

## Grammaticalization of Causative Verbs in Earlier Southern Min Texts A Comparison between Southern Min and Mandarin

I-Hsuan Chen (National Tsing Hua University)

16<sup>th</sup>-century and later Southern Min playscripts (Wu 2001abcd) abound with causative verbs with varying degrees of grammaticalization, such as *chhoa*<sup>7</sup> 拽, *kah*<sup>4</sup> 甲, *sai*<sup>2</sup> 使, and *kio*<sup>3</sup> 叫. This paper examines these verbs by comparing them with their Modern Mandarin and Taiwanese Southern Min (henceforth TSM) counterparts with the aim of teasing out their particular paths of grammaticalization.

甲 ‘to order, to cause’ occurs in a pivotal construction like **NP1 VP1 NP2 VP2** (Lien 2002). *VP2* here is restricted to dynamic verbs, as in (1). The construction is thus termed **dynamic causative**, as opposed to the reduced **stative causative**, of which *VP2* is a stative verb, as in (2).

- (1)        a<sup>1</sup>-kong<sup>1</sup> kah<sup>4</sup> goa<sup>2</sup> poann<sup>1</sup> i<sup>2</sup>-toh<sup>4</sup>  
              啞公    甲    我    搬    椅棹  
              master kah<sup>4</sup> I    move    chairs and tables  
              ‘The master ordered me to move chairs and tables.’
- (2)        chi<sup>2</sup>-keng<sup>2</sup> chhoa<sup>7</sup> lang<sup>5</sup> chiau<sup>5</sup>-chui<sup>7</sup>  
              只景        拽        人        憔悴  
              this scene chhoa<sup>7</sup> people emaciated  
              ‘This scene makes people emaciated.’

In the playscripts, 甲 made its first step toward reduced causation. Some data reveal the weakening of its demanding force and *VP2* tended to be beyond the control of *NP2*. However, most of the *VP2*s were still confined to active verbs and the psych verb *hoan*<sup>5</sup>-*lo*<sup>2</sup> 煩惱 ‘to be worried’ in one attested instance. 甲’s use in dynamic causation was much more productive than in stative causation, which was covered by 拽. 拽 originally meant ‘to bring’, and later the physical displacement metonymically extended to changes of states. Its functions were clearly complementary to 甲, which as such was impeded from extending to stative causation.

使, also a commanding verb, yields robust dynamic causation. In Modern Mandarin, *shi* 使 undergoes generalization, accompanied by the extension in the dynamic/stative feature of *VP2* (Chang 2006). By contrast, 使 in TSM does not further develop stative causation and is even abandoned due possibly to its homophonic clash with the taboo word *sai*<sup>2</sup> ‘to fuck’.

叫 preserves its original meaning ‘to call’ in its causative variant ‘to command by calling’, which makes them indistinguishable in pivotal constructions. 叫 does not develop stative causation in TSM partly due to its prominent meaning of calling. Contrarily, *kio*<sup>3</sup> 叫’s counterpart *jiao* 叫 in Modern Mandarin develops full-fledged stative causation in that causative *jiao* 叫 is easily confused with homonymic causative *jiao* 教 ‘to teach’, already complete in its stative causative development. Moreover, *jiao*<sup>4</sup> 叫, or rather *jiao*<sup>4</sup> 教 has also

assumed the function of agentive marker in Mandarin passives. Therefore, 叫 shows different speeds of grammaticalization in Mandarin and Southern Min.

The causative verbs exhibit layering, persistence, and divergence as principles of grammaticalization (Hopper 1991, 1996). Their division of labor stabilizes their individual functions, which may hinder their grammaticalization. Each with its unique development, they all function as causative links. A diachronic perspective on how syntactic, phonological, and semantic environments influence grammaticalization of causative verbs in different systems will be presented in this paper.

## References

- Chang, Li-li. 2006. The poly-grammaticalization of Shiyi verbs. *Bulletin of the Department of Chinese Literature National Taiwan University*. 23: 333-374
- Hopper, Paul J.. 1991. On some principles of grammaticalization. In Elizabeth C. Traugott and Bernd Heine (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, 17-35. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Hopper, Paul J.. 1996. Some Recent Trends in Grammaticalization, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25, pp. 217-236.
- Lien, Chin-fa. 2002. Grammatical function words 乞, 度, 共, 甲, 將 and 力 in Li<sup>4</sup> Jing<sup>4</sup> Ji<sup>4</sup> 荔鏡記 and their development in Southern Min, in Dah-an Ho (ed.) *Papers from the Third International Conference on Sinology: Linguistic Section. Dialect Variations in Chinese*, 179-216. Institute of Linguistics, Preparatory Office. Academia Sinica, Taipei.
- Wu, Shouli. 2001a. *Ming Jiajing Kan Li Jing Ji Xiwen Jiaoli [Annotated Texts of the Romance of Li Jing Ji of Ming Jiajing Edition (JJ)]*. Taipei: Ts'ung-I Workshop.
- Wu, Shouli. 2001b. *Ming Wanli Kan Li Zhi Ji Xiwen Jiaoli [Annotated Texts of the Romance of Li Zhi Ji of Ming Wanli Edition (WL)]*. Taipei: Ts'ung-I Workshop.
- Wu, Shouli. 2001c. *Qing Shunzhi Kan Li Zhi Ji Xiwen Jiaoli [Annotated Texts of the Romance of Li Zhi Ji of Qing Shunzhi Edition (SZ)]*. Taipei: Ts'ung-I Workshop.
- Wu, Shouli. 2001d. *Qing Guangxu Kan Li Zhi Ji Xiwen Jiaoli [Annotated Texts of the Romance of Li Zhi Ji of Qing Guangxu Edition (GX)]*. Taipei: Ts'ung-I Workshop.