CODING CAUSATIVES AND PUTATIVES IN A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE[*]

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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

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*   , 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* , *thoo³* , *kah⁴* (<), *sai²* , *chhe¹* , *kio³* , *hoan¹-hu³* , *chhoa⁷* 𤆬 (=), Jia² , *in²* , *ti ³* , and *thai⁷* that occur in analytic causative constructions. By contrast, putative constructions embrace a relatively modest list of verbs such as *kio³-si⁷* and *koo⁷* .[1] Here the semantic distinction between

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[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 *shu⁴* in Old Chinese (5 c. B.C. to 200 A.D.)[2] until it is used in a construction, as in *shu⁴ zhi¹ yi³ sang¹* 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.

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distinction is made between *ch*, *chh* and *ts*, *tsh,* as they do not stand for phonemic contrast. The open *o* (i.e., / /) and the closed *o* are rendered as *oo* and *o*, as in *oo¹* 'black' and *o¹* '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, *Wu³ mu³ zhi¹ zhai², shu⁴ zhi¹ yi³ sang¹*, … , , … 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) Transitivized V_t derived from V_i, as in *tui⁴ zhi¹* 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* 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* 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* 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* Meng Chang Jun-guest-me 'Meng Chang Jun took me as his guest', and (2) V_t derived from Adj., as in *Yu²*

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[4] Examples in (1) and (2) are both taken from Lun Yun *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).

ren² shen⁴ yì⁴ zhi¹   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 *xiao³*   in the V_t-N construction can be understood as a causative verb meaning 'make sth. smaller', as in *Jiang⁴ ren² zhuo² er² xiao³ zhi¹*   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 *Kong³-zi³ deng¹ dong¹ shan¹ er² xiao³ lu³*   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 *xiao³*   takes on in *xiao³ tian¹-xia⁴*

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[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 $tian^1$-xia^4 $xiao^3$ 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 (yi^3)- (wei^2) meaning 'take … as' is a way of analytic coding in Old Chinese. X –V_1(yi^3)-Y-V_2 (wei^2)-Z as a pivotal construction is ambiguous between causative and putative interpretation.[11] For example, Yi^3 $Chang^2$-an^1 jun^1 wei^2 zhi^4 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

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[9] Of course, $xiao^3$ $tian^1$-xia^4 small-empire may also be taken as an attributive-noun construction meaning 'small empire' where $xiao^3$ 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 yi^3...wei^2 … take…make and the solid form yi^3 wei^2 that can be taken as a causative or a putative . It seems to be safe to observe that the modern use of $yi3$ wei^2 as a verb that takes a clausal complement, be it a counterfactual or non-factive, is a further development of the putative use of yi^3...wei^2 … .

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

When X $-V_1$(yi^3)-Y-V_2 (wei^2)-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 *wei²*.[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) *yi³ lin² wei² he⁴* take-neighbor-make-gully 'take the neighboring state to be a pool', and (2) *bu⁴ yi³ guo²-jia¹ wei² shi⁴* 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).

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[12] By contrast, *kiaⁿ⁵ te² loo⁷* 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 –V$_1$(*yi^3*)-Y-V$_2$ (*wei^2*)-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 *yi^3* and *wei^2* respectively.[14] Another type of pivotal construction used as a causative featuring almost the same template, viz., X –V$_1$-Y-V$_2$, does not have such a restriction on the selection of verbs. In other words, V$_1$-is realized as common causative verbs like *shi^3* , *ling^4* , *ming^4* , *qian^3* , etc., (Ma 1993: 63), and V$_2$ 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 Li^4 Jing^4 Ji^4 (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 *KHIT^4*

Khit^4 as a polysemous word can be used in the dative (double-object) construction, as in *(Goa^2) beh^4 phah^4 chhiu^2-chi^2 khit^4 li^2* ( ) (5.103) (I)-want-make-ring-give-you 'I will give you a ring', the pivotal construction, as in *Li^2 tan^3 loh^8 nai^7-chi^1 khit^4 gun^2 ui^5 ki^3* (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 *Li^2 kang^7 goa^2 khit^4 lang^5 chhi^7*

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

(13.045) you-and-I-give-person-raise 'You and I were enslaved' (Lien 2002). In particular, *khit⁴* has undergone further grammatical extension beyond its role as a ditranstive 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 V_1

Type A (S V_1 O_1 [O_2] V_2) as a pivotal construction is an extension of the double-object construction (S V_1 O_1 O_2) with the addition of V_2. It can be regarded as the amalgam of two clauses[16], viz., S V_1 O_1 O_2 (a double-object construction)+ S O_2 V_2 O_1 (a causative construction), where O_1 is the underlying object of V_2 besides V_1, as exemplified by *Phang⁵ chui² lai⁵ [khit⁴ goa²] soe² bin⁷* [ ] (22.059) hold water come give me wash face 'Fetch me the water (to wash my face with)', where a deictic verb like *lai⁵* is optionally present between O_1 and .[17]

Type A
S V_1 O_1 [O_2] V_2
Goa² boe⁷ mih⁸ [khit⁴ li²] chiah⁸ [ ] (22.309) I buy thing give you eat 'I bought you something (to eat)'
Gun² pe⁷ kah⁴ goa² lai⁵ boe⁷ [khit⁴ lang⁵] chhi⁷ [ ] (13.050) my father ACC me come sell give person raise 'My father sold me to somebody as his bondman'
Bo⁵ lang⁵ thang¹ theh⁸ i² [khit⁴ li²] che⁷ [ ] (14.007) No person can take chair give you sit 'No one can fetch the chair for you (to sit on)'
Type A

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[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. *Kah⁴* , *liah⁵* (<), and *chiong¹* each can function as an accusative marker (abbreviated as ACC)) signaling that the noun in question is a theme.

Thai7 sio2-be7 tho² koa² the⁵-png⁷ lai⁵ [khit⁴ li²] chiah⁸ [ ] (25.050)   wait little-sister beg some tea rice come give you eat   'Let me get you some food and tea (to eat)'
Gun² chhiu^{n3} san¹ ko¹ [khit⁴ lin²] thia^{n1} [ ] (7.075)   I sing mountain song give you listen   'I will sing folk songs for you (to listen to)'
Goa² khit⁴ chit⁸ si^{n1} geh⁸ [khit⁴ li²] king² [ ] (9.059)   I get one be-born month come give you pick   'I will get the month of birth that you can examine'
Pho⁷ kiam²-chng¹ lai⁵ [khit⁴ a¹-nia⁵] soe¹ thau⁵ [ ] ' (46.098)   hold toilet-box come give young-lady comb head   'Fetch my young lady the box (to come her hair)'

Type B (S (O$_1$)V$_1$ [O$_2$] V$_2$) differs from Type A in the occurrence of O$_1$ in front of V$_1$, as in *Goa² ta^{n1} liah⁸ choa⁵ oe⁷ seh⁴ khit⁴ li² thia^{n1}* (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* , [ ] (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* (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$_1$ [O$_2$] V$_2$
tan³ loh⁸ [khit⁴ i¹] khioh⁴ khi³ [ ] (17.032)   throw-fall-give-him-pick up-away   'Drop it (viz., the wrapped lychee) and let him pick it up'   Type B

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[18] When an intransitive verb instead of a transitive verb occurs as V$_2$, a causative (rather than passive) reading can be ascertained, as in *phah⁴ khit⁴ li² si²* (14.396) beat-give-you-die 'beat you to death'.

A^1-$kong^1$ $hoah^4$ [$khit^4$ i^1] jip^8 khi^3 [ ] (14.193) Grandpa call out-give-him/her-enter-go 'Grandpa asked her in'		
$Chhia^{n2}$ $Chioh^4$ $chit^8$ $chun^7$ $hong^1$ $chhe^1$ [$sang^3$ $khit^4$ $thia^{n1}$ [ ] Pray borrow a whiff wind blow send give him listen (24.114) 'Pray for the wind to blow the message to him'		
Li^2 $chiu^3$ $choa^7$ $tioh^8$ $chiu^3$ [$khit^4$ i^1] $bing^5$-pik^8 [ ] (2 6.528) You swear oath should swear give it clear 'You should make a clear oath'		
po^3 [$khit^4$ tai^7-jin^5/tia^1-ma^2/sa^{n1}-$chik^4$/lau^7 toa^7-$lang^5$] tit^4 $chai^1$ [/ / /] (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		
Goa^2 $chiong^1$ sit^8 oe^7 seh^4 [$khit^4$ li^2] $chai^1$ [ ] (23.029) I ACC real word say give you know 'I tell you the truth'		
Goa^2 sau^2 [$khit^4$ li^2] $khoa^{n3}$ [ ] (26.431) I sweep give you look 'Let me clean it (viz., the court) and you can take a look'		
Goa^2 beh^4 $phah^4$ [$khit^4$ li^2] si^2 [ ] (14.396) I want beat give you die 'I will beat you to death'		

Type C featuring the construction khi^3 + 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.

khi^3 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

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[19] The lexical convergence of passive and causative reading is also exhibited in hoo^7 as a counterpart of $khit^4$ in modern Taiwanese Southern Min, $jiao^4$, $rang^4$ & gei^3 in Mandarin, and $zhao^2$ 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* (50.091) where *khi³* 'go' is an intransitive verb inevitably leads to a causative reading 'Let you go', whereas *khit⁴ lang⁵ chhi⁷* (13.045) where *chhi⁷* '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 [O₂] V
Tho² lai⁵ [khit⁴ li²] khi³ pa⁷ liau² [   ] (22.281) Ask-for come give you go PRT(particle) 'Fetch it and I will let you go'
Niu⁵-kiaⁿ² chi² siu³-pang⁵ bo⁵ [khit⁴ lang⁵] kiaⁿ⁵   [   ] (21.047) lady this chamber no give person walk 'The lady's chamber does not allow anyone to sneak about'
*Oan¹-hun⁵ kah⁴ a¹-kong¹ [khit⁴ i¹] tng² **khi³** (   ) [   ] (24.289) (unavenged ghost) ask grandpa give him return away 'The unavenged ghost urged grandpa to let him return'
+ *Gun² niu⁵-kiaⁿ² [khit⁴ li²] seh⁴ tit⁴ bo⁵ i³ su¹*   [   ] (22.177) my young lady give you speak to-such-an-extent not-have sense '(My lady) was embarrassed by your talking'
[khit⁴ goa²] seh⁴ oe⁷ [   ] (45.186) give me say word 'Let me speak'
Type C1
M⁷ thang¹ [khit⁴ a¹-kong¹ a¹-ma²] chai¹ [   ] (15.120)

298-299 & 312-313).

Not can give grandpa grandma know 'Don't let grandparents know'
M⁷ [khit⁴ goa²] chai¹   [   ]   (24.313) Not give me know 'Keep me in the dark'
Bo⁵ [khit⁴ i¹] boa⁵   [   ]   (19.061) No give him polish 'Don't let him polish it (viz., the mirror)'
[khit⁴ i¹ʲkhioh⁴ khi³ khoaⁿ³ [   ]   (23.051) give him pick-up go look 'Let him pick it up and look at it'
+(Goa²) [khit⁴ a¹-kong¹] khioh⁴ lai⁵ chhi⁷ (   ) [   ]   (22.360) I give grandpa collect come raise 'I was picked up by grandpa (to be raised)'.
[khit⁴ li/gun²] ke³ khi³ [/   ]   (26.497/26.500, 26.507) give you/us pass 'Let you/us pass'
[khit⁴ a¹-niu⁵] tui⁵ [   ]   (26.201) give young-lady beat-with-fist 'Let you beat (Chen San) with your fist'
Niu⁵-kiaⁿ² iu⁷ bo⁵ *[khit⁴ goa²] sau³*   [   ]   '(26.433) Young lady also no give me sweep 'Why, you did not have me clean it (viz., the court)'
[khit⁴ lin²]   khun³ [   ]   (29.100) give you sleep 'Let you (pl.) sleep'
Chiⁿ⁵-gun⁵ bo⁵ thang¹[khit⁴ goa²] than³   [   ]   (51.003) money no can give me earn 'I cannot make money'
[khit⁴ gun²] chhi⁷ koa² png⁷ [   ]   (45.206) give me feed a little rice 'Let me feed you a bit'
+Li² kang⁷ goa² [khit⁴ lang⁵] chhi⁷   [   ]   (13.045) you and I give person raise 'You and I were enslaved'
Type C1
Sio²-lang⁵ theh⁸ chhut⁴ lai⁵ [khit⁴ niu⁵ kiaⁿ²li²] khoaⁿ³   , [   ]   (22.292)

lowly person take exit out give young-lady you look 'Let me get it and show it to you'
$Si^{n1} geh^8 [khit^4 i^1] khi^3 khoa^{n3}$ [   ]   (11.072) Born month give him go look 'Let him take a look at the month of birth'
$[khit^4 li^2] boe^2 mih^8 chiah^8$ [   ]   (19.338) give you buy thing eat 'Let you buy something to eat'
$Ling^5 hoe^1 kia^{n3} pho^7 lai^5 [khit^4 niu^5] chio^3 bin^7 bai^5$ [   ]   (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'
$[khit^4 sio^2 be^7] boe^2 chiam^1 soa^{n3}$ [   ]   (25.211) give little-sister buy needle thread '(I) give you this (to buy needlework)'
$[khit^4 sio^2 be^7] kui^{n1} the^2 mng^5$ [   ]   (24.381) give little-sister close residence gate 'Let me close the gate'
$kah4 niu5-kia^{n2} chhut^4 lai^5 [khit^4 goa^2]ki^{n3} chit^8 e^7$]   (37.026) order young lady exit come give me meet once 'Ask the young lady to come and see me'
$[khit^4 goa^2] chim^1 chit^8 e^7$ [   ]   (55.022) give me kiss once 'Let me kiss you'
$+[khit^4 lang^5] liah^8 chit^8 tioh^8$ [   ]   (5.0381) give me catch one CL(classifier). 'be caught'

Type C2 involves the use of adjectival phrases in complement clauses, as in $khit^4 gun^2 kia^{n1} chit^8 thau^5 ling^2 koa^{n7} to^1 tih^4$

(29.119) '(It) so scared me that my head was dripping with cold sweat'.

Type C2		
S [O] Adj		
$[khit^4 goa^2] kia^{n1} chit^8 tng^3$ [ ] (24.167)		

give me scare a CL.
'Gave me a start'
[$khit^4$ gun^2] kia^{n1} $chit^8$ $thau^5$ $ling^2$ koa^{n7} to^1 tih^4 (29.119)
give me a head cold sweat all drop
'(It) so scared me that my head was dripping with cold sweat'.

6.2 *THOO[3]*

The causative use of *thoo[3]* in the pivotal construction S -V_1-O_1 -$_v$- O_2 - V_2 can be illustrated by *Pang[5] thng[1] lai[5] thoo[3] goa[2] soe[2] bin[7]* (22: 076) carry-hot water-come-give-me-wash-face 'Bring me a basin of hot water to wash my face with'. Here O_2 as the goal or recipient is at once the object of *thoo[3]* $_v$ and the subject of V_2, whereas O_1 is the theme of V_1 and the instrument of V_2. The above construction must have originated from the following structure: S-V-O_1- $_v$-O_2, exemplified by *Tho[2] he[2]-iu[5] chi[n5] thoo[3] goa[2]* beg-oil fire money-give-me 'fetch the contribution for me' (45.178).[20] If a verb like *ing[7]* '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]* functions like *khit[4]* except that it does not occur in the passive construction. It occurs far less frequently than *khit[4]*, and seems to be a dialectal variant. If *thoo[3]* is regarded as a precursor of *hoo[7]* [21], then it is quite plausible that the

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[20] This is what a jailer told a prisoner's visitor. *He[2]-iu[5] chi[n5]* 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]*/h / may be derived from *thoo[3]* /t' / through spirantization of the aspirated stop initial. That is, if is a viable etymon for *hoo[7]* in modern Southern Min, its earlier form may be *too[3]*, which was written as in the Middle Chinese period. The rationale is that the MC initial of alternates with the MC *d- ( ) initial in the Old Chinese period (Zhou 1992 72-74). Thus, the initial /t'/ of *thoo[2]* as a reflex of the initial of is to be expected. In other words, it turns out that /t' / and /h' / 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] has crowded out *khit*[4]. However, *khit*[4] is still quite robust in Chaozhou and Fuzhou dialects.[22] Evidently its fate varies with sub-dialects.

6.3 *KAH*[4]   (<   )

Kah[4] is a demotic character for   as a causative verb, as in *kah*[4] *i*[1] *tng*[2] *khi*[3]   (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] *chiu*[1]   (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]   (37.070) you-order-Little Seven-beat-me 'You had Little Seven beat me'.

Besides its use as a causative verb, *kah*[4] can also be used as a demotic word for *ka*[7] (<*kang*[7])   , as in *(Gun*[2] *pe*[7]*)* *ka*[7] *goa*[2] *lai*[5] *boe*[7] *khit*[4] *lang*[5] *chhi*[7](   )   (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]   (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]

The causative verb *sai*[2]   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]   (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]

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thoo[3] can be explained away quite easily since Tone 3 of   *thoo*[3] in present-day Quanzhou dialect is a result of the merger of earlier Tone 3 and Tone 7. Note that   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*.

(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 *sai^2 lin^2 nia^5* drive-your mother 'fuck your mother', where *sai^2* is a four-letter word to be avoided in decent speech.[23]

6.5 *CHHE^1*

Chhe^1 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 *sai^2*, as in *Chhe^1 lang^5 liah^8 kau^3 kong^1-thia^{n1}*
(44.155) dispatch-person-catch-to-court 'dispatch a yamen runner to bring him to the court', and *Gun^2 si^7 ti^1-chiu^1 chhe^1 lai^5 liah^8 lin^2 san^1 lang^5* (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 *KIO^3*

Kio^3 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 *pang^3, gun^2 kio^3*, (26.459) let go-I-call 'Let me go, or I will call', and *kio^3 i^1 choe^3 koa^{n1} lang^5* (29.123) call-him-make-official 'call him my lord/husband', and *kio^3 Iah^4-chhun^1 siu^1-sip^8 hing^5-li^2* (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 *Kio^3, li^2 chiong^7 si^{n1}-hun^7*,
(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.,

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[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 *sai^2* is still used in polysyllabic modal verbs like *e^7-sai^2-tit^4* 'can' and *be^7-sai^2-tit^4* '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* means 'tell, instruct, command', 'caution' and 'enjoin, tell, exhort', somewhat similar in meaning to *kau^1-tai^3* 'tell, order, command, bid, direct, instruct a person to do something' (cf. *ding^1-ning^2* /*ding^1-zhu^3* 'to urge again and again, warn, exhort' in Mandarin).

6.7 HOAN^1-HU^3

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

Hoan^1-hu^3 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* , (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* (13.034) master-instruct-arrange-table-and-chair 'The master gave instructions that tables and chairs be put in order'.

6.8 *CHHOA^7* 㧣 (=)

㧣 is the demotic character used in Li Jing Ji to render the etymologically viable lexeme *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,

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[24] *Ye^4* has the sound gloss: *Yang^2 lie^4 qie^1* , *yin^1 yi^4* , *ru^4* , *xue^1 yun^4* , *yu^4 si^4* (Wang et al 2000: 356). Note that *Ye^4* and *ye^4* 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* , 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* , Cao 2000: 496-498). In *Guang^3-yun^4* , *yi^4* is taken to mean *qian^1 ye^3* 'to pull'.

viz., its causative function, has become extinct. The first sense can be found in the following two sentences: *Chhien^1-ban^7 chhoa^7 gun^2 khi^3 ki^{n3} goa^{n1}-lang^1* (45.152) by all means-lead-us-to-meet-our master 'take us to see our master (viz., husband) by all means' and *I^1 sa^{n1} lang^5 si^7 sa^{n1} chhoa^7 chau^2* (40.022) he-three-person-mutually-lead-run 'The threesome eloped'. The second sense is illustrated by *Iok^4-ding^7 chi^2 kau^2 geh^8 beh^4 chhoa^7 niu^5-kia^{n2}* (30.025) appoint-this-ninth-moon-want-marry 'The ninth moon was appointed for marrying the young lady'.

The causative verb *choa^7* (i.e., the third sense) is used in the X-V$_1$-Y-V$_2$/Adj construction where X may be an NP or a clause and V$_2$ 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 *Chi^2 king^2 chhoa^7 lang^5 sim^1 chiau^5-chhui^7* (2.070) this-scene-cause-person-heart-emaciated 'The situation made me miserable', *Jit^8-thau^5 tng^5, chhoa^7 lang^5 bo^5-i^3*, (24.006) sun-long cause-person-no-sense 'The long day made one bored', and *Chhiu^7-na^5 oo^1-am^3 chhoa^7 lang^5 kia^{n1}* (49.007) woods-dark-cause-person-scared 'The darkness of the woods scared me'.

6.9 *JIA^2*

Jia^2 as a causative verb is used in songs as well as colloquial speech, as in *Lim^5 hia^{n1} li^2 ai^3 jia^2 su^7* (5.075) Lim-older brother-you-love-cause-matter 'You like to make trouble, Brother Lin', *kim^1-toa^{n3} jia^2-chhut^4 chi^2 tai^7-chi^7* (36.019) now-you-cause-out-this-matter 'You make such trouble now', *Jia^2 tit^4 i^1 sim^1 tang^7* (23.059) cause-to such an extent-she-heart-stir 'arouse her love', *ti^3-jia^2 chit^8 pi^{n7} u^7 chui^5 ti^1* (25.004) such that-cause-one-illness-have-who-know 'Who knows that I got ill?' and *In^2-lia^2 i^1 lang^5 choe^3 mih^4* (26.141) cause-him-person-do-what 'What did you provoke him for?'.

6.10 *IN^2*

In^2 as an ordinary verb means 'lead, guide', as in *Thai^7 gun^2 in^2 gun^2 niu^5-kia^{n2} khi^3 hoe^1-hng^5 lai^7 khoa^{n3} hoe^1* (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*   , (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*   , (24.170-71) cuckoo-cry-moon cause-move-mood 'The cry of the cuckoo under the moonlight disturbed my heart'.

6.11 *TI ³*

The causative verb *ti³* tends to form a part of V-O compound verbs, as in   *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*   (53.025) attentively-devotedly-do obeisance-mother-in-law 'pay respects to one's mother-in-law courteously and whole-heartedly' .

6.12 *THAI⁷*

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

As attested in Li Jing Ji, *thai⁷* 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*   (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*   (22.298) wait-little sister-go-beg-come 'Let me (humble sister) go and fetch it'.

Thai⁷ 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-toaⁿ³ ke¹ lang⁵ lai⁵*   (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 *KIO³-SI⁷*

In its putative function kio^3-si^7 means 'take X as Y', but it has developed a counterfactive sense, as in kio^3 si^7 $choan^5$-$chiu^1$ $lang^5$ $phah^4$ $phoa^3$ 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 $chiau^2$ (24.116) I-at first-call-be-bird 'I thought at first that it was a bird'.

Kio^3-si^7 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 enjoys its independent status as a verb. That is, Y is first limited to noun phrases and later extends to clauses when si^7 ceases to be independent and co-occurs with the verb kio3 to form a compound verb. The loss of si^7 '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. A parallel example of counterfactives in modern Taiwanese Southern Min is $liah^8$-cho^3 seize-make 'thought (mistakenly)', and its counterpart in Mandarin yi^3-wei^2. All these examples may owe their counterfactive meaning to the shift of construction types.

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[25] In Zu Tang Ji (ca. 952 A.D.), a Chan Buddhist text dating back to the late Tang dynasty, dai^4 was still used a free form meaning 'wait', as in Dai^4 wo^3 mie^4 hou^4 liu^4 shi^2 qi^1 $nian^2$ (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 (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 $deng^3$, a synonym of dai^4, is used as a passive marker in some dialects.

7.2 *KOO⁷*

koo^7 is glossed as 'trust in', as in koo^7 $chit^8$ ki^1 $chhui^2$ 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 , 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 $hong^7$-$thai^7$ (51.093) father-mother-depend on-you-wait on 'Parents depend on your attendance', Gun^2 ta^{n1} $chit^8$ sin^1 $chng^5$ koo^7 goa^2 gun^1 chu^2-i^3 (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 $siong^1$ $chiong^1$-$chiu^7$ (25.226) depend on-you-mutually-put up with 'It depends on your bearing with me'[26], but there are cases where koo^7 and koo^7-kio^3 or its graphic variant yield the putative sense, as in Goa^2 koo^7 li^2 u^7 $chin^1$-sim^1 (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 (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

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[26] Here the reciprocal adverb $siong^1$ 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   , 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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