Grammatical Function Words 乞, 度, 共, 甲, 將 and 力 in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記 and their Development in Southern Min[*]

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The paper examines semantic roles that function words *khit⁴* 乞, *thoo³* 度, *kang⁷* 共, *kah⁴* 甲, *chiong¹* 將 and *liah⁸* 力 each impose on the following noun and their syntactic properties in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記. A scrutiny of the development of these function words in four Southern Min dialects shows both conservatism and innovation. 共 and 將 are uniformly inherited, whereas 乞 is retained in Jinjiang 晉江 and Jieyang 揭陽, but not in Longxi 龍溪 and Xiamen 廈門, and 度 is only kept in Jinjiang. *Hoo⁷* 互* is a new development in Longxi and Xiamen. It is quite instructive to compare the different strategies by which to represent the semantic roles of function words graphically. Japanese scholars in the pre-war period make it a practice to use different characters to mark divergent semantic roles, whereas Chinese scholars in the post-war period tend to use the same character even though different semantic roles are involved. The different behavior is closely linked to their linguistic intuition and their language pattern, and it shows the covert nature of coding in Chinese. Interpretation of Chinese sentences is in large part context-dependent and driven by pragmatic information. Constructions also contribute partially to its sentential meaning.

共 in Southern Min is often misconstrued solely as a patient marker in the disposal construction. A case study of its syntactic and semantic behavior in modern data in conjunction with its historical source serves to vindicate it as a word with multiple semantic functions. In concluding we try to establish the time depth of 共 as a common grammatical feature in Southern Min inherited from Middle Chinese in light of the notion of chronological strata.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the development of grammatical function words such as *khit⁴* 乞, *thoo³* 度, *kang⁷* 共, *kah⁴* 甲, *chiong¹* 將 and *liah⁸* 力 in Southern Min by examining closely their grammatical patterns in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記, an earliest extant text of Southern Min (1566 AD), in comparison with the new grammatical behavior in modern Southern Min dialects.[1]

Between Section 1 introduction and Section 6 concluding remarks, the paper consists of four sections. In Section 2 the grammatical patterns of *khit⁴* 乞, *thoo³* 度, *kang⁷* 共, *kah⁴* 甲, *chiong¹* 將 and *liah⁸* 力 are examined in detail in turn, as attested in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記. In Section 3, the descendants of these words in modern four major Southern Min dialects are looked into based on the data of Tung (1959). In Section 4, a comparison is made of the different ways in which Japanese scholars in the

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[1] *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記 is a play with a mixture of Chaozhou 潮州 and Quanzhou 泉州 dialects. The exquisite photocopy of the text can be found in the Tenri 1980 edition. I owe much to Shouli Wu for his excellent annotated work (Wu 1970) (see also Shi 1997 & Quanzhou Difang Xiqu Yanjiushe 1999). It is an assiduously difficult task to decipher which parts represent each dialect and reconstruct the exact sound values from Chinese characters. Thus, as a matter of expediency all the spelling of Southern Min in this paper is indiscriminately rendered in Church Romanization codified in Douglas (1873). I have made some modifications, however. For example, the diacritic tone marks have been abandoned in favor of numerical superscripts. No distinction is made between *ch*, *chh* and *ts*, *tsh,* as they do not stand for phonemic contrast. The open *o* (i.e., /ɔ/) and the closed *o* are rendered as *oo* and *o*, as in *oo¹* 烏 'black' and *o¹* 鍋 'cookware'.

pre-war period and Chinese scholars in the post-war period use Chinese characters to represent the semantic roles of nouns marked by the grammatical function words in question. It is found that the difference in graphic representation is motivated in a difference in the nature of coding grammatical functions in these two languages. In Section 5, it is demonstrated on the strength of the data extracted from a modern Southern Min colloquial story that ka^7 共 features new grammatical developments that are nevertheless constrained by the legacy inherited from earlier uses as attested in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記.

2. Grammatical patterns of six function words

2.1 *khit⁴* 乞

If gei^3 給 in the three dative constructions in Mandarin proposed in Zhu (1979) is replaced by *khit⁴* 乞, we have the three dative constructions as shown in the following table where S=subject, V=verb, O_1=direct object and O_2=indirect object):

(1)	I	S	V	乞	O_2	O_1
	II	S	V	O_1	乞	O_2
	III	S	乞	O_2	V	O_1

For dative constructions in question only Type II or its variants can be found in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記. O_1 may be a bona fide object or a psuedo-object (viz., $chit^8$ tng^3 一頓) , as in:[2]

II	S V O_1 乞 O_2	act	line
(2) a.	Phah⁴ chhiu²-chi² khit⁴ li² 打手指乞你 Make a ring to be given to you.	5	103

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[2] There is, however, a Type I sentence as an exception, as in *Goa² tiap⁵-ku² tho² mih⁴ khit⁴ li² tiam²-sim¹* 我嫑久討物乞你點心 'I will ask for something and give it to you as dim-sum right away' (13.058).

		act	line
b.	Ma^7 chit^8 tng^3 khit^4 I^1 罵一頓乞伊 Give him a scolding.	21	078

Due to the constraint of information structure that given or old information often occurs earlier than new information O$_1$ is apt to be fronted and land in a preverbal position. There are two ways of fronting O$_1$: (1) it may undergo topicalization, or (2) it may be fronted by the preposition *chiong^1* 將 or *liah^8* 力, as in:

IIa	S O$_1$ V 乞 O$_2$	act	line
(3) a.	Chit^4 chit^8 pau^1 gun^5-chi^{n5} theh^8 khit^4 I^1 只一包銀錢提乞伊 Give a bundle of silver money to him.	45	150
b.	Chiong^1 nai^7-chi^1 tan^3 loh^8 khit^4 I^1 將荔枝揀落乞伊 Throw the litchi to him.	17	103
c.	Liah^8 lin^2 chu^1-niu^5-a^2 ke^3 khit^4 I^1 力恁孜娘仔嫁乞伊 Marry your lady to him.	14	041

Type II is a serial verb construction, viz., 乞 as well as V is a verb. The whole sentence is made up of two verbs in sequence. Such a claim is supported by the evidence that 乞 is often preceded by the verb 來 or 去.[3]

When Type II is augmented by another verb, it becomes a more complicated pivotal construction, as in:

IIb	S V$_1$ O$_1$ 乞 O$_2$ V$_2$	act	line
(4) a.	Goa^2 boe^7 mih^8 khit^4 li^2 chiah^8 我買物乞你食 I bought something for you to eat.	22	309

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[3] This is a piece of evidence in line with the claim (Peyraube 1988) that the dative construction evolves from the serial verb construction.

		act	line
b.	Chit^4 chui^2 phang^5 beh^4 khit^4 gun^2 a^1-niu^5 soe^2 bin^7 只水捧卜乞阮啞娘洗面 Bring a basin of water for your lady to wash her face with.	22	063

where O$_2$ *li^2* 你 is the object *khit^4* 乞 and the subject of V$_2$ *chiah^8* 食. O$_1$ may function as the patient or instrument of *chiah^8* 食. It can be regarded as an amalgam of two clauses.

If O$_1$ represents old information, viz., known to the speaker, it can be omitted, as in:

IIc	S V$_1$ 乞 O$_2$ V$_2$	act	line
(5)	Goa^2 sau^2 khit^4 li^2 khoa^{n3} 我掃乞你看 Let me sweep (the courtyard) for you to watch.	26	431

Actually Type IIb or Type IIc can be taken as a causative construction to some extent. In contrast, Type IId is a genuine causative construction in which *khit^4* 乞 alone serves as a main verb.

IId	S 乞$_v$ O V	act	line
(6)	Khit^4 i^1 boa^5 乞伊磨 Let him polish (the mirror).	19	061

Type IId is not different from Type IIe, a passive construction, structurally. There are, nevertheless, differences in at least two respects: For one thing, *khit^4* 乞 in Type IId is a verb, whereas *khit^4* 乞 in Type IIe is a preposition. For another, in terms of the semantic role of the following object, O in Type IId is a causee, while O in Type IIe is an agent.

IIe	S 乞$_{prep}$ O V	act	line
(7)	Khit^4 goo^7-niu^5 phah^4 乞五娘打 Be beaten by Lady Wu-niang.	14	181

The causative construction and the passive construction as manifested in Type IId and Type IIe have the surface structure in common. We have to rely on the pragmatic information for the correct interpretation of sentences in question.[4]

2.2 *thoo³* 度

Like *khit⁴* 乞 of Type II, *thoo³* 度 also occurs in the following structure, a serial verb construction, where the first part consists of V + O₁ and the second part, *thoo³* 度$_v$ + O₂.[5]

II	S V O₁ 度$_v$ O₂	act	line
(8)	Tho² iu⁵-he² chi^{n5} thoo³ goa² 討油火錢度我 Ask for the bribe to be given to me.	45	178

O₁ may occur in the preverbal position either being fronted by the preposition *chiong¹* 將 or being topicalized, as in:

IIa	S (將) O₁ V 度$_v$ O₂	act	line
(9) a.	Chiong¹ chit⁴ ing¹-liu² theh⁸ lai⁵ khi³ gun² tia¹-ma² 將只鴛柳提來去度阮爹媽 Bring the gift to my dad and mom.	26	290

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4 See the appendix for the distribution of *khit⁴* 乞 in detail and the syntactic frames in which it occurs.

5 As far as isolation form is concerned, there is in the present-day Quanzhou 泉州 dialect only a departing tone (viz., tone 3 *yin¹ qu⁴* 陰去) showing the merger of two subtones carried by Middle Chinese departing tone syllables with voiceless and voiced initials, but a distinction between tone 3 and tone 7 (*yang² qu⁴* 陽去) is made in combination tone (see Lin 1993:59-60). Thus *thoo³* 度 bears tone 3 in isolation and tone 7 in combination. In the latter case there is no distinction between *yang² shang³* 陽上 (tone 6) and *yang² qu⁴* 陽去 (tone 7) as a result of the commonly known tone merger called *zhuo² shang³ gui¹ qu⁴* 濁上歸去 (see Ho 1988 and Wang & Lien 1993 for further discussion).

		act	line
b.	Su^1 sia^2 thoo^3 chui^5 書寫度誰 Who was the letter addressed to?	24	277

Omitting O_1 due to old information it carries results in:

IIa'	S V 度 O_2	act	line
(10)	Sang^3 khi^3 thoo^3 i^1 送去度伊 Send it to him.	14	028

The serial verb construction can become a pivotal construction when followed by a verb phrase, as in:[6]

IIb	S V_1 O_1 度$_v$ O_2 V_2	act	line
(11) a.	Sang^3 png^7 thoo^3 chui^5-lang^5 chiah^8 送飯度誰人食 Who was the food brought (for him) to eat?	45	106
b.	Pang^5 thng^1 lai^5 thoo^3 goa^2 soe^2 bin^7 捧湯來度我洗面 Bring me a basin of hot water to wash my face with.	22	076

O_2 is the object of *thoo^3* 度$_v$ and the subject of V_2, and the patient or instrument of V_2 is O_1, which, when understood, may be omitted, as in:

IIb'	S V_1 度 O_2 V_2	act	line
(12)	Sang^3 thoo^3 Tan^5 Sa^{n1} chiah^8 送度陳三食 Bring (the food) Chen San (for him) to eat.	45	108

Thoo^3 度 may occur as a single main verb with O_1 preposed, as in:

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[6] See Tang (1999) for discussion of pivotal constructions in Chinese.

IIb"	O$_1$ 度$_v$ O$_2$	act	line
(13)	Jip^8 ming^5 kun^3 thoo^3 li^2 入門棍度你 The first club is given to you.	45	048

The above construction must have originated from the following structure:

II	S V O$_1$ 度$_v$ O$_2$

When O$_2$ is preposed and a verb is added, the following construction results:

IIc	S O$_2$ 度$_v$ O$_1$ V	act	line
(14)	Chit^4 e^5 beh^4 thoo^3 goa^2 boe^2 chiu^2 chiah^8 只個卜度我買酒食 This is to be given to me to buy wine to drink with.	45	153

This construction is pretty much like a causative construction.

From the above discussion we can see that *thoo^3* 度 functions like *khit^4* 乞 except that it does not occur in the passive construction, and that it occurs far less frequently than *khit^4* 乞. They seem to be dialectal variants. If *thoo^3* 度 is regarded as a precursor of *hoo^7* 互*, then it is quite plausible that co-existing dialectal variants have developed into a competing relationship in some Southern Min especially spoken in Taiwan where *hoo^7* 互* has crowded out *khit^4* 乞.[7] However, *khit^4* 乞 is still quite robust in Chaozhou 潮州 and Fuzhou 福州 dialects. Evidently the rate of change of a function word varies from dialect to dialect.

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[7] As suggested in Li (1996), *thoo^3* 度 might be etymologically related to *yu^3* 與 with the MC *yu* 喻3 initial which is often realized as an obstruent initial, as in *sin^5* 蠅 'fly', *chiu^{n7}* 養 'itch' and *chhoa^7* 曳/拽/抴 'lead, cause' in modern Southern Min. The etymological status of *hoo^7* is not certain pending further research. It might be derived from *thoo^3* through spirantization (see Chang 1994).

2.3 *kang⁷* 共

Aside from its capacity as a conjunction *kang⁷* 共 can be used to mark source, goal, benefactee as well as patient in rare cases in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記.[8] Of course, when functioning as a conjunction *kang⁷* 共 can conjoin noun phrases denoting inanimate objects or animate beings. There is obviously no semantic constraint on the kinds of noun phases conjoined. But in other capacities it can only take personal pronouns or human nouns. This important semantic constraint seems to die hard even though the range of its disposal use has been widened in modern Southern Min. Its counterpart in modern Southern Min, viz. *Kang⁷* or *ka⁷*, is associated in most cases with pronouns or traces. It cannot be followed by noun phrases, especially those denoting inanimate objects. *Chiong¹* 將 is used, instead, in such a situation. It is interesting that *chiong¹* 將 and *ka⁷* 共 can co-occur in the disposal construction in which the latter can only take a personal pronoun or a trace as its head.

The grammatical categories of constituents can be conjoined by *kang⁷* 共 includes nouns, adjective-nouns, predicates and clauses, as in:

(15)	N 共 N	(16)	Adj N 共 Adj N
a.	toh⁴ kang⁷ i² 桌共椅 tables and chairs	a.	khoo² tho⁵ kang⁷ siap⁴ li² 苦桃共澀李 bitter peaches and puckery plums
b.	hoe¹ kang⁷ chiu² 花共酒 flowers and wine	b.	ing⁵ siaⁿ¹ kang⁷ ing⁵ khi³ 閒聲共閒氣 gossip and anger

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[8] The semantic functions of *kang⁷* 共 partially remind us of those of *yu³* 與, notably goal, benefactive and patient (Zhang 1979:431-441). *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* is a text with the mixture of Chaozhou and Quanzhou dialects as shown in its somewhat lengthy title, and both Chaozhou and Quanzhou dialectal data give the form *kang* rather than *ka* as the value for the word in question. It is therefore safe to assume that the form in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* is *kang* rather than *ka*. The nasal coda of *kang* is lost probably due to its frequent occurrence in sandhi position (see Lin 1993:243, Goddard 1883:66).

c.	Tiu^{n1} Kiong^5 kang^7 Ing^1 Ing^1 張拱共鶯鶯 Zhang Gong and Ying Ying	c.	hoe^1 khau^2 kang^5 hoe^1 chih^8 花口共花舌 sweet words and glib tongue

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

The important generalization about the conjoined elements is that the constituents are not restricted to having the feature of + human.

Unlike its function as a conjunction there are various functions of the object noun preceded by the preposition *kang^7* 共 such as goal, benefactive and source, as shown below:

	examples	act, line	semantic role
(19) a.	伊共啞娘做媒人 I^1 kang^7 a^1-niu^5 choe^3 mui^5-1ang^5 She will be the matchmaker for the lady.	14.153	benefactive
b.	我卜共啞娘說 Goa^2 beh^8 kang^7 a^1-niu^5 seh^4 I will tell the lady.	14.230	goal
c.	值人卜共你討恩 Ti^7-tiang^5 beh^4 kang^7 li^2 thoo^2 un^1 Who is to going to ask for favor from you?	22.280	source

Note that the sentences are rendered in Taiwanese Southern Min, though it is more proper to give a Chaozhou 潮州 pronunciation. *Ti^7-tiang^5* 值人 'who' is the pronunciation found only in the Chaozhou dialect.

Here are the verbs or verb phrases that are associated with the semantic functions in question. Shown in the following table are the verbs

involving the goal marker:

(20)	ta^{n3} 咀 (3) 'speak', ta^{n3} 店, seh^4 說 (28) 'speak', seh^4 oe^7 說話 'talk', seh^4 mih^4-tai^7 說乜事 'say what', seh^4 $chit^8$ ku^3 ho^2 oe^7 說一句好話 'put in good words' $kong^2$ 講 (2) 'talk', tap^4 答 'answer', tap^4 koa^1 答歌 'sing in turn', tap^4 $chit^8$ mih^4 koa^1 答一乜歌 'sing a song in return', $hien^7$ 現 'exhibit oneself', bo^5 $chun^1$-pe^1 無尊卑 'no regards for high and low'

The following verbs feature the benefactive marker:

(21)	a.	$choh^4$ hm^5 $lang^5$ 做媒人 (4) 'be a matchmaker', $sang^3$ khi^3 送去 'send', $sang^3$ su^1 送書 'mail a letter', boa^5 kia^{n3} 磨鏡 'to polish the mirror', $sang^3$ $hing^5$ a^1-niu^5 送還啞娘 'return it to the lady', $khui^1$ 開 (10) 'to open', $khui^1$ mng^5 開門 'open the door'
	b.	koe^2 bun^7 解悶 'divert oneself (from boredom)', kio^3 teh^8 Sio^2 $Chhit^4$ 叫得小七 'call Little Seven', kio^3 Sio^2 $Chhit^4$ $chhut^4$ lai^5 叫小七出來 'ask Little Seven to appear', $khoa^{n3}$ mia^7 看命 'tell the fortune', $chhah^4$ 插 'insert', ak^4 hoe^1 沃花 'water the flower'

The following verbs concern the source marker:

(22)	$chiap^4$ kia^{n3} 接鏡 'get the mirror', boe^2 kin^3-soa^{n3} 買絹線 'buy silk thread', tho^2 un^1 討恩 'demand a return of favor', siu^1 收 'get, receive'

There are few examples involving patient markers, as in:

(23)	$thiah^4$ soa^{n3}-li^7 拆散離 'break up (a couple)', i^1-$chia^{n3}$ 移正 'put right'

In other words, the disposal construction is indicated not by *kang*⁷ 共, but

by *chiong^1* 將 or *liah^8* 力.

The comitative marker is supported by the largest number of verbs. Any verbs that denote the actions involving the participation of both parties belong to this category, as in:

(24)	a.	sa^{n1} ki^{n3} 相見 'meet', sa^{n1} sui^5 相隨 'follow', sa^{n1} lang^7 相弄 'tease each other', sa^{n1} sioh^4 相惜 'love each other', sa^{n1} ti^{n5} 相纏 'pester each other', sa^{n1} ai^3 相愛 'love each other', sa^{n1} phoa^{n7} 相伴 'keep each other company'
	b.	seng^5 tui^3 成對 'become a pair', seng^4 siang^1 成雙 'become a pair', toan^7-iok^4 斷約 'make a pledge', su^1 niu^5 思量 'consult together'
	c.	kiet^4 chhin^1-gi^5 結親誼 'contract affinity', phit^4-phoe^3 匹配 'to match, marry', kiet^4 choe^3 hu^1-chhe^1 結做夫妻 'become man and wife', seng^5-chiu^7 成就 'accomplish (sth)', bo^5 kan^1-u^7 無干預 'have no bearing', kiet^4 thok^4 結托 'become attached to each other', kiet^4 sa^{n1}-ti^1 結相知 'become bosom friends', tang^5 chim^2 tang^5 chhng^5 同枕同床 'share the pillow and the bed', tang^5 jip^8 hoe^1-hng^5 同入花園 'enter the garden together'
	d.	hap^8 hoan^1 合歡 'rejoice together', seng^5 he^2-phoa^{n7} 成火伴 'become a partner'

There is an important distinction between goal, source, and patient marker, on the one hand, and the comitative marker, on the other. Although both types involve two parties, the former kinds are unidirectional and non-reciprocal whereas the latter are bi-directional and reciprocal.

The semantic function of *kang^7* 共 is inherited in its modern Southern Min. *Kang^7* 共 has not developed into a full-fledged preposition solely used in the disposal construction. The important feature of *ka^7* 共 in modern Southern Min is that whatever semantic roles it takes on it almost always takes a pronoun rather than an ordinary noun. This unique feature has its historical root as evidenced in *Li^4 Jing^4 Ji^4* 荔鏡記.

2.4 kah^4 甲

The three forms: kau^3 (literary), ka^3 (colloquial) and kah^4 (colloquial) form a lexeme (Douglas 1873:189). Among these three forms ka^3 and kah^4 show different but related senses. Ka^3 means 'to teach, to show how to do' whereas kah^4 denotes 'to order, to tell, to cause'. Kah^4 differs from ka^3 both segmentally and tonally in isolation form, but the formal distinction disappears in combination form, viz., when occurring in sentences.

It is perhaps the semantic distinction between ka^3 and kah^4 and the risk of formal confusion in sandhi form that prompt the scriptwriter of Li^4 $Jing^4 Ji^4$ 荔鏡記 to use a homophonous loan character kah^4 甲 in place of kah^4 教 to pin down the specific meaning and uses in question. Kah^4 甲 as a causative verb occurs in a pivotal construction like S V_1 O V_2, as in:

		act	line
(25)	A^1-kong^1 kah^4 goa^2 sau^2 thia^{n1} 呵公甲我掃廳 The master told me to sweep the hall.	13	010

Here O is the object of V_1 and the subject of V_2. Both S and O are agents. The only difference is that O is under the manipulation of S, and the latter acts in accordance with the will of S. In minor cases O may play a non-volitional role, as in:

		act	line
(26)	Kah^4 i^1 bok^8 hun^5-lo^2 甲伊莫煩惱 Ask him not to be worried.	49	145

Besides functioning as a verb kah^4 甲 is rarely used as a preposition marking source, as in:

		act	line
(27)	Kah^4 a^1-ma^2 tho^2 chit^8 tui^3 kim^1 hoe^1 甲啞媽討一對金花 Ask the mother-in-law for a pair of gold flower.	13	114

or marking a patient in a disposal construction, as in:

		act	line
(28) a.	kah^4 li^2 kia^{n3} phah^4 phoa^3 tu^5 甲你鏡打破除 broke your mirror	19	346
b.	kah^4 lin^2 cha^1-boo^2 kia^{n2} khi^3 boe^7 khit^4 lang^5 甲恁查某仔去賣乞人 sold your daughter to some one	14	312

2.5 *chiong^1* 將

Chiong^1 將 as a preposition is used exclusively in the disposal construction to mark the object as a patient. The object carries old information and is often specific and its referential property is known to the speaker although it is not necessarily known to the addressee. A clear piece of evidence in support of such an observation is that the object noun is often preceded by proximal or distal demonstrative pronouns, as in *chit^4 phing^3-le^2* 只聘禮 'this betrothal gift', *che^1 kia^{n3}* 這鏡 'the mirror', *chit^4 chit^8 tiu^{n1}-chng^7* 此一張狀 'this complaint', *hit^4 e^5 hoe^1* 許個花 'that flower' and *hit^4 chhe^1* 許釵 'that hairpin'.

A unique feature of the object is that unlike *kang^7* 共 which precedes the object denoting a human, *chiong^1* 將 precedes the noun that most often denotes the inanimate object. The disposal construction often involves an event consisting of an action and a result, as in *chiong^1 kia^{n3} phah^4 phoa^3* 將鏡打破 'break the mirror' (44.099), or the movement of a theme, as in *chiong^1 nai^7-chi^1 tan^3 loh^8 khit^4 i^1* 將荔枝揬落乞伊 'throw the litchi to him' (17.103), and *chiong^1 sin^1 tau^5 jip^8 koo^2-chi^{n2} si^2 tu^5* 將身投入古井死除 'kill oneself by jumping into the well' (15.008), etc.

2.6 *liah^8* 力

Unlike *chiong^1* 將 which is a full-fledged preposition *liah^8* 力 still functions both as a verb and a preposition and has not completely been

grammaticalized as a preposition to mark patient.[9] Among 111 tokens of *liah⁸* 力 in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記 there are 31 tokens still functioning as verbs meaning 'catch, arrest', as in *khit⁴ lang⁵ liah⁸ tioh⁸* 乞人力著 'be caught by (some one)' (42.064), and there are at least 5 examples of the remaining 80 tokens that seem to be better interpreted as serial verb constructions, as in *I¹ liah⁸ chhiu²-phe³ pau¹ nai⁷-chi¹* 伊力手帕包荔枝 'She took the handkerchief and wrapped the litchi up' (18.055). The prototypical use of *liah⁸* 力 in disposal constructions is shown in the following table:

		act	line
(29) a.	liah⁸ lin² kiaⁿ³ phah⁴ phoa³ tu⁵ 力恁鏡打破除 have broken your mirror	19	245
b.	Liah⁸ siu³-kiu⁵ tan³ tioh⁸ Lu⁷ Bong⁵-ching³ 力繡球揨著呂蒙正 Hit Lü Mengzheng with the embroidered ball.	17	027
c.	beh⁴ liah⁸ kiaⁿ² ke³ khit⁴ Lim⁵ Tai⁷ 卜力子嫁乞林大 will marry me (the daughter) off to Lin Da	14	422

There are less prototypical cases where bare verbs are involved as shown below:

		act	line
(30)	Li⁴ liah⁸ hm⁵ i⁵ phah⁴ 你力媒姨打 You beat the matchmaker.	14	254

When *liah⁸* 力 is used as a preposition the element it precedes may denote inanimate objects (49 tokens), human nouns (21 tokens) and pronouns (6 tokens).

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[9] Although *liah⁸* is rendered as 力 in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記, its etymological link is undeniably a content word often written as a demotic character 掠 meaning 'catch'.

3. Modern developments of the grammatical function words in question

As shown in the following table, among the four dialects Jinjiang 晉江, Jieyang 揭陽, Longxi 龍溪 and Xiamen 廈門 reported in Tung (1959). Jinjiang and Jieyang form one group in possessing *khit⁴* 乞, Longxi and Xiamen form another group in possessing *hoo⁷* 互*.[10] The distribution of *khit⁴* 乞 and *hoo⁷* 互* seems to be in complementary distribution. Jinjiang is unique in possessing *thoo⁷* traceable to in its ancestral form 度 in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記. 共 has been inherited by all these four dialects, but only Jinjiang retains the velar nasal coda; the rest of the three dialects have undergone the attribution of the coda:

(31)					
Words	Functions	Jinjiang 晉江	Jieyang 揭陽	Longxi 龍溪	Xiamen 廈門
乞	causative	(∨)[11] khit⁴	∨ khit⁴		
	passive	(∨)	∨		
	dative (prep)	(∨)	∨		
將	disposal	∨ chiong¹	∨ chiang¹	∨ chiang¹	∨ chiong¹

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[10] For studies of various semantic functions of *hoo⁷* 互* in modern Southern Min see Cheng (1974), Tsao (1988) and Cheng et al. (1999). Note that the graphic rendering of *hoo⁷* as a starred character 互* means that the character in question is not an etymologically viable form. Note that Jinjiang晉江/Quanzhou泉州, Jieyang揭陽/Chaozhou潮州/Shantou汕頭, and Longxi龍溪/Zhangzhou漳州 each forms a dialectal subgroup of Southern Min. The Xiamen 廈門 dialect seems to be closer to the Quanzhou dialect with respect to the phonological correspondence of the *xi¹* 溪 group and the *huo³* 火 group (Lien 1999). The Yongchun 永春 dialect is even closer to the Quanzhou 泉州 dialect in terms of segmental rather than suprasegmental features.

[11] For the scanty supplementary materials on *kang⁷*, *thoo³*, *chiong¹* and *khit⁴* in the Jinjiang 晉江 dialect see Lin (1993:243, 262, 275-277). Actually the absence of *khit⁴* 乞 in Xiamen is not quite true. A more faithful way of putting it is to say that it is virtually eclipsed by *hoo⁷* 互* and on the brink of extinction with only a few residual forms often mistaken as *khi³* 去.

共	goal	∨ kang^7	∨ ka^7	∨ ka^7/kah^8	∨ ka^7
	benefactive	∨	∨	∨	
	source	∨		∨	∨
	disposal	∨	∨	∨	∨
度	causative	∨ thoo$^{7\ 12}$			
	passive	∨			
	dative (verb)	∨			
	dative (prep)	∨			
互*	causative			∨ hoo^7	∨ hoo^7
	passive			∨	(∨)
	dative (verb)			∨	∨
	dative (prep)				
傳	causative	∨ tng^5			
	dative (verb)				
	causative		∨行 hai^{n7}		
合	comitative	(kap^4/kah^4)∨ ^{13}	∨ kah^4	∨ kah^4	∨ kap^4

     As to the comitative function 共 in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* 荔鏡記 it has given way to 合 *kap⁴/kah⁴* in all three dialects (viz., Jieyang, Longxi and Xiamen) and to *kiau¹* or *chham¹* in Jinjiang.

     If we focus on the distribution of 乞 and 共, as shown in the following table, we can find a high degree of commonality shared by Southern Min and Eastern Min. For 乞 only Xiamen and Zhangzhou constitute an exception. For 共 both dialect groups share the etymon, and only Quanzhou, Yongchun and Fuzhou retain the nasal coda. The absence of 乞 in the Xiamen and Zhangzhou dialects are interesting. It could be conjectured that *hoo⁷* 互* is in fact a descendant of *thoo⁷* 度, since it is observed that *khit⁴ hoo⁷* 乞互* often form a disyllabic word.[14]

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[12] *Thoo* 度 in Tung (1959) bears tone 7 rather than tone 3 shows that what is recorded is combination tone rather than isolation tone.

[13] Tung (1959) does not record this form, but Lin (1993) does.

[14] Both *khit⁴* 乞 and *thoo⁴* 度 occur in *Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴* and they share approximately the same range of semantic functions. Therefore they can be taken as a pair of competing synonymous function words. It is quite revealing to observe (Zhou

(32)				
Major Groups	Dialects	乞	共(+伊)[15]	Sources
Southern Min	Chaozhou	K'ɤʔ⁴	kai⁵	Li (1959:255-258); Cai (1991:151)
		K'ɤʔ⁴	ka⁷ i¹	Li (1958)
	Shantou	k'iʔ⁴	kaʔ⁴ i¹	Shi (1996, 1997, 2000)[16]
	Quanzhou	k'i³	kaŋ³	Li (1997, 2000)
		k'it⁴	kaŋ³	Lin (1993)
	Yongchun	k'it⁴	kaŋ⁷	Lin & Chen (1989)
	Xiamen	(hɔ⁷)	kaʔ⁴ i¹	Tan et al. (1996)
	Zhangzhou	(hɔ⁷)	ka⁷	Ma (1994)
Eastern Min	Fuzhou	khøyʔ⁴	koyŋ⁷	Chen (1997, 1998, 2000)

4. The graphic representation of semantic roles in Japanese and Chinese literature

From the perspective of contrastive linguistics in particular with respect to the graphic representation of semantic roles as a diagnostic test it is interesting to see how native speakers of Japanese tried to learn

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1993, 1995) that *khit⁴ hoo⁷* 乞互* or *hoo⁷* 互* frequently occurs as a patient maker in a passive construction, but *khit⁴* 乞 alone is rarely used, and *thoo⁷* 度 or *khit⁴ thoo⁷* 乞度 never used in Xiamen. It is quite likely that *khit⁴ hoo⁷* 乞互* is derived from *khit⁴ thoo⁷* 乞度 through some kind of assimilation. The stop ending of *khit⁴* 乞 is prone to loss in sandhi position and its sandhi form is often mistaken as *khi³* 去.

[15] Some Southern Min dialects such as Chaozhou, Zhangzhou and Xiamen formed a fusional word or rather a portmanteau word *kai* out of 共＋伊 written as a single character like 該, 介 or 個. The appearance of a glottal stop, as in *kaʔ⁴*, could be a later development. The form could be taken as etymologically related to the lexeme *kap⁴* 合, but such a link is arguable in terms of comparative grammar.

[16] One cannot rule out the possibility that *kaʔ⁴* used as a preposition in Shantou and Xiamen is a result of grammaticalizing the conjunction *kap⁴* 合 (cf. Examples (27), (28a), (28b)).

Taiwanese Southern Min in the Japanese-ruled period (1896-1945) from their own linguistic background in comparison with the ways in which the Chinese coped with their own language in the post-war period.

As shown in the following tables, starting from Iwasaki (1916) through Ogawa (1931-21), Azumakata (1931) and Kumagai (1931) to Tan (1934) during the Japanese-ruled period the representation of ka^7 and hoo^7 by *kanji* or Chinese characters had become quite unified and consistent. There are two consistent ways of representing ka^7 by Chinese characters in terms semantic roles of the noun involved: (1) the benefactive (wei^4 爲) and (2) goal/source/patient ($gong^4$ 共) in the Japanese literature during that period. The choice of different Chinese characters is motivated by the characteristics that the semantic roles of the noun are overtly marked in Japanese. But it is interesting that 共 is used to mark three different semantic roles, viz., goal, source and patient. This is a practice accommodating the characteristics of Chinese.

(33)						
Words	Functions	Sugi 1900	Fuusandoo Shujin 1901	Sugi 1910	Kawai 1912	Iwasaki 1916/1922
chiong¹	disposal	?	?	?	?	將
ka⁷	benefactive	與	與	爲	與	爲
ka⁷	goal	與	與	?	與	共
	source	與	與	?	與	共
	disposal			?	與	
hoo⁷	causative	給	使	給	給	俾
	passive	被	被	被	被	被
	dative (V)	給	?	給	給	給
kah⁴	causative	?	?	?	?	?
kah⁴	comitative	與(參)	與		與	
kap⁴				與	與	

(34)						
Word	Functions	Lau 1916-23	Ogawa 1931-32	Azumakata 1931	Kumagai 1931	Tan 1934
chiong^1	disposal		將	將	將	將
ka^7	benefactive	爲	爲	爲	爲	爲
ka^7	goal		共	共	共	共
	source		共	共	共	共
	disposal		共	共		共
hoo^7	causative	俾	俾	俾	俾	俾
	passive	被	被	被	被	被
	dative (V)	給	給	給		給
kah^4	causative		教	使	教	使
kah^4	comitative		與	與	與	
kap^4		及	與	與	與	與

On the other hand, three different (viz., causative, passive and ditransitive) functions are consistently differentiated and marked by three different Chinese characters, viz., *bi^3* 俾 (causative), *bei^4* 被 (passive) and *gei^3* 給 (dative). Again the motivation of using different Chinese characters lies in the nature of Japanese counterparts in which different postpositions and structures are used. The strategy of adopting the Chinese characters follows the tradition of *kunyomi* (訓讀), the borrowing of Chinese characters in terms of their meaning regardless of the appropriateness of etymological origin.

In the literature that appeared in the post-war period, namely the works written by the Chinese linguists, the practice have changed drastically. As shown in the following table, *ka^7* and *hoo^7* have been represented by *gei^3* 給 or *gong^4* 共, and *yu^3* 與, *fu^4* 付 & *hu^4* 互 respectively. This has a great deal to do with the covert nature of Chinese reflected in the intuition of native speakers. What is different and puzzling among them is how to represent the Chinese characters properly. A major concern is supposedly whether the characters chosen is etymologically viable.

(35)						
Words	Functions	Li 1950	Ong 1957	Ong 1982	Zhou 1992	Wu 1987
chiong^1	disposal	將			將	將
ka^7	benefactive	給	給?		共	共
ka^7	goal		給?		共	共
	source	給	給?		共	共
	disposal		給?		共	
hoo^7	causative	與	付?	給	互	付
	passive	與	付?	與	互	付
	dative (V)	與	付?		互	付
kah^4	causative		教	教		教
kah^4	comitative		及?		合	合
kap^4		合	及?	合?	合	合

For *chiong¹* 將, exclusively used as a patient marker, its etymological status is not in dispute and is represented both by Japanese and Chinese scholars as *chiong¹* 將. For the causative *kah⁴* it is represented as *jiao⁴* 教, or *shi³* 使, and the comitative marker is represented as *yu³* 與, *ji²* 及 and *he²* 合.[17]

To recapitulate, it is evidently because of grammatical functions being overtly marked by the verb inflections in Japanese that the homophonic word *hoo⁷* as an ambiguous marker of different grammatical constructions

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[17] It is interesting to observe the cumulative understanding of semantic functions of *ka⁷* from the standpoint of the history of linguistics. Douglas (1873) was the first to note that *ka⁷* 'is a preposition, used with persons only, meaning to, from, for; it is often the converse of *hoo⁷* and must be used with great care according to fixed usage'. From this insightful observation we can see that he is aware of its semantic functions such as goal, source and benefactive as well as possibly well-nigh patient. The scholars in the Japanese-ruled period also noticed its various semantic roles most systematically presented in Ogawa et al. (1931-32) and Tan (1934). Li (1950), Ong (1957, 1982), Wu (1987), Yang (1991) and Zhou (1992) recognized these semantic functions in the postwar period as well. But it was not until Teng (1982, 1995), Tsao and Lu (1990), Hung (1995), Cheng (1998) and Chappell (2000) that detailed and more in-depth studies were made in the framework of modern linguistics.

is rendered as different Chinese characters: 被 for the passive, 俾 for the causative, and 給 for its verbal function.

Ka^7 marks a range of semantic roles such as benefactive, source, goal and patient. Japanese scholars tend to treat benefactive as a separate category independently of the other three roles. The former is written as 為 and the latter as 共. This all ties in with their own linguistic background. By contrast, Chinese is a context-dependent and construction-dependent language in that the determination of sentential meanings relies largely on the contextual factors. It has been recently proposed in the framework of construction grammar (Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor 1988, Goldberg 1995 and Jackendoff 1997) that construction makes a difference in meaning interpretation. For example, the meaning of the verb $kong^2$ changes because of different constructions it occurs in:

(36) a. $kong^2 i^1$
      講伊
      reprimand him
   b. $ka^7 i^1 kong^2$
      共伊講
      talk to him

Since Chinese is an inflectionless language it partially depends on the word order to indicate its grammatical relation. According to the first articulation of language (Martinet 1964) words can be put together to form phrases or sentences. However, the combination of words into sentences is governed by a set of constraints. The following inverse relation is coded lexically by *lend* and *borrow* in English, but structurally in Southern Min:

(37) a. $chioh^4 i^1$
      借伊
      lend it to him
   b. $ka^7 i^1 chioh^4$
      共伊借
      borrow it from him

The meaning of words in isolation is underspecified and ka^7 or hoo^7 is a case in point. It is through the co-composition of the words as well as their interaction with the constructions in which they occur that the holistic meaning can be determined. In some cases the contextual information is even needed to pin down or disambiguate the meaning of the ambivalent construction, as the case with the hoo^7 construction which is sometimes ambiguous between causative and passive interpretation.

5. The development of $kang^7$ 共 in modern Taiwanese Southern Min

$Kang^7$ 共 is often, misleadingly I think, illustrated as a patient marker in the disposal construction at the cost of its multiple functions. It is necessary to devote some space to clarifying its true nature. Let us take the story of Tan⁵ Ka¹-chng¹ 陳家莊, the Tan⁵ Ka¹-chng¹ Village, narrated by Laifu Lin (Hu and Huang 1996:86-117), as an example to show how modern reflex ka^7 of the earlier $kang^7$ 共 behaves in modern Taiwanese Southern Min.[18]

As shown in the following table, the constructions involve the use of ka^7 共 and the text contains its 65 tokens:

(38)

Types	Tokens	Percentage
VO	19	29
VC	13	20
Redupl.	4	6
Bare V	27	42
Other Cases	2	3
Total	65	100

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[18] ka^7 共 can be justifiably traced back to $kang^7$ 共 in terms of comparative dialectal as well as historical documentary evidence. The loss of the velar nasal coda may be due to the attrition induced by its frequent occurrence in sandhi form. There are, however, other views as to its etymological origin; for example, Cheng and Tsao (1995) treated it as relating to 合.

A striking feature of the distribution of ka^7 共 in the story as shown in this table is that bare verbs, viz., single verbs occurring alone, such as $chiah^8$ 食 'eat', kiu^3 救 'save', so^2 鎖 'lock', lam^5 淋 'to pour (liquid)', to^3 倒 'pour', $kong^2$ 講 'talk', mng^7 問 'ask', boe^2 買 'buy', sio^1 燒 'burn', toe^2 貯 'put (sth.) in the container', $kham^3$ 蓋* 'to cover' and pah^8 縛 'tie up' embrace the highest percentage of all the tokens in question. This shows that unlike $chiong^1$ 將 and $liah^8$ 力, ka^7 共 is not a prototypical patient marker in the disposal construction alone. Second highest in the percentage of distribution is the VO construction in which ka^7 共 marks such semantic roles as the benefactive, source, goal and special types of patient. The only bona fide patient occurs in the Verb-Complement constructions and reduplicates.

To determine whether a noun is a patient or not is usually to use the following diagnostic test:

What X did to Y was …

If the noun in question fits the frame it can be counted as a patient. That is, a patient refers to the entity that has been acted on by an agent. Special types of patient occur in the ka^7 + bare verbs construction in which the resultative state is implied or unspecified. An important point worth noting is that the patient marker $chiong^1$ 將 can not be used in place of ka^7 共 in this connection.

There are at least three important aspects in which $chiong^1$ 將 and ka^7 共 differ. First, and a fact widely known, $chiong^1$ 將 belongs to the literary style whereas ka^7 共 is used in the colloquial style. Second, $chiong^1$ 將 is only a marker of patient in a full-fledged disposal construction whereas ka^7 共 marks a wide range of semantic roles including benefactive, goal, source, comitative and patient. Third, and this is a point often escaping linguists' attention, there is virtually no restriction on the animacy of nouns preceded by $chiong^1$ 將, viz., they can be animate or inanimate nouns except those areas covered by ka^7 共.[19] By contrast, the elements preceded by ka^7 共 must by pronouns mostly referring to

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[19] See Frawley (1992) for the interesting notion of the scale of animacy.

humans, animals or even inanimate entities especially when merging as a resumptive pronoun or a trace. This unique constraint is a continuation or rather a legacy inherited from the earlier stage of *kang^7* 共.

It should be noted, however, that the lifting of such a pronominal restriction on the *ka^7* 共 construction as witnessed in the speech of younger generation in Taiwanese Southern Min is a contact-induced change brought about by the all-abiding influence of the *ba^3* 把 construction in Mandarin (Cheng 1998).

A typical way in which the disposal construction is made in modern Southern Min is to avoid the structure in which *ka^7* 共 is followed by a noun phrase, as exemplified in (39a). Instead, the object noun is preposed leaving a resumptive pronoun or merely a trace, as given in (39b):[20]

(39) a. Ka^7 poe^1-a^2 phah^4 phoa^5
共杯仔拍破
'Break the cup.'
b. Poe^1-a^2 ka^7 i^1 phah^4 phoa^5
杯仔共伊拍破

The following sentence about the killing of a black pullet culled from the above story can be understood in the same light:

(40) I^1 chiu^7 chit^8 chiah^4 oo^1 koe^1-noa^7-a^2 liah^8 khi^2 lai^5 chiu^7 ka^7 i^1 thai^5 loh^8
伊就一隻烏雞嫩仔掠起來就共伊治落
'He caught a black pullet and killed it.'

In this sentence the first *chiu^7* 就 is a preposition that enables the object *chit^8 chiah^4 oo^1 koe^1-noa^7-a^2* 一隻烏雞嫩仔 'a black pullet' to occur in the preverbal position, and likewise *ka^7* 共 is also a preposition obligatorily preposing the object pronoun *i^1* 伊 'it', which is a pronoun referring back to the antecedent *chit^8 chiah^4 oo^1 koe^1-noa^7-a^2* 一隻烏雞嫩

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[20] *Ka^7 i^1* 共伊 can be alternatively contracted as *ka^1*, in which there seems to be a trace left behind after fronting the object.

仔 'a black pullet'.

Sometimes the ka^7 共 construction with the benefactive reading interacts with mood in that it is intimately tied up with an imperative mood, as in:

(41) $Li^2 ka^7 goa^2 hia^{n5} chit^8 thang^5 kun^2 chui^2$!
      你共我焚一桶滾水!
      '(You) heat a bucket of boiling water for me!'

Here even though goa^2 我 carries the benefactive role, actually it is an instigator of the action in question.

6. Closing remarks

To summarize, the main attention has been focused on the investigation of grammatical functions of $khit^4$ 乞, $thoo^3$ 度, $kang^7$ 共, kah^4 甲, $chiong^1$ 將 and $liah^8$ 力 as attested in $Li^4 Jing^4 Ji^4$ 荔鏡記. The major functions of each word regarding its semantic and grammatical functions are highlighted in turn as follows.

$Khit^4$ 乞 can occur in a special type of dative constructions, viz., Type II, which can be alternatively regarded as a kind of serial verb construction supported by textual evidence, and its variants are dictated by the constraints of information structure. It also functions in passive constructions and in pivotal constructions in particular manifested in its causative use. Like $khit^4$ 乞, $thoo^3$ 度 can also occur in the serial verb construction with various constructional variants constrained by information packaging. However, somewhat different from $khit^4$ 乞, $thoo^3$ 度 does not acquire the passive use although its causative use is evidenced.

There is a rich repertoire of semantic roles marked by $kang^7$ 共. Aside from its capacity as a conjunction or preposition featuring comitative function it can be used to mark source, goal and benefactive roles supported by plentiful examples, but there is scanty evidence attesting to its use as a patient marker in the disposal construction. Kah^4 甲 as a causative verb in the pivotal construction involves the subject as an agent and the object as an actor which is supposed to carry out the action under

the command of the agent. Kah^4 甲 can be rarely used as a preposition to mark a source or a patient in the disposal construction.

While $khit^4$ 乞 and $thoo^3$ 度 boast a wide range of grammatical functions the preposition $chiong^1$ 將 is exclusively used as a patient marker in the disposal construction. Since it carries exactly the same function in many other dialects it may not belong in the indigenous layer of Southern Min dialects.[21] Although both $chiong^1$ 將 and $liah^8$ 力 are patient markers, unlike $chiong^1$ 將 as a full-fledged patient, $liah^8$ 力 as a more colloquial Southern Min-unique word is still wavering between its functions as a verb and a preposition and there are many examples in which it is still used as a verb.

From a dialectal comparative as well as diachronic perspective we examine how these function words evolve in the four major Southern Min subdialects: Jinjiang, Jieyang, Longxi and Xiamen. It is found that $khit^4$ 乞 is inherited both in Jinjiang and Jieyang whereas $thoo^3$ 度 is only retained in Jinjiang. $Khit^4$ 乞 and $thoo^3$ 度 have been replaced by their counterpart hoo^7 互* in Longxi and Xiamen. $Chiong^1/chiang^1$ 將 as an exclusively patient marker is a most stable function word shared by all the four Southern Min subdialects whereas strangely enough $liah^8$ 力, a likewise patient marker, has almost disappeared without a trace in modern Southern Min as least as far as the dialectal data that have been made available to us are concerned.[22]

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[21] I am in debt to Tsu-Lin Mei for questioning the legitimacy of using *indigenous* here in the sense that some borrowed terms, paradoxically, can become gradually nativized with the passage of time. The term *indigenous* here means that a linguistic trait is uniquely found in and native to a language and it is used here in contradistinction to 'borrowed'. Basic words like oe^7 解 'can/able', ti^7 著 (locative marker), gua^2 我 'I/me', li^2 汝 'you' and i^1 伊 'he/she' in Min dialects are better regarded as inherited rather than borrowed. Another basic word, kia^{n2} 囝 'son, child', which is claimed to be of Austroasiatic origin (Norman & Mei 1976), is adopted through substratum influence (Norman 1991).

[22] It should be admitted that there are sporadic unproductive examples of $liah^8$ used in modern Southern Min, as in $liah^8$ i^1 kim^1-kim^1 $khoa^{n3}$ 掠伊金金看 'gaze at him', and $liah^8$ $choe^3$ si^7 Lim^5 sio^2-$chia^2$ 掠做是林小姐 'thought it was Miss Lin'. As observed by Si-Zhi Ding, $liah^8$ 力 as a patient marker in the disposal construction is still retained in the Hui'an 惠安 dialect spoken in

For a better understanding of the coding of semantic functions in languages we look into the ways in which the semantic roles marked by ka^7 共 and hoo^7 互* are represented by Chinese characters in Japanese and Chinese literature. It is discovered that scholars in the Japanese-ruled period tend to use different *kanji* or Chinese characters to represent different semantic roles. In contrast, Chinese scholars in the post-war period prefer to use the same Chinese characters to represent different semantic roles. We can see that different ways of graphic representation are a natural consequence of a difference in the nature of two typologically different languages. Japanese is an overt language where semantic roles are explicitly marked while Chinese is a covert and context-sensitive language in which the semantic roles are decoded in terms of constructional cue or pragmatic information.

A case study is made of the grammatical functions of ka^7 共 based on the data taken from a modern spoken Taiwanese Southern Min text. It is found that ka^7 共 shows a range of grammatical and semantic constraints specifically the element it precedes must be a pronoun or a trace and unlike $chiong^1$ 將 it has not developed into a prototypical patient marker. Such constraints traceable to its earlier behavior in Li^4 $Jing^4$ Ji^4 荔鏡記 can be naturally accounted for in light of historical documentary evidence as presented in this paper.[23]

Due to the constraints of space and time we have not made a detailed and thorough comparison of the findings of the grammatical patterns of these function words in Li^4 $Jing^4$ Ji^4 荔鏡記 (1566 AD) with those found in Southern Min texts dating back to early 17th century rendered in

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southern Fujian. One can see some traces of $liah^8$ 力 as a grammaticalized preposition in the Quanzhou 泉州 dialect (Li 1997:122) and the Shantou 汕頭 dialect, a subvariety of the Chaozhou 潮州 group (Shi 2000:158-159). But the data are far too scanty for us to state with certainty that such a grammatical feature leads a robust existence in some Southern Min dialects. Field survey in search of such an intriguing feature is most welcomed.

[23] It should be noted, however, that this constraint is on the wane in the younger generation of Taiwanese Southern Min who tend to use ka^7 共 as a counterpart of ba^3 把 in Mandarin (See Cheng 1998 for an insightful observation in this regard).

western languages.[24]

In closing, let us tackle the issue of establishing chronological strata. Norman (1979) pioneered the idea of chronological strata in Min dialects in terms of distinct phonological criteria. The notion of chronological strata can be fruitfully explored beyond the domain of phonology. Mei & Yang (1995) and Lien (1995), for example, both put forward the chronological strata in Min dialects in terms of grammatical elements. While the time depth of $khit^4$ 乞, $thoo^3$ 度 and $liah^8$ 力 are yet to be determined, we can make some speculation based on our accumulated knowledge at the present stage that $kang^7$ 共 represents a grammatical stratum dating back to the late Tang and Five Dynasties period (the mid-eighth to tenth century) and possibly an earlier time (Liu 1989, Wu 1996:240-247). 共 can be regarded as a grammatical word of Middle Chinese surviving in SM, and, as attested by documentary evidence, it had in Middle Chinese times developed to a stage at which it expresses the execution of action with respect to the object that takes on various semantic roles except patient (Wu 1996:242).[25] In other words, $kang^7$ 共 in SM is, probably due to its geographical barrier, immune from a change in Mandarin dialects in which it had been on its way out until approximately Ming times (the fourteenth to seventeenth century) when it was virtually replaced by he^2 和.

The use of 將 as a marker of its patient object in the disposal construction is amply attested in Buddhist texts $Fo^2 \; Ben^3 \; Xing^2 \; Ji^2 \; Jing^1$ 佛本行集經 in the Sui period (the sixth century) (Ye 1988, Mei 1990). Since it has a literary flavor and, unlike $kang^7$ 共, is not a sufficient defining feature of Min dialects, it cannot belong in the indigenous stratum. A question presents itself as to when it was borrowed into Min groups, and it has to be left for future endeavor.[26]

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[24] See Loon (1966, 1967), Yue (1999) and Chappell (2000) for the light shed on the studies of texts such as *Doctrina Christiana* (ca. 1607 AD) and *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu* (1620 AD).

[25] The disposal function of $kang^7$ 共 seems to be overstated, if not mistakenly construed, in some works on Min dialects at the expense of its other uses.

[26] As insightfully observed by Tsu-Lin Mei, a cue to the determination of chronological stratum may lie in the examination of its phonological shape. For example, the $yang^2$ 陽 rime that $chiong^1$ 將 falls under has at least three types

Appendix

Grammatical Patterns	Syntactic Frames	Examples
monotransitive (乞 'beg')	S 乞ᵥ O	[](一)生月、[]五娘仔親情、[]一金言
(乞 'beg')	S [乞] V	[]賜好人來結姻親、[]聽說起、願[]早團圓
serial verb (乞 'beg')	S [乞 O] V	[]放早辦嫁妝
serial verb (dative)	S V [乞 O₂]	嫁[]、捒[]、交付[]、傳[]
(乞 'give')	S V O₁ [乞 O₂]	打一頓[]、罵一頓[]、打手指[]、做人情[]、現一厶[]
	S O₁ V [乞 O₂]	人情做[]、錢銀提[]、荔枝捒落[]、查厶賣[]、人嫁[]、親情放[]
pivotal construction	V₁ [乞 O₂] V₂	賣[]做奴、捒落荔枝[]爲記
	[乞 O₂] V₂	[]爲記
passive	S [乞prep O₂] V	[]打、[]飼、[]騙、[]使、[]罵、[]教議、[]屈、[]說笑、[]打一頓、[]罵你、[]帶利、[]障說、[]傳說我、[]說得沒意思
causative	S V₁ O₁ [乞 O₂] V₂	買物[]食、甲我[]飼、提椅[]坐、討茶飯[]吃
	S V₁ [乞 O₂] V₂	說[]聽、抱[]磨、捒落[]拾去、喝[]入去、吹送[]聽、打[]死、咒[]明白、報[]得知
	S [乞 O₂] V	[]去、[]行、[]返、[]說、[]知、[]磨、[]拾去、[]撿、[]過去、[]過、[]搥、[]掃、[]睏、[]趁、[]走不離、[]坐、[]飼、[]看、[]買物食、[]梳頭、[]照面眉、[]洗面、[]買鍼線、[]關宅門、[]說話、[]見一下、[]斟一下
	S [乞 O] Adj	[]驚一著、[]驚一頭冷汗

of reflex in Southern Min, (1) *-iɔŋ*, (2) *-ŋ* and (3) *iuⁿ* among which (2) and (3) belong in the colloquial layer, whereas (1) is the literary layer. The next more challenging task is to pin down the chronological profile of the phonological realization that has to be left for a separate paper that will do full justice to such a thorny issue. See Ho (2000) for a recent illuminating discussion of the methodology and the issues involved on linguistic strata.

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《荔鏡記》虛詞
「乞」「度」「共」「甲」「將」「力」
在閩南語中的演變

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　　本文探討《荔鏡記》虛詞「乞」、「度」、「共」、「甲」、「將」、「力」所指派的語意角色和出現的句型。從現代閩南語的語料中可以看出這些虛詞有歷史傳承和創新之處。晉江、揭陽、龍溪、廈門方言都承續了「共」和「將」的用法，「乞」保存於晉江、揭陽方言中，但「度」只見於晉江方言。「互*」是龍溪和廈門方言中新興的虛詞。考查虛詞漢字的不同書寫方式有助於掌握漢語的本質。戰前日本學者以不同的漢字書寫虛詞多重的語意功能，戰後中國學者傾向用同樣漢字書寫。書寫的習慣跟作者的語感、母語特徵有密切的關係，這也反映漢語隱性的編碼方式。漢語句子的詮釋和語境及語用訊息有不可分的關係。句子的意義往往有一部分是結構所賦予的。

　　閩南語的「共」通常看成是處置式中做受事標誌之用的虛詞，但從個案研究的發現及歷史來源來看，「共」是帶有多重語意功能的虛詞。末尾我們根據時代層次的概念論斷，「共」是閩南語由中古漢語傳承下來的共通語法特徵。