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A comitative source for object markers in Sinitic languages:  
跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> in Waxiang and 共 *kang*<sup>7</sup> in Southern Min

*Pre-publication version*

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### Abstract

This analysis sets out to specifically discuss the polyfunctionality of 跟 [*kai*<sup>55</sup>] in Waxiang (Sinitic), whose lexical source is the verb ‘to follow’. Amongst its various uses, we find a preposition ‘with, along’, a marker of adjuncts and a NP conjunction, thus superficially resembling its Mandarin cognate 跟 *gēn* ‘with’. Curiously, however, it has also evolved into a direct object marker in Waxiang, with a function similar to that of preposition 把 *bǎ* < ‘hold, take’ as found in the S–*bǎ*–O–VP or so-called ‘disposal’ form in standard Mandarin. The pathways of grammaticalization for 跟 [*kai*<sup>55</sup>] in Waxiang are thus discussed in order to determine how it has developed this unusual grammatical function in one of the linguistic zones of China where verbs of giving or taking are, in fact, the main source for grammaticalized object markers in ‘disposal’ constructions.

On the basis of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Southern Min literature (Sinitic), a comparison is also made with analogous developments for comitative 共 *gōng* ‘with’ to provide support for our hypothesis that the direct object marking use has evolved from the oblique function of a benefactive or dative, and is clearly separate from the crosslinguistically well-attested pathway that leads to its use as a conjunction. We would thus like to propose that these data contribute a new pattern to the stock of grammaticalization pathways, specifically, comitative > dative/benefactive > accusative (direct object marker).

**Keywords:** comitatives, direct object markers, disposal *bǎ* constructions, context-induced grammaticalization, Sinitic, Waxiang, Southern Min, 跟 *gēn*, 共 *gōng*

In this analysis, we propose to investigate the intriguing case of comitative prepositions that come to be used as direct object markers, particularly with respect to 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> ‘with’ in Waxiang, an unclassified Sinitic language spoken in Western Hunan, China. Our aim is to make certain conjectures as to the pathway for this diachronic change, considering both morphosyntactic and semantic features from within the framework of context-induced grammaticalization (Heine 2002). With this purpose in mind, we also make reference to 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts from Southern Min, another Sinitic language spoken largely in Fujian and in Taiwan, in order to trace similar developments for its comitative preposition 共 *gòng*, a comitative with a different source from 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup>.

Prepositional constructions derived from serial verb constructions in Chinese, especially the object-marking types, have attracted a great deal of attention in Chinese linguistics over the past few decades. Peyraube (1989, 1991), Mei Tsu-lin (1990), Wei Pei-chuan (1997), Cao Guangshun & Yu Hsiao-jung (2000), Liu Ziyu (2002), Wu Fuxiang (2003a/2006, 2003b), Cao Guangshun & Long Guofu (2005), and Jiang Shaoyu (2008), have all carefully described the pathways of grammaticalization for object markers on the basis of textual material, particularly for the so-called ‘disposal marker’ 把 *bǎ* in the Archaic and Medieval Chinese periods.

The ‘disposal form’ (*chǔzhìshì*) is best known in the form of the 把 *bǎ* construction of Standard Mandarin Chinese and has the syntactic configuration: NP<sub>1</sub>(Agent) – Object Marker – NP<sub>2</sub>(Patient) – VP, where the object marker is a preposition. While this marker is typically 把 *bǎ* in most of the Northern Sinitic area, an array of forms is found in the other main dialect groups belonging to Sinitic. It creates a strong contrast to one of the basic word orders in Chinese languages of S–V–O.

Chappell (2000, 2006, 2007) has carried out research on this topic for contemporary Sinitic languages in order to examine the diversity of lexical sources as well as the evolution of these object markers. According to her study, there are three main sources for object markers in Sinitic languages. These are the following (Chappell 2006: 469):

- i) Verbs of taking and holding > object markers, e.g. cognates and synonyms of 把 *bǎ*, 将 *jiāng* and 拿 *ná* ‘to take’ as in Standard Mandarin and Jin dialects
- ii) Verbs of giving and helping > object markers, e.g. cognates and synonyms of 给 *gěi* ‘to give’ and 帮 *bāng* ‘to help’, as found in many Wu, Hui, Xiang and Southwestern Mandarin dialects
- iii) Comitatives > object markers, e.g. cognates and synonyms of 共 *gòng* in the Min dialects, 搵 *lau*<sup>2</sup> or 同 *tung*<sup>2</sup> in Hakka; and also comitatives in the Wu dialects, according to Xu Baohua & Tao Huan (1998) and Hu Songbo & Ge Xin (2003), and in a few non-standard Mandarin dialects and in a small number of Gan dialects.

Chappell also points out that while the detailed stages of the grammaticalization pathways have been well described in the case of verbs of taking and holding in Chinese, they are still to be worked out in detail for the two additional sources of *give/help* verbs and comitatives. In addition to this, from a typological point of view, comitatives used as object markers are rare cross-linguistically, and rare in Sinitic languages too.<sup>1</sup> Note that several sources for these comitatives are implicated.

The lexeme 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> in the Waxiang dialect can be used as a verb ‘to follow’, a comitative preposition ‘with’, a NP conjunction ‘and’, a benefactive ‘for’ and an object marker, among other uses. Unusually, it has developed this object-marking use in an area of China where either the marker 把 *bǎ* or verbs of giving and helping are in fact the main source for the object markers, as found in the local varieties of Southwestern Mandarin spoken in western Hunan.<sup>2</sup> This analysis thus sets out to determine the precise pathway of grammaticalization for 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> in the Waxiang dialect, hypothesizing, through comparison with Southern Min, that this has taken place by means of extension of meaning from the benefactive/dative use. To this purpose, historical data on Southern Min from 16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries will be used, non-existent for Waxiang.

The layout of the presentation is as follows: background information on the Waxiang language is provided in §1 while §2 and §3 present data from two varieties of Waxiang –Guzhang and Yuanling; §4 discusses all the lexical and grammaticalized functions of Waxiang 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup>, while §5 contains a description of object markers and comitatives in Hunan and other central and southeastern provinces of China. In §6, the Southern Min historical materials are examined for the usage of comitative 共 *gòng* and finally in §7, the proposed grammaticalization chains are discussed.

## 1 Languages of Guzhang County, Western Hunan

Waxiang is a dying language spoken in a remote mountainous area of western Hunan, known as Xiangxi (湘西), designated as a bilingual area in 1985 (Bao Houxing & Li Yongming, 1985).<sup>3</sup> Like most Sinitic languages, it is tonal, analytic in tendency and has S-V-O as a basic word order (Wu & Shen 2010). It has developed in a contact situation surrounded by genetically unrelated languages, in particular, Hmong (Hmong-Mien) and Tujia (Tibeto-Burman), while retaining an archaic core of Chinese features. Although the heartland of the Xiang group of dialects is located in Hunan, there has been little contact between Waxiang and Xiang speakers over the centuries, the two groups inhabiting non-contiguous areas. In fact, for Waxiang speakers today, fluency in a second language will typically be in Southwestern Mandarin.

Three main dialects of Waxiang have been investigated: these are Yuanling 沅陵, Guzhang 古丈 and Luxi 泸溪 (for phonology only in the latter case). Waxiang speakers are in fact located across five counties in Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Region, for which a detailed description is given in Wu & Shen (2010:1-5).

Archaic features of Old Chinese preserved by Waxiang not only pertain to its sound system (Y. Wu 2000), but also to lexical items including the terms for ‘shoe’ which is 履 *li*<sup>25</sup>, ‘wok’ which is 鼎 *ta*<sup>13</sup>, ‘basket’ which is 豆 *da*<sup>33</sup> and the verb ‘to like, to love’ 字 *dza*<sup>33</sup>. Other distinguishing features are its tripartite demonstrative paradigm and the use of tone sandhi to express the plural form of the personal pronouns. The aspect system is in the primary stage such that no completely grammaticalized and semantically bleached perfective markers are to be found (Wu & Shen, 2010).

The sociolinguistic picture in the Waxiang-speaking areas is very complex. This can be readily perceived in an important historical record, the *Guzhangping Tingzhi* (Guzhangping Gazetteer) compiled in 1907 by Dong Hongxun 董鴻勛, which contains a detailed description of the languages and dialects spoken in each village in

Guzhang county, western Hunan, at this time. He classified the local population into five categories according to their origins:

1. Hmong (or Miao) 苗
2. Gelao 仡佬<sup>4</sup>
3. Tujia 土家
4. Min, 民 which means ‘the people’ or those who speak Waxiang and
5. Ke, 客 which means ‘guests’ or those who speak the Southwestern variety of Mandarin.

A map of Hunan is presented below to show the overall distribution of Sinitic, Tibeto-Burman and Hmong languages as spoken in this province, including this western area of Xiangxi, the target of our research.

### Map 1 about here

Map 1: The classification and distribution of languages spoken in Hunan, China (reproduced from Y. Wu, 2005: 375)

Some interesting trends which emerge from the Gazetteer are that no-one in the Mandarin community was able to speak Waxiang in 1907. Furthermore, while a mere 13% of Waxiang people had shifted to speaking only Mandarin in 1907, even less, just 9%, were bilingual. In other words, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 78% of Waxiang speakers exclusively spoke their own language. In general, local non-Han peoples adopted Southwestern Mandarin earlier than did the Waxiang speakers, given that 72% of people with minority origins, mainly the Hmong and the Tujia, could speak Mandarin as their second language as early as 1907.

Map 2 below represents the language situation of Guzhang in 1907 according to Dong Hongxun’s description. This should be compared with Map 3 which represents the language situation for Guzhang in 1998 based on Yunji Wu’s study (Y. Wu, 2000: 352–353). Map 3 clearly shows that nearly all present-day Waxiang speakers can now speak Mandarin, a sign of language shift in progress.

### MAPS 2 & 3 ABOUT HERE

Map 2:  
Linguistic map of Guzhang  
county, 1907

Map 3:  
Linguistic map of Guzhang  
county, 1998

## 2 The usages of 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> in the Guzhang Waxiang dialect

We carried out a detailed investigation of the uses of 跟 *geŋ*, realised as *kai*<sup>55</sup> in the Guzhang Waxiang dialect, and discovered many examples in both narratives and conversations, collected principally during fieldwork trips in 2005, 2006, 2008 and 2010. The lexeme 跟 *geŋ* has the following eight functions in the Guzhang Waxiang dialect. The first function is as a verb ‘to follow’ as found in Mandarin and many other Sinitic languages. In this use, it may be modified by aspectual and directional complements, as shown in (1).<sup>5</sup>

### 2.1. Lexical verb meaning ‘to follow’:

- (1) 你莫紧跟到我。  
 ni<sup>25</sup> mo<sup>25</sup> tɕi<sup>25</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> tau<sup>41</sup> u<sup>25</sup>.  
 2SG NEG closely follow PRT 1SG  
 ‘Don’t follow me so closely.’

Its second function as a comitative preposition is also shared with Mandarin 跟 *geŋ*:

### 2.2. Comitative preposition ‘with’:

- (2) 跟娘买菜去嘢。<sup>6</sup>  
 zɕi<sup>13</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> zɕi<sup>13</sup> ŋya<sup>13</sup> mɕi<sup>25</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ɕi<sup>33</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ɕi<sup>25</sup> ti.  
 3SG COM 3SG mother buy food go PRT  
 ‘She went to buy fresh food with her mother.’

### 2.3. Coordinative conjunction ‘and’

In the Waxiang dialects, 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> can be used as a coordinative conjunction, as its cognate 跟 *geŋ* can in standard Mandarin:

- (3) 淘溪的人跟李家洞的人我都熟。  
 tau<sup>13</sup> kɕi<sup>55</sup> ti ŋi<sup>55</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> li<sup>25</sup> ko<sup>55</sup> tau ti ŋi<sup>55</sup> u<sup>25</sup> tɕau<sup>55</sup> tɕi<sup>55</sup> u<sup>55</sup>.  
 Taoxi SP people GEN Lijiadong SP people 1SG all know  
 ‘I know people from both Taoxi and Lijiadong.’

Note however that this is not the only coordinative conjunction, as 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> in this function can be found used alongside another marker 邀 *iau*<sup>55</sup> ‘and’.

- (4) 余村里跟/邀□村里都不木匠。  
 a<sup>13</sup> tɕi<sup>55</sup> ya<sup>55</sup>-la **kai**<sup>55</sup> / **iau**<sup>55</sup> za<sup>41</sup> tɕi<sup>55</sup> ya<sup>55</sup>-la tɕau<sup>55</sup> pu<sup>41</sup> tɕi<sup>55</sup> ya<sup>55</sup>.  
 1PL village-in GEN / IAU 3PL village-in all not:have carpenter  
 ‘Neither our village nor theirs have carpenters.’

### 2.4. Benefactive marker meaning ‘(to do something) for someone’.

This use is similar to one of the grammaticalized functions of Mandarin 给 *gěi* ‘give’:

- (5) 是□跟我担的水。  
 tsɿ<sup>25</sup> zɿ<sup>13</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> u<sup>25</sup> to<sup>55</sup> ti tsu<sup>25</sup>.  
 be 3SG GEN 1SG carry SP water  
 ‘He’s the one who carried the water for me.’

### 2.5. Dative marker

As a dative marker, 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> introduces the indirect object with verbs of giving or the addressee with verbs of communication; each verb class is exemplified below:

- (6) 你跟□讲些什□?  
 ɿ<sup>25</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> zɿ<sup>13</sup> ka<sup>25</sup> sɿ<sup>41</sup> kɿ<sup>33</sup>?  
 2SG GEN 3SG say what  
 ‘What did you say to him?’
- (7) □<sub>这</sub>履跟谁得的? 跟我得嘢。  
 ai<sup>55</sup> dzɿ<sup>13</sup> li<sup>25</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> o<sup>13</sup> kɿ<sup>55</sup> tɿ<sup>55</sup> ti? **kai**<sup>55</sup> u<sup>25</sup> tɿ<sup>55</sup> ti.  
 this CL<sub>pair</sub> shoes GEN who give PRT GEN 1SG give PRT  
 ‘Who was this pair of shoes given to? (They were) given to me.’

### 2.6. Directional preposition

跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> can also be used with a following locative NP to introduce the direction of an action, translatable as ‘towards’ or ‘along’. In this function, it corresponds to Mandarin 向 *xiàng* ‘towards’ and 顺 *shùn* ‘along’ or 沿 *yán* ‘along’:

- (8) 你就跟□<sub>这</sub>里行。  
 ɿ<sup>25</sup> tɿ<sup>13</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> ai<sup>55</sup> li xo<sup>13</sup>.  
 2SG then GEN here walk  
 ‘Walk along here.’

### 2.7. Source locative preposition ‘from’

跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> can also introduce a reference to location that is the source when preceding a place noun, ‘from’. It thus resembles the uses of Mandarin 从 *cóng* ‘from’:

- (9) □<sub>他</sub>跟吉首来。  
 zɿ<sup>33</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> tɿ<sup>13</sup> sɿ<sup>41</sup> zɿ<sup>13</sup>.  
 3SG GEN Jishou come  
 ‘He is from Jishou.’

### 2.8. Object marker

The lexeme 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> can also be used in the same way as Mandarin 把 *bǎ* to introduce the direct object, forming a highly transitive S- *kai*<sup>55</sup>-O-VP construction. Thus, a common and important function of 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> in Waxiang is as an object marker in the construction [GEN<sub>OM</sub> + NP + VP]. In fact, this is its most frequent use, as Table 1 shows, based on transcriptions of eight narratives by Mr Xiang Guangxun (20:27 minutes in total), recorded in Guzhang during fieldwork.



In the four following examples, a postverbal element is present, representing the so-called ‘give’, ‘place’ and ‘make’ types of ‘disposal’ construction identified in Medieval Chinese by Chen Chusheng (1983), Ye Youwen (1988) and Mei Tsu-lin (1990) as three of the early types of object-marking constructions. Thus, examples (13) and (14) contain predicates with verbs of giving and a postverbal noun which represents the indirect object and beneficiary.

- (13) 跟你二妹□得□□，有□□不好？  
**kai**<sup>55</sup>ŋi<sup>25</sup> «<sup>13</sup>mei<sup>33</sup> tsŋuai<sup>25</sup>tŋ<sup>33</sup> kai<sup>55</sup>pu<sup>41</sup>,  
 GEN<sub>OM</sub>2SG 2nd:sister marry:to carpenter  
 va<sup>25</sup> sŋ<sup>41</sup>kəŋ<sup>55</sup> pa<sup>13</sup> xau<sup>25</sup>?  
 have what NEG good  
 ‘Why is it not good to marry your second sister to a carpenter?’<sup>7</sup>

- (14) □不跟铜钱还去我。  
 zŋ<sup>25</sup> pŋ<sup>13</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> tau<sup>13</sup>tsai<sup>33</sup> vŋn<sup>13</sup> kŋŋ<sup>25</sup> u<sup>25</sup>.  
 3SG NEG GEN<sub>OM</sub> money return go 1SG  
 ‘He didn’t repay me my money.’

Example (15) features another kind of postverbal noun which takes the form of a locative adjunct and represents the ‘place’ type of ‘disposal’ construction:

- (15) 你跟□子放到我边头来。  
 ŋi<sup>25</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> pəŋ<sup>55</sup>tsŋ fəŋ<sup>33</sup>tau<sup>41</sup> u<sup>25</sup> pŋŋ<sup>55</sup>ta zŋ<sup>13</sup>.  
 2SG GEN<sub>OM</sub> bench put-DIR 1SG side come  
 ‘Put the seat next to me.’

As Wu and Cao (2008) observe, the 跟 *geŋ* object-marking construction also occurs with *make* verbs, the third type of ‘disposal’ construction, mentioned above:

- (16) 我分不清楚，就跟小麦当青草锄掉了。  
 ŋo<sup>41</sup> fŋŋ<sup>55</sup> pa<sup>13</sup> tŋ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>u<sup>41</sup>, tŋŋ<sup>25</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> ŋia<sup>13</sup>-o<sup>41</sup> taŋ<sup>55</sup>  
 1SG tell NEG clear then GEN<sub>OM</sub> wheat treat  
 tŋ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>au<sup>41</sup> dzŋ<sup>13</sup> liau.  
 grass remove COMP PRT  
 ‘I can’t really tell (wheat from grass), so I pulled up the wheat thinking it was grass.’ (from narrative by Tian Tingxiu, 2004)

Hence, the construction subtypes correspond to those present in Medieval Chinese vernacular documents, according to Mei’s classification (1990).

Other types of postverbal nouns turn out to be possible as well, including ones representing the instrument, such as 布 *pu*<sup>22</sup> ‘cloth’ in example (17), or ones coding a so-called ‘retained object’ in a part-whole construction (known as a *bǎoliú bīnyǔ* 保留宾语) in example (18):

跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> in Waxiang and 共 *goŋ* in Southern Min

- (17) 你跟箱子□□罩块布。  
ŋi<sup>25</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> ŋin<sup>55</sup>tsa tən<sup>41</sup>mai<sup>25</sup> tsau<sup>33</sup> kŋua<sup>13</sup> pu<sup>22</sup>.  
1SG GEN<sub>OM</sub> box exterior cover CL cloth  
'Cover the box with a cloth.'
- (18) 我跟橘子剥下皮。  
u<sup>25</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> koŋ<sup>55</sup>tsa pau<sup>41</sup> kŋ<sup>33</sup> fa<sup>25</sup>.  
1SG GEN<sub>OM</sub> orange peel COMP skin  
'I peeled the orange (of its skin).'

The 'disposal' construction in Waxiang also possesses the causative subtype:

- (19) □<sub>这</sub>个事跟我气死得。  
ai<sup>55</sup> kŋ<sup>55</sup> si<sup>25</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> u<sup>25</sup> tŋ'i<sup>33</sup>ŋiŋ<sup>13</sup> ti.  
this CL matter GEN<sub>OM</sub> 1SG angry-die PRT  
'This matter made me really angry.'

Thus, the 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> construction can be seen to share a similar set of usages and subtypes to the 'disposal' marker 把 *bǎ* in Mandarin and consequently to be a full-fledged construction in Waxiang in terms of its syntax and semantics.<sup>8</sup> In the next section, we briefly outline similar functions for 跟 *kŋ*<sup>55</sup> in the Yuanling dialect of Waxiang to support our case.

### 3 The use of 跟 GEN in the Yuanling Waxiang dialect

Yang Wei 杨蔚 (1999) was in fact the first person to describe the polyfunctionality of 跟 *geŋ* in Waxiang, realised as 跟 *kŋ*<sup>55</sup> in the Yuanling dialect, the object of her study. Its basic use is as a lexical verb meaning 'to follow' just as in the Guzhang dialect. For its extended uses, she presents fifteen examples from Yuanling Waxiang (1999: 190-191, 197), amongst which none, however, illustrate the comitative use (see §2.2.) or the locative source 'from (a place)'. Apart from the use in Yuanling Waxiang to code a temporal source 'from a point in time', the rest of the functions are the same as those found in the Guzhang dialect for which we present the following seven examples.

3.1. The morpheme 跟 *kŋ*<sup>55</sup> can be used as a NP coordinative conjunction, just as in the Guzhang dialect (see §2.3.):

- (20) 阿哥跟□□一样高。  
a<sup>55</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> **kŋ**<sup>55</sup> lŋ<sup>55</sup>lŋ i<sup>13</sup> zoŋ<sup>33</sup> kaŋ<sup>55</sup>.  
elder: GEN younger: same tall  
brother brother  
'My elder brother and younger brother are of the same height.'

3.2. Just as in Guzhang Waxiang, 跟 *kŋ*<sup>55</sup> can also be used in the same way to introduce the direct object (see §2.8):

- (21) 吾跟□唤□□。  
u<sup>53</sup> **kŋ**<sup>55</sup> zeŋ<sup>13</sup> xō<sup>22</sup> o<sup>13</sup>sŋ<sup>55</sup>.

1SG GEN 3SG call uncle  
 ‘I call him uncle.’

- (22) 跟字写好点点。  
 kɿ<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>33</sup> ʔi<sup>53</sup> xa<sup>53</sup> tʔ<sup>53</sup>tʔ.  
 GEN character write good little:RDP  
 ‘Write the characters better.’

3.3. 跟 kɿ<sup>55</sup> is also used as a dative marker (see §2.5.):

- (23) 吾跟你写信。  
 u<sup>53</sup> kɿ<sup>55</sup> li<sup>53</sup> ʔi<sup>53</sup> ʔi<sup>22</sup>.  
 1SG GEN 2SG write letter  
 ‘I will write a letter to you.’

3.4. 跟 kɿ<sup>55</sup> can be used as a benefactive (see §2.4.):

- (24) 唤□跟吾买本书。  
 xo<sup>44</sup> ze<sup>13</sup> kɿ<sup>55</sup> u<sup>53</sup> ma<sup>53</sup> pʔ<sup>53</sup> tsʔ<sup>55</sup>.  
 call 3SG GEN 1SG buy CL book  
 ‘Ask him to buy a book for me.’

3.5. As in the Guzhang dialect described in §2 above, 跟 kɿ<sup>55</sup> can similarly be used with a following locative NP to introduce the direction of an action (see §2.6.):

- (25) 跟河边行。  
 kɿ<sup>55</sup> u<sup>13</sup> bi<sup>22</sup> ʔo<sup>13</sup>.  
 GEN river side walk  
 ‘To walk along the river.’

3.6. Finally, 跟 kɿ<sup>55</sup> also has the meanings of ‘from’ or ‘since’ when used before a temporal expression indicating a reference point in past time (compare with §2.7.):

- (26) □跟□就听话。  
 ze<sup>13</sup> kɿ<sup>55</sup> ʔia<sup>13</sup> tʔi<sup>22</sup> tʔo<sup>55</sup> xo<sup>53</sup>.  
 3SG GEN young then obedient  
 ‘He has been obedient ever since he was little.’

This concludes the comparison of the uses of 跟 kɿ<sup>55</sup> in Yuanling with 跟 kai<sup>55</sup> in Guzhang, two varieties of Waxiang. Analysis of the main issues begins in the next section wherein the relationship between the different functions of 跟 ge<sup>2n</sup> is examined.

#### 4 Lexical and grammaticalized functions of 跟 ge<sup>2n</sup> in the structure [KAI + NP + VP]

Summarizing the discussions in the above section, the following eight different uses of 跟 *geŋ* can be found in the Waxiang dialects spoken in Yuanling and Guzhang. Apart from the lexical verb usage, the remaining seven uses all occur in the structure that has the configuration (NP) – *GEN* – NP – VP:<sup>9</sup>

- (i) a verb meaning ‘to follow’
- (ii) a comitative meaning ‘along with (someone), with’
- (iii) a locative meaning ‘along, towards (a place)’
- (iv) an ablative meaning ‘from (a place), from or since (a reference point in past time)’
- (v) a NP coordinative conjunction meaning ‘and’
- (vi) a dative marker meaning ‘to (someone)’ used with verbs of giving and verbs of communication
- (vii) a benefactive marker meaning ‘for’
- (viii) a marker which introduces the direct object

The first question to be discussed based on the above uses is: Are all the uses directly derived from the verb ‘to follow’? The answer is in the negative. Although some of them are directly derived from the verb, others are only indirectly linked to the meaning of ‘follow’. We classified the seven non-verbal usages into three main categories – adjunct prepositional phrases, conjunctions and oblique roles, each of which is now discussed in turn:

#### 4.1. Adjunct prepositional phrases

Three prepositional uses, similar in function to oblique cases, are directly derived from the verb ‘to follow’. These are the three uses which form an adjunct phrase preceding the main verb:

- (i) the comitative ‘along with, with’
- (ii) the locative/directional meaning ‘along a place, towards a place’
- (iii) the temporal meaning ‘from, since’ and the source locative meaning ‘from’

According to regular patterns of semantic change involved in grammaticalization, the comitative preposition ‘along with, with’ has directly evolved out of the verb ‘to follow, to accompany’ in the Waxiang dialect. In the following examples, 跟 *geŋ* in (27) is a lexical verb ‘to follow, to accompany’, as it is followed by the aspect marker *tau*<sup>41</sup>, while 跟 *geŋ* in example (28) is treated as a comitative preposition ‘with’ in which traces of the original verbal meaning of ‘follow’ are nonetheless still apparent. This phenomenon has been explained in terms of ‘persistence’ by Hopper (1991).

(27) □跟到□娘买菜去嘢。

zŋ<sup>13</sup> kai<sup>55</sup>-tau<sup>41</sup>      zŋ<sup>13</sup> ŋya<sup>13</sup>      mŋ<sup>25</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ŋ<sup>33</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>ŋ<sup>25</sup> ti.  
 3SG follow-PRT      3SG mother      buy food      go PRT  
 ‘She was accompanying her mother to buy fresh food.’

(28) □跟□娘买菜去嘢。

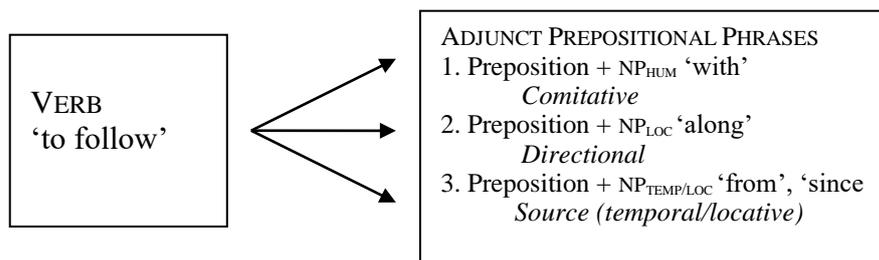
zŋ<sup>13</sup> kai<sup>55</sup>      zŋ<sup>13</sup>      ŋya<sup>13</sup>      mŋ<sup>25</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ŋ<sup>33</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ŋ<sup>25</sup> ti.  
 3SG GEN<sub>COM</sub>      3SG      mother      buy food go PRT

‘She went to buy fresh food with her mother.’

The grammaticalization of the verb 跟 *gēn* ‘follow’ into a comitative preposition ‘along with, with’ is also found in Mandarin Chinese. According to Peyraube (1996: 191), the first real instances of 跟 *gēn* as a comitative preposition are found in the 18th century text 红楼梦 *Hóng Lóu Mèng* (Dream of the Red Mansions), despite the fact that some rare and scattered examples can be found earlier towards the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century (see also Yu Jiang 1996, Feng Chuntian 2000: 301-323, and Wu Fuxiang 2003b).

However, in standard Mandarin, the usage of 跟 *gēn* is limited to ‘along with, with someone or something’, apart from its use to mark the addressee with verbs of communication,<sup>10</sup> while in the Waxiang dialects, the verb 跟 *gēn* has developed further, adding on a pair of new meanings, these being (a) *follow* + LOCATIVE NP > ‘along, towards, to a place’ in the case of locative nouns (see example 8); and (b) *follow* + TEMPORAL/LOCATIVE NP > ‘from (a place)/ since (a reference point in past time)’, that is, an ablative sense (see examples 9 and 26 respectively). These semantic changes can be depicted in the following manner:

Figure 1: Pathway of grammaticalization for 跟 *gēn* as a marker of adjunct PPs



It is interesting to observe that in Heine and Kuteva’s crosslinguistic study of grammaticalization, only the first pathway is exemplified for the verb ‘to follow’ and for just two languages, these being Ainu and Mandarin Chinese (2002: 139-140).<sup>11</sup>

#### 4.2. NP coordinative conjunction derived from the comitative preposition

The development from a comitative preposition into a NP coordinative conjunction, N-CONJ-N, is a well-known phenomenon in the history of Chinese. Liu and Peyraube (1994) showed that the Chinese coordinative conjunctions 及 *jí* and 与 *yǔ* (Archaic Chinese), 共 *gōng*, 同 *tóng*, 和 *hé* and 跟 *gēn* (Medieval and Modern Chinese) are not derived directly from verbs but from comitative prepositions, which have arisen themselves from verbs. These all bear witness to the pathway: verb > comitative preposition > coordinative conjunction.

This further stage in grammaticalization can be found in texts from the 19<sup>th</sup> century for 跟 *gēn* (Liu and Peyraube 1994), but much earlier for the other comitative prepositions of Medieval and Modern Chinese: 共 *gōng* and 将 *jiāng* were grammaticalized into conjunctions by the end of the Six Dynasties period (222-589 AD), 和 *hé* was grammaticalized during the Tang (7<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century) while 同 *tóng*

underwent this process during the Song, 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century (see also Yu 1996, Wu Fuxiang 2003b, Jiang & Cao 2005).

As mentioned earlier, in the Waxiang dialect there is another coordinative conjunction 邀 *iau*<sup>55</sup> which has this function as its main role. According to our field research, 邀 *iau*<sup>55</sup> is used when the relationship between N<sub>1</sub> and N<sub>2</sub> is equal, if not neutral (see examples 4 above and 29 below).

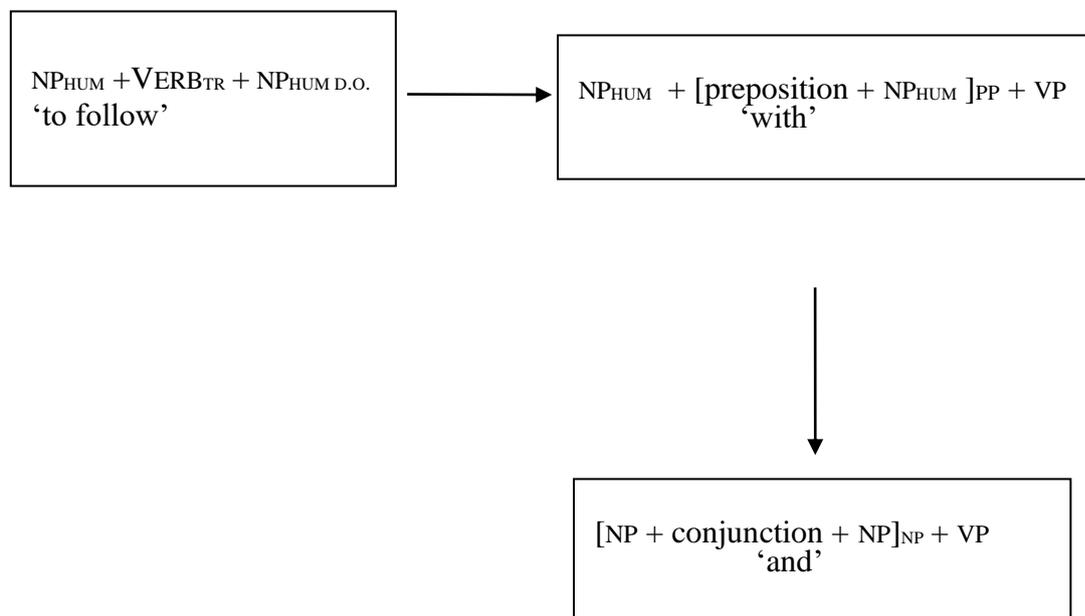
- (29) 我不欢喜□的阿□邀 (/ \*跟) 婆婆。  
 u<sup>25</sup> pu<sup>13</sup> x<sup>25</sup>k<sup>25</sup>z<sup>13</sup> ti ɿ<sup>55</sup>pu<sup>55</sup> iau<sup>55</sup> (/ \*kai<sup>55</sup>) po<sup>13</sup>po.  
 1SG NEG like 3SG SP father-in-law and mother-in-law  
 ‘I don’t like her in-laws.’

Examples (29) above and (30) below suggest that Waxiang 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> may be still in the process of developing from a comitative to a coordinative conjunction for noun phrases, since it is not as unrestricted in usage as 邀 *iau*<sup>55</sup>. Possibly, a trace of its earlier meaning of ‘to follow’ remains, since kin terms may only be conjoined by *kai*<sup>55</sup> where the referent of N<sub>1</sub> belongs to the younger generation, such as a child, and N<sub>2</sub> refers to a relation from the ascendant generation, as we saw in example (2) above: z<sup>13</sup> *kai*<sup>55</sup> z<sup>13</sup> ɿya<sup>13</sup> m<sup>25</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>33 k<sup>h</sup>25 ti □跟□娘买菜去嘍 ‘She went to buy fresh food with her mother.’ On the other hand, 邀 *iau*<sup>55</sup> is more common as a NP-conjunction with kin of the same generation. A similar situation pertains in standard Mandarin for 跟 *gēn* as opposed to 和 *hé*. Finally, note that these conjunctions are not used to conjoin verb phrases or clauses. – They are purely NP coordinative conjunctions.

- (30) 台邀(跟)椅子我都不要买了, 只要买困床。  
 ta<sup>13</sup> iau<sup>55</sup> (kai<sup>55</sup>) p<sup>25</sup>ts<sup>25</sup> u<sup>25</sup> t<sup>25</sup>au<sup>55</sup> pu<sup>13</sup> iau<sup>33</sup> m<sup>25</sup> liau,  
 table CONJ chair-NOM 1SG all NEG want buy PRT  
 ts<sup>25</sup> iau<sup>33</sup> m<sup>25</sup> k<sup>h</sup>uai<sup>33-25</sup> dz<sup>25</sup>.  
 only want buy bed  
 ‘I don’t need to buy a table and chairs, I only need to buy a bed.’

As a comitative preposition meaning ‘with’, Waxiang 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> typically links two human NPs together: NP<sub>HUM</sub> + preposition<sub>COM</sub> + NP<sub>HUM</sub>. As a coordinative conjunction for NPs, it loses this semantic constraint regarding a [+human] noun and is able to conjoin any kind of NP, as example (30) demonstrates. At the same time, the three associated constituents, NP COM NP, are reinterpreted syntactically as belonging to one and the same complex noun phrase, NP CONJ NP (for more details on the syntactic reinterpretation, see Stassen 2000 and Lai 2003a, 2003b on Northern Sixian Hakka 搵 *lau*<sup>2</sup>). These features and stages are represented in Figure 2 below:

Figure 2: Syntactic reanalysis of the verb ‘follow’ into a comitative preposition (Stage 1) and then into a NP coordinative conjunction (Stage2).



#### 4.3 Benefactive, dative and object markers derived from comitatives

According to Heine & Kuteva’s lexicon of grammaticalization (2002: 139-140) which is based on material from approximately 500 languages including Mandarin Chinese, the verb ‘to follow’ can develop into a comitative as it does in Mandarin and in Waxiang. According to the same survey, the comitative can then further develop into (1) a marker of the agent in passives; (2) a NP-conjoining conjunction ‘and’ (3) a sentence-conjoining conjunction ‘and’; (4) a continuous aspect marker; (5) an existential marker; (6) a marker of instrument; (7) a marker of manner; (8) a passive marker in impersonal passives; (9) possessive ‘have’ and (10) a marker of temporal clauses (2002: 79–89). Significantly, benefactive, dative and direct object markers do not figure in their list as a target stage in grammaticalization for comitatives.

In fact, in Heine & Kuteva’s survey, benefactives are commonly derived from the verbs ‘to come to’ or ‘to give’ (2002: 73–74, 149–151), while datives are derived from allatives, benefactives and *give* verbs (2002: 37–38; 54, 153–154), and causatives, the closest semantically to what are known as the object-marking constructions in Sinitic languages, are derived from the verbs ‘to do’, ‘to make’, ‘to give’, ‘to take’ (2002: 117–118, 152, 286). Hence, what precisely are the mechanisms involved in the grammaticalization pathway of the comitative 跟 *ge* into a direct object marker in the Waxiang language? In §6, we will lay out our claim that the object marker 跟 *ge* is derived from the comitative via the benefactive and its closely related dative uses, suggesting that this contributes a new pattern to the stock

of grammaticalization pathways, specifically, comitative > dative/ benefactive > object marker.

With regard to the pathway of benefactive > dative, we have not found any clear derivation of this kind in the entire history of the Chinese language, in spite of the cases listed by Heine & Kuteva (2002). Rather, evolution in the opposite direction from dative to benefactive is regularly attested. For example, the case of 以 *yǐ*: it is attested as a comitative preposition ‘with’ at the beginning of the Western Zhou (1066-771 BCE), then came to be used as a dative ‘to’ by the middle of this period but only as a benefactive ‘for’ at the very end of the Western Zhou (see Djamouri 2009). In fact, it is not always easy to distinguish the two (‘He bought me a pair of shoes yesterday’ = ‘He bought a pair of shoes for me yesterday’).

- (31) □□□跟我买履。 [Benefactive preposition *kai*<sup>55</sup> + IO + V + DO]  
zɿ<sup>13</sup> kɿo<sup>33</sup>tsu<sup>41</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> u<sup>25</sup> mɿ<sup>25</sup> li<sup>25</sup>.  
3SG yesterday GEN 1SG buy shoes  
‘He bought a pair of shoes *for me* yesterday.’

In the Waxiang dialects, there are four different orders for dative constructions which closely resembles the situation already in place for dative sentences in the Medieval period (see Peyraube 1986, 1988):<sup>12</sup>

- (32) □得我一件衣。 [V + IO + DO]  
zɿ<sup>13</sup> tɿ<sup>55</sup> u<sup>25</sup> i<sup>13</sup> tɿ<sup>41</sup>ia<sup>41</sup> i<sup>55</sup>.  
3SG give 1SG one CL clothes  
‘He gave me a shirt.’
- (33) □得一件衣跟我。 [V + DO + Dative preposition + IO]  
zɿ<sup>13</sup> tɿ<sup>55</sup> i<sup>13</sup> tɿ<sup>41</sup>ia<sup>41</sup> i<sup>55</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> u<sup>25</sup>.  
3SG give one CL clothes DAT 1SG  
‘He gave a shirt to me.’
- (34) □跟我得件衣。 [Dative preposition + IO + V + DO]  
zɿ<sup>13</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> u<sup>25</sup> tɿ<sup>55</sup> tɿ<sup>41</sup>ia<sup>41</sup> i<sup>55</sup>.  
3SG DAT 1SG give CL clothes  
‘He gave me a shirt.’

Note that the construction in (34) is only attested in Mandarin Chinese and in Medieval Chinese with certain verbs such as 买 *mǎi* ‘to buy’, 写 *xiě* ‘to write’, etc. See Zhu Dexi (1979) and Peyraube (1988).

- (35) □跟件衣得我。 [Object marker + DO + V + IO]  
zɿ<sup>13</sup> **kai**<sup>55</sup> tɿ<sup>41</sup>ia<sup>41</sup> i<sup>55</sup> tɿ<sup>55</sup> u<sup>25</sup>.  
3SG GEN<sub>OM</sub> CL clothes give 1SG  
‘He gave me a shirt.’

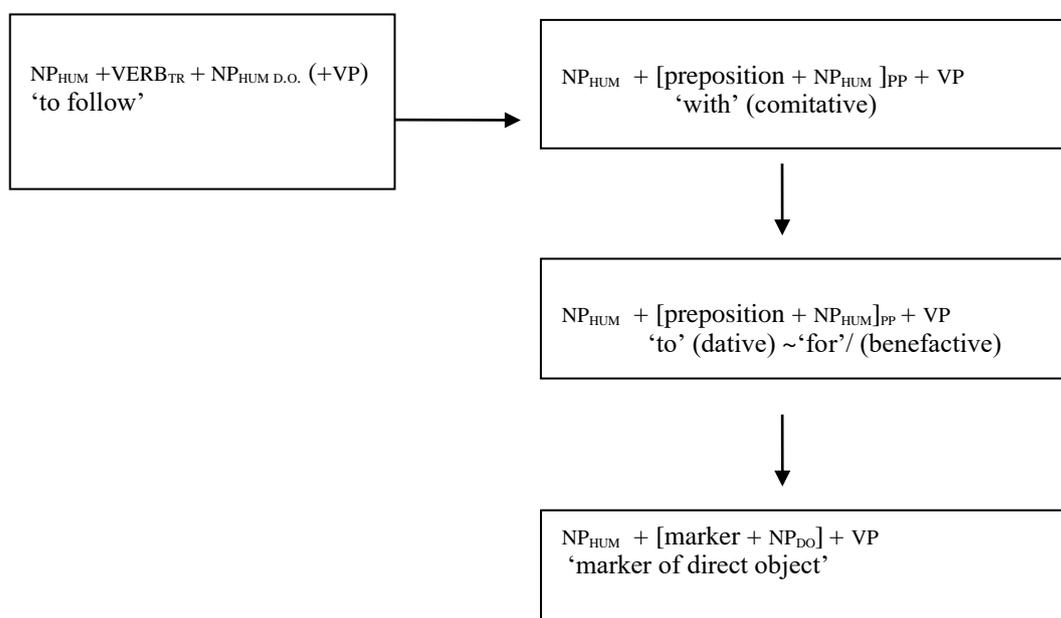
Although there are four types of dative structures, the most commonly used in Waxiang is: *Dative preposition + IO + V + DO*. This is unusual compared with the history of Mandarin, where the preverbal dative PP is the least used of the four

structures just exemplified. Note that the examples above show that either the IO or the DO can be introduced by 跟 *ge* and that either of these constituents can be located before the verb.<sup>13</sup>

The third Waxiang structure [跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> preposition + IO + V + DO] introducing an oblique NP *in the preverbal position*, either in the benefactive or the dative role, is thus the most likely source of the object construction, as we will try to argue in §6 and §7. It represents the syntactic bridging context (Heine 2002) that prepares the ground for reanalysis of 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> as a direct object marker (OM) and, consequently, the dative/benefactive prepositional phrase [跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup> + NP] as being composed of [OM + NP<sub>DO</sub>].<sup>14</sup>

We hypothesize that the grammaticalization pathway for this development is as follows:

Figure 3: Grammaticalization pathway from comitative preposition to direct object marker



Crucial to this grammaticalization pathway are the syntactic and semantic changes which underlie it, triggering the development from a preposition that marks oblique roles in an adjunct phrase, including the benefactive and the dative, in other words, non-arguments of the clause, to a fixed morphological marker introducing the argument of the direct object in a SOV clause.

## 5 Object markers and the comitative in Chinese dialects

As we lack historical documents for most of the Chinese dialects, we can only put forward the hypothesis given above concerning the grammaticalization pathway from a comitative preposition into an object marker, then back this up with evidence from dialects of Southern Min for which historical documents from 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries have been preserved (see §6). First, however, we would like to make the following three remarks:

- (i) The development of the comitative into an object marker, as found in Waxiang, is rare in the other languages of Hunan. For example, 跟 *geŋn* as an object marker is not attested in any of the Xiang dialects, even though some of its other grammaticalized functions can be identified in the Southwestern Mandarin spoken in this western region of Hunan (see §5.1 below).
- (ii) In contrast to this, 跟 *geŋn* used as an object marker can be found in the Wu dialects spoken in Northeastern Jiangxi and also in the Gan dialects in contact with these (see Hu Songbo & Ge Xin 2003: 242, 245). It is also used in this function in certain Mandarin dialects spoken in Hubei and Jiangsu.
- (iii) This use of 跟 *geŋn* found in Waxiang shares similarities to that of comitative 共 *goŋng* in the Min dialects, the topic of description in §6 and also 搵 *lau*<sup>2</sup> in certain Hakka dialects.

The first two points are discussed in this section.

### 5.1. The non-usage of 跟 *geŋn* as an object marker in the languages of Hunan

According to Y. Wu's survey (1999) on object markers conducted in 100 localities in Hunan, the 100 tokens identified derived from twenty different lexical sources. Seventy-four evolved from the meaning 'to hold', 'to give', fifteen from the meaning 'to take', eight from a variety of other meanings including 'to help', while the meaning of a final three is unknown. See the details below (Note that the figures in parentheses after the subsection title indicate the total number of localities for each particular form).

#### 5.1.1. Object markers derived from the meaning 'to give' (74)

Although the original meaning of 把 *bǎ* is 'to hold', it is commonly used as a verb meaning 'to give' in the Sinitic languages of Hunan; in fact, 62/74 of the localities make use of this verb as an object marker. Certain other object markers also share the source meaning of 'to give', as is shown in Table 2 below.<sup>15</sup>

Table 2: Give verbs as the source for object markers

Marker	Meaning and representative dialect	Number
把 <i>pa3</i> <sup>16</sup>	'to hold; to give' (e.g. Xiang-Changsha)	62
给 <i>kei</i> <sup>3</sup>	'to give', (e.g. Xiang-Shuangpai)	4
分 <i>pai</i> <sup>1</sup>	'to divide; to give' (e.g. Jiangyong local dialect)	1
得 <i>te</i> <sup>5</sup>	'to gain; to give' (e.g. Gan-Changning)	2
挨 <i>a</i> <sup>1</sup>	'to be close to; to give' (e.g. Ningyuan local dialect)	2
𠵼 <i>tou</i> <sup>5</sup>	'to give' (e.g. Yizhang local dialect)	1
𠵼 <i>oŋ</i> <sup>1</sup>	'to give' (e.g. Xintian local dialect)	2
<i>Total</i>		74

#### 5.1.2. Object markers derived from the meaning 'to take' (15)

The following words can similarly be used as both free lexical verbs and object markers. Some only have the meaning ‘to take’; others have several meanings, one of which is ‘to take’. These words are nonetheless grouped together on the assumption that the principal source meaning is ‘take’.

Table 3: *Take* verbs as the source for object markers

<i>Marker</i>	<i>Meaning and representative dialect</i>	<i>Number</i>
担 tan <sup>1</sup>	‘to carry (on one’s shoulder); to take’ (e.g. Xiang-Longhui)	5
拿 na <sup>2</sup>	‘to take’ (e.g. Yizhang local dialect)	3
拿倒 na <sup>2</sup> tɔ̃	‘to take’ (e.g. Xiang – Loudi)	2
捞 lau <sup>1</sup>	‘to dredge (up); to take’ (e.g. Xiang-Changsha)	1
提 tio <sup>1</sup>	‘to carry; to take’ (e.g. Zixing)	1
码 ma <sup>3</sup>	‘to put; to take’ (e.g. Gan-Chaling)	3
<i>Total</i>		<i>15</i>

### 5.1.3. A residual group of verbs as the source of object markers (8)

This group of object markers is derived from meanings other than ‘to give’ and ‘to take’ (8) and represents a farrago of markers with no particular common denominator of meaning. Nonetheless, it should be observed that certain of these can be used as causative verbs and are also common sources for agent markers in the passive.

Table 4: Other verbs as the source for object markers

<i>Marker</i>	<i>Meaning and representative dialect</i>	<i>Number</i>
帮 pa <sup>1</sup>	‘to help’ (e.g. Xiang-Chenxi)	2
摸 mo <sup>1</sup>	‘to touch’ (e.g. Guiyang local dialect)	2
等 ten <sup>3</sup>	‘to wait’ (e.g. Huarong)	2
尽 ㄟin <sup>3</sup>	‘to let’ (e.g. Huarong)	2
<i>Total</i>		<i>8</i>

### 5.1.4. Object markers derived from unknown meanings (3)

A final and small residual group of verbs is listed in Table 5 where the source of the object markers has not yet been identified.

Table 5: Object markers whose source is not identifiable

<i>Marker</i>	<i>Meaning and representative dialect</i>	<i>Number</i>
ㄟㄟ <sup>h</sup> iou <sup>4</sup>	(e.g. Gan-Suining)	1
ㄟ hㄟ <sup>3</sup>	(e.g. Daoxian local dialect)	1
ㄟ to <sup>1</sup>	(e.g. Xiang-Luxi)	1
<i>Total</i>		<i>3</i>

In summary, Waxiang 跟 geㄟn presents the only case amongst all the Sinitic languages of Hunan that we are aware of, of a comitative preposition evolving

into a direct object marker. These include those dialects belonging to the Xiang, Gan, Southwestern Mandarin and Hakka groups.<sup>17</sup> Even more telling is the fact that there is no single piece of evidence in the history of the Chinese language of a comitative developing into an object marker and exponent of the ‘disposal’ 把 *ba* type of construction. In this respect, it is noteworthy that object marking constructions are those which have been studied in the minutest detail for all stages of Chinese (Peyraube 1989, Feng 2000: 555 ff., F.Wu 2003a/2006, Cao & Long 2005, Jiang 2008 etc.).

As was mentioned earlier, most people who speak Waxiang also speak Southwestern Mandarin as their second language. It has been observed that when Waxiang people speak Mandarin, they use both 把 *ba* and 跟 *ge* as object markers (see Wu & Cao 2008). The following examples are taken from a narrative on the topic of ‘How to make the dish of *suān ròu* (sour-flavoured pork)’. The informant was asked to tell us the recipe first in Southwestern Mandarin (see example 36) and then in the Waxiang dialect (example 37).

## (36) Southwestern Mandarin

酸肉它就是把它称起来，

suan<sup>55</sup> zu<sup>13</sup> tʃa<sup>55</sup> tʃi<sup>25</sup> s<sup>25</sup> pa<sup>41</sup> tʃa<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>55</sup> tʃi<sup>41</sup> lai<sup>13</sup>,  
sour meat 3SG then be BA<sub>OM</sub> 3SG weigh DIR

买起来，把肉买起来。

mai<sup>41</sup> tʃi<sup>41</sup> lai<sup>13</sup>, pa<sup>41</sup> zu<sup>13</sup> mai<sup>41</sup> tʃi<sup>41</sup> lai<sup>13</sup>.  
buy DIR BA<sub>OM</sub> meat buy DIR

买起来以后，就跟它洗干净，

mai<sup>41</sup> tʃi<sup>41</sup> lai<sup>13</sup> i<sup>41</sup> x<sup>25</sup> tʃi<sup>25</sup> k<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>55</sup> ʃi<sup>41</sup> kan<sup>55</sup> tʃi<sup>25</sup>,  
buy DIR after then GEN<sub>OM</sub> 3SG wash clean

跟它一切。

k<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>55</sup> i<sup>13</sup> tʃi<sup>13</sup>.  
GEN<sub>OM</sub> 3SG one cut

‘As for sour pork, when (you’ve) purchased the meat and come back home with it, brought the meat home, after you’ve brought the meat back, you clean it and cut it up.’ (XGX 2006)<sup>18</sup>

## (37) Waxiang:

酸肉，酸肉就是跟猪肉

suan<sup>55</sup> ʃi<sup>41</sup>, suan<sup>55</sup> ʃi<sup>41</sup> tʃi<sup>25</sup> ts<sup>25</sup> kai<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> ʃi<sup>41</sup>  
sour pork sour pork then be GEN<sub>OM</sub> pork

称到来。 称到来以后，你就跟□

tʃa<sup>55</sup> tau<sup>41</sup> z<sup>13</sup>. tʃa<sup>55</sup> tau<sup>41</sup> z<sup>13</sup> i<sup>41</sup> x<sup>25</sup>, ʃi<sup>25</sup> tʃi<sup>25</sup> kai<sup>55</sup> z<sup>33</sup>  
buy-DIR come. buy-DIR come after 2SG then GEN<sub>OM</sub> 3SG

用水一藻，藻干净起来，

tsau<sup>25</sup> tsu<sup>25</sup> i<sup>25</sup> tsau<sup>25</sup>, tsau<sup>25</sup> k<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>55</sup> tʃi<sup>55</sup> k<sup>41</sup> z<sup>13</sup>,  
use water one wash, wash clean PRT

你就跟□一块一块切起来。

tʃi<sup>25</sup> tʃi<sup>25</sup> kai<sup>55</sup> zɿ<sup>33</sup> i<sup>13</sup> kɿua<sup>25</sup> i<sup>13</sup> kɿua<sup>25</sup> tʃi<sup>41</sup>  
kɿ<sup>41</sup>zɿ<sup>13</sup>  
2SG then GEN<sub>OM</sub> 3SG one CL one CL cut PRT

‘As for sour pork, for (the dish of) sour pork, (you) buy pork meat. After (you’ve) come back with it, (you) use water to wash (it). After you’ve rinsed it, you cut it into pieces.’ (XGX 2006)

In the Southwestern Mandarin example, (36), four object markers are used, two of which are 把 *pa*<sup>41</sup> and two, 跟 *kɿn*<sup>55</sup>. In the Waxiang example, (37), three object markers are used, all of which are 跟 *kai*<sup>55</sup>. Can the object marking use of 跟 *ge*<sup>n</sup> be considered an independent development for Waxiang, introduced into the local dialect of Southwestern Mandarin from their own language, or was 跟 *ge*<sup>n</sup> once widespread in use in certain non-standard varieties of Mandarin, later being replaced by 把 *ba*<sup>n</sup> while being retained in Waxiang? In order to address this issue, let us first consider some data from the Southwestern Mandarin dialects of Hunan province as well as from other Chinese dialects, including Mandarin, spoken in neighbouring provinces.

## 5.2. Southwestern Mandarin as spoken in Hunan

We would like to point out that in some Southwestern Mandarin dialects spoken in Hunan, 跟 *ge*<sup>n</sup> can be used as both a benefactive and a dative marker, even though it does not have the object marking use in question. For example, in the Jishou 吉首 and Changde 常德 dialects of Southwestern Mandarin, 跟 *ge*<sup>n</sup> shares a similar set of uses as found in the Waxiang dialect, except, notably, as an object marker (Li Qiqun, 2002: 301; Zheng Qingjun 1999: 245–246). Two examples of 跟 *ge*<sup>n</sup> used as a benefactive and/or a dative respectively are given below for each dialect.

(i) Jishou dialect (SW Mandarin, Western Hunan):

(38) 他这盘儿出差跟我买了件衣服。(Benefactive)

tʃa<sup>55</sup> tsɿ<sup>35</sup> bɿ<sup>11</sup> tsɿu<sup>11</sup> tsɿai<sup>55</sup> kɿn<sup>55</sup> ɿo<sup>42</sup> mai<sup>42</sup>-lɿ tʃian<sup>35</sup> i<sup>55</sup>fu.  
3SG this time go:on:business GEN 1SG buy - PRT CL clothes  
‘He bought a shirt for me this time on his business trip.’

(39) 昨儿夜头我跟屋里打了个电话。(Dative)

dzu<sup>11</sup>ie<sup>35</sup> dɿu ɿo<sup>42</sup> kɿn<sup>55</sup> u<sup>11</sup>li ta<sup>42</sup>-lɿ ko tian<sup>35</sup>xua<sup>35</sup>.  
last:night 1SG GEN family make - PRT CL telephone  
‘Last night I made a phone call home.’<sup>19</sup>

(ii) Changde dialect (SW Mandarin, Hunan):

(40) 我跟你引小伢, 你跟我做作业好不好? (Benefactive)

uo<sup>21</sup> kŋ<sup>55</sup> li<sup>21</sup> in<sup>21</sup> ŋiau<sup>21</sup>ŋa, li<sup>21</sup> kŋ<sup>55</sup> uo<sup>21</sup> tsou<sup>35</sup>  
 1SG GEN 2SG look:after child 2SG GEN 1SG do  
 tso<sup>35</sup>lie xau<sup>21</sup> pu xau<sup>21</sup>?  
 homework good NEG good

‘I will look after the child for you. (But) can you do my homework for me in return?’

(41) 你跟我给钱, 我去买车票。(Dative)

li<sup>21</sup> kŋ<sup>55</sup> uo<sup>21</sup> ke<sup>21</sup> tŋŋian<sup>13</sup>, uo<sup>21</sup> kŋ<sup>35</sup> mai<sup>21</sup> tsŋe<sup>55</sup>pŋiau.  
 2SG GEN 1SG give money 1SG go buy ticket

‘You give me some money and I will go to buy the tickets.’

It should be noted that the variety of Mandarin spoken in Guzhang county of Western Hunan is not likely to be a possible source for this use of 跟 *geŋ* in Waxiang, since monolingual Southwestern Mandarin speakers prefer 把 *ba* as the main object marker, even though recognizing and accepting the use of 跟 *geŋ*. Hence, in answer to the questions posed above, it is significant for our hypothesis that this marker is imported by the present-day bilingual group of speakers of Waxiang into their use of SW Mandarin (for a more detailed discussion, see Wu & Cao 2008).

### 5.3. Non-standard Mandarin dialects outside of Hunan province

Huang (1996:526) provides data on three non-standard Mandarin dialects which use 跟 *geŋ* as an object marker: two Jiang-Huai Mandarin dialects, Shuyang 沭阳 and Huaiyin 淮阴, both located in Jiangsu province, and one Southwestern Mandarin dialect, Suixian 随县, located in the neighbouring province of Hubei. We use the Huaiyin dialect to exemplify the use of 跟 *geŋ* as an object marker in (42).

(42) 外面风大啊, 你跟围巾戴上。<sup>20</sup>

WÀIMIAN FĒNG DÀ A, Nǐ GĒN WÉIJĪN DÀI-SHANG  
 outside wind big PRT 2SG GĒN scarf wear-DIR

‘Outside it’s very windy. Put your scarf on.’

Presumably, further investigation will unearth yet other Mandarin dialects which use 跟 *geŋ* as an object marker. At present, however, there is insufficient evidence to support any hypothesis regarding this function of 跟 *geŋ* as having once been widespread in non-standard Mandarin dialects of central China. Diachronic evidence also provides an answer to the contrary, as pointed out earlier in §4.1.

### 5.4. 跟 *geŋ* used as an object marker in the Wu and Gan dialects of Jiangxi province

According to Hu Songbo & Ge Xin (2003: 243), this use of 跟 *geŋ* as an object marker occurs in certain Wu and Gan dialects of northeastern Jiangxi province, although no detailed descriptions are provided. We present one example, taken from the Shangrao Wu dialect:

- (43) 我跟渠打怵两巴掌。  
 WOŋ GEŋŋ QUŋ DAŋŋ WUŋ LIAŋŋŋ BAŋŋZHAŋŋŋ  
 1SG GEN 3SG hit PRT two slap  
 ‘I slapped him twice.’

Hence, the use of 跟 *geŋŋ* as an object marker in Sinitic languages appears to be scattered across a swathe of central China and affects a handful of Southwestern and Jiang-Huai Mandarin dialects as well as certain Wu and Gan dialects, located in the provinces of Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi and Jiangsu. This area corresponds to a transitional zone for Chinese dialects between the large Mandarin group to the north, northwest and the southwest and the Southern Sinitic languages to the south and southeast.

The Hui dialects excepted – which generally make use of *give* and *help* verbs in this function (Hirata 1998, Chappell 2007) – it is interesting to observe that the Central dialects concerned here pattern in a similar way to many Hakka and Min dialects in Fujian and Guangdong provinces, not to mention the Taihu Wu dialects in Zhejiang province. And this is specifically with regard to having a comitative as the source of their object marker.

The general conclusion on this issue is therefore that the use of 跟 *geŋŋ* as an object marker appears to be quite rare, as far as our present state of knowledge is concerned. In written Mandarin, it is attested as a comitative preposition only from the 18<sup>th</sup> century or at the earliest from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as suggested by Yu Jiang (1996) and Wu Fuxiang (2003b), suggesting that its use as an object marker is likely to be a quite recent development in the non-standard Mandarin dialects where this is found, and possibly only from the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see also §6 on similar developments for 共 *goŋŋ* in Southern Min). In contrast to this, it is well-known that the 把 *baŋŋ* construction or the 将 *jiāŋ* construction became fully grammaticalized and was the predominant form during the the Tang dynasty (7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> century) (Zhu Minche (1957), Wang Li (1958), Peyraube (1985, 1989). Competition with the prestige form of the court language, coded by 把 *baŋŋ*, would certainly have limited the impact and the diffusion of the 跟 *geŋŋ* innovation across the regional varieties, as a function of the degree of contact with officialdom.

Surrounded by a largely non-Sinitic population, Waxiang speakers remained isolated and predominantly monolingual up until the latter half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, as observed in §1. This may well have created the right conditions for the independent development of 跟 *geŋŋ* into an object marker and its retention, despite the widespread diffusion of 把 *baŋŋ* throughout the core Mandarin-speaking areas of China.<sup>21</sup> In this respect, consider Chen & Li’s survey of 96 Mandarin dialects (1996: vol 5) which includes all the main subgroups: they list only 4 as not having 把 *ba* as the primary object marker.

### 5.5. Comitative markers from other sources used as object markers

Apart from 跟 *geŋn*, other comitatives can be found to function as object markers in the Southern Sinitic languages of Hakka, Wu and Min, which although they belong to the same semantic field, nonetheless have distinct, non-cognate sources. In Hakka, two common comitative morphemes are 同 *toŋng* < ‘to be together’ and 搵 *laŋo* ‘to mix’ (see Lin 1990, Lai 2003a, 2003b, and Chappell 2006) while in the Taihu group of Wu dialects in Zhejiang province, comitatives, including 則 *tseŋ<sup>45</sup>*, have also been attested as object markers (see Xu & Tao 1998). In addition to this, a pan-Min feature appears to be the use of comitative 共 *kā* (or *goŋng* in Mandarin) which shares many similarities in usage with Waxiang 跟 *geŋn*.

Lai (2003a, 2003b) treats Hakka 搵 *laŋo* in detail while Chappell (2007, to appear) discusses many of the markers mentioned above, showing that synchronically they are still used as comitatives. Hence, in the next section, we confine our discussion to just one of these sources, namely 共 *goŋng* in Southern Min, in order to give some details on its diachronic development that may shed light on the grammaticalization processes involved in this unusual pathway and lend support to our hypothesis. We will also briefly discuss the usage of the same 共 *goŋng* in the Fuzhou dialect (Northeastern Coastal Min) in the next section.

## 6 Diachronic syntax and semantics of the comitative in Southern Min: The grammaticalization pathways of 共 *goŋng*

In modern Min dialects, 共 *goŋng* has many different usages, including the comitative, benefactive, dative and object marking ones, thus showing striking similarities with 跟 *geŋn* in the Waxiang dialects, described in §2, §3, and §4, albeit the two have distinct sources. The lexeme 共 *goŋng* is attested in Archaic Chinese where it meant ‘to be the same as’ and later ‘to share with’ and ‘to accompany’. It was probably only during the Six Dynasties period (222-589AD) that 共 *goŋng* was grammaticalized into a comitative preposition (see §7 and Liu & Peyraube 1994, Yu 1996, Wu Fuxiang 2003b).

Contemporary Min dialects similarly continue to use cognate forms of 共 *goŋng* as their main comitative markers, expressing the comitative ‘with’ and connective ‘and’ meanings. Relevant for the present analysis, they also use it as their object marker (for descriptions, see Chen 1998; Chappell, 2000; Lien, 2002 and Tsao 2003 among others).<sup>22</sup> It could in fact be seen as a typological feature of the Min dialects, distinguishing them from other Sinitic languages, particularly in the case of Eastern or Coastal Min (see Norman 1987 for the classification of Min).

In this section, we examine data from historical materials on Southern Min from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, which clearly show the polysemy of the comitative marker 共 *goŋng*.<sup>23</sup> Apart from Mandarin and written genres of Chinese such as Classical Chinese and old or Medieval vernacular documents, Southern Min presents a rare opportunity for diachronic research, since historical data is available that dates back to four centuries ago. Three main texts have been examined for this purpose. The first two represent the same dialect of Southern Min that was spoken by a sizeable community of southern Fujian traders who had settled in Manila by the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. These documents use both Chinese characters and the romanization created by Spanish missionaries working in the Philippines:

- (i) *Doctrina Christiana en letra y lengua china*, (1607), Vatican Library. This is the translation of the Spanish version of the *Doctrina Christiana* into a Southern Min dialect<sup>24</sup>
- (ii) *Arte de la lengua Chiō Chiu* [Grammar of the Chiō Chiu language] (1620), University of Barcelona Library. Handwritten title: *Gramatica China*.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to these missionary materials, we also make some reference to a third text from China:

- (iii) 荔鏡記 *Lì Jìng Jì* [Romance of the litchis and the mirror], Jiajing edition (1522-1566, but written probably under the 14<sup>th</sup> century Yuan), corrected and annotated by Wu Shouli (2001). This is the earliest version of a Ming dynasty play written in a mixture of two Southern Min dialects, Quanzhou and Chaozhou dialects.<sup>26</sup> We will also make reference to the second edition of *Lì Jìng Jì*, called *Lìzhī Jì* [Romance of the litchis], Wanli edition dated 1581.

*En passant*, fleeting mentions are made, where pertinent, to the manuscripts *Dictionarium Sino-Hispanicum*, believed to have been compiled in 1604 by Pedro Chirino in Cebu and the *Bocabulario de la lengua sangleya*, compiled in Manila ca. 1617 by Dominican priests.

The form 共 *gōng* corresponds to the function word *cāng* in our two main historical documents. In the section on case marking in the 17<sup>th</sup> century *Arte*, *cāng* is described as having the same ablative meaning as *cab* 甲 and *tāng* 同 (1620: 3a, 3b) when preposed before a noun. Nonetheless, all three are glossed by Spanish *con* ‘with’, as in the example 共人 *cāng lāng* – *con el hombre* ‘with the man’. A slightly more extensive description found further on in the grammar is reproduced below (1620: 11a, 11b):<sup>27</sup>

*Cāng* 共 (Arte 1620: 11a, 11b)

*Cang: esta particula. cang. tiene. particu-lar dificultad por. no(s). penetrar su significación, unas vezes sinifica con. i. sirve para ablativo co-me que. da. dicho, otras vezes es vervo y sinifica ayudar.*

“*Cang*: This particle *cang* creates a special difficulty for us to plumb the depths of its meaning. Sometimes, it means ‘with’ and is used for the ablative, as earlier mentioned. Other times, it is a verb meaning ‘to help’.”

汝共我買魚

*lù cāng gùà bèi hū*  
2SG help 1SG buy fish

‘You help me to buy fish.’

*tu. ayudame a comprar pes-cado;*

(...) *Pero es de advirtir que. son. equi-bocas estas oraciones puede açer sentido que me ayude en comprar pescado de otros para mi o que el pescado es mio que le conpre.*

“However, it should be pointed out that these utterances are ambiguous. The meaning could be that someone helps me to buy fish from others for me, or else that the fish is mine and that someone buys it from me.”

*De suerte que el cang junto con verbos de comprar o bender o prestar o ablar varia notablemente la sinificacion como esto chio.*

“with the result that *cang* along with verbs of buying, selling, lending or speaking noticeably changes its meaning, as with this *chio* ‘lend’.”

The explanation continues by pointing out the ambiguity of the verb 借 *chio* ‘lend’ which, when used with 共 *cāng*, may mean either ‘to borrow’ or ‘to lend’.

This largely resembles the description for the cognate preposition found in the Carstairs Douglas dictionary compiled 250 years later, with respect to the closely related Southern Min dialect of Amoy (Xiamen), as recorded in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century:<sup>28</sup>

*kā* (...) a preposition, used with persons only, meaning to, from, for:  
(...) *kā-i-khui*, to open it for him, as a door. (Douglas 1873: 188)

Douglas too, and Barclay in his supplement to Douglas’ dictionary, both give examples of transactional verbs where the direction is ambiguous between the benefactive ‘for’ and ablative ‘from’ readings:

*kā-i-thoeh*, take or receive from him (Douglas 1873: 188)  
*góa kā lí bóe*, I will buy from you, or buy for you (Barclay 1923: 91)

The main manuscript examined, the *Doctrina Christiana*, contains a total of 33 examples of the morpheme *cāng*, that is, determined as a function of the Spanish romanization.<sup>29</sup> As can be seen from Table 6 below, the primary uses of *cāng* are those of a coordinative conjunction ‘and’ with 13 tokens, while the benefactive ‘for’ is the most prominent, amongst the oblique roles, with 12 tokens, followed by the ablative ‘from’ with five (5) and the dative ‘to’ with just two (2). There is only one example of a comitative ‘with’. No clear, unambiguous cases of an object marking function of *cāng* are identifiable. However, it is extremely important to note that at least ten examples in the benefactive category are ambiguous, having the potential to be interpreted as patients as well, a point we elaborate upon below.

Table 6: Distribution of meanings for *cāng* in the *Doctrina Christiana* (ca. 1607)

MEANING	TOKENS
1. Comitative ‘with’	1
2. Conjunction ‘and’	13
3. Dative ‘to’ ( <i>Goal</i> )	2
4. Ablative ‘from’ ( <i>Source</i> )	5
5. Benefactive ‘for’ ( <i>Beneficiary</i> )	12
6. Object marker (unambiguous cases) ( <i>Patient</i> )	0
TOTAL	<b>33</b>

Note that all these uses are also present in contemporary Taiwanese Southern Min for the marker 共 *kā*, according to Cheng & Tsao (1995) and Tsao (1991, 2003): 共 *kā* can introduce Goal ‘to’ and Source ‘from’, while it also has the benefactive

‘for’ and comitative ‘with’ uses. In addition, it can introduce the direct object with monotransitive verbs, while it can also act as a prefix on transitive verbs.

Furthermore, all these different uses of 共 *kā* invariably have the structure:

(NP<sub>AGENT</sub>) – [共 *kā* – N] – VP

Let us now examine these uses one by one.

### 6.1. Comitative marker

In the *Doctrina Christiana*, there is just one clear example of the comitative ‘with’ use that is used with the verb 辯論 *pien lun* ‘to debate, argue with’:<sup>30</sup>

- (44) 坐 在 上 位。 與 年 高 者 辯 論。<sup>31</sup>  
*che ki tu chio ui cang dian co yu tec chia pien lun*  
 sit ? at top place with elders virtuous:one debate  
 ‘(Your son Jesus) was sitting up at the front, debating with the elders and the virtuous.’ [*Doctrina* 17b, p.169]

The low frequency in the main text of this usage, compared with the more grammaticalized usage as a NP conjunction (§6.2.) suggests, albeit weakly, that by the time of Early Modern Southern Min (late 16<sup>th</sup> century – early 17<sup>th</sup> century), the less grammaticalized uses, such as this one, were already on the wane. This is corroborated in terms of its endpoint by Lien (2002: 195) who observes that the comitative function of 共 *gòng*, (i.e. *cāng*), also evident in the *Lì Jīng Jì*, has undergone lexical replacement in all four major dialect groups of Southern Min today: Jieyang, Longxi, Xiamen and Jinjiang.

In the *Lì Jīng Jì* (Jiajing edition of 1566, but probably written in 14<sup>th</sup> century), the comitative function of 共 *gòng* is, on the contrary, very frequent: there are 144 comitatives ‘with’; 61 datives ‘to’ (most used with verbs of saying); 41 coordinative conjunctions ‘and’; 40 benefactives ‘for’; 8 ablatives ‘from’ in more than 300 occurrences of 共 *gòng* (the others being, above all, the adverb ‘together’)

The same situation is found in the second known version of the same opera (*Lìzhī Jì*, Wanli edition of 1581): out of almost 250 共 *gòng*, there are 104 occurrences of comitative ‘with’; 43 occurrences of benefactive ‘for’; 42 occurrences of the conjunction ‘and’; 29 occurrences of the dative (goal) ‘to’ which are all used with verbs of saying; and 3 occurrences of the ablative ‘from’.<sup>32</sup> In neither of these two editions is 共 *gòng* used as a verb meaning ‘to gather, to share’ or ‘to help’.

### 6.2. NP coordinative conjunction

This group forms by far the largest category of examples in the *Doctrina* with 13 occurrences of *cāng* in this function in the text. *Cāng* in each of the 13 examples is used to connect equal status nouns and these mainly denote, or are associated with, human referents. Example (45) is representative of this:

- (45) 汝 與 山 須 習。 煩 惱 三 晝 夜。  
*Lu cang San Josef huanlo san tiu ye*  
 2SG and Saint Joseph worry three day night  
 ‘You and St Joseph worried for three days and nights.’ [*Doctrina* 17b, p.169]

There are also four examples of the conjoined NP ‘body and soul’ occurring in different sentences in the *Doctrina Christiana*:

- (46) 乃 汝 子 西士氏 援 汝 身 與 神魂  
*nai lu chia Jesu uan lu sin câng sinhun*  
 then 2SG son Jesus support 2SG body and soul
- 同 登 天 堂 受 福  
*tong teng t'ian tong siu hoc*  
 together ascend heaven receive blessing  
 ‘Then your son Jesus took *your body and soul* up to Heaven to be blessed.’  
 [*Doctrina* 26b, p.180]

### 6.3. Dative marker ‘to’

In the *Doctrina Christiana*, there are two examples where *câng* introduces the addressee with verbs of communication and where the Goal sense of ‘to’ is coded. There are, however, no prototypical examples with verbs of giving.

- (47) 天山 呀勝迷。 降 下 與 汝 報 喜。 說 ...  
*Angel Galabe câng he câng lu po ti sue*  
 angel (name) descend-down DAT 2SG announce good:news say  
 ‘The angel Gabriel came down and announced the good news to you, saying ...’ [*Doctrina* 13b, p.164]

- (48) Mary consoles the apostles before her death (a rosary prayer):

汝 共 他 慰 悶 畢  
*lu câng t'a ui bun pit*  
 2SG DAT 3SG comfort finish  
 ‘You gave comfort to them.’

[*Doctrina* 26a, p.180]

The following three points provide further evidence of this tendency for dative *câng* to be used with verbs of saying: First, 共 *câng* also occurs twice in the *Arte* with the speech act verbs 咀 *ta*<sup>n</sup> ‘to talk’ and 說 *suè* ‘to discuss’:

- (49) 我 共 你 說 只 件 事  
*guà câng lù suè chǐ kià<sup>n</sup> sù*  
 1SG DAT 2SG talk this CL matter  
 ‘I told you about this matter.’ [*Arte* 1620: 11b]

Second, more than half the examples of *câng* in the *Dictionarium Sino-Hispanicum* are combined with verbs of saying (7/12). Third, in the *Lì Jīng Jì*, verbs of saying occur with the highest frequency in this category with 共 *câng*. In the Jiaping edition, 58/61 clauses with dative 共 *câng* are used with this verb class, including the same two main verbs, 咀 *ta*<sup>n</sup> ‘to talk’ and 說 *suè* ‘to discuss’ as above, and ‘to answer’, ‘to ask’ and ‘to discuss’ (see also Lien 2002 for similar remarks). The term ‘dative’ is thus used in its extended sense, since *câng* in 16<sup>th</sup> century Southern Min is clearly not used as the preposition for dative constructions of transferral where

the main verb is a verb of giving. This is the province of 乞 *khit* < ‘give’ (see Chappell 2000, Lien 2005).

#### 6.4. Ablative marker with verbs of taking away

In this use, 共 *câng* marks the source in a similar manner to an ablative case marker with verbs of deprivation or taking away, such as ‘buy’, ‘borrow from’ and ‘cheat (of money)’. This corresponds to the sense ‘from’ mentioned in the Carstairs Douglas dictionary (1873: 188):

- (50) *kā i chioh*, borrow from him. *kā i thó*, demand from him.  
*kā i boé*, buy from him.

In the *Doctrina*, there were five ablative uses of 共 *câng*, all with the verb *kiu yūin* (*xin cheng* 求人情 ‘beseech mercy (from God)’, which belongs to the semantic field of *ask* verbs, an extended sense of the ablative (‘to ask something from someone’).

- (51) 你 共 僚 氏 求 人 情。  
*lu cang Diosi kiu xin cheng.*  
 2SG ABL God beg mercy  
 ‘You begged God for mercy.’ [*Doctrina* 2b, p.147]

In the Jiajing edition of *Lì Jìng Jì* and in the Wanli edition of *Lìzhī Jì*, we also have a few examples of this ablative use ‘from’ with verbs such as ‘buy’, ‘separate’, ‘receive’, ‘ask’.

This, like the dative use of *câng*, proves to be quite restricted in the range of verb classes it combines with across the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century texts consulted.

#### 6.5. Benefactive marker

The benefactive use forms the largest category among the three oblique roles coded by 共 *câng* and is evident in 12 occurrences in the *Doctrina Christiana*, including the two examples below.

- (52) 未與衆人打大十字號。  
*bue cang chiong lang pa chap xi ho*  
 NEG BEN all person make cross sign  
 ‘(when the padre) has not yet made the sign of the cross for everyone, ...’  
 [*Doctrina* 28a, p.183]

- (53) 茅知氏冒。 是 巴 禮 共 人 灑 水  
 (Baptismo) si Pare *cang lang liam chui*  
 Baptism be padre BEN person baptize water  
 [*Doctrina* 6b, p.153]  
 ‘Baptism is when the priest performs baptism for the people.’

The benefactive use of 共 *câng* appears to be less restricted in its distribution than either of the ablative and dative uses, since it is found with a large range of predicates including different verb classes (for a list, see Lien 2002).

### 6.6. Object marker with monotransitive verbs

Several recent treatments of 共 *goŋ* in Min dialects show that it has a similar function to the 把 *bǎ* construction in Mandarin where it marks a preverbal and typically referential direct object and co-occurs with a transitive action verb; for example, see Cheng & Tsao (1995), Chappell (2000) and Tsao (1991, 2003) on Southern Min and Chen (1998, 2006) on the Fuzhou dialect of Northeastern Coastal Min. A relevant example follows, taken from a modern Taiwanese Southern Min story:

- (54) 伊就一隻烏雞嫩仔掠起來就共伊治落。  
*i*<sup>1</sup>      *chiu*<sup>7</sup>   *chit*<sup>8</sup>*chiah*<sup>4</sup>   *oo*<sup>1</sup>      *koe*<sup>1</sup>-*noa*<sup>7</sup>-*a*<sup>2</sup>   *liah*<sup>8</sup>-*khi*<sup>2</sup>*lai*<sup>5</sup>  
 3SG    ADV    one-CL        black    pullet-DIM    catch-INCH
- chiu*<sup>7</sup>   *ka*<sup>7</sup>    *i*<sup>1</sup>        *thai*<sup>5</sup>    *loh*<sup>8</sup>  
 ADV    OM     3SG    kill     DIR  
 ‘He caught a black pullet and killed it.’ (Lien 2002:203)

The use of 共 *cāng* to *unequivocally* mark a patient was not found in either of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century missionary texts, nor in our two versions of the *Lì Jīng Jì*.<sup>33</sup> Neither was it present in the related Fuzhou dialect before the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the case of its cognate marker, according to Chen (2006) (see below for a rapid sketch on the uses of 共 *goŋ* in the Fuzhou dialect).

In the second half of the *Doctrina*, which contains a larger number of Classical Chinese elements, we do find, however, two examples of 將 *jiāng* used in this object-marking function where it combines with literary expressions such as the following patient NP 他手足 *t’a siu chioc* ‘his hands and feet’. This marker is romanized as *chiang* in the *Doctrina*:

- (55) 將            他   手   足   釘   在   居   律   上  
*Chiang*    *t’a*   *siu*   *chioc*   *teng*   *tu*   *Culu*   *chio*  
 OM            3SG   hand   foot   nail   at   Cross   on  
 ‘(They) nailed his hands and feet to the Cross.’ (*Doctrina* 22a, p.174)

Note that many Southern Min dialects use a cognate of this object marker 將 *chiong*<sup>1</sup> or *chiang*<sup>1</sup>, which belongs to the literary stratum, alongside the use of a colloquial level marker, typically a cognate of 共 *goŋ* (see Lien 2002, Chappell 2006, 2007 and Table 2 in Chappell 2000 for Min dialects and their use of 共 *goŋ* and 將 *jiāng*). By way of contrast, in the Ming dynasty play, *Lì Jīng Jì*, the object marking construction is typically marked by either 力 *liah*<sup>8</sup> (a demotic character for 擲) or 將 *chiong*<sup>1</sup>, according to Lien (2002). Interestingly, some examples also make use of another comitative marker, 甲 *kah*<sup>4</sup>:<sup>34</sup>

(56) (阮父) 甲我來賣乞人飼。

(*gun*<sup>2</sup> *pe*<sup>7</sup>) *kah*<sup>4</sup> *gua*<sup>2</sup> *lai*<sup>5</sup> *boe*<sup>7</sup> *khit*<sup>4</sup> *lang*<sup>5</sup> *chhi*<sup>7</sup>

(my father) OM 1SG come sell give person raise

'My father sold me to someone else to bring up.' (*Li Jing Ji* 13.050)

The lack of an object-marking function notwithstanding, this use of 共 *goŋ* [*kang*<sup>7</sup>] certainly could be a contextual inference in some of the examples in the *Doctrina Christiana*, such as in (53) above, even if it had not developed into an invariant component of meaning in this subtype in early Southern Min. In (53), the priest is not only performing one of the seven important sacraments of the Catholic church for the benefit of the believer, but is also doing the action to him (or her), that is, *lang* 'person' is simultaneously the beneficiary and the patient who is undergoing the rite of baptism.

Liu Danqing (2003) has similarly observed that with certain verbs, particularly the verb 幫 *bāng* 'help', the patient and the beneficiary have a tendency to be confused. This situation corresponds to the 'bridging context' defined by Heine (2002), whereby a new inference concerning grammatical meaning becomes contextually available, enabling a simultaneous interpretation as a patient in the present case, while not cancelling out the beneficiary sense.

In another example of an apparently benefactive use, the priest carries out the sacrament of Extreme Unction and anoints the believer with Holy Oil. The referent of the noun marked by *cāng*, *y* '3SG', an anaphoric pronoun for the preceding *lang* 'person', is thus both the beneficiary of the blessing and the patient who is physically anointed with the Holy Oil.

(57) 是人險死恁。巴禮共伊抹山廚油。

*si lang hiam si chun Pare cang y bua Santo yu.*

be person danger die when padre BEN 3SG rub holy oil

'(Extreme Unction) is when a person is near death, the padre anoints him/her with Holy Oil.' (*Doctrina* 6b, p.154)

Ten of the 12 benefactive examples show such ambiguity with a second possible patient reading for the noun following 共 *cāng*. For example, several predicates whose actions have 巴禮 *Pare* 'priest' as the agent, include 'perform marriage', 'baptize', 'absolve someone (of their sins)' as well as 'anoint with Holy Oil', the latter exemplified directly above. In all such cases, the priest is both performing the action for the person as well as doing it to him/her, thereby causing a direct effect.

In conclusion, the usage of 共 *goŋ* as a comitative and a conjunction in modern Southern Min dialects such as Taiwanese shows, on the one hand, a preservation of a feature of Medieval Chinese grammar in Southern Min. Its range of functions, on the other hand, has increased significantly to include the object-marking one as a principal use.

In the contemporary dialect of Fuzhou, the use of 共 *goŋ* as an object marker is also found. According to Chen Zeping (2006), 共 *goŋ* is used in the Fuzhou dialect as (i) a verb (very rare), with the meaning of 'have relations', 'take care', (ii) a coordinative conjunction 'and', (iii) a dative preposition 'to', (iv) a comitative preposition 'with', (v) an ablative preposition 'from, since', (vi) a benefactive preposition 'for', (vii) an object marker. In short, all the same uses of 跟 *geŋ* in Wuxiang or 共 *goŋ* in Southern Min turn up again.

Chen also notes that in grammars and dictionaries of the Fuzhou dialect redacted by missionaries in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the uses of 共 *goŋng* as a comitative preposition, as a benefactive preposition, and as a coordinative conjunction are found, but it never turns up as the object marker in a ‘disposal’ construction. This last use as an object marker thus appears to be very recent, even more so than in Southern Min.

In the final balance, he proposes that the object-marking use of 共 *goŋng* does not directly evolve from the verb 共 *gòng* (which in any case had become quite rare), or from the comitative preposition, but from the benefactive preposition. Chen does not however provide any arguments for this. While his hypothesis is clearly the same as ours, we set out to justify our position in the following sections by furnishing many more examples than Chen, and by analysing them.

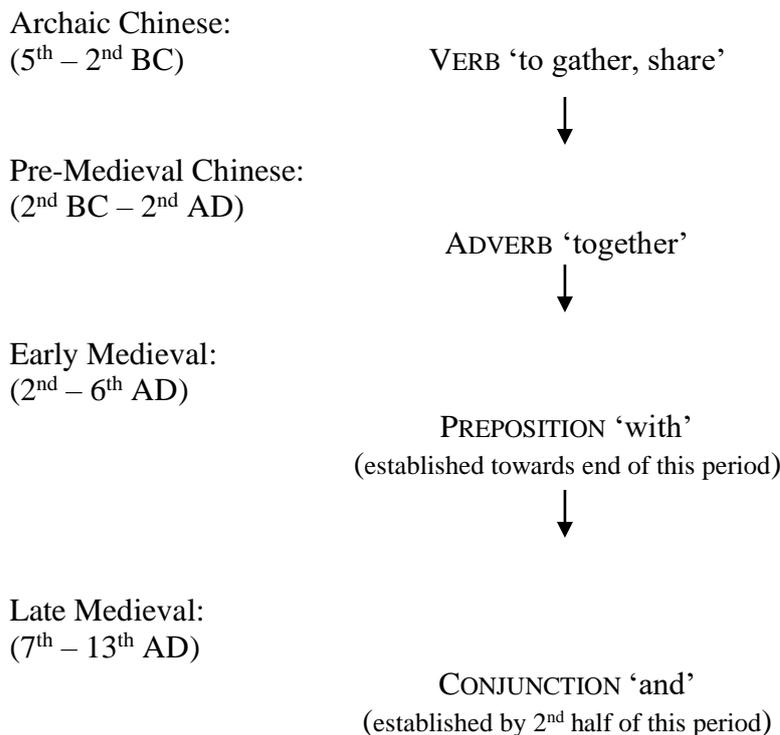
## 7. An explanation of diachronic change for 共 *goŋng* and 跟 *geŋn*

The lexical source for 共 *gòng* can be traced back to a verb ‘to gather’, ‘to share (with)’ as used in pre-Qin Classical Chinese (5<sup>th</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC). By the end of Late Archaic (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC), this verb had developed a grammaticalized function as an adverb ‘together’, the semantic input to its later uses of the preposition ‘with’ and the conjunction ‘and’.

According to Liu and Peyraube (1994: 187-188), the use of 共 *goŋng* as a comitative preposition ‘with’ is attested from the Early Medieval period (2<sup>nd</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries) onwards, while its use as a conjunction ‘and’ became common in the second half of the Late Medieval period, specifically from the Song dynasty onwards (10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries); cf. also Liu Jian (1989).<sup>35</sup>

As a lexical item, 共 *goŋng* continued to be used as both a preposition and conjunction until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Early Mandarin, after which it was supplanted by 和 *hé* in Northern Chinese (see Liu and Peyraube 1994 for details). The functions of 共 *goŋng* (*cāng*) in the three 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Southern Min texts thus clearly maintain most of those found for Medieval Chinese 共 *goŋng* used as a preposition and a conjunction.

Below is a time-line summarizing the description given in Liu and Peyraube (1994) for the development of the different grammatical functions of 共 *goŋng* which we next compare with the situation for Waxiang 跟 *geŋn*.

Figure 4: Timeline for 共 *gong*

### 7.1. Grammaticalization pathways affecting comitatives

By the period of Early Modern Southern Min, it is clear that both the comitative preposition and coordinative conjunction uses are still available for 共 *gōng*, according to our historical materials discussed in §6 above. That is, Early Southern Min either inherited the uses of 共 *gōng* from some ancestral form of the Chinese language, the same uses available in Medieval Chinese or else, at a period prior to the time of our texts, grammaticalization into a conjunction had occurred independently.<sup>36</sup>

An important contrast between Late Medieval Chinese and Early Mandarin for the use of 共 *gōng* is that, in Mandarin, the steps in grammaticalization to benefactive, dative, ablative (source) and object-marking uses are not found. How did these pathways for 共 *gōng* in Min eventuate?

We would like to propose that the comitative use is the launching pad for not just the NP coordinative conjunction ‘and’, as is well-attested in the history of Chinese and also for many languages in the world (Stassen 2000, Stolz 2001, Heine & Kuteva 2002) but also for an oblique marking function, that is, that there are at least two pathways of grammaticalization in the Min dialects that evolve from the comitative use. The second, which is less well-known in the typological literature, is this extension from the accompaniment sense of ‘with’ to marking non-argument roles such as the oblique functions of the dative and the benefactive, the addressee or the ablative. This can be seen as cases of context-induced grammaticalization (Heine 2002). Verb classes determine which particular role the NP following the marker will assume (speech act, transactional, deprivation verbs etc). This stage could have created the right environment for the development of an accusative or object-marking

function to subsequently take place, the final stage which is discussed in more detail below. A brief overview of the scant literature on this grammaticalization pathway is next presented before setting out justifications for our model.

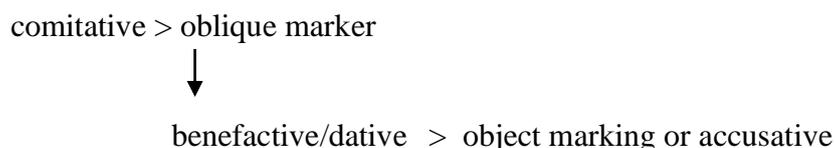
For the first stage in the grammaticalization chain regarding the change from comitative > oblique argument, this model finds a certain justification in the evolution of the preposition 以 *yǐ* of Classical Chinese (Archaic period). As Djamouri (2009) has shown, this preposition, arisen from the grammaticalization of a verb meaning ‘to lead’, is first of all attested as a comitative preposition (in the first period of the Western Zhou, 1066-771 BC), then later, in the final period of the Western Zhou, as a benefactive/dative, locative or directional preposition.

In addition to this, an analysis by Liu Danqing (2003) highlights two coordinative conjunctions 搭 *da* and 幫 *baŋ* in Northern Wu dialects (Shanghai, Wuxi, Suzhou) which also serve as comitative and benefactive prepositions. For the first (搭 *da*), he proposes two pathways of grammaticalization: (i) verb with the meaning of ‘join, ‘connect’, ‘be together’ > coordinative conjunction; (ii) verb > comitative preposition ‘with’ > benefactive preposition ‘for’. For the second (幫 *baŋ*), however, he proposes one single pathway of grammaticalization, i.e. verb with the meaning of ‘help’ > benefactive preposition > comitative preposition > coordinative conjunction. The benefactive preposition 幫 *baŋ* is in effect prior in time to the comitative preposition and the conjunction in its development. This proposal with its two opposing sets of derivations – benefactive > comitative and comitative > benefactive – for the same group of dialects is, as a consequence, very intriguing but not fully convincing, as a benefactive > comitative derivation would violate the unidirectionality principle of grammaticalization (the comitative being less grammaticalized than the benefactive). In fact, solid diachronic data is lacking that would allow us to accept what is quite an iconoclastic hypothesis.

For the final stage in the proposed grammaticalization chain from benefactive/dative > accusative, Tsao (1991: 382–385) claims that the Source or ablative role is the most likely basis for the reanalysis of Southern Min 共 *goŋŋ* as an object marker. In contradistinction to Tsao, for the case of 搵 *lau* in Northern Sixian Hakka of Taiwan, Lai (2003b: 552-555) argues that the patient function is a semantic extension from *either* the source or ablative function with verbs of deprivation *or* from the benefactive, specifically its malefactive counterpart.

We would like to maintain our alternative proposal which purely takes the benefactive/dative role as the point of departure for the transition to an accusative role, following Chappell (2006, 2007). Note that Endo (2004) has also suggested this pathway in a general way for Wu and Min dialects, as too Chen (2006) for the Fuzhou dialect of Northeastern Min (as observed already in §6.6 above). However, neither analysis elaborates on their position. The new hypothesis is as follows:

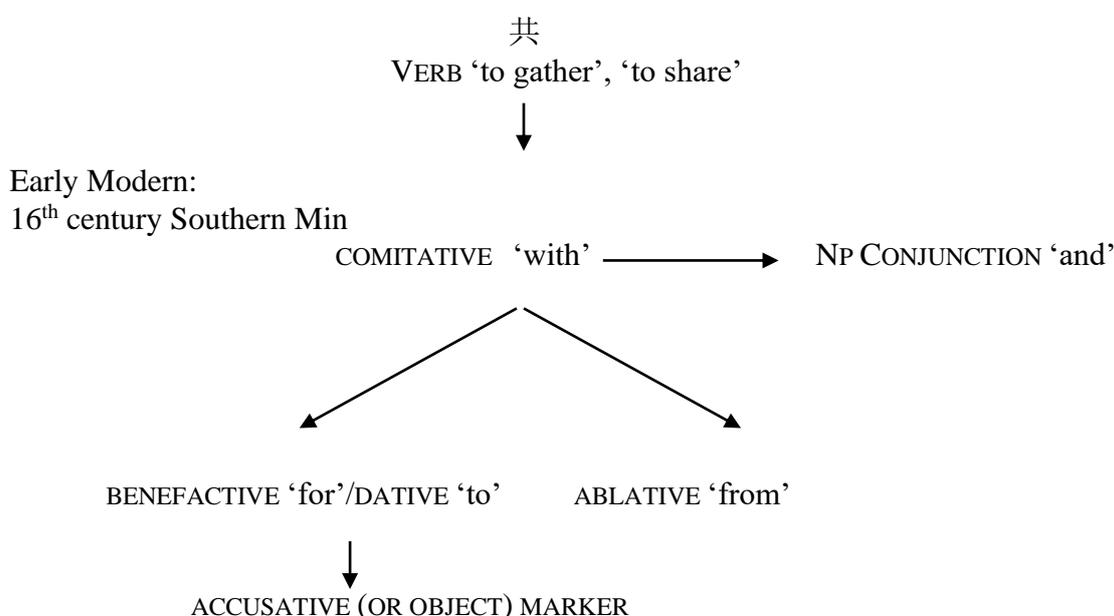
Figure 5: Grammaticalization pathway for comitatives which evolve into object markers



This change occurs specifically via syntactic reanalysis of the oblique benefactive/dative role as a patient, entailing a dramatic reinterpretation of a non-core oblique argument as a core argument. The pathway is not unique to Sinitic languages with respect to the stages benefactive/dative > accusative. Heine & Kuteva (2002: 103, 37) also identify cases of the related dative case developing into an accusative marker, namely, the example of contemporary Spanish, where animate nouns may be marked as direct objects with the normally dative case preposition, *a*.<sup>37</sup> They also describe a diachronic change that occurred between Old English and Modern English for *him<sub>DAT</sub>* > *him<sub>DAT/ACC</sub>* and *hire<sub>DAT</sub>* > *her<sub>DAT/ACC</sub>*, involving the reanalysis of former dative case pronouns as both accusative and dative. The same kind of scenario is claimed to exist for Persian *râ* (Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991: 165-168).

Since, as we have shown from our data, the dative use of these former comitative markers in Min dialects is rather limited, we merge it with the function of the benefactive ‘for’ in the following model which we propose to account for these developments in Min.

Figure 6: Grammaticalization pathways for 共 *kā* ~ *kāng* in the Min dialects



We could also have formulated a completely different hypothesis consisting in deriving the accusative marker 共 *goŋg* directly from a verb, namely a verb meaning ‘help’ which is attested in the *Arte* (11a, 11b), (and not from the verb ‘be together, share’): 汝共我買魚 *lù câng gù à bèi hū* ‘You help me to buy fish’. Indeed, as observed in the introduction, verbs of helping are one of the three main sources of object markers in Sinitic languages. This hypothesis does not however seem reasonable to us in the present case, given that the appearance of this object marker in Min is very late, and during a period when the verb 共 *goŋg* meaning ‘help’ was doubtlessly no longer attested.

In fact, we can even doubt that this meaning was ever attested for Southern Min. In the different versions of the *Lì Jīng Jì*, there are, in fact, no examples of 共 *goŋg* = to help. The Spanish translation of *ayudar* found in the *Arte* is thus somewhat controversial.

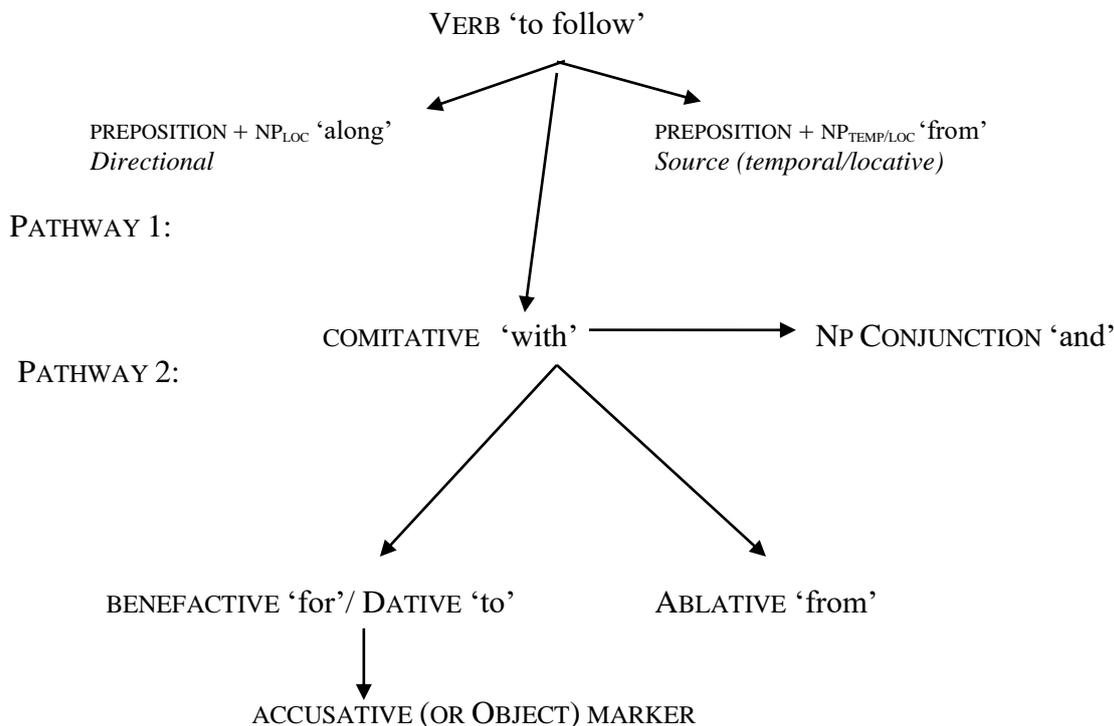
Could it be then a case of exaptation? Exaptation refers to the situation where a form has lost its function, or has become completely marginal within the system, and so is available for reuse in some other new function. Our view is that the grammaticalization of 共 *goŋ* certainly does not meet this description, given that exaptation involves reuse of an old form, A, for something else completely new, (B), without any direct or indirect connection between A and B (Peyraube 2007).

There is also a semantic change involved in grammaticalization from an oblique marker to an object marker: A further semantic extension to marking the direct object is suggested by particular examples whereby an action performed *for* someone (*beneficiary*) can be reinterpreted as an action performed *on* someone (*patient*), cf. the example of a baptism. As pointed out above, the priest is not only doing something for the said person (baptizing them so that they can become Christian) but is also doing something to them (sprinkling water on them). This provides a bridging context for the pathway to the final object marking use in which the beneficiary sense no longer finds any interpretation.

This turning point in grammaticalization or ‘switch context’ occurs when the interpretation of an accusative or object marking role excludes all others (Heine 2002). Significantly for our analysis, this semantic change is context-induced, as we have set out to explain above. The original comitative meaning of these different markers meaning ‘with’ thus becomes incompatible with the new grammatical meaning, the only one now available for the construction. This is accompanied by conventionalization of the marker’s use such that the clause is syntactically incomplete if the [Object Marker – NP] constituent is omitted. In other words, the erstwhile comitative preposition undergoes obligatorification as a new morphological marker of the direct object, thus entailing syntactic reanalysis of its constituency. A remarkable consequence of this is that it is now able to mark a core argument of the verb, licenced precisely by this context-induced semantic change: S – ([Prep -N]<sub>PP</sub>) – VP > S – [Object marker – N<sub>DO</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> – VP.

The transition is not an abrupt one and may proceed by means of diffusion throughout different lexical categories of nouns acting as the direct object, beginning with those having animate referents, just as in the case of the Spanish dative > accusative reanalysis. In fact, just such a description has been proffered by Lien (2002) who claims that the object nouns marked by 共 *goŋ* in Southern Min do not represent prototypical patients. This may certainly have been the case in the early use of the object marking construction, for which we have, regrettably, no data. However, according to our database of contemporary Taiwanese Southern Min materials, this semantic constraint no longer holds and inanimate NPs may serve equally well as the object of 共 *goŋ*.<sup>38</sup>

Given that we lack any historical documentation for Waxiang, we propose, by means of comparison with the related language of Southern Min, that a similar series of grammaticalizations could have taken place in Waxiang, beginning with the comitative stage.<sup>39</sup>

Figure 7: Grammaticalization pathways for 跟 *ge* in the Waxiang dialects

### Conclusion

In summary, we have set out to demonstrate that the comitative 跟 *ge* in the Waxiang dialect shares a set of very similar usages to 共 *go* in the Min dialects, despite their distinct lexical sources. Specifically, they act not only as comitative prepositions as in Mandarin, but also, quite unusually, as direct object markers, among a range of other functions. To this end, we have proposed a series of grammaticalization chains to account for the stages in development from comitative to accusative, that is, the direct object marking function.

The attempt to motivate this grammaticalization chain has made recourse to the principle of context-induced grammaticalization, entailing semantic change that has resulted in a major syntactic reanalysis of a non-core oblique NP into a core argument of the VP. We have furthermore conjectured that this cannot proceed by a single and direct step in grammaticalization but must involve the specific intermediate stage of an oblique role interpretation as either benefactive or dative. It was concomitantly argued that this grammaticalization chain has to be separate from the pathway leading to the emergence of a coordinative conjunction.

A similar set of developments can be hypothesized for Southern Min for which a variety of historical documents dating from 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries is serendipitously extant, and which illustrates a comparable set of polysemous uses, except for the object marking one. This appears to support our contention that an object marking stage is the most recent one in the chain of case-like roles.

Finally, we suggest that the use of 跟 *ge* as an object marker in other Mandarin dialect subgroups, including Jiang-Huai and Southwestern, merits further research. Equally important would be to carry out a crosslinguistic survey to

investigate if there are further cases of this unusual pathway of grammaticalization from a comitative to an object or accusative marker via the benefactive/dative stage in other languages of the world.

### **Grammatical abbreviations used in the glossing:**

CL classifier; COM comitative; COMP verb complement; CONJ conjunction; DAT dative; DIR directional complement; DAT dative; DO direct object; GEN genitive; HUM human; IO indirect object; MOD modal particle; NEG negative; NOM nominalizer; NP noun phrase; OM object marker; PFV perfective; PL plural; PRT aspectual particle; RDP reduplication; SG singular; SP structural particle; V verb.

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The analysis, itself, began as part of a joint project entitled: *A comparative study of the grammaticalization of comitatives into disposal markers in Chinese dialects* and developed into the basis for a larger study of the Waxiang language integrated into the above-named ERC project. All Guzhang Waxiang data used in this analysis are from our field trips to western Hunan (湘西) in 2005, 2006, 2008 and 2010.

We would finally like to thank Madame LIN Jang-Ling for her research assistance on the uses and classification of 共 *goŋ* in several versions of the *Lì Jìng Jì* as part of the ANR project and the anonymous JEAL reviewers for many useful comments and criticisms that we were able to take into account, weaving into the final revision. We believe that this has substantially improved our analysis, adopting the usual caveat that we take responsibility for all the interpretations and any errors.

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- <sup>1</sup> In a survey containing more than 650 languages conducted by Li Lan, he found only 4 that used 跟 as an object marker. See Wu & Cao (2008).
- <sup>2</sup> Note that although the Xiang dialects are largely concentrated in the province of Hunan, they are rare in this western part of Hunan province, particularly where we carried out fieldwork. The Xiang dialects typically make use of verbs of giving as their source of object markers (see Wu 2005, chapter 6).
- <sup>3</sup> There is an estimated population of 400,000 people, identifying themselves as Waxiang in Western Hunan (*Huáihuà Dìqūzhì* 1999). This cannot be taken, however, to equate with the number of full speakers of the language. According to our fieldwork in Guzhang county, the level of proficiency in Waxiang is mainly restricted to the older generation, the reason why we label it an endangered language: the younger generation use the language less and less, particularly in the urban areas. A more detailed sociolinguistic and demographic description is provided in Wu & Cao (2008).
- <sup>4</sup> According to our research, what is known as 'Gelao' in this gazetteer is in reality a variety of Hmong.
- <sup>5</sup> For the purpose of clarity, to generically refer to the main comitative and object markers in Chinese languages, we use *pīnyīn* romanization of their pronunciation in standard Mandarin, in *Italic form*, for example, 跟 *geŋ* from this point on.
- <sup>6</sup> The symbol □ is used for any syllable which has no known corresponding Chinese character.
- <sup>7</sup> Note that the word for 'carpenter' in example (12) is different from that in example (4) due to different informants.
- <sup>8</sup> See Chappell (1992) on three main causative subtypes with intransitive verbs and F. Liu (1997) for a comprehensive list of predicate types co-occurring with 把 *bǎ*.
- <sup>9</sup> We leave the question open for the moment as to whether these uses represent distinct meanings or are in some cases contextual variants.
- <sup>10</sup> We also note that 跟 *geŋ* is used to form equative comparatives in Mandarin which is, however, outside the scope of the discussion here.
- <sup>11</sup> Heine & Kuteva mention a general development of a temporal marker from comitatives (2002: 89-90) but this is different as it refers to temporal markers coding time duration, event time or simultaneity rather than 'since'. Note: the pathway given in Figure 1 does not apply to Hakka, according to Lai (2003b).

<sup>12</sup> There is one dative construction which is very frequent in different stages of Chinese: V + Dative Prep + IO + DO' (see Peyraube 1988) which is however curiously absent in Waxiang.

<sup>13</sup> Interestingly, one example was found in which both the direct and indirect objects are introduced by 跟 *gəŋ* and, hence, are both located before a verb.

Waxiang: [Object marker + DO + Dative preposition + IO + VERB]

跟你的铜钱跟我借点。

**kai**<sup>55</sup>  ŋi<sup>25</sup>  ti  tau<sup>13</sup>tsai<sup>41</sup>  **kai**<sup>55</sup>  u<sup>25</sup>  tʰɿŋi<sup>41</sup>  ti<sup>41</sup>

GEN<sub>OM</sub>  2SG  SP  money  DAT  1SG  lend  some

'Lend me some money of yours.'

<sup>14</sup> We thank one of the anonymous reviewers for their detailed theoretical discussion of the 搵 *lau* constructions in Hakka in which a number of extremely pertinent issues was raised as to the core and non-core argument status of the indirect object (or oblique NP), depending on the type of different double object structures in Hakka. He/She points out that when the IO is a core argument in postverbal position in the Hakka double object construction with verbs such as 'to teach', 'to ask', 'to cheat', and 'to fine', transformation into a 搵 *lau* construction is blocked, that is, this kind of Indirect Object resists marking by 搵 *lau* in preverbal position. As pointed out above, in the case of Waxiang and Southern Min, the site for grammaticalization – for this transition from benefactive/dative marking to accusative/object marking – has to be and can only be – the same **preverbal** slot. It cannot operate on the postverbal position exemplified by such Hakka sentences as the following, kindly provided by the reviewer:

(i)                   Gincat fat-te \*(**Asan**) liuk-bak ngiun.  
police fine-ASP \*(Asan) six-hundred-dollar  
'The police fined Asan six hundred dollars.'

(ii)                   ??Gincat lau Asan fat-te liuk-bak ngiun.  
police LAU Asan fine-ASP six-hundred-dollar  
'The police fined Asan six hundred dollars.'

<sup>15</sup> The Mandarin dialects spoken in the western part of Hunan province all belong to the Southwestern group called *xīnán guānhuà* 西南官話 in Mandarin. The use of the term 'local dialect' or 'patois' for *tǔhuà* 土話 refers to the many dialects spoken in the southern part of Hunan which remain unclassified. Similar to Western Hunan, they are spoken alongside Southwestern Mandarin in this bilingual area.

<sup>16</sup> The tone mark indicates the tonal category instead of the tonal quality for convenience of comparison: 1. 阴平 *Yīnpíŋ*, 2. 阳平 *Yánpíŋ*, 3. 上声 *Shàngshēŋ*, 4. 去声 *Qùshēŋ* and 5. 入声 *Rùshēŋ* respectively. In dialects which distinguish all the 阴 *Yīn* and 阳 *Yánpíŋ* registers, the one tone mark will stand for both of them. For example, the tone mark 4 stands for both 阴去 *Yīnqù* and 阳去 *Yánpíŋqù*.

- <sup>17</sup> As earlier remarked, this appears to be true in the case of Hunan, even for Hakka dialects which use the marker 拿 *na* < ‘to hold’, ‘to take’ such as in the case of Linxian 鄰县, Guidong 桂东 and Rucheng 汝城 dialects (see Hunansheng 2001). Several non-contiguous dialects, representative of Jiang-Huai and Southwestern Mandarin, and spoken outside of Hunan province are treated in §5.3.
- <sup>18</sup> ‘XGX’ is an abbreviation indicating the name of our chief informant, Mr Xiang Guangxun. Note that the verb *ts*<sup>55</sup> ‘weigh’ is used colloquially to mean ‘buy’.
- <sup>19</sup> Note that the Jishou dialect also has the locative ‘along’ use of 跟 *ge*<sup>2n</sup> but its polysyemy does not extend to the object marking use:

体育馆跟这边走。

t<sup>42</sup>i<sup>42</sup>ukuan<sup>42</sup> k<sup>55</sup>ts<sup>35</sup> pian<sup>55</sup>ts<sup>42</sup>u.  
gymnasium GEN along this side go  
‘Go along this way for the gymnasium.’

- <sup>20</sup> Note that phonetic transcriptions were not provided in the original data. For the convenience of quotation, we have adopted the practice of romanizing such examples in the *pīnyīn* system devised for Mandarin but using small capitals to signal the fact it does not indicate the pronunciation of the given Mandarin dialect.
- <sup>21</sup> We do not wish to suggest here that only geographically isolated languages can undergo the development from comitative > accusative, as one of our reviewers has queried with reason. Rather, the objective here is to provide a possible explanation as to why Waxiang did not adopt or borrow the marker *ba* that is predominant in surrounding dialects of Southwestern Mandarin.
- <sup>22</sup> For a list of Min dialects using this marker, see Chappell (2000). The discussion in this section builds upon the findings presented in the section on *gòng* in this prior article, providing a more detailed explanation of the grammaticalization pathways.
- <sup>23</sup> The comitative 共 *go*<sup>2ng</sup> is typically pronounced *kā~kāng* in Southern Min dialects such as Taiwanese and Amoy (Xiamen). In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> documents, this lexeme is romanized as *cāng* by the Spanish missionaries, as seen in the examples quoted.
- <sup>24</sup> This text, in blockprinted character form, is attributed to the Dominican missionaries Juan Cobo and Miguel Benavides with the aid of anonymous Chinese collaborators in Manila, the Philippines. For a reproduction collated with romanized versions, see Van der Loon (1967).
- <sup>25</sup> On the manuscript is indicated: ‘For the use of Father Rajmundo Feijoo’, with what is possibly the signature of Father Melchior de Mançano found at the end of this manuscript. This work was undoubtedly intended for Feijoo’s work as a Dominican priest with the Chinese community in Manila.
- <sup>26</sup> The earliest editions of the *Lì Jìng Jì* are blockprinted character versions, needless to say, without any form of romanization or pronunciation guide.
- <sup>27</sup> In quoting the original text, we have added the glossing for the Southern Min examples and also the translation into English. As the *Arte* is a manuscript (i.e. in the true sense of this word, a handwritten text), we have reproduced the original Spanish orthography as closely as possible, but not the page layout, since each page is divided into two columns. Given that the author often runs the Spanish words together, to facilitate ease of reading, we indicate the word boundaries by the use of ‘.’ and show where words have been split in two in the original by ‘-’.

- <sup>28</sup> In the Carstairs Douglas dictionary of Southern Min, *kāng* is explicitly described as Chinchew usage (1873: 188, 196), that is, as belonging to the Quanzhou dialect; moreover, he equates it with Amoy *kā*. This is confirmed for contemporary usage by Zhou (1991: 246) who explains that both 共 *kaŋ* and *kaŋ* can be used in the Xiamen or Amoy dialect. Lin (1993: 243) lists *kaŋ* as the relevant marker in the contemporary Quanzhou dialect corresponding to the three meanings in Mandarin of 把 *bǎ*, 給 *gěi* and 向 *xiàng*, that is, an accusative, a benefactive and a goal marker according to the examples provided. Fuzhou (Northeastern Min) employs *kaŋ* as an object marker in the patient-marking construction while the Chaozhou dialect (Southern Min) similarly uses *kaŋ*<sup>32</sup> for the pretransitive (Huang 1996: 665). Many other Min dialects use cognates of *kā* in all or some of these five functions, most showing the loss of the final velar nasal (see Table 2 in Chappell 2000 and further examples in Lien 2002).
- <sup>29</sup> We counted only the examples of comitatives in the *Doctrina Christiana* which used the romanization *cāng*, regardless of the corresponding character, and thus giving priority to the transliteration as an indication of actual usage. The texts were conceived with an evangelistic purpose to convert the Chinese community and were intended to be read aloud. We have thus discounted 16 examples which lacked romanization, these including 14 with the character 與 and 2 with the character 共.
- <sup>30</sup> The romanization indicated here is the original one devised by the Spanish missionaries in Manila. The tone marks are, however, only rather inconsistently indicated in the texts. Note that Classical Chinese characters are sporadically used instead of demotic ones: for example, the character 與 *yǔ* is sometimes used in place of 共 *gòng*. In such cases, we give priority to the romanization for its indication of the pronunciation, since these texts were intended for reading out loud.
- <sup>31</sup> The characters for 有德 *yu tec* are missing, indicated by ‘\_\_’.
- <sup>32</sup> Note that the Jiajing edition is much longer than the Wanli (7335 characters for the Jiajing and 4361 for the Wanli).
- <sup>33</sup> The semantically closest example of 共 *goŋ* to the function of an object marker can be seen in the example below where it marks the noun ‘needle’.

- (i) 線共針穿, 步步相系。  
 suaN<sup>3</sup> kang<sup>7</sup> tsiam<sup>1</sup> tshing<sup>7</sup>, poo<sup>7</sup> poo<sup>7</sup> sio<sup>1</sup> tshua<sup>7</sup>  
 thread GONG needle pierce, step step mutually introduce,  
 guide  
 ‘Thread the needle with the thread, (they are) introducing mutually step  
 by step.’ (Li Jing Ji 26.041, 1566 Jiajing edition)

- <sup>34</sup> Note interestingly that Lien (1995: 231) also lists *kang*<sup>7</sup> as having a patient-marking function in the Chuang Lin Taoist liturgical texts he examines from the Ming period. The markers 甲 *kah*<sup>4</sup> and 共 *ka*<sup>7</sup> are furthermore homophonous in contemporary Southern Min in their sandhi or combination pronunciations, that is, as used within a tone group in fluent speech.
- <sup>35</sup> Yu Jiang (1996) and Wu Fuxiang (2003b) date this use as a conjunction from the end of the Six Dynasties (222-589) or beginning of the Tang (6th-7th centuries). However, the examples cited by Yu Jiang are not entirely convincing.

- <sup>36</sup> The period when the Min dialects might have split off from mainstream Chinese is the subject of much debate. Ting Pang-hsin (1983) has proposed that this could have been as early as the transitional period between the two Han dynasties, making this dialect group one of the oldest in the Sinitic taxon. This tantalizing topic is however outside the scope of our discussion here.
- <sup>37</sup> Our example (53) from the *Doctrina Christiana* has the animate noun *hombre* ‘person’, ‘man’ marked by the dative case in the original Spanish : *El padre lava al hombre* ; literally ‘The padre baptizes **to** the man (dative case).’ As mentioned in section 7, animate direct objects are regularly marked by the dative case in modern Spanish. This lends support to our argument regarding the relationship between the marking for the dative/benefactive and the accusative or direct object.
- <sup>38</sup> We are greatly indebted in this section to one of our anonymous reviewers for presenting the challenge to us to try and explain in more detail, and also to better motivate, the final stage in grammaticalization from benefactive/dative > accusative. We agree with him/her that it is very unlikely that an argument could be found to show how an applicative head mapping a non-core argument onto a syntactic structure (such as a comitative) could end up serving the same functions that a lexical or light verb has in licencing the mapping of core arguments onto the syntactic structure. We attempt to explain this in terms of the main parameters of context-induced grammaticalization. In generative terms, the source of these object marking structures is quite likely to be a high applicative structure with the comitative preposition as the high applicative head (for details, see Tsai 2007).
- <sup>39</sup> This standpoint necessarily assumes a belief in the crosslinguistic recurrence of pathways of grammaticalization, from which it should not be inferred that the Waxiang object marker has evolved in the same manner as proposed for Southern Min, purely due to their genetic relatedness.