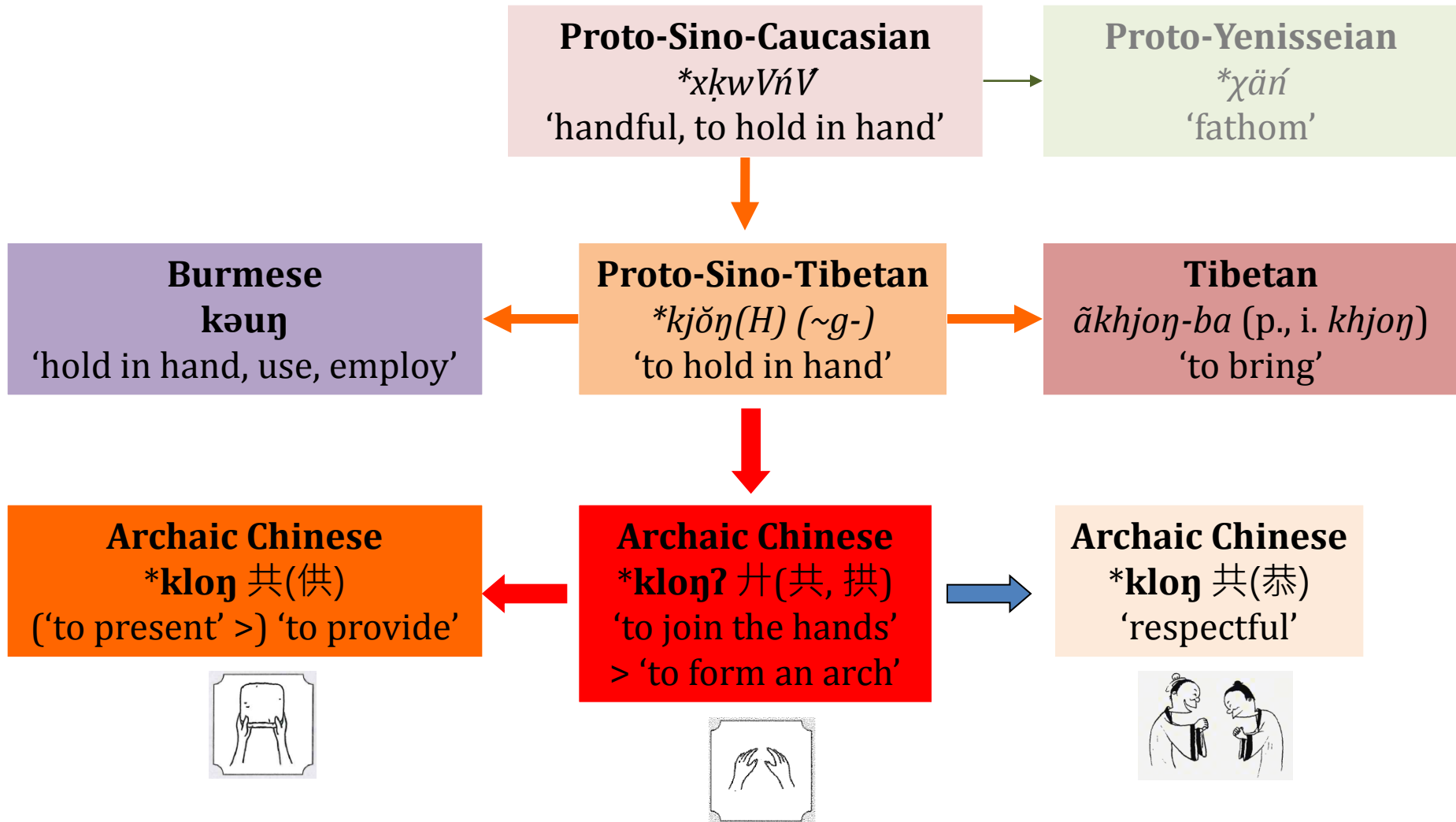
- Two hands holding something, possibly a jade, to present to somebody



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

(from 《漢字字源字典》，《字解》)

Sino-Caucasian etymology



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》)

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



jyun 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)

子路曰，願車馬，衣輕裘，與朋友共，蔽之而無憾。

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

POS	function	percentage	Σ
Western Zhou Period (1046–771 B.C.) ($\Sigma=204$)			
ditransitive verb	‘to provide’	92.2%	188
manner adverb	‘together’	2.5%	5
stative verb	‘to share with’	2.0%	4
others		3.4%	7
Spring and Autumn Period (722–481 B.C.) ($\Sigma=33$)			
manner adverb	‘together’	24.2%	8
ditransitive verb	‘to provide’	21.2%	7
stative verb	‘to share with’	21.2%	7
others (like adj. ‘respectful’)		33.3%	11
Warring States and Ch’in Period (476–207 B.C.) ($\Sigma=303$)			
stative verb	‘to share with’	38.9%	118
manner adverb	‘together’	27.1%	82
ditransitive verb	‘to provide’	22.1%	67
others(like adj. ‘respectful’)		11.9%	36
Western Han Period (202–9 B.C.) ($\Sigma=305$)			
manner adverb	‘together’	76.0%	231
stative verb	‘to share with’	15.1%	46
ditransitive verb	‘to provide’	2.6%	8
others		6.3%	19

New functions in Middle Chinese

Archaic Chinese

****kloŋ** 共供
'to provide'

****gloŋs** 共
'to share with (together)' (v.)

'together' (adv.)

Middle Chinese

***kjuoŋ**

***gjuoŋ**

Coverb
'with'

Connective
'and'

(**'all together' >**) 'sum, in total'

As a coverb ‘with’

(15) 榮即**共**穆結異姓兄弟



wing zik *gung* *muk git ji* *sing* *hingdai*
PN at.once **KUNG** PN join different surname brother

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》)

As a conjunction 'and'

(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

POS	function	percentage	Σ
《敦煌變文集新書》 (Dunhuang manuscript, Tang period, earliest known year 748) ($\Sigma=168$)			
manner adverb	'together'	51.8%	87
coverb	'with'	39.3%	66
stative verb	'to share with'	6.0%	10
quantitative adverb	'totally'	2.4%	4
conjunction	'and'	0.6%	1
《祖堂集》 (Zen stories, Published 952) ($\Sigma=61$)			
coverb	'with'	57.4%	35
manner adverb	'together'	34.4%	21
stative verb	'to share with'	8.2%	5

Development of ****kloŋ** and ****gloŋs** in the modern Sinitic languages

Archaic Chinese

Middle Chinese

Modern Sinitic Languages

****kloŋ** 共供
'to provide'

****gloŋs** 共
'to share with (together)' (v.)

'together' (adv.)

***kjuoŋ**

***gjuoŋ**

Coverb 'with'

Connective 'and'

('all together' >) 'sum; in total'

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 **kaŋ**

供 in the contemporary Sinitic languages

- Mandarin **kun**⁵⁵ Cantonese **kon**⁵⁵
- Southern Min **kin**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
 *gong ta dushu*
KUNG 3SG study

Cantonese *gung1*

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

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

As a verb 'to pay by installment'

- Most probably Cantonese only

- In the past ...

(21)	供車	供樓	供遊艇
	<i>gung ce</i> KUNG car	<i>gung lau</i> KUNG flat	<i>gung jauteng</i> KUNG yacht

- Now also ...

(22)	供相機	供電話	供洗衣機
	<i>gung soenggei</i> KUNG camera	<i>gung dinwaa</i> KUNG phone (usually mobile phone)	<i>gung saiigei</i> KUNG washing.machine

As a verb ‘to disclose’ (< ‘to provide information of crime’)

- Mandarin *gòng*

(23) 供出作案同夥



gong-chu *zuoran* *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

Quantitative adverb ‘sum; in total’

- Written Chinese
- Mandarin **kuṅ**, Cantonese **koŋ**, Southern Min **kiōng**

(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.'

Manner adverb '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
'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
'... 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

iakaŋ ts^him kaŋ taŋ ts^huŋ

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, 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)

Manner adverb ‘together’

- Historical Teochew chapbook

(34) 與弟同床**共**檯食

u ti tan ts^huŋ kaŋ t^hai tsia?


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：《原來祇要你共活一天》)

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

Coverb 'with'

- Historical Teochew chapbook

(38) 共兄哥仝咒誓

kaŋ hiãko 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

(27)

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 ts^huk kuenhen kaŋ tsianpau

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)

15	N 共 N	16	Adj N 共 Adj N
15a	toh ⁴ kang ⁷ i ² 桌 共 椅 tables and chairs	16a	khoo ² tho ⁵ kang ⁷ siap ⁴ li ² 苦桃共澀李 bitter peaches and puckery plums
15b	hoe ¹ kang ⁷ chiu ² 花 共 酒 flowers and wine	16b	ing ⁵ sia ⁿ¹ kang ⁷ ing ⁵ khi ³ 閒聲共閒氣 gossip and anger
15c	Tiu ⁿ¹ Kiong ⁵ kang ⁷ Ing ¹ Ing ¹ 張拱共鶯鶯 Zhang Gong and Ying Ying	16c	hoe ¹ khau ² kang ⁵ hoe ¹ chih ⁸ 花口共花舌 sweet words and glib tongue

17	Pred 共 Pred	18	Cl 共 Cl
17a	ui ⁷ liu ² kang ⁷ toe ⁵ si ¹ 畫柳共題詩 drawing willows and composing poems	18	Oan ⁵ thi ⁵ kang ⁷ niau ² kio ³ 猿啼共鳥叫 Apes call and birds sing
17b	ke ³ soa ⁿ¹ kang ⁷ ke ³ nia ² 過山共過嶺 Crossing hill and dale.		

Conjunction 'and'

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

(45) 友**共**情不變，那種真找不到缺點
🔊 'Friendship **and** sensation do not change ...'
(古巨基：《友**共**情》)

(46) 蛇**共**蟻 劉並蒂【⇒流鼻涕】 神合體
🔊 'Snakes and ants ...'
(陳慧嫻：《跳舞街》)

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

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.

Part of Speech (POS)	Function	Percentage	Σ
Manner adverb	'together'	7.5%	7
Coverb	'with'	32.3%	30
Coverb	'(talk) to'	8.6%	8
Coverb	'from'	3.2%	3
Conjunction	'and' (NP 共 NP)	24.7%	23
Conjunction	'and' (VP 共 VP)	6.5%	6
Others		10.8%	10
Part of compound		6.5%	6
Σ			93

Coverb 'to'

– Historical Teochew chapbook

(41) 將軍就**共**二娘說

tsiaŋkuŋ tsu kaŋ zi niẽ 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

kaŋ 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

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

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

'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 kaŋ i boi
COP many COP little KANG 3SG buy

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

Object
marker
kang

Ablative
kang

'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?

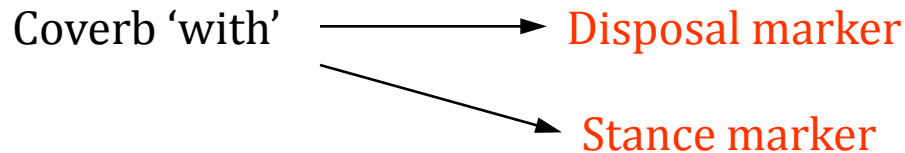
Cf. Contemporary Cantonese 同 *tung4*

Innovations in Southern Min

- Disposal marker = 把, 將
- Stance marker

Southern Min **kaŋ** > **ka**

Southern Min **ka**



As a disposal marker

- Southern Min (Huian)

(47) 冊共伊帶與我！



tsheŋ⁷ ka⁵⁻⁴ i¹ thueŋ⁸⁻⁴ khɔ⁵⁻⁴ gua³

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

bŋ² ka⁵⁻⁴ i¹ kuin¹ khai⁰

door **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 k̄á 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 *k̄á* ?

-- marks a neutral tone

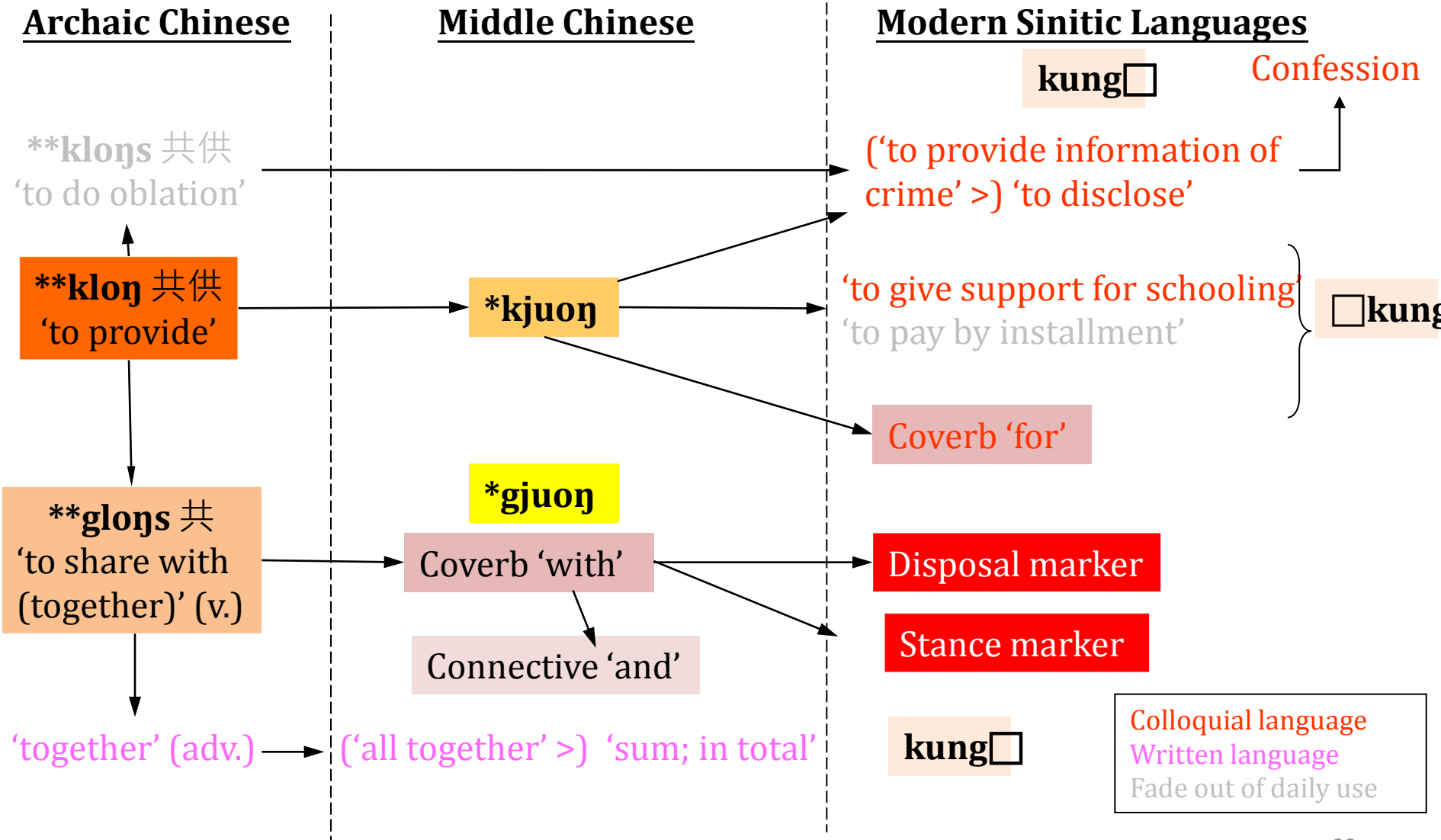
As a stance marker

- Southern Min(Taiwan)

(50) 莫共我哭
mài kā guá khàu
don't KA me cry
'Don't you dare cry!'

- Marker of speaker's subjective stance
⇒ warning the addressee

Development of ****kloŋ** and ****gloŋs** in contemporary Mandarin



Development of ****kloŋ** and ****gloŋs** in contemporary Cantonese

Archaic Chinese

****kloŋ** 共供
'to provide'

****gloŋs** 共
'to share with
(together)' (v.)

'together' (adv.)

Middle Chinese

***kjuoŋ**

***gjuoŋ**

Coverb 'with'

Connective 'and'

('all together' >) 'sum; in total'

Modern Sinitic Languages

□kong

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

Coverb 'for'

Confession

Disposal marker

Stance marker

kong□

Colloquial language
Written language
Historical text
Fade out of daily use

Development of ****kloŋ** and ****gloŋs** in contemporary Southern Min

Archaic Chinese

Middle Chinese

Modern Sinitic Languages

****kloŋ** 共供
'to provide'

***kjuoŋ**

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

Coverb 'for'

Confession

****gloŋs** 共
'to share with (together)' (v.)

?

***gjuoŋ**

Coverb 'with'

kan□ / ka□
Coverb 'with'

ka□
Disposal marker

Connective 'and'

Connective 'and'

ka□
Stance marker

'together' (adv.)

→

('all together' >) 'sum; in total' kioŋ□

Colloquial language
Written language
Historical text
Fade out of daily use

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. 榮卽共穆結異姓兄弟。 (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 搯 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.’

Conclusion

Valence-reduction for **GIVE constructions**:

3P > 2P > 1P predicates

- Lexical 'give' verb > passive 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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