THE ANALYTIC CAUSATIVES OF EARLY MODERN SOUTHERN MIN IN DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

Hilary Chappell, Alain Peyraube

THE ANALYTIC CAUSATIVES OF EARLY MODERN SOUTHERN MIN

IN DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE*

*

Hilary Chappell and Alain Peyraube
Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale
EHESS and CNRS, Paris, France

*

1.   INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this study is to analyze the function of analytic causative constructions in Early Modern Southern Min [Sinitic] in order to elucidate the possible stages of grammaticalization and the diachronic relationships between different periods of Chinese, in particular, between Archaic and Medieval Chinese and the development of Southern Min.

The term analytic causative refers to constructions which use syntactic means such as complex predicates to code causation as opposed to morphological means such as a special affix on the verb (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002). In Sinitic languages, analytic causatives generally develop historically from pivot constructions where the direct object of the first causative verb is the subject of the second verb.[1] The three main causative verbs in Early

---

[1]   We consider that there are three main types of analytic causative constructions:

(1)   event causatives where no agentive causer is implicated (e.g. *Heavy rains caused a landslide in California.*)

(2)   experiencer causatives which engender a state of affairs in the causee (e.g. *The film made him very sad.*)

(3)   agentive causatives where the causer is a volitional agent (e.g. *She got him to eat the food he disliked most.*)

The agentive causative type can be further subdivided into various grades of directive causatives which frequently involve some kind of speech act on the part of the causer, and the implication that the causee has to do what the causer wishes (e.g. *I had the plumber come over and fix up the roof*); and permissive causatives

Modern Southern Min of 16th and 17th centuries are thus derived from lexical verbs grammaticalized into causative function as V_1 in complex predicates (serial verb constructions):

$NP_{Causer} + V_{1[causative]} + NP_{causee} + V_2 + (NP…)$

These are:

(i)   *khit⁴* 乞 'to give' which forms a permissive 'let' type of causative,
(ii)   *su²* 使 'to cause, send' which forms both a directive causative and an unintentional experiencer causative and
(iii)   *su³* 賜 'to bestow, grant' which also forms a directive causative.

The verbs *su²* 使 'cause' < 'send' and *khit⁴* 乞 'let' < 'give' are commonly found in earlier stages of Chinese in causative usage. One of the issues in this paper is thus to explain the apparent singleton status of *su³* 賜 'to bestow, grant' as a causative verb. Before proceeding with the main analysis in §4, we provide a brief description of the corpus in §2 and an outline of causative constructions in the Archaic and Medieval Chinese periods in §3.

Linguistic causation is generally regarded as a relation holding between two events or states of affairs and, strictly speaking, cannot be represented as the property of a person or any other entity. As a consequence of this, two entities such as the causative agent (or causer) and the causee – the person who is motivated to carry out an action or to experience a situation – occur in causative constructions only in so far as they take part in some event or state of affairs. Syntactically, they may thus be considered as the referents of nominals which elliptically represents a causing or caused event.

Another essential feature of causative constructions is the entailment of a resulting event or state of affairs, often referred to as the counterfactual inference (see McCawley 1976): if the causing event had not taken place then the caused event would not have either. This change-of-state entailment is inherent in all causative constructions.

The nature of the embedded predicate containing V_2 constitutes a third important parameter to consider, as will be shown below for the three main causative verbs found in the Early Southern Min material: the situation involving the causee may be coded by a verb of intentional action; a non-control event verb; or a state of affairs. The predicate of the complex causative clause can thus determine the semantic type of causative (see Talmy 1976, Shibatani 1976).

2.   SOUTHERN MIN LANGUAGES: BACKGROUND AND CORPUS

2.1   *Background to this study*

A well-known phenomenon in Southern Min languages is the vivid contrast between literary and colloquial pronunciations. For example, the character for 'name', 名, has the literary reading *bêng* versus the colloquial *miâⁿ*. This divergence reflects the presence of several strata in the Min lexicon: the earliest and colloquial stratum can be traced back to the Han dynasties (206 BCE - 220 CE) while the second, also colloquial, is from the

---

where one event enables another event to happen (e.g. *In the end, I said 'yes' and let the kids go to see a movie*). See Talmy (1976), Shibatani (1976) and Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002) for detailed semantic studies.

Nanbeichao period (420-589). The third stratum of reading pronunciations, used to recite texts in Min, reflects the late Tang koine, based on the prestige dialect of the capital, Chang'an (see Mei & Yang 1995; Lien 2000). The literary-colloquial distinction - 文白異讀- is observable in the some of the texts treated in §4 of this analysis.

Also relevant for this analysis are the early migrations of Southern Min people to the Southeast Asian region, beginning in the Ming dynasty, to the Philippines, Siam (Thailand) and the East Indies (Malaysia and Indonesia) by various sea routes. The Spanish conquest of the Philippines in the 16th century and the subsequent establishment of Catholic missions in this archipelago saw the compilation of religious documents in both Tagalog and the Southern Min koine spoken by the majority of the Chinese population in Manila (cf. van der Loon 1966 on the history of the first printed books in the Philippines).

2.2 *Corpus of Early Southern Min documents*

We refer to five documents which reflect the language of late 16th and early 17th century Southern Min. Four of these early texts were compiled by Catholic priests (Dominicans and Jesuits) and their Chinese collaborators in the Philippines for the Sangley or Chinese trading community who had settled there by the late 16th century (see Chappell 2000 and Chappell and Peyraube (forthcoming) for more details).

(i)   *Doctrina Christiana en letra y lengua china*, (blockprinted, 1607, Manila), held at the Vatican Library. The translation of the Spanish version of the *Doctrina Christiana* into a Min dialect in character form is attributed by van der Loon (1967) to Dominican missionaries in the Philippines, including Fathers Juan Cobo and Miguel Benavides, with the aid of unknown Chinese collaborators. We make use of the reproduction by van der Loon (1967) which collates the character text with two romanized versions. The page numbers for all examples from this document refer to this edition.

(ii) *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔 鏡 記 [Romance of the Litchi Mirror] (1566, 1581), Tenri University version. This is a Ming dynasty play written in a mixture of Quanzhou and Chaozhou dialects (both Southern Min).

(iii) *Arte de la lengua Chiõ Chiu* [Grammar of the Chiõ Chiu language] (handwritten, 1620, Manila), held at the University of Barcelona Library, where it was discovered in the 1980s by us. On the last page of the manuscript is found the mention of one Father Melchior de Mançano, followed by the words 'for the use of Father Rajmundo Feijoo'. From this it can probably be inferred that de Mançano was the author of the grammar. The Barcelona copy is longer and more complete than another one held at the British Library, allowing scholars to date the manuscript precisely as having been written in the year 1620. The clue is found on page 31a: '48th year of the reign of Emperor Wan Li'.[2]

(iv) *Bocabulario de la lengua sangleya* [Lexicon of the Sangley language] (handwritten, ca. 1617, Manila), held at the British Library. This is a Southern Min-Spanish lexicon providing definitions and some grammatical information. The *Arte* explicitly

---

[2] Mei Tsu-Lin (personal communication) has observed that the Wan Li era lasted only 47 years, ending in 1619. He concludes that the Sangleys in remote Manila were most likely unaware of the end of his reign. For more information of this manuscript, see Chappell and Peyraube, forthcoming.

mentions the lexicon in its preface, so it is certain that they represent the same dialect of Southern Min. Van der Loon (1967: 98) who viewed a different copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris suggests however that it can be dated with certainty at 1595.

(v) *Diccionarium Sino-Hispanicum* [Chinese-Spanish Dictionary] (handwritten, 1604, Cebu), held at the Angelica Library in Rome; attributed to the Jesuit, Father Pedro Chirino. This manuscript similarly gives examples of a Southern Min dialect with Spanish glosses, however, without providing any definitions.[3]

3. AN OUTLINE OF CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL CHINESE

We first briefly describe the development of causative constructions in Archaic and Medieval Chinese.

3.1 *Morphological devices*

According to reconstructions for Old Chinese, a morphological causative could be formed with the prefix *s- on verbs (Mei 1989). The following two examples from Sagart (1999: 70) show this relationship between a non-causative verb (on the left-hand side) and its causativized counterpart with the prefix *s-.

(1) *shí* 食 $*^{b}m\text{-}lïk$ > *zyik* 'to eat' : *sì* 飼 $*^{b}s\text{-}lïk\text{-}s$ > *ziH* 'to feed'(transitive)

 dēng 登 $*^{a}tïŋ$ > *toŋ* 'to ascend, rise, go up : *zēng* 增 $*^{a}s\text{-}tïŋ$ > *tsoŋ* 'to increase, add to'

3.2 *Non-analytic causatives*

In written texts from the Archaic Chinese period (5th - 2nd century BC, Classical Chinese par excellence), nouns could be used as verbs, without requiring any morphological markers of verbhood. This kind of zero derivation can be seen in the case of *chén* 臣 'subject' in example (2) which takes on the causative meaning of 'to make someone a subject' in its verbal use:

(2) Archaic Chinese (5th - 2nd century BC)
 學焉而後臣之
 Xué yān ér hòu chén zhī
 learn from:3SG and later subject 3SG
 'Learn from him before making him (his) subject.'(*Mèngzǐ* 孟子)

Not only nouns, but also intransitive verbs, including the class of stative verbs or adjectives, could be used as causative verbs without any overt marking. As such , they belong to a

---

[3] We are grateful to Federico Masini for having drawn our attention to this dictionary and for generously providing us with a copy of it. See Masini (2000)

special class of labile or ambitransitive verbs for this period of Chinese. Such verbs are described as 'covert causatives' by Lien (2003) due to their zero derivation. For example:

(3)　故遠人不服, 則修文德以來 之
　　　Gù yuǎn rén bù fú zé xiū wén dé yǐ lái zhī
　　　therefore far people NEG submit then cultivate civil virtue so:that come 3SG
　　　'Therefore, if people from far away do not submit, then cultivate the civil virtues in
　　　order to make them come.' (*Lúnyǔ* 論語)

(4)　常慾死之
　　　Cháng yù sǐ zhī
　　　often want die 3SG
　　　'(He) often wanted to kill him. (i.e. make him dead) (*Hàn Shū* 漢書: 朱買臣專)

3.3　*Analytic causatives*

During the Archaic period, there were also some causative verbs which were used to form analytic constructions: the most common were *shǐ* 使 'to send, to cause', *lìng* 令 'to command' and to a lesser extent, *wèi* 遺 'to give, to offer as a gift'. Examples with *shǐ* 使 'to cause' are presented below:

(5)　使 周游于四方
　　　Shǐ zhōu yóu yú sì fāng
　　　CAUS around travel at four directions
　　　'making (them) travel around in all directions' (*Guó Yǔ* 国語)

(6)　乃夜 去不使人知
　　　nǎi yè qù, bù shǐ rén zhī
　　　then 1PL go NEG CAUS people know
　　　'Then we left at night, (and) did not let anyone know.' (*Shǐ Jì* 史記游俠列傳)

Indeed, examples of *shǐ* 使 and *lìng* 令 in causative usage are found in one of the earliest classics from this period: the *Shī Jīng* 詩經 or *Book of Odes*, a heterogeneous anthology of poems covering a period of five centuries (10th – 5th BCE). These three causative verbs continued to be used in the Pre-Medieval period (2nd c.BCE – 2nd c. CE) throughout the Medieval (2nd – 13th c.CE), Pre-Modern (13th – 14th c.CE) and the Modern periods (15th – 18th c.CE), up until the 18th century, but in the register of Classical Chinese.

　　　The first meaning of *qǐ* 乞 in Late Archaic or Classical Chinese was 'to ask for' or 'to beg' after which it acquired the meaning of 'to give' in the early Han period. The following examples are taken from different periods in the history of the Chinese language:

(7) 乞我一隻錢

    qǐ wǒ yī zhī qián

    give 1SG one CLF money

    'Give me one tael of money.' (*Wu Deng Hui Yuan 2* 五燈會元 2)

(8) 嘉 宾 遂 一 日 乞 與 親 友

    Jiā Bīn suì yī rì qǐ yǔ qīn yòu

    Jia Bin then one day give give friend

    'Then, one day Jia Bin would have to give (it) to (his) friends.' (*Shì Shuō Xīn Yǔ* 世說新語: 儉嗇)

(9) 好 鞍 好 馬 乞 與 人

    hǎo ān hǎo mǎ qǐ yǔ rén

    good saddle good horse give give people

    'Good saddles and good horses were given to the people.' (poem from Li Bo 李白: 少年行)

The verb *qǐ* 乞 'to give' begins to be used as a causative verb in Early Modern Mandarin. For example:

(10) 乞 我 惶了推門推不開

    qǐ wǒ huáng le, tuī mén tuī bùkāi

    CAUS 1SG frighten PFV push door push NEG open

    '(It) made me so frightened (that I) could not open the door.' (*Jīn Píng Méi Cíhuà* 金瓶梅詞話)

The causative verb *jiào* 教, with its source in a lexical verb meaning 'to instruct', is attested as a new causative verb from the end of Pre-Medieval: some examples can be found in *Lún Héng* (輪衡) by Wang Chong 王充 (2nd century AD). It was followed by *jiāo* 交 'to exchange', beginning around the 6th century, and later by *jiào* 叫 in the Modern period whose original meaning was 'to call' (see Ohta 1991, Chang 2005).[4] Examples are:

(11) 又 教 弟 坐

    yòu jiào dì zuò

    in:addition CAUS brother sit

    '(And) furthermore, (he) let his brother sit.' (*Zǔ Táng Jí* 祖堂集)

---

[4] Chang Li-li (2005) hypothesizes three general tendencies for the causativization of the verbs *shǐ* 使, *jiào* 教 (叫) and *ràng* 讓: from indirect imperatives to causatives, from intentional causatives to non-intentional causatives, and from general causatives to descriptive causatives. These tendencies are motivated by only one mechanism: generalization (of the verb meaning, of the subject type; of the reference of the object).

(12) 莫教人笑汝　　　　　　(*Hán Shān Shī* 寒山詩 803.2.18)
    mò jiào rén xiào rǔ
    NEG CAUS people laugh 2SG
    'Don't let people mock you!'

(13) 叫妹妹出來拜辭哥哥　　　(*Yǒnglè Dà Diàn* 永樂大典西文: 張協狀元)
    jiào mèimèi chū lái bài cí gēgē
    CAUS Miss exit come say farewell Mister
    'Tell Mademoiselle to go out and say farewell to the gentleman;'

(14) 教你別娶妻　　(poem from Wáng Fàn Zhì 王梵志詩)
    jiào nǐ bié qǔ qī
    CAUS 2SG NEG marry wife
    '(I) exhort you not to get married.'

Other causative verbs are found in Late Medieval and Modern Chinese (7th – 18th centuries), whose sources include: *yǔ* 與'to give', *yào* 要 'to want', *fàng* 放 'to place' and *zháo/zhuó* 著(着) 'to place, to use' (Sun 2005).[5] In an early textbook of Mandarin, written for Koreans and known as the *Lǎo Qǐ Dà* 老乞大 (14th century), 51% of the verbal *zhuó* are causatives with the meaning of 'to ask', 'to tell somebody to do something', as in the following example:

(15) 我著孩子們 做與你吃

    wǒ zhuó haízimen zuò yǔ nǐ chī
    1SG CAUS children do give 2SG eat
    'I'll get my children to make you something to eat.'(*Lǎo Qǐ Dà Yánjiě* 老乞大諺解)

Finally, *ràng* 讓 'to yield' and *gěi* 给 'to give' came into use as a causative verb in the period of Early Modern Mandarin.

(16) 众人讓人 他 坐 吃 茶
    zhòng rén ràng tā zuò chī chá
    people CAUS 3SG sit consume tea
    'People let him sit to drink tea.' (*Jīn Píng Méi Cíhuà* 金瓶梅词话)

Most of these causative verbs may be or have been used as passive markers as well: *yǔ* 與 is probably the first causative verb to have been used as a passive marker (Feng 2000 : 638), *qǐ* 乞, *jiào* 叫/教/交 (attested as a passive as early as the Tang, according to Jiang Lansheng 2000: 226), *gěi* 给 (18th century), *ràng* 讓 (20th century), and even *zhuó* 著 (着).[6] Some of them were also of course grammaticalized into dative markers, specifically

---

[5] On *fàng* 放 and *zháo/zhuó* 著(着), see also Zhang Meilan (n.d.).

[6] For the grammaticalization of *jiào* 教, *ràng* 讓 and *gěi* 给 into passives, see the detailed analysis of Chang Li-li (2005) who advocates the following pathway: causative> permissive > unwilling permissive > passive;

those with the meaning 'to give' *yǔ* 與, *gěi* 给and *qǐ* 乞 'to give'.

3.4   *An account of grammaticalization*

There are several ways we could choose to account for the links between dative, causative and passive where the source is a verb of giving: these involve combining the concepts of both polygrammaticalization (Craig 1991) and grammaticalization chains (Heine et al 1991: ch.8) to best explain this phenomenon. Let us begin with the simplest hypotheses and then refine these:

(i)   *Polygrammaticalization* where the different pathways emanating from a single
       source morpheme involve just a one-step process:
       V [+give]   >   dative marker (*yǔ, qǐ, gěi*)
       V [+give]   >   V [+causative] (*yǔ, qǐ , gěi, jiào, …*)
       V [+give]   >   passive marker (*yǔ, qǐ, gěi, jiào, ...*)

If this first solution were adopted, it would not account for the close semantic relationship between the causative and passive uses, discussed below, by virtue of giving them separate developmental pathways. An alternative hypothesis might be the following:

(ii)   *Grammaticalization chains evincing repeated occurrences of grammaticalization*
The different meanings (dative, causative, passive) are linked and derived, one from the other, by a process of repeated grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2005), providing two possible solutions:

(i) V [+give] > dative marker> causative verb > passive marker
(ii) V [+give] > dative marker > passive marker > causative verb

        However, the second solution does not provide us with a desirable hypothesis either for the following reasons: First, the development from dative marker to causative verb suggested in chain (i) or of dative marker to passive marker suggested in chain (ii) is not supported by data from surrounding language families (see Lord et al 2002); second, it would violate the grammaticalization principle of unidirectionality (Hopper and Traugott 1993, Peyraube 1999) in that a dative marker (most likely a preposition) is grammaticalized into a causative verb in chain (i). This would in fact represent the reverse process of de-grammaticalization or lexicalization. The same applies to the second stage in chain (ii) involving the derivation from a passive marker to a causative verb, since the passive marker functions like a preposition, and is thus more grammaticalized than the causative verb.

See also Jiang (2003), Hong & Zhao (forthcoming) and Feng (2000/ 610) who thinks that the passive *zhuó* 著 (着）also arises from the causative use. However, it could also have its origin in a verb *zháo/zhuó* meaning 'to be affected', 'to suffer', given that there exist dialects with a *zháo/zhuó* passive but without the causative usage. See below, §3.4.

(iii)   *Our hypothesis*

We thus propose that there are at least two different pathways of grammaticalization for *give* verbs, and that we have a case of polygrammaticalization comprising several steps for each pathway (that is, grammaticalizaton chains, as per Craig 1991):

V [+give] > dative marker
V [+give] > causative > passive marker

This hypothesis appears to conform to the data at hand which show that the causative use appeared before the passive one (Jiang 2002). Furthermore, the syntactic configuration for the datives is different from that for the passive and causative constructions: the dative markers always follow the main verb whereas the causative and passive exponents precede it (see details in §4). This is reinforced by a third fact that causative verbs from sources other than verbs of giving, similarly develop into passive markers (but not into dative prepositions). This applies, for example, to *jiào* 叫 'to call' (or *jiào* 教 'to teach') and *ràng* 讓 'to yield') used as passive markers in contemporary Mandarin.[7]

This is not crosslinguistically unusual since strong links are attested between verbs of giving, the source of dative markers and causative verbs in many languages.[8] What is interesting to observe about most of the causative verbs used in different periods of Chinese that we have mentioned above is that they also developed into passive markers: this includes verbs from a variety of sources such as *yǔ* 與, *qǐ* 乞 (*chī* 吃) 'to give', *jiào* 叫 'to call', 'to tell' (or *jiào* 教 'to teach', 'to instruct'), *ràng* 讓 'to yield', and even *zhuó* 著 (着), according to Wu (1996). Only *shǐ* 使 'to send', 'to use' and *lìng* 令 'to command', attested as causatives as early as Archaic Chinese (Wei 2000), did not develop a passive use, though they continue to function as causative verbs in contemporary Mandarin, and other dialect groups, not to mention in Early Southern Min (see Chappell 2000, Lien 1999, 2003).[9] Wu hypothesizes that the passive use of *zhuó* 著(着) comes from one of its fully lexical verb meanings of 'to suffer'. However, we prefer the hypothesis of Feng (2000) deriving the passive use from the causative and agree with the Sun's conjecture (2005) stating that the causative use of *zhuó* 著(着) comes from its verbal use of 'to send', 'to use'; this arose in its turn from a metaphorical extension from an earlier meaning 'to place'.

In many contemporary Sinitic languages, verbs of giving are the main source for not only datives and causatives but also for passives (Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 131) and for object markers (Chappell 2006), as is the case for Southern Min, for example, the Shanghai and Suzhou dialects of Wu, Southwestern Mandarin dialects, standard Hong Kong Cantonese, Meixian Hakka and Taiwanese Southern Min. In contrast to this, Standard Chinese, or Mandarin, generally makes use of a different set of sources from other Sinitic languages, namely, the causative verbs *ràng* 讓 'to yield' and *jiào* 叫 'to call', 'to tell'

---

[7] Verbs of giving also develop into benefactive markers, as in standard Mandarin, and purposive conjunctions with the meaning of 'so that', among other functions (Newman 1996).

[8] See Matisoff (1991) on the sinospheric zone of Southeast and East Asia; also Newman (1996), Heine and Kuteva (2002) and Lord et al (2002), specifically on verbs of giving. A detailed study of the evolution of dative constructions in Chinese, from verbs of giving, is found in Peyraube (1988).

[9] Note in this connection that *lìng* 令 'to command' is literary in contemporary usage.

which have developed into passive exponents. The verb *gěi* 給 'to give' is mainly used as a marker of the dative, benefactive and purposive. This led Hashimoto (1976) to make his famous proposal that the difference in source morphemes could serve as one of the features dividing Northern and Southern Sinitic languages.

From a typological point of view, what is atypical then is the development of verbs of giving into passive markers. It is not attested crosslinguistically, for example, in Heine and Kuteva (2002), nor in Bisang (1992) for the Southeast Asian grammaticalization area. Nonehteless, shared passive and causative morphology is certainly not uncommon in the surrounding language areas, including Altaic and Japanese, but the source of the exponents is not a verb of giving (see the relevant articles in Comrie and Polinsky 1993).

In an earlier version of this paper (Chappell and Peyraube 2001), we hypothesized that the development of verbs of giving into passive markers could constitute what is possibly a unique pathway for Sinitic, reinforced by evidence from earlier stages of Chinese, showing that *qǐ* 乞 (*khit*[4] in Southern Min) 'to give' is not only used in Early Mandarin as a passive marker but also in Early Southern Min by the time of the 16th century. We were of the view that verbs of giving develop into causative verbs in many Southeast Asian languages but do not appear to progress past this stage, as in Thai, Khmer and Yao (Hmong-Mien). Verbs belonging to other semantic fields often turn out to be the source of passive exponents in these languages, such as the verb 'to suffer' in Vietnamese (Clark 1974).

However, in the light of recent indicative research by Zhang Min (2000), we have revised this view and instead conjecture that verbs of giving which develop into passive markers might not be a unique characteristic of Sinitic languages after all, as earlier claimed (Chappell and Peyraube 2006), but rather a characteristic shared with certain languages in East and Southeast Asia from different language families or even from related groups, for example, possibly Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman languages, but not Austronesian.

Thus, after further in-depth research has been carried out, this may prove to be a clear example of a grammatical feature defining a linguistic area, in combination with other grammatical features, similar to the one proposed by Comrie (1989) for the Balkans zone where genetically different languages like Rumanian, Albanian, Bulgarian and Modern Greek form a *Sprachbund* or 'confederation of languages', or similar to the example of the Içana-Vaupés basin in North-East Amazonia, where genetically different languages including Arawak, Tucano-East and Maku also share syntactic features unknown elsewhere in the families they belong to (Aikhenvald 1999).

What is most important to notice is that all the passive markers that have their source in verbs of giving in the investigated languages are not directly derived from these verbs of giving, but come from causative verbs, derived themselves from verbs of giving (see also Jiang Shaoyu 2002, 2003; Hong and Zhao forthcoming):

V [+ give] > V [+ causative] > passive marker

As it is completely atypical to find this development from a verb of giving directly into a passive marker, but quite common to find the passives directly grammaticalized from causatives, we could have here an implicational universal:

If a language has a passive marker whose origin is a verb of giving, then it necessarily has a causative verb realised by the same form and having its source in a verb of giving.

[GIVE > PASSIVE MARKER] ➜ [GIVE > CAUSATIVE][10]

Let us now turn to an examination of the data on causative constructions in Southern Min.

4.   CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN EARLY SOUTHERN MIN

In this main section, presenting the syntactic and semantic analysis of causative verbs in Early Southern Min, three verbs are examined: These are

(i)   *khit⁴* 乞 'to give', 'to beg' whose counterpart is *qǐ* in standard Mandarin and whose historical development was briefly described in §3.3 above. *Qǐ* has lost both causative and passive functions in contemporary Mandarin but retains them in many Min dialects (Chappell 2000).

(ii)   *su² 使* 'to cause', 'to send' whose counterpart in standard Mandarin is *shǐ* and whose historical development was also outlined in §3.3 above. *Shǐ* is still used particularly in written registers of Mandarin as a causative verb but not in Taiwanese Southern Min (Lien 1999).

(iii)   *su³* 賜 'to bestow', 'to grant' whose counterpart in standard Mandarin is *cì*. The use of *cì* has a very classical flavour. Moreover, it only exists as a bound morpheme in contemporary Mandarin, for example, in *cìgěi* 賜給'to bestow (a gift) upon someone'. It is not the common causative verb in either contemporary Taiwanese Southern Min or the Xiamen dialect where *hōu* 與 is used, nor in other Min dialects where *qǐ*乞 and its cognates prevail.

In the analysis below, we rely mainly – but not exclusively – on two documents: the *Doctrina Christiana* and the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔 鏡 記 [Romance of the Lychee Mirror], simply because these contain the largest quantity of extended texts, either prose or dialogue in form, from which to draw examples.

4.1   *khit⁴* 乞 'to give', 'to beg'

4.1.1. The verb *khit⁴* 乞 'to give', 'to beg'
In the *Doctrina Christiana* (DC), there are 22 examples of the morpheme *khit⁴* 乞(kir) in various functions, in addition to 9 examples where it is the V_2 of a complex verb (the latter are discussed separately in §4.3). In the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔 鏡 記 [Romance of the Litchi Mirror] (1566, 1581), there are more than 223 instances of this verb. We make use, however, of a sample of 80, part of a database established and analysed by Lien (2002).[11]

    In the *Doctrina Christiana*, passive, causative and two kinds of dative constructions are all formed with this exponent *khit⁴* 乞 *(kir)*. As a verb, it has been reconstructed with

---

[10] The two authors of this article and Zhang Min are undertaking further new research on the possibility of an implicational universal.

[11] We thank Prof. Chinfa Lien for making these data available to us from the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔 鏡 記 [Romance of the Litchi Mirror].

two pronunciations and two meanings in Archaic Chinese 'ask, beg' and 'give', with the meaning of 'ask' being the earlier one (see Mei 1980 regarding different tonal categories). The structures are described in more detail below. In the *Arte*, which uses the romanization *kit* or *kir*, only the passive and dative uses are discussed, whereas van der Loon mentions both the verbal meanings of 'to give' and 'to ask'and the causative meanings of 'to enable' and 'to let (somebody do something)' in Appendix I (1967: 140). The use of *khit⁴* 乞 *(kir)* as a *give* verb is indeed so described in the *Bocabulario* (ca 1617: 215, British Library manuscript), while its use in general can be traced back to the Han and Wei dynasties (Zhang 1989). The following table summarizes the constructions formed by this verb.

Table 1: Constructions formed by *khit⁴* 乞*(kir)*

	Structural formula	DC	LJJ	TOTAL
1. Lexical verb 'to beg' or 'to give'	Verb – Direct Object	3	7	10
2(i): Dative construction with 'to/for' following V₁	Verb – *khit4* – I.O. – D.O.	5		
2(ii): Dative construction, with 'to/for' separated from V₁ by the I.O.	Verb – D.O. – *khit4* – I.O.	6	18	29
3(i): Causative verb 'to let': V₁ in a pivotal construction	*khit4* – NP$_{CAUSEE}$ – VP	3	29	32
3(ii): Purposive conjunction 'so that'	Clause₁ – *khit4*$_{SO THAT}$ – Clause₂	2	12	14
4. Passive exponent	NP$_{PATIENT}$ – *khit4* NP$_{AGENT}$ – VP	3	14	17
TOTAL		**22**	**80**	**102**

It is clear from Table 1 that the largest proportion of examples show the causative usage *khit⁴*乞*(kir)* with 46/102. The dative function has the second highest frequency with 29/102, then passives rank third with 17/102. In contrast to these three grammaticalized functions, there are only ten tokens of *khit⁴* 乞*(kir)* as a lexical verb in the two documents (10/102). This indicates that *khit⁴* 乞*(kir)* had already reached an advanced stage in its grammaticalization pathways by the 16th century. Interestingly, the three examples of lexical verbs found in the *Doctrina Christiana* all precede the same verb *sia* 赦 'to forgive' and have the meaning of 'ask for' (see also Yue-Hashimoto 1999), as shown in the next example:[12]

---

[12] Note also that the romanization for this verb in the *Doctrina Christiana* is *kiet* and not *kir* (or *kit*), perhaps a reflection of its lexical use. For the two other examples, one lacks the romanization while the other uses the more typical romanization of *kir*.

Verb$_1$ + Verb$_2$

(17) 乞　　赦　　　人　　　罪
    kiet sia　　　–　　　–
    beg forgive　people　sin　　　[DC 19a, p. 170]
    '(Jesus then prayed to God, the Father) and begged forgiveness for people sins.'[13]

This lexical specialization to the earlier meaning of *khit⁴* 乞 *(kir)* is reinforced by the fact that the two main lexical verbs of giving found in the *Arte*, the *Bocabulario* and the *Doctrina Christiana*, all from the same period, are *tho³* 度 and *u⁵* 與, and not *khit⁴*.

(18) 汝　　有　　錢　　　一　　個　　度　　我
    lù　　ù　　chīn　　*chèg guè tôu guà*
    2SG have money　　one CLF give me
    'If you have money, give me a dollar (coin).'　　(*Si tienes dinero un toston me da*.)
    [*Arte* 1620: 12]

4.1.2. *The use of* khit⁴ 乞 *in dative constructions*

The *Arte* explains (1620: 3a) that only the genitive, dative and ablative cases use particles to mark these functions in the dialect of Southern Min described, while other cases such as the nominative, accusative and vocative are not declined but rely purely on position. Specifically, the genitive uses the postpositioned particle *gùe* (個), while the dative uses *kît* (乞 *khit⁴*) preposed before the noun it governs, and the ablative, one of the three particles *cang*, *cab*, or *tāng* (共, 甲 , 同).[14] However, only examples with pronouns and *lâng* 人 'person' are presented in the chapter on case in the *Arte*.

    In the *Doctrina Christiana*, as mentioned above, there are 11 examples of dative constructions formed with *khit⁴* 乞 *(kir)* where it functions like a dative marker introducing the indirect object, regardless of construction type. In 5 of these, it immediately follows the verb, typically *su³* 賜, leading to classification as construction type 2(i): Verb – *khit4* – I.O. – D.O.[15] The remaining six examples belong to construction type (2ii): Verb – D.O. – *khit4* – I.O where the direct object precedes *khit⁴* which in turn serves as a preposition

---

[13] All our numbered examples from the *Doctrina Christiana* refer to the reproduction given in Appendix II of van der Loon's 1967 article on this topic. The characters and romanization follow the first two lines in the text provided by van der Loon, while we have added in the interlinear glossing and translation into English. Note that even though the Dominicans devised a fully phonemic and tonal transliteration for Southern Min, in the two romanized versions of the *Doctrina Christiana* found in the British Library manuscript; aspiration, tone marks and nasalization have in the main been omitted. For some characters, the romanization is missing altogether, indicated by '--'.

[14] The Chinese characters given in the parentheses refer to those used in the Arte and do not necessarily reflect the true etymological source.

[15] Note that for four of the dative constructions of type 2(i) where *khit⁴* 乞*(kir)* immediately follows the verb, it combines in this V$_2$ position with *su³* 賜 as V$_1$ to form a complex verb *su³- khit⁴* 賜 乞 *(su kir)*, not to mention one further example with *pang- khit⁴* 放 乞 *(pang-kir)*. We discuss complex verbs in further detail in §4.3.1 on *su³* 賜 'to bestow', 'to grant' in conjunction with a further five complex causative verbs, similarly based on *su³- khit⁴* 賜 乞.

introducing the indirect object.[16] One example of each of the two subtypes of the dative constructions with *khit⁴* is given below.

NOUN~subject~ – VERB – *kir* – NOUN~indirect object~ –NOUN~object~

(19) 總　　　名　沙膠覽民廚。　賜　　　乞　人　　　呀勝 舍。
chong　mia Sacalamento　su　　kir　lang　　Galaçia.
full　　　name sacraments　bestow　give people　grace
'The full name is the Sacraments which bestow grace upon us.'

NOUN~subject~ – VERB –NOUN~object~ – *kir* – NOUN~indirect object~

(20) 做　一　件　好　事　乞　　　伊
cho　cheg kia　ho　su　kir　　　y
do　one　CLF　good deed give~DAT~　3SG
'do a good deed for them' [DC p.162]

This represents just one pathway in the grammaticalization of *khit⁴* 乞, where *khit⁴* 乞 is in the V₂ position of an original serial verb construction. Eighteen examples of these two kinds of dative constructions are also found in the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔 鏡 記 [Romance of the Litchi Mirror], for which we present one such example below.

(21) 你　　挨　　落　　荔枝　　　乞　阮　　為　　記
li²　tan³　loh⁸　nai⁷-chi¹　khit4⁴　gun²　ui⁵　ki³
2SG　throw　down　litchi:branch　give~DAT~ 1PL　for　sign
'Throw down the litchi branch to me as a token of your love.'(LJJ Act 26, line 235)

Hence, it appears that the dative use of *khit⁴* 乞 is well-established by the 16th century for Southern Min. Its lexical use as a verb 'to ask' or 'to beg' is clearly infrequent while the

---

[16] A comparison can be made here with an earlier stage of Chinese, namely Medieval Chinese: From Late Medieval Chinese (7th – 13th c.) up until the end of the Modern Chinese period (18th c.), the following word orders were available for datives, according to Peyraube (1986, 1988, 1996):
 (i)　Verb　+　　　　Indirect Object　　+　　　　Direct Object
(ii)　Verb　+　　　[Prep *yǔ* 與 + Indirect Object]　+　　　Direct Object
(iii)　Verb　+　　　　Direct Object +　　[Prep *yǔ* 與 + Indirect Object]
(iv)　[Prep *yǔ* 與 + Indirect Object]　+　　Verb　+　　Direct Object
The source of the structures in (ii) and (iii) – where the indirect object (or recipient) is marked by *yǔ* 與 – is a serial verb construction V₁ + V₂ + IO + DO which emerged during the Han period, around the first century AD. Its special semantic features were: V₁ = verb of giving specifying manner and V₂ = one of three general verbs of giving including *yǔ* 與, *yú* 予 and *wéi* 遺. The V₂ + IO in this construction became postposed after the DO to create the structure in (iii) by analogy with other existing serial verb constructions during this same period while the V₂, lexically restricted to *yǔ* 與 by the early Tang dynasty, had grammaticalized into a preposition introducing the IO by the 9th century. In contemporary Mandarin, *yǔ* 與 was eventually replaced by *gěi* 給 'to give'. Most pertinent for this study is the fact that *khit⁴* is the preposition used for the postverbal dative constructions shown in (ii) and (iii) (see Chappell, 2000). Thus, when *khit⁴* is used in preverbal position, in a structure like (iv), it acts as either a causative verb or a passive marker. For these two uses, see sections 4.1.3 and 4.1.4.

meaning of 'to give' is in fact not greatly attested in the database, a problem we tackle in the final section.

4.1.3. *Causative usages of khit⁴ 乞*

The two main causative usages of *khit⁴ 乞* comprise 46/102 examples in our 16th century sample of texts. We have collapsed the causative verb usage (32/102) with the causative complementizer usage (14/102) for semantic reasons even though they belong to different construction types.

4.1.3.1. *Causative verb :* NP$_{CAUSER}$ *KHIT4* – NP$_{CAUSEE}$ – VP

The distinguishing syntactic feature of this construction is that *khit⁴ 乞* is found in the original V$_1$ slot of the clause, the site for its grammaticalization into a causative verb along the second pathway of its development, outlined in §3.4 above. In this position, it never grammaticalizes into a dative or benefactive marker 'to' or 'for'. Dative/benefactive markers based on *give* verbs typically develop this function only in the postverbal position in Min dialects, that is, from an original V$_2$ (see Chappell 2000).

There are just three causative verb uses of *khit⁴ 乞* in the *Doctrina Christiana* as compared with 29 from the sample of the *Lì Jìng Jì 荔鏡記*. All express that the causative agent let, allowed or enabled the situation to happen, similar to the use of *hou⁷ 與* in contemporary Taiwanese or *ràng 讓* in standard Mandarin. This meaning is evident in the next example from the *Doctrina Christiana* and can be compared with its translated Mandarin counterpart. Causative constructions formed with *khit⁴ 乞* thus belong to the permissive type (see Shibatani 1976; Talmy 1976; Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002).

NP$_{CAUSER}$ *khit4* – NP$_{CAUSEE}$ – VP

(22) Early Modern Southern Min :

先	七	件	–	–	識	僚	氏 根 因 。
seng	*chit*	*kia*	*kir*	*lang*	*bar*	*Diosi*	*kinyn*
first	seven:CLF	give$_{CAUS}$		person	know	God	origin

'The first seven items enable people to know that God is the origin.' [DC p.148]

(23) Translation into Mandarin:

前	七	件	事	是	讓	人 們	知 道	神
qián	*qījiàn*		*shì*	*shì*	*ràng*	*rénmen*	*zhīdao*	*shén*
first	seven:CLF		matter	be	yield$_{CAUS}$	person	know	God

是	萬 物	之	源.
shì	*wànwù*	*zhī*	*yuán*
be	all:things	GEN	origin

'The first seven items enable people to know that God is the origin.'

15

An example from the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔鏡記 follows:

(24) 乞　　　伊　磨
　　　Khit⁴　　*i¹*　*boa⁵*
　　　give_CAUS　3sg　rub
　　　'Let him polish (the mirror).' [*LJJ* Act 19, line 061]

In causative function, *khit⁴* 乞 co-occurs with both transitive and intransitive V₂, but also with semantically stative verbs, such as *bat⁴* 識 (*bar*) 'to know' in (18) above. Some of the transitive and intransitive V₂ are：去 *khi³* 'to go', 行 *kiaⁿ⁵* 'to walk', 返 *huan²* 'to return', 過 *kue³* 'to cross', 睏 *k'un³* 'to sleep', 坐 *tse⁷* 'to sit', 說 *seh⁴* 'to speak' 'to explain', 買 *be²* 'to buy'. There are numerous examples where it co-occurs in negative imperatives such as in the two examples which follow:

(25) 第　三　件。人　做　不　著。我　可　怜
　　　tei　*sa*　*kia*　*lang*　*cho*　*m*　*tio*　*gua*　*co*　*leng*
　　　ORD　three　CLF　people　do　NEG　right　1SG　take:pity

　　　教　訓　伊。莫　乞　　　伊　再　做。
　　　cau　*hun*　*y*　*bo*　*kir*　　*y*　*chay*　*cho*
　　　chide　　3SG　NEG　give_CAUS　3SG　again　do

　　　'The third item: People do wrong things. I take pity on them and chide them. I do not let them do it again.' [DC p. 155]

(26) 旦：　　不　通　乞　　　啞　公　　啞　媽　　　知
　　　m⁷－thang¹　*khit4⁴*　*A¹-kong¹*　　*A¹-ma²*　　*chai¹*
　　　NEG_IMP　　give_CAUS　grandfather　　grandmother　　know
　　　Heroine: 'You mustn't let grandad and grandma know.'　[LJJ Act 15, line 20]

The semantic transition to a passive interpretation can be clearly seen in an alternative English translation of 'You mustn't let it be known by grandad and grandma'. However, the number of examples is too small to claim that the construction favours stative verbs as V₂ in its declarative form. The passive use of *khit⁴* 乞 is the subject of §4.1.4.

4.1.3.2. *Causative complementizer*
The remaining 14 uses of *khit⁴* 乞 connect clauses and thus, two events or situations: Clause₁ – *khit⁴* 乞 – Clause₂ where EVENT₁ enables EVENT₂ to take place. This is similar to the category of purposive causatives described in Song (1996) where there is no causative entailment, that is, where the causative implicature is defeasible (see also our definition of causativity in terms of a counterfactual inference in §1). We reproduce two examples here from the *Doctrina Christiana* with *sin* 信 'to believe' and *siu* 受 'to receive', both semantically stative verbs and an example from the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔鏡記. The causative sense of enablement is clearly expressed and permits translation into English by means of

the causative complementizer 'so that, in order that', if not by the verb 'enable' itself.

(27) 你   共   僚   氏   求   人   情。
      lu   cang Diosi   kiu   xin cheng
      2SG ABL God   ask:for   mercy

      乞   阮   受   西   士   奇   尼   實   道
      kir   guan siu   Jesu   Kiristo
      give_{COMP} 1PL receive   Jesus   Christ

      所   願   箇   福。
      sou   guan ge   hoc
      that:which wish LIG blessing

'You asked for mercy from God so that we could receive the blessing that Jesus Christ wished us to have.'   (OR: to enable us to receive the blessing) [DC p.147]

(28) 第   二   件。 公丕馬常。   是   巴禮
      tei   xi   kia Conpirmacion   si   Pare
      ORD two CL   Confirmation   be   priest

      王   共   人   打   十   字   號。抹   山   廚   油
      ong cang lang pa   chap xi   ho   bua   Santo   yu
      king BEN people make ten word mark rub   Holy   Oil

      乞   人   專   心   信   僚氏   道   理。
      kir   lang chuan sim   sin Diosi   to   li
      give_{COMP} people wholehearted believe God   doctrine

'The second: Confirmation is when the bishop does the sign of the cross for people and anoints them with the Holy Oil so that (to enable) people believe singlemindedly in God's truth.' [DC p.153]

There is a similar use of *hou⁷* in Taiwanese Southern Min. Consider the following example of a *hou⁷* causative:

Taiwanese Southern Min:
(29) 我   有   企 起 來   與   彼   的   人   過
      goa²   u⁷   khia³–khi²–lai⁵   hou⁷   hia¹ e⁵   lang⁵   koe³
      1SG   have stand–DIR   CAUS   those CLF person   pass
      'I stood up in order to let those people pass.'   [Cheng 1991/1997: 222]

The causee in (29) *hia¹e⁵ lang⁵* 'those people' is an agent of the motion verb *koe³* 'to pass' and the patient of the causative verb *hou⁷* which can be understood in the enabling sense of 'to allow for, to let, so that'.

17

4.1.4 *Passive use of khit⁴ 乞*

NP$_{\text{PATIENT}}$ − *KHIT4* − NP$_{\text{AGENT}}$ − VP

There are 14 passive sentences in the sample from the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔鏡記 with *khit⁴* 乞 as a marker of the agent in the passive; and three such uses in the *Doctrina Christiana*. All of the latter three instances refer to the same event of the crucifixion and show *khit⁴* 乞 in the preverbal position, one of which is reproduced here.

NP$_{\text{patient}}$ − *khit⁴* − NP$_{\text{agent}}$ − VP

(30)
乞	本事	卑劳厨	。枉	法	钉死	在	居律 上
kir	*Punsu*	*Pilato*	*ong*	*huar*	*teng-si*	*tu*	*Culut chîõ*
PASS	Pontius	Pilate	unjust	law	nail-die	at	cross on

'Crucified by the unjust law of Pontius Pilate.' [DC, p.146]

Similarly, we provide one example from the *Lì Jìng Jì*:

(31)
乞	五娘	打
khit⁴	*goo⁷-niu⁵*	*phah⁴*
PASS	(name)	beat

'Be beaten by Lady Wu-Niang.' ' [LJJ Act 14, line 181, data from Lien 2002]
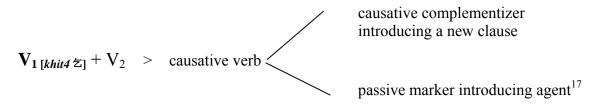
We have claimed above in §3.4 that the passive use is a further step in grammaticalization from the causative use. Indeed, semantically a close relationship can be observed between the permissive causative meaning of 'let an event happen', for example, by giving permission or even by not preventing it, and the passive meaning of undergoing an event, typically one that could not be avoided (Chappell 1984).

To conclude this analysis of the uses of *khit⁴* 乞 in the *Doctrina Christiana*, we have shown that *khit⁴* 乞 has three main grammaticalized uses as a dative preposition, a causative verb or complementizer and as a passive marker, introducing the agent. This involves two different serial verb constructions formed with *khit⁴* 乞, where *khit⁴* 乞 can either be in V$_1$ or V$_2$ position and, hence, two pathways of grammaticalization:

Pathway 1 for *khit⁴* 乞 'give':

$V_1 + V_{2[khit4 \text{乞}]} >$ dative marker introducing indirect object or recipient

(ii)   Pathway 2 for *khit⁴* 乞 'give':

$V_{1 [khit4 \text{乞}]} + V_2 >$ causative verb ⟨ causative complementizer introducing a new clause

passive marker introducing agent[17]

The appearance of *qǐ* 乞 in its use as a causative verb and as a dative marker can be traced back to the transition between the Late Medieval period and Early Modern Chinese (see Jiang 1989 and Zhang (1989) and relevant examples in §3 above). While these functions have become obsolete in standard Mandarin, it is interesting to find that they are, by way of contrast, preserved in many Min dialects, including Quanzhou, Fuzhou, Chaoyang, Shantou and Suixi (Chappell 2000). Our corpus of historical documents confirms that these uses were already in existence for Early Modern Southern Min by the time of the 16th century, which can be seen as an inheritor of the Medieval Chinese usage.

The next section examines the use of the verb *su²* 使 'to grant' in the function of causative verb.

4.2.   *su²* 使 'to cause', 'to send' $NP_{CAUSER} - su^2 \text{使} - NP_{CAUSEE} - VP$

The causative verb *su²* 使 has two pronunciations in modern Southern Min, which are *su²* (literary) and *sai²* (colloquial). There are eleven examples of this verb in the *Doctrina Christiana* and all are given the reading pronunciation of *su*, as consistently indicated by the romanization, (noting that the tonal value has been omitted). According to Lien (2003), *sai² / su²* is frequently found in causative usage in the *Lì Jīng Jì*, though it is no longer a productive causative type in contemporary Taiwanese Southern Min.
        Structurally, *su²* 使 causatives are pivot constructions in which the causee NP is both the direct object of the preceding *su²* 使 and subject of the following V₂. In terms of function, the construction codes an intentional kind of causative when combined with transitive and intransitive verbs. However, when it combines with stative verbs, *su²* 使 forms non-intentional experiencer causatives, that is, where the causer has not intended to bring about a certain result, as shown by examples (29) and (30). In contrast to this, *su³* 賜

---

[17] The derivation proposed by Chang (2006) of *causative > permissive > unwilling permissive > passive* does not seem to hold here for *khit⁴* 乞. The passive could have directly evolved from the permissive stage without any intervening 'unwilling permissive' stage (see our semantic description above of the passive/causative relationship).

'to grant' and *khit⁴* 乞 'to give' form only intentional causative constructions. An example of each kind of *su²* 使 causative is next given:

(32) Intentional *su²* 使 causative: NP$_{CAUSER}$ – *su²* 使 – NP$_{CAUSEE}$ – VP

與	之	竹	杖。	執	他	手。	使	自	打	他
u	*chi*	*tec*	*tiang*	*chip*	*ta*	*siu*	*su*	*ta*	*chu*	*t'a*
give	3SG	bamboo-staff		hold	3SG	hand	CAUS	self	strike	3SG

'(They) gave him a bamboo staff and holding his hand, made him beat himself.'
[DC p. 172]

Example (27) also shows that the causer can be a mere mortal. In other words, a highly revered person as the causer is not a semantic requirement of this construction, unlike *su³* 賜 'to grant' as will be shown in §4.4. The same causative verb *su²* 使 is also found in the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔 鏡 記 (Lien 2003), who describes it as a productive causative verb in this period. Here is one example with the verb *soeh⁴* 'to say' from this Ming dynasty play.

(33) Intentional *su²* 使 causative: NP$_{CAUSER}$ – *su²* 使 – NP$_{CAUSEE}$ – VP$_{ACTION}$

阮	昨	暮	日	使	益	春	來	共	你	說
gun²	*cha⁷*	*bo⁷*	*jit⁸*	*sai²*	*Iek⁴*	*Chhun¹*	*lai⁵*	*kang⁷*	*li²*	*soeh⁴*
1PL	yesterday			CAUS	(name)		come	to	2SG	say

'I had Iek-Chun (the maid) tell you yesterday.'   [LJJ Act 14. line 08, (Lien 2003:8)]

(34) Experiencer *su²* 使 causative: NP$_{CAUSER}$ – *su²* 使 – NP$_{CAUSEE}$ – VP$_{STATIVE}$

使	之	大	家	歡	喜
su	*chi*	*tay*	*ke*	*hua*	*hi*
CAUS	3SG	everyone		rejoice	

'…and made everyone rejoice.'   [DC p.176]

(35) Experiencer *su²* 使 causative: NP$_{CAUSER}$ – *su* 使 – NP$_{CAUSEE}$ – VP$_{STATIVE}$

汝	何	故	使	我	與	汝	父	受
(*no romanization*)								
2SG	what:reason		CAUS	1SG	with	2SG	father	receive

此	等	煩	惱。
(*no romanization*)			
this	kind	grief	

'Why did you cause your father and me to endure such grief?'   [DC p.168]

The main predicate verbs (V₂) in the *su²* 使 causative construction include modal verbs such as 'to be able'; intransitive verbs such as 'to return', 'to arrive' and 'to come'; stative verbs such as 'to be glad', 'to endure grief'; and dynamic active verbs such as 'to hit' and 'to carry (on back)'.There are 11 in total in the *Doctrina Christiana*.

Table 2: Verbs occurring in the *su²* 使 causative

Transitive (2)	Intransitive (4)	Modal (2)	Stative (3)
hu 負 'to carry (on back)' *ta* 打 'to hit'	*chi* 至 'to arrive' *lai* 來 'to come' *seng* 升 'to ascend' *hue lai* 回來'to return'	*leng* 能 (x 2) 'to be able'	－ － －受 煩 惱 'to endure grief' *hua hi* 歡 喜 (x 2) 'to be glad'

Furthermore, two negative imperative forms are found in this text: Combined with the negative imperative marker, *bók* 莫, it is interesting to find that *su²* 使 takes on the semantically unpredictable meaning of an unwilling permissive 'don't let':

(36) *su²* 使 causative in negative imperative form:
bók 莫 – *su²* 使 – NP_CAUSEE – VP_STATIVE
莫　　使　　　　惡　鬼　　來　　迷　　　　我
boc　su　　　kiap cui　lay　bey　　　gua
NEG　CAUS bad　ghost come deceive　　1SG
'Don't let the devil come to tempt me.'　[DC p.171]

This could be profitably compared with the example containing *mò jiào* 莫教 from the Medieval Chinese period in §3. One final example of *su²* 使 could be interpreted with the lexical meaning of this verb as 'to send':

(37) Lexical verb *su²* 使
使　　我　　死　　後。升　　　　天　　　見　　他　　面。
su　　gua　si　　au　seng　　tian　　　ki　　ta　　bin
CAUS 1SG　die　after ascend　　heaven　　see　3SG　face
'After I die, send me up to Heaven to see his face.'　OR:　　'make me ascend to Heaven.' [DC p.169]

Nonetheless, this example is more likely to be interpreted causatively as 'to make' or 'to cause me to go up to Heaven'. This is a 'midway' example which gives an insight into how semantic shift takes place. In the examples with *su²* 使 'to make', 'to have', 'to send', different kinds of causative agents are permitted, including ordinary mortals, as in example (35), in contrast with the *su³* 賜 'to grant' causative where only revered personnages such as Saint Mary, or God, are found in the causer NP slot. Similarly, however, for the intentional subtype of this causative construction, the causation has to be carried out by an agent in a more powerful position than the causee. This is, semantically speaking, one of the features in the prototype for a directive causative (Shibatani 1976, Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002; Chappell 1984): the causee has to do what the causer wants him/her to do.

In conclusion to this section, we suggest that there is one single grammaticalization pathway for *su²*/ *sai²* 使, out of which it forms two causative construction subtypes:

Lexical verb su^2 使 'to send' > causative verb 'make'

        a.   intentional causative where V_2 = transitive or intransitive action verb

        b.   experiencer causative where V_2 = stative verb or adjective

Interestingly, it did not develop a passive or dative function in Southern Min or in Mandarin. This can be attributed to its predilection for stative verbs to which it is restricted in contemporary Mandarin. The possibility of co-occurrence with the non-dynamic predicate type can be traced back to the period for Archaic Chinese. An example with 使 *shǐ* 'to send', 'to cause' from a 2nd century BCE text follows, representing the end of the Classical period (cited in Wei Pei-chuan 2000: 837):

(38) 弱 者   使   之   強，   短 者   使   長，   貧 者   使
ruò-zhě   *shǐ* *zhī* *qiáng,*   *duǎn-zhě* *shǐ* *cháng*   *pín-zhě* *shǐ*
weak:NOM cause 3SG strong   short:NOM cause long   poor:NOM cause
多   量（糧）
duō *liáng*
many grain
'Make the weak strong, the short long and the poor to have enough grain.'
(*Mǎ Wáng Duī*, Han Tombs 馬 王 堆 漢 墓 面 錦 書)

Su^2/sai^2 使 is thus a continuation of an Archaic Chinese analytic causative, no longer used in contemporary Taiwanese Southern Min, although it still may be found in this function in certain other Southern Min dialects. It is also used in standard Mandarin, particularly in formal registers, as an unintentional experiencer causative (Chappell 1984). As far as the historical documents are concerned, su^2/sai^2 使 is a productive form in the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔 鏡 記 (Lien 1999, 2003) and occurs in the *Doctrina Christiana* with a higher frequency than for $khit^4$ 乞: There are 11 su^2 使 causatives versus just 3 $khit^4$ 乞 causatives.

4.3. su^3 賜 'to grant', 'to bestow something upon someone'
    NP$_{CAUSER}$ – su^3 賜 – NP$_{CAUSEE}$ – VP

The verb su^3 賜 'to grant' is the most common of the causative verbs in the *Doctrina Christiana*. Of 32 examples, only 10 retain the lexical verb meaning of 'to grant' or 'to bestow' while a further 22 show a development into the basic causative meaning of 'to make' or 'to cause' in contrast to the central meaning of enablement found with the $khit^4$ 乞 causative.

Included in this group are 9 complex causative verbs with V_1 = su^3 賜 'to grant' and V_2 = either $khit^4$ 乞 'to give' (8) or u^5 與 (= Mandarin *yǔ*) 'to give' (1). The complex causative verbs, where $khit^4$ 乞 or u^5 與 serve to mark the oblique function of the following NP as a causee, are treated in the following section, §4.3.1. In this section, we concentrate on the analysis of the 23 examples where su^3 賜 is used on its own. Seventeen show causative usage and six its basic lexical meaning.

Table 3: Lexical versus causative usages of *su³* 賜 'to grant' and its complex verbs in the *Doctrina Christiana*

Lexical verb	Total	Causative verb	Total	Grand Total
Simple verb: *su³* 賜 'to grant'	6	*su³* 賜 'to make'	17	**23**
Complex verb: *su³-khit4* 賜乞(3) or *su³-u* 賜與(1) 'to grant'	4	*su³-khit4* 賜乞 'to enable'	5	**9**
Total	10		22	**32**

The verb *su³* 賜 'to grant' used alone as a causative verb appears at first to present a very unusual case of a verb of giving used in this function: First, examples of this verb in other contemporaneous texts such as the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔鏡記 are not common. Furthermore, it appears that *su³* 賜 'to grant' is very rarely used as a causative verb in Archaic or Medieval Chinese texts. Here is one example of its lexical use from the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔鏡記 with *thek³ su³* 敕賜 'to bestow something upon someone (as said of an emperor)':

(39) 敕　　賜　　劍　　　印　隨　身
　　　thek³ su³　kiam³ in³　sui⁵ sin¹
　　　bestow　sword　　seal　with　self
　　　'Take the sword and seal with me that was bestowed by the emperor.'
　　　[*Lì Jìng Jì* 荔鏡記 Act 2, line 021]

Second, as a verb of giving, the meaning of *su³* 賜 is highly semantically specific, since it refers to the act of giving by the emperor, if not a high-ranking superior, in presenting something to a person of lower rank (Carstairs Douglas dictionary 1873: 461), reflected in its nominal use as well: *un¹- su³* 恩賜 'gracious gift, as from emperor'. Yet, there is general consensus that when a process of grammaticalization begins, its source is typically an hyperonym, that is, a superordinate, a high frequency basic verb with a general meaning (Peyraube 1999). For example, SAY verbs may evolve into quotatives and eventually complementizers, whereas such a development is highly unlikely for their hyponyms *whisper* and *chatter*. Nonetheless, the source of a causative verb in a verb of giving is typical for Sinitic languages, as discussed in §3.4.

Third, we note that in light of the religious nature of the text, it is not surprising that *su³* 賜 'to grant', a special verb used for the act of giving with reference to emperors or high superiors in Chinese, would be adopted in this translation for cases where the causer is either God, the Holy Spirit or Saint Mary who is evidently accorded great reverence, particularly in the Catholic faith to which these religious texts pertain. In fact, all the causers (or bestowers) in the 32 examples exclusively refer to this set of personnages, specifically Saint Mary in 17 examples, God in 12 and the Holy Spirit in 3. Thus, this supports our claim that *su³* 賜 'to grant' would be the appropriate verb, if any, for high status causers. The subset of 23 examples with *su³* 賜 used alone further brings this into

relief: for the 6 lexical verb uses of *su³* 賜 'to grant', it is, not surprisingly, God who bestows a blessing or grace upon his subjects, while it is mainly Mary for the causative uses of *su³* 賜 'to grant' (15/17) in the context of the section in the *Doctrina Christiana* on the Mysteries of the Rosary. These 14 mysteries are recited in the form of a prayer and supplication to Mary.

In the grammar of Mandarin written by Francisco Varo and dating from the late 16th century, a similar causative usage of Mandarin *cì* 賜 'to grant' is found in one of the examples, reproduced below (for the translated English edition, see Coblin and Levy 2001: 121).

(40) 天主賜與我爱你
    *t'iēn chù çú   iù   gò   gá   n*ì
    God grant   to   1SG love 2SG
    'Grant me Lord that I may love you'.

Varo observes in fact that *çú* 賜 should be anteposed to 與 *iù* to form a verb of giving 'if the person who gives is a superior' (Coblin and Levy 2001 : 63). In connection with this point, it is interesting to note that Khmer has two verbs of giving, *ʔaoy* whose direction of transfer is from a superior down the social hierarchy to those inferior in status, and *cù:n* whose direction is upwards to those superior in status, (Bisang 1992: 395, 424)**.** It is thus not remarkable in terms of the present discussion to find that only the verb of giving to someone lower in status can be used as a causative verb (you cannot tell a higher status person to perform an action). This is the case in Khmer where only *ʔaoy* has developed a causative usage (Bisang 1992: 439), even though both *ʔaoy* and *cù:n* can be used as dative/benefactive markers. The pragmatics of usage for these verbs of giving in Khmer thus neatly explains the case of *su³* 賜 'give' in Early Modern Southern Min. It also brings to mind the complex linguistic situation intertwining the use of different verbs of giving and receiving in contemporary Japanese with the relative social status of the interlocutors.

The fourth piece of evidence is the fact that Carstairs Douglas dictionary (1873: 562) gives *su³* as the reading pronunciation for colloquial *thò* [*thou³*] 度 'to give'. Indeed, the selection of *su³* 賜 'to grant' as the character linked with this romanization makes sense in terms of the literary – colloquial or *wén–bái* distinction 文白異讀 prevalent in Min dialects, a consequence of stratification due to prolonged contact with Mandarin (see §2 above, Mei and Yang 1995). Many examples of this interesting phenomenon are discussed in Lien (2001). This stratification has led to *su³* 賜 being paradigmatically linked with *thou³* 度 'give', even though the two lexemes are not etymologically related.[18] Moreover, the associated register distinction lends further credence to the choice of *su³* 賜 'to grant' as being in conformity with the elevated written style of early Southern Min found in the *Doctrina Christiana*, and thus, appropriate for sacred texts. This more literary style is particularly in evidence in the section on the Mysteries of the Rosary where a large proportion, 17/23 of the causative examples with *su³* 賜 'to grant' are to be found, mainly with Mary appearing as the causer (15/17) (see van der Loon 1967, Yue-Hashimoto 1999 on questions of register)**.**

---

[18] We are indebted to Chinfa Lien for this enlightenment.

It appears to be the case that the development of su^3 賜 'to grant' into a causative verb has occurred via semantic shift from 'a person in a superior position granting a lower status person the conditions or capacity to do an action or enter into a new state of affairs'. This causative construction codes the sense of an empowerment of the causee, as opposed to the directive sense of ordering the causee to carry out an action (for which see §4.2 above on su^2/sai^2使 'to send', 'to cause'). This point will become clearer once the examples have been discussed in more detail below.

The lexical and grammaticalized uses of the verb su^3 賜 can be clearly differentiated on the basis of their syntax. The lexical use of su^3 賜 'to grant' occurs in the basic frame: NP$_{\text{SUBJECT}}$ – su^3 賜 – NP$_{\text{INDIRECT OBJECT}}$ – NP$_{\text{DIRECT OBJECT}}$.

(41) LEXICAL USE OF su^3 賜 'to grant', 'to bestow' :

NP$_{\text{SUBJECT}}$ – su^3 賜 – NP$_{\text{INDIRECT OBJECT}}$ – NP$_{\text{DIRECT OBJECT}}$&

賜	你	大	福
su	*lu*	*tay*	*hoc*
bestow	2SG	great	blessing

'and bestows a great blessing (on you)'   [DC p.181]

In other words, as a ditransitive lexical verb, su^3 賜 'to grant' has two postverbal noun slots, the first for the indirect object or recipient noun, and the second for the direct object or patient. This corresponds to the basic structural pattern for datives in Archaic Chinese, Medieval Chinese and for contemporary Southern Min dialects; not to mention, standard Mandarin. Another dative su^3 賜 construction exists, however, where the indirect object may occur after the direct object, provided it is preceded by a dative preposition such as $khit^4$ 乞or *u* 與 (*yǔ*).

(42) NP$_{\text{SUBJECT}}$ – su^3 賜– NP$_{\text{DIRECT OBJECT}}$ – $khit^4$ 乞 (*u* 與) – NP$_{\text{INDIRECT OBJECT}}$

僚	氏	賜	福	乞	你
Diosi		*su*	*hoc*	*kir*	*lu*
God		bestow	blessing	to	2SG

'God has bestowed a blessing upon you.'   [DC p.145]

As pointed out in Chappell (2000: 258), and observed earlier in §4.1.3.1, the preverbal position is not available for $khit^4$ 乞 as a marker of a recipient (that is, a dative or benefactive marker), since in this position it takes on the role of a causative verb (or passive marker).

In contrast to this, the causative construction has generally only one postverbal NP slot for the causee which is followed by the second verb in the predicate: NP$_{\text{CAUSER}}$ – su^3 賜 – NP$_{\text{CAUSEE}}$ – VP;

(43) NP$_{\text{CAUSER}}$ – su^3 賜 – NP$_{\text{CAUSEE}}$ – VP

你	賜	我	有	關	心	念	經
lu	*su*	*gua*	*u*	*guan*	*sim*	*liam*	*keng*
2SG	CAUS	2SG	have-care-and-exertion			recite	text

'You enable me to recite the doctrine with care and exertion.'   [DC p.171]

Causative *su³* 賜 can occur with a range of different verb types. These are listed in the following table:

Table 4: Verb types in the *su³* 賜 causative construction [Total = 17]

Transitive action	Intransitive action	Modal	Stative
liam keng 念經 'recite texts' *it-tioc* 億著 'think upon' *kiu* 求 (x2) 'implore'	*lai* 來 (x2) 'come'	*leng* 能(x 4) 'able' *ay* 要 'want'	*hua hi* 歡喜 'be glad'; *cheng kiet* 清潔 (x 2) 'be clean'; *m ay* 不要 (x2) 'not like, desire' *u Galaçia* 有呀勞舍 'to have Grace'
4	2	5	6

It is clear from this table that the intransitive and stative uses of the *su³* 賜 causative construction far outweigh its usage with transitive action verbs [13/20]. This may be due to the small number of examples and could thus be seen as a mere gap in the data. Putting it another way, Table 4 shows that *su³* 賜 does not occur with highly transitive verbs; those represented are either activity verbs or verbs of low affect (as defined in Hopper and Thompson 1980). However, it cannot be fortuitous that the stative kind of predicate is particularly well-suited to the semantic nature of the causative that *su³* 賜 forms, an intentional causative where the causer (Mary or God) wants to bring about a certain result state, usually a propitious one for the causee, an ordinary mortal. The two examples which follow show such a usage:

(44) 你　　賜　　　　我　不　要　　　只　世　　　上　假　歡　喜
　　　lu　　*su*　　　　*gua*　*m*　*ay*　　　*chi*　*si*　　　*chio*　*ke*　*hua*　*hi*
　　　2SG　bestow_CAUS　1SG　NEG　desire　　　this　world　　　on　false　joy
　　　'You enable me to no longer desire the false joys of this world.' [DC p.172]

(45) 我　今　求　　　汝。汝　賜　　　　我　神　魂　清　　　潔
　　　gua　*ta*　*kiu*　　　*lu.*　*lu*　*su*　　　　*gua*　*sin*　*hun*　*cheng*　*kiet*
　　　1SG　now　implore　　2SG　2SG　bestow_CAUS　1SG　soul　　　clean
　　　'I hereby entreat you to make my soul clean.'　 [DC p.168]

The example in (45), in particular, reveals the power relation between causer and causee in its entreaty to Mary to cleanse the soul. This kind of causative does not entail an order being given to the causee who is obliged to carry it out, as with *su²/sai²* 使, but rather causation of a new situation or state of affairs brought about by some special force or

power attributable to the causer, evidently an unremarkable situation in this particular kind of religious context, discussing the fourteen mysteries of the Christian faith.

Even for the four instances where a transitive action verb is used, the overall meaning is stative for two, as in (43) with 'enable me to recite the doctrine with care and exertion' which focuses on the manner and result state, and for the verb *it-tioc* 億著 'to think upon' which is used with the adverb *siang* 常 'usually', 'generally' in the clause 'you enable me to always think about your son, Jesus Christ'. The two examples with *kiu* 求 'to implore' are part of a larger phrase *kiu yin cheng* 求人情 'to beg for compassion', 'to ask a favour' and, although transitive in form and semantically active, we would like to propose that it is the result state which is being focused upon by the use of this particular causative verb. Let us now examine the complex verb *su kir* (*su³- khit⁴* 賜乞) 'to bestow something upon someone'.

4.3.1 *Complex verbs formed with* su³- khit⁴ 賜乞 'to bestow'

The complex causative verb with *su kir* (*su³- khit⁴* 賜乞) mirrors the situation for *su³* 賜 used alone. There are eight examples in the *Doctrina Christiana* which use the verb *su kir* (*su³- khit⁴* 賜乞) that show both its lexical use as a verb meaning 'to bestow'(5/8) and a causative use as a verb meaning 'to make', 'to cause' (3/8). There are also two further related examples of interest that should be included here, one where the complex verb is *su³-u⁵* 賜與 and the other where it is *pang-kir* (*pang³- khit⁴*) 放乞 'to allow'; in other words, 9 examples in all of *su³* 賜 as V₁ in a complex verb. The use of *khit⁴* 乞 as V₂ in 9 of these examples recalls the grammaticalization of *yǔ* 與 'to give' into a preposition from V₂ position in similar serial verb constructions by the time of Late Medieval Chinese (Peyraube 1988, 1996).

Table 5: Complex verbs with *su³* 賜 and *khit⁴* 乞

Lexical verb 'to grant'		Total	Causative verb 'to enable'		Total	Grand Total
su³-khit4 賜乞	3	4	*su³-khit4* 賜乞	5	6	**10**
su³-u⁵ 賜與	1		*pang³- khit⁴* 放乞	1		

Let us first look at the lexical use of these complex verbs: In this construction, *khit⁴* 乞 has a double role: on the one hand, it acts like a complement verb in a V₁ –V₂ complex, yet on the other it serves to introduce the indirect object. The direct object, if present, can either follow the recipient noun as in (46) or be preposed before the verb in the immediately preceding context as in (47):

LEXICAL USE OF *su kir* (*su³- khit⁴* 賜乞)

(46) NP_AGENT – *su kir* (*su³- khit⁴* 賜乞) – NP_INDIRECT OBJECT (– NP_DIRECT OBJECT)

求	僚氏	保庇	生人。	賜	乞	伊	呀勞舍
kiu	*Diosi*	*po pi*	*se lang*	*su*	*kir*	*y*	*Galaçia*
entreat	God	protect	live:person	bestow	give	3SG	grace

'(I) entreat God to protect the living and bestow upon them Grace.' [DC p.156]

(47) Clause-initial direct object

(NP_DIRECT OBJECT) – NP_AGENT – *su kir* (*su³- khit⁴* 賜乞) – NP_INDIRECT OBJECT

日	日	所	用	箇	物。	今	旦	日
yit	*yit*	*sei*	*ong*	*ge*	*mi*	*kin*	*toa*	*yit*
day	day	that:which	use	LIG	thing	today		

你	賜	乞	阮。
lu	*su*	*kir*	*guan*
2SG	bestow	give	1PL

'The things we use every day, you grant us today.'
[cf. 'Give us this day our daily bread.' [DC p.144]

The pertinent use of *khit⁴* in this complex verb appears to be its development as a marker of the causee rather than the recipient, particularly when no patient noun occurs. In this connection, *su-khit⁴* 賜乞 takes on the causative meaning of 'to enable, make'. There are five clear examples of this use, where the interpretation has to be a causative one and not one of 'bestow'. Two of these are reproduced in (48) and (49) below:

(48) NP_CAUSER   *su-khit* 賜乞   NP_CAUSEE   VP

汝	賜	乞	我	要	效	汝	子	受	艱	難
lu	*su*	*kir*	*gua*	--	*hau*	*lu*	*kia*	*siu*	*can*	*lan*
2SG	CAUS_GIVE		1SG	want	imitate	2SG	son	receive	suffering	

'You make me want to imitate your son's suffering.' [DC, p.171]

(49) NP_CAUSER   *su-khit* 賜乞   NP_CAUSEE   VP

你	賜	乞	阮	稱	羨	你	名
lu	*su*	*kir*	*guan*	*cheng suan*		*lu*	*mia*
2SG	CAUS_GIVE		1PL	express:admiration		2SG	name

'You cause us to revere your name.' ('Hallowed be thy name.') [DC, p.144]

It is also instructive to note that one of the three examples classified as a lexical use of *su-kir* 賜乞 is in fact midway between the lexical and causative use. This is the following example which shows how *su-kir* 賜乞 may have developed its causative usage of enablement.

28

(50)

亦	保庇	濂 水 死 人	賜乞	伊	受	嗷囉哩仔
ya	*po pi*	*liam chui si lang*	*su kir*	*y*	*siu*	*Goloria*
also	protect	baptise dead:person	bestow-give	3SG	receive	glory

(i)　*Causative interpretation* : 'And to also protect the Christian dead, so that they can receive glory.' (literally: 'enabling them to receive glory')

(ii)　*Lexical interpretation*: 'and grant them the receiving of glory.'　[DC p.156]

As there are too few examples of *su-kir* 賜乞 as a causative verb, we are not in a position to make any strong claims about this construction, apart from mentioning that the verb in the main predicate is typically a transitive one, and thus implies an agentive causee, as in (48) and (49).

Finally, it is worth noting that there is one example of a causative with *kio*, cognate with Mandarin *jiao* 叫 'to make'. It is also found as a causative verb in the *Lì Jìng Jì*.:

(51)

叫	人	死	身	再	活	起	來
kio	*lang*	*si*	*sin*	*chay*	*ua*	*ki*	*lay*
CAUS	people	die	body	again	live	arise	come

'(God) will make us live again after we die.' [DC, p.162]

5.　CONCLUSION

We conclude our analysis of Early Modern Southern Min causatives with a résumé of our findings, placed in a diachronic perspective: All three main causative structures described in this study represent pivot constructions from the point of view of syntax: NP$_{CAUSER}$ – causative verb – NP$_{CAUSEE}$ – VP. The most frequent causative verb in the *Doctrina Christiana* is *su* 賜 (22), a causative of 'empowerment' which may co-occur with all verb types, though it particularly favours non-transitive verbs, if not verbs low on the transitivity scale. In nine cases, it occurs in the Doctrina Christiana as part of a verb complex with *khit^4* 乞 as V$_2$.

We propose that the causative verb *su* 賜, as for its lexical use 'to bestow', conveys respect for high status causers, particularly appropriate in the given context of a collection of religious texts with frequent supplications to God, Mary and Jesus. Although it is not attested in other contemporaneous Southern Min texts such as the *Lì Jìng Jì*, nor in earlier periods of Chinese, we note a similar use in the 17th century Mandarin of Varo's grammar. Furthermore, a description of [sɪ^5] 賜 being used as a passive marker in the Xiang dialect of Loudi has recently come to light (Wu 2005: 195).

The next most frequent causative verb in the text is *su^2* 使 with 11 tokens, a directive causative in its intentional form 'make'. Contrasting to this, it also forms a subtype of unintentional causatives with experiencer verbs. *Su^2* 使 is no longer productive in modern Southern Min dialects such as Taiwanese, although it is used in standard Chinese and is

attested as a causative verb from the period of Archaic Chinese.

Although there were only a few examples of causative use of *khit⁴* 乞 in the *Doctrina Christiana* (5 tokens), it is common in the far longer text of the *Lì Jìng Jì* with a total of 41 tokens in the representative sample used, making it overall the most frequent causative verb, in fact, for the two 16th century texts. *Khit⁴* 乞 forms a permissive 'let' type of causative. In some contemporary Southern Min dialects it is still used in this function, for example in Dongshan, Jinjiang and Jieyang (see tables for the uses of *khit⁴* 乞 in Southern Min dialects in Chappell 2000 and Lien 2002; and the discussion thereof). In the Taiwanese, Xiamen and Zhangzhou varieties of Southern Min it has been replaced by *hou⁷* 與. The verb *khit⁴* 乞 is attested as a causative from the Late Medieval period.

REFERENCES

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 1999. Areal Diffusion and Language Contact in the Içana-Vaupés Basin, North-West Amazonia. . In: R.M.W. Dixon and A. Aikhenvald (eds.) *The Amazonian languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 385-416.

Bisang, Walter. 1992. *Das Verb im Chinesischen, Hmong, Vietnamesischen, Thai und Khmer*.Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Chang Li-li. 2005. Cong shiyi dao zhishi [The causativisation of Chinese *shi*-yi constructions]. *Taida wenshizhi xuebao* 62. 119-152.

Chang Li-li. 2006. Hanyu shiyiju biao beidong de yuyi fazhan [The semantic development from causatives to passives in Chinese]. *Language and Linguistics* 7.1: 139-174.

Chappell, Hilary. 1984. *A semantic analysis of passive, causative and dative constructions in standard Mandarin.* Unpublished Phd thesis. Canberra: Australian National University, Department of Linguistics.

Chappell, Hilary. 2000. Dialect grammar in two early modern Southern Min texts: A comparative study of dative *kît*, comitative *câng* and diminutive *–guìa***. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 28.2: 247–302.

Chappell, Hilary. (ed.) 2001[a]. *Sinitic grammar: synchronic and diachronic perspectives.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chappell, Hilary. 2001[b]. Language contact and areal diffusion in Sinitic languages. In: Alexandra Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.) *Areal diffusion and genetic inheritance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 328–358.

Chappell, Hilary. 2006. From Eurocentrism to Sinocentrism: the case of disposal constructions in Sinitic languages. In Felix Ameka, Alan Dench and Nicholas Evans (eds.) *Catching language: the standing challenge of grammar writing.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Chappell, Hilary and Alain Peyraube. 2001. Causative structures in Early Modern Southern Min: a diachronic approach. Paper delivered at the 10th Annual Conference of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics. University of California at Irvine. June 22-24.

Chappell, Hilary and Alain Peyraube. 2006. Verbs of giving, datives, causatives and passives in the history of Chinese. Paper presented at the 4th Annual Conference of the European Association of Chinese Linguistics. Budapest, January 20-22.

Chappell, Hilary and Alain Peyraube. (forthcoming). Missionary documents on Early Southern Min and their historical significance.

Cheng, Robert. 1974. Causative constructions in Taiwanese. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 2.3: 279-324. Reprinted 1997 in R.Cheng (ed), 201–251.

Cheng, Robert. (ed.) 1997. *Taiwanese and Mandarin structures and their developmental trends in Taiwan. II: Contacts between Taiwanese and Mandarin and restructuring their synonyms.* Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co.

Clark, Marybeth. 1974. Submissive verbs as adversatives in some Asian languages. *South-East Asian Linguistic Studies*, ed. By Nguyen Dang Liem. Pacific Linguistics Series C. No. 31. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

Coblin, W. South, and Joseph A. Levi (translators). 2001. *Francisco Varo's grammar of the Mandarin language (1703): an English translation of 'Arte de la lengua mandarina'.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Comrie, Bernard & Maria Polinsky (eds.) 1993. *Causatives and transitivity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Craig, Colette. 1991. Ways to go in Rama: a case study in polygrammaticalization. In Elisabeth Traugott & Bernd Heine (eds.) *Approaches to grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, v. 2, 455–492.

Dixon, R.M.W. 2000. A typology of causatives : form, syntax and meaning. In R.M.W. Dixon and Alexandra Aikhenvald (eds.) *Changing valency : case studies in transitivity.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 30–83.

Douglas, Carstairs. 1873. *Chinese-English dictionary of the vernacular spoken language of Amoy, with the principal variations of the Chang-Chew and Chin-Chew dialects. Supplement by Thomas Barclay.* London: Truebner & Co. Reprinted by SMC Publishing Inc., Taipei, in 1990.

Feng Chuntian. 2000. *Jindai hanyu yufa yanjiu [Grammr of Chinese of the modern period].* Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe.

Hashimoto, Mantaro. 1976. Language diffusion on the Asian continent: Problems of typological diversity in Sino-Tibetan.*Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages* 3: 49-65.

Heine, Bernd, Claudi, Ulrike, and Hünnemeyer, Friederike. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hong, Bo and Zhao Ming. Forthcoming. Hanyu 'geiyu' dongci de shiyihua ji shiyi dongci de beidong jeicihua [On verbs of giving developing into causative verbs and causative verbs developing into passive prepositions]

Hopper, Paul and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56.1, 251-299.

Hopper, Paul and Elizabeth C. Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jiang, Lansheng. 1989. Beidong guanxici 'chi' de laiyuan chutan [A preliminary investigation of the passive marker 'chi'. *Zhongguo Yuwen* 5: 370–377.

Jiang Lansheng. 2000. Hanyu shiyi yu beidong jianyong tanyuan [Discussion on the common use of causatives and passives in Chinese]. *Jindai hanyu tanyuan*. Beijing: Shangwi yinshuguan. 221-236.

Jiang Shaoyu. 2002. Gei ziju, jiao ziju biao beidong de laiyuan [Origin of the passive markers 'gei' and 'jiao']. *Yuyanxue luncong* 26. 159-177.

Jiang Shaoyu. 2003. Gei ziju, jiao ziju biao beidong de laiyuan – jian tan yufahua, leitui he gongneng kuozhan [Origin of the passive markers 'gei' and 'jiao' – On grammaticalization, analogy and functional extension]. Wu Fuxiang and Hong Bo eds. *Yufahua yu yufa yanjiu*. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan. 202-223.

Jiang Shaoyu. 2004. Shoushi zhuyu ju de fazhan yu shiyi ju dao beidong ju de yanbian [The development of the subject-patient sentences and how causative sentences develop into passive sentences]. Ken-ichi Takashima and Jiang Shaoyu eds. *Meaning and Form: Essays in Pre-Modern Chinese*. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.

Lien, Chinfa.1999. A typological study of causatives in Taiwanese Southern Min. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 29: 395–422.

Lien, Chinfa.2001. Competing morphological changes in Taiwan Southern Min, in: H.Chappell (ed.), 309-339.

Lien, Chinfa.2002. Grammatical function words 乞, 度, 共, 甲, 將 and 力 in Li⁴ Jing⁴ Ji⁴ 荔鏡記 and their Development in Southern Min. In Dah-an Ho (ed.) *Papers from the Third International Conference on Sinology: Linguistic Section. Dialect Variations in Chinese.* 179-216. Institute of Linguistics, Preparatory Office. Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan. 第三屆國漢學會議論文集. 何大安(主編) 語言組. 南北是非:方言的差異與變化. 179-216. 中央研究院語言學研究所籌備處.

Lien, Chinfa. 2003. Coding causatives and putatives in a diachronic perspective. *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics* 1: 1-28.

Lord, Carol, Foong Ha Yap and Shoichi Iwasaki. 2002. Grammaticalization of 'give': African Asian perspectives. In Ilse Wischer and Gabriele Diewald (eds.) *New reflections on grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

McCawley, James. 1976. Remarks on what can cause what. *Syntax and Semantics* 6, e. by M. Shibatani, 117-129.

Masini, Federico. 2000. Materiali lessicografico sulla lingua cinese redatti dagli occidentali fra 1500 e 1600: I dialietti del Fujian. *Cina* 28: 53-79.

Matisoff, James. 1991. 'Grammatization in Lahu', in: Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine (eds.) *Approaches to Grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, Vol 2, pp. 383–453.

Mei Tsu-Lin. 1980. Sisheng bieyi-zhong de shijian cengci [Chronological strata in derivation by tone change] *Zhongguo Yuwen* 6: 427-443.

Mei Tsu-lin. 1989. Shanggu hanyu *s- qianzhui de gouci gongneng [Causative and Denominative Functions of the *s- Prefix in Old Chinese]. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Sinology. Taiwan, Academia Sinica.

Mei, Tsu-lin and Hsiu-fang Yang. 1995. Jige Minyu yufa chengfen de shijian cengci [Stratification in the grammatical elements of several Min dialects]. *The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 66: 1-21.

Newman, John. 1996. *Give: a cognitive linguistic study*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ohta, Tatsuo (= Taitian Chenfu). 1991. *Hanyushi Tongkao* (A detailed examination of the history of Chinese). Translated into Chinese from the original Japanese by Jiang Lansheng and Bai Weiguo. Chongqing: Chongqing Chubanshe.

Peyraube, Alain. 1986. Shuang binyu jiegou cong Han dai zhi Tang dai de lishi fazhan (Historical development of double-object constructions from the Han to the Tang), *Zhongguo Yuwen* 3: 204–216.

Peyraube, Alain. 1988. *Syntaxe diachronique du chinois: évolution des constructions datives du 14e siècle av. J.-C. au 18e siècle.* Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises.

Peyraube, Alain. 1996. Recent issues in Chinese Historical Syntax. In: C-T James Huang & Y.-H. Audrey Li (eds.) *New Horizon in Chinese Linguistics*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 161–214.

Peyraube, Alain.1999. Historical Change in Chinese Grammar. *Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale* 28-2: 177-226.

Peyraube, Alain and Sun Chaofen (1999). *In Honor of Mei Tsu-lin. Studies on Chinese Historical Syntax and Morphology*. Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.

Sagart, Laurent.1999.*The Roots of Old Chinese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Song, Jae Jong. 1996.*Causatives and causation. A universal–typological perspective.* Longman.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1973. Semantics of Japanese causativization. *Foundations of Language* 9, 327-373.

Shibatani, Masayoshi.1976.The grammar of causative constructions: a conspectus. In M. Shibatani (ed.) *The grammar of causative constructions*. (*Syntax & Semantics 6*) New York: Academic Press.

Shibatani, Masayoshi and Prashant Pardeshi. 2002. The causative continuum. In: M; Shibatani (ed.) *The grammar of causation and interpersonal manipulation.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sun, Chaofen. 2005. To use and to cause: *shiyong* 'to use' and the derivation of indirect causation in Chinese. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 33-1: 140-163.

Talmy, Leonard. 1976. Semantic causative types. *Syntax and Semantics* 6, 43-116.

Van der Loon, Piet. 1966. The Manila incunabula and early Hokkien studies. Part I. *Asia Major. New Series* 12: 1–43.

Van der Loon, Piet. 1967. The Manila incunabula and early Hokkien Studies. *Asia Major- New Series* Part II: 95–186.

Wei Pei-chuan. 2000. Shuo Zhonggu Hanyu de shicheng jiegou [The causative constructions in Middle Chinese]. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 71.4: 807–856.

Wu Fuxiang. 1996. *Dunhuang Bianwen yufa yanjiu* [A study of the grammar in the Dunhuang Bianwen]. Hunan: Yuelu shushe.

Wu Yunji. 2005. *A synchronic and diachronic study of the grammar of the Chinese Xiang dialects.* (Trends in Linguistics 162). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Yue-Hashimoto, Anne. 1993. *Comparative Chinese dialectal grammar: Handbook for investigators* (Collection des Cahiers de Linguistique d'Asie Orientale 1). Paris: Ecoles des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.

Yue-Hashimoto, Anne. 1999. The Min translation of the *Doctrina Christiana*. *Contemporary Studies on the Min Dialects (Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series 14)*, ed. by Pang-Hsin Ting. Berkeley : POLA, 42-76.

Zhang Huiying. 1989. Shuō «gěi» hé «qǐ» [On *gěi* and *qǐ*]. *Zhongguo Yuwen* 5: 378–383, 401.

Zhao Meilan. (n.d.). Jindai hanyu shiling dongci ji qi xiangguan de jufa, yuyi jiegou [Verbs of ordering in Modern Chinese and their syntactic and semantic structures].

Zhang Min. 2000. Yufahua de leixingxue ji renzhi yuyanxue kaoliang – cong shiyi yu beidong biaoji jianyong xianxiang tanqi [Typology, grammaticalization and Cognition – study of the causative and passive markers]. Paper presented at the 9th Conference on Modern Chinese. Wenzhou, China.