Grammaticalization of the Cantonese Double Object Verb [pei³⁵] 畀 in Typological and Areal Perspectives[*]

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This paper examines five syntactic functions performed by the double object verb [pei³⁵] 畀 (meaning 'to give') in the Cantonese dialects: (a) Indirect object marker; (b) beneficiary marker; (c) causative verb; (d) passive marker; and (e) instrument marker. It will, through cross-linguistic and cross-dialectal comparison, show how these functions are related to the double object verb as a result of grammaticalization which involves a number of semantic and cognitive processes such as desemanticization, decategorialization, and semantic-pragmatic inferencing. The grammaticalization paths and the chronological development of these functions of [pei³⁵] 畀 will also be examined on the basis of synchronic and diachronic data from Cantonese. Finally, the multifunctionality of *give* found in some non-Sinitic languages spoken in China and the Southeast Asian linguistic area will be discussed from an areal perspective.

Key words: Cantonese, double object verb, grammaticalization, areal linguistics, Southeast Asian linguistic area

1. Introduction

The prototypical syntactic construction in which the *give*-morpheme occurs is the double object construction or ditransitive construction (雙賓句 *shuāngbīnjù*) which involves three arguments: subject, indirect object, and direct object. It is also noted that there are other syntactic constructions such as benefactive and causative, closely related to the double object verb *give* (Newman 1996, Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie 2010). These observations thus led Newman (1996:vii) to claim that the double object verb *give* is "*experientially basic* and *semantically complex*" [italics original].

Similar observations are also found in the Cantonese dialects in which the morpheme [pei³⁵][1] 畀 performs a number of syntactic functions apart from being a double object

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[1] Phonetic transcription of Hong Kong Cantonese based on Zee (1999) will be used for discussion

verb. These functions are (a) indirect object marker; (b) beneficiary marker; (c) causative verb; (d) passive marker and (e) instrument marker. However, previous studies of Cantonese [pei³⁵] 畀 focus mainly on the double object construction, particularly on the relative word order of the direct and indirect objects (see, for example, Cheung 1972[2007], Peyraube 1981, Matthews & Yip 1994, Tang 1998, 2003, Yue-Hashimoto 1993, 2003, Lam 2008). Little attention however has been paid to the various syntactic functions performed by [pei³⁵] 畀, although there have been a number of studies of the syntactic functions of *give* in other dialects such as Modern Standard Chinese in Zhu (1979) which focuses only on the functions of indirect object and beneficiary markers and the Southern Min dialects (see Cheng 1974, Cheng et al. 1999, Chappell 2000, Chappell & Peyraube 2006). This paper will examine the relationship between [pei³⁵] 畀 and the five syntactic functions mentioned above in terms of grammaticalization, which is defined by Heine & Kuteva (2002:2) as "the development [of morphemes] from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms". Our analysis in §3 will show that these various functions of [pei³⁵] 畀 do not take on one single grammaticalization path, as proposed by Chappell & Peyraube (2006) for the Southern Min dialects. Other notable features of grammaticalization such as (a) desemanticization/bleaching, (b) decategorialization, and (c) semantic-pragmatic inferencing observed in the case of [pei³⁵] 畀 will also be discussed (Traugott & König 1991, Harris & Campbell 1995, Hopper & Traugott 1997, Heine 2003). Finally, the grammaticalization process of [pei³⁵] 畀 will also be compared with other Chinese dialects and languages, especially those spoken in the Southeast Asian linguistic area from typological and areal perspectives.

One of the main features of grammaticalization is that it usually takes a long time to complete (Hopper & Traugott 1997). Thus, we might see that some morphemes are in mid-way through the process such that these morphemes can still function as content words in some contexts. On the other hand, some morphemes have completed the grammaticalization process and no core lexical meaning is retained. These two situations can be best exemplified by the words *bǎ* 把 and *bèi* 被 in Modern Standard Chinese respectively. *Bǎ* 把 in Modern Standard Chinese is mainly used as a disposal marker, as in the sentence *wǒ bǎ bēizi dǎpò le* 我把杯子打破了 'I broke the cup'. At the same time, *bǎ* 把 is still a verb in the phrases such as *bǎ guān* 把關 'to guard a pass', *bǎ zhe mén* 把著門 'guarding the door', and *bǎ chí* 把持 'to control or to dominate'. *Bèi* 被 was originally a verb meaning 'to cover, to suffer' and was later

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on Cantonese in general. For other sub-dialects of Cantonese, IPA will be used. Transcriptions from early Cantonese materials will be used directly from the sources without modification unless stated otherwise. For discussion of Modern Standard Chinese, Hanyu Pinyin (in italics) is used.

grammaticalized into a passive marker (see, for example, Wang 1996 and Zhang 2005 on the grammaticalization of *bèi* 被). After grammaticalization, such verbal properties of *bèi* 被 as taking the aspect markers *le* 了, *zhe* 著, and *guò* 過 were lost. In the present study, we argue that the causative function of [pei³⁵] 畀 discussed in §2.3 is still a main verb and serves as a source of one of the two grammaticalization paths for [pei³⁵] 畀. For the other four functions, they are considered function words or grammatical markers because they cannot take on aspect markers. In other words, [pei³⁵] 畀 has been decategorialized in these constructions and "lost its status as an independent word and most other verbal properties" (Heine 2003:580).

Another feature of grammaticalization is related to frequency which, according to Bybee (2003:602) is "a primary contributor to the [grammaticalization] process, an active force in instigating the changes that occur in grammaticization." There are two aspects related to the notion of frequency.[2]

The first one is related to the relative usage frequencies between the morpheme participating in the grammaticalization process and other members of the same word family. Chin's (2009) survey on double object verbs found in early Cantonese textual materials (a total of 44 items) published from 1828 to 1970 shows that [pei³⁵] 畀 was the most frequently used double object verb. (See Table 1 below.)

Table 1: Frequency distribution of the top 10 double object verbs in early Cantonese textual materials.

Double Object Verb	Frequency	Frequency %
1. [pei³⁵] 畀 'to give'	999	63.7
2. [wa²²] 話 'to tell'	151	9.6
3. [suŋ³³] 送 'to give as a gift'	121	7.7
4. [tsɛ³³] 借 'to lend'	71	4.5
5. [mai²²] 賣 'to sell'	51	3.2
6. [ta³⁵ tin²² wa²²⁻³⁵] 打電話 'to call someone by phone'	49	3.1
7. [tsi³³] 賜 'to bestow'	41	2.6
8. [kɔŋ³⁵] 講 'to tell'	40	2.5
9. [tɐi²²] 遞 'to pass'	26	1.7
10. [kei³³] 寄 'to mail'	22	1.4
TOTAL	**1571**	**100**

Table 1 shows that nearly two-thirds of the double object verbs found in the early Cantonese corpus are [pei³⁵] 畀. Furthermore, Hopper & Traugott (1997) observe that it is usually hypernyms or generic terms rather than specific terms that are more prone to

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[2] Haiman (1994) uses the notion *ritualization* to describe the repeated use of a particular syntactic pattern.

be grammaticalized. For example, the future tense marker in English can be rendered by the morpheme *go* as in the sentence *It is going to rain tomorrow*. *Go*, when compared with other verbs also describing physical movement such as *walk*, *run*, or *jog*, denotes a physical proceeding without any specific details such as manner or speed. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) thus claim that "it is lexical items of [the] degree of generality … that enter into grammaticization." When compared with the other nine high-frequency double object verbs such as [suŋ³³] 送 'to give as a gift', [mai²²] 賣 'to sell' and [tsɛ³³] 借 'to lend' in Table 1, [pei³⁵] 畀 is the one which does not have specific and rich meanings and this feature thus makes it a suitable candidate to be grammaticalized.

Besides the frequency of the morpheme in question, Bybee (2003:602) also stresses that it is equally important to focus on the construction in which a particular lexical item is being grammaticalized. One of the key features of [pei³⁵] 畀 is that it is a 3-place predicate subcategorizing two syntactic objects. The syntactic pattern of the double object construction involving [pei³⁵] 畀 is formulated in (1) and an example from Hong Kong Cantonese is given in (2):

(1) NP_1 畀 NP_2 NP_3

(2) 我   畀   本   書   你
     ŋɔ³⁵ pei³⁵ pun³⁵ sy⁵⁵ nei¹³
     I   give   CL³   book you
     'I give a book to you.'

As the name suggests, a double object construction has two syntactic objects: Direct Object (represented by NP_2, i.e. [pun³⁵ sy⁵⁵] 本書 'CL-book') and Indirect Object (represented by NP_3, i.e. [nei¹³] 你 'you') which have the semantic roles of THING and RECIPIENT respectively.[4]

It is important to note that in Cantonese two types of double object construction with different syntactic realization are identified. In (2), the direct object precedes the indirect object.[5] This type of double object construction is called the *give*-type

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[3] Glosses used in this paper include: 1SG – first person singular, 2SG – second person singular, ACC – accusative, ASP – aspect, CL – classifier, CT – class term, DO – direct object, IO – indirect object, IRR – irrealis, NOM – nominative, NP – noun phrase, PAST – past tense, PRF – prefix, SFP – sentence final particle, SG – singular, SUF – suffix, VP – verb phrase.

[4] Some linguists also use the term THEME or PATIENT for the semantic role of the direct object. Here, we follow Haspelmath (2005), Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie (2010) and use the term THING.

[5] There are cases in which the indirect object precedes the direct object, such as when the direct

construction. Other verbs belonging to the *give*-type double object construction include [suŋ³³] 送 'to give as a gift', [tɐi²²] 遞 'to pass', [mai²²] 賣 'to sell'. For more examples, see Zhu (1979:82).[6] The second type has the indirect object preceding the direct object such as [ŋɔ¹³ tʰɐu⁵⁵ tsɔ³⁵ k'ɵy¹³ sam⁵⁵ mɐn⁵⁵] 我偷咗佢三文 'I stole three dollars from him'. This type is called the *deprive*-type double object construction. Other deprive verbs include [fɐt²] 罰 'to fine', [ts'œŋ³⁵] 搶 'to snatch'. The relative order of the two objects in the *give*-type double object construction is one of the key typological differences between the Northern and the Southern Chinese dialects—except Min[7] (Hashimoto 1976, 1985, Yue-Hashimoto 1993, D. Liu 2001, Chin 2009).

As our discussion proceeds, we shall see that the various grammatical functions performed by [pei³⁵] 畀 also require three arguments (though not all are necessarily noun phrases) and the prototypical double object construction NP_1 畀 NP_2 NP_3 thus serves as a good source for the grammaticalization process.

In addition to syntax, semantics also plays a significant role in the multifunctionality of [pei³⁵] 畀. Hopper & Traugott (1997) claim that in grammaticalization, the semantic content of a morpheme is weakened or bleached, which results in "an increase in the polysemies of a form" (p.96). Newman (1993:433) argues that lexical items, after

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object is exceptionally long. This phenomenon is known as *Heavy End Shift* (Hawkins 1994, Matthews & Yip 1994, Wasow 2002). Peyraube (1981) notes that some native Hong Kong Cantonese speakers also used the pattern with the indirect object preceding the direct object such as [ngóh béi kéuih yāt bún syù] 我畀佢一本書 'I gave him/her a book' and [ngóh sung béi néih nī bún syù] 我送畀你呢本書 'I give you this book' (pp.36-38, with Peyraube's original transcriptions). Chin (2009), on the basis of an extensive sociolinguistic investigation of 40 native Hong Kong Cantonese speakers with different social backgrounds, argues that the use of this pattern can be attributed to the increasing language contact between Hong Kong Cantonese and Modern Standard Chinese or Putonghua, in which the indirect object precedes the direct object in the *give*-type double object construction.

[6] We do not consider the following verbs from Zhu's list double-object verbs because they do not necessarily subcategorize an indirect object (i.e. recipient): *tī* 踢 'to kick', *rēng* 扔 'to throw', *jiān* 搛 'to pick with chopsticks', *yǎo* 舀 'to ladle out', *liú* 留 'to leave', *dài* 帶 'to bring'. In fact, the classification of a verb as a double object verb is sometimes debatable. For example, Chin (2010b) finds that, based on corpus data on Modern Standard Chinese, there is a significant difference, in terms of frequency, in taking an indirect object on the surface structure for some double object verbs such as *mài* 賣 'to sell', *dì* 遞 'to pass', and *jiè* 借 'to lend'. The percentages of taking indirect objects for these three verbs on the surface structure are 11.2%, 75%, and 61.1% respectively.

[7] Some but not all Min dialects use the northern strategy (i.e. the indirect object precedes the direct object). For example, the Xiamen 廈門 dialect has 周的送林的一雙鞋 'Zhou gave Lin a pair of shoes' (Zhou & Ouyang 1998:390-391), Suixi 遂溪 in Leizhou Peninsula (雷州半島) has 我先給汝三個銀 'I gave you three dollars first' (Yue-Hashimoto 1985:358), Fuzhou 福州 has 依爸乞我蜀把鋼筆 'My father gave me a pen' (Chen 1998:203-204).

grammaticalization, usually perform more than one grammatical function and appear in more than one type of syntactic construction. These items cannot be treated as homonymies but polysemies involving elaboration of the core meaning of the morpheme concerned. We shall show that the various fuctions of [pei³⁵] 畀 can be linked to the cognitive attribute *causation*. The study on the interrelationship of different functions derived from the same morpheme is one of the main tasks in Cognitive Linguistics (see, for example, Langacker 1987, Croft & Cruse 2004, Lakoff 1990).

2. The Cantonese double object verb [pei³⁵] 畀 and its associated syntactic functions

Altogether, five syntactic functions of [pei³⁵] 畀 are found in Cantonese. Unless otherwise stated, our discussion is based on examples drawn from the Cantonese dialect spoken in Hong Kong (also known as *Hong Kong Cantonese*). When necessary, data from other Cantonese dialects will be used for comparison and discussion.

2.1 An indirect object marker

An indirect object marker precedes the indirect object in a *give*-type double object construction and has the function of introducing the indirect object. The syntactic pattern is: $NP_1\ V_{[+GIVE]}\ NP_2$ 畀 NP_3. An example is given in (3).

(3) 我　　交　　咗　　本　　書　　畀　　張　　三
　　 ŋɔ¹³　kau⁵⁵　tsɔ³⁵　pun³⁵　sy⁵⁵　pei³⁵　tsœŋ⁵⁵　sam⁵⁵
　　 I　　pass　ASP　CL　　book　give　Zhang　San
　　 'I passed a book to Zhang San.'

Example (3) is a double object sentence with [kau⁵⁵] 交 'to pass' as the main verb. The indirect object [tsœŋ⁵⁵ sam⁵⁵] 張三 'Zhang San' is preceded by [pei³⁵] 畀.

2.1.1 Is [pei³⁵] 畀 before the indirect object a verb?

The equivalent to (3) in English is *I passed a book to Zhang San*. The indirect object 'Zhang San' is preceded by *to* which is unambiguously a preposition. However, there have been divergent views on the grammatical category of the morpheme before the indirect object in Chinese (i.e. [pei³⁵] 畀 in (3)). Yue-Hashimoto (1971), Peyraube (1981), Li & Thompson (1981), and Tang (1998) among others treat it as a preposition. Huang & Ahrens (1999), on the contrary, argue that the morpheme in question is a verb

and they treat (3) as a serial verb construction with the structure NP$_1$ V$_1$ NP$_2$ V$_2$ NP$_3$ in which [pei^{35}] 畀 is V$_2$. Newman (1996:211) comments that it is sometimes difficult to determine if the structure is a serial verb construction or a verb phrase followed by a prepositional phrase. In our analysis based on the following three observations, we argue that the morpheme [pei^{35}] 畀 has been grammaticalized from the double object verb [pei^{35}] 畀. In other words, [pei^{35}] 畀 preceding the indirect object is regarded as a preposition.

(a) In a serial verb construction, there is no sub-categorization relationship—either syntactic or semantic—between the two verb phrases. It is thus not ungrammatical for a sentence to have only V$_1$ NP$_2$ but without V$_2$ NP$_3$ or vice versa. Consider (4) below:

(4) 我   買   郵 票   寄   信
ŋɔ^{13} mai^{13} jɐu^{11} pʰiu^{33} kei^{33} sɵn^{33}
I   buy   stamp   send   letter
'I bought a stamp to send a letter.'

Example (4) is a serial verb construction with the verb phrases [mai^{13} jɐu^{22} pʰiu^{33}] 買郵票 'to buy a stamp' and [kei^{33} sɵn^{33}] 寄信 'to send a letter'. Leaving out any of these two-verb phrases does not make the sentence ungrammatical. However, omitting the 畀-NP$_3$ constituent in a double object sentence results in ungrammaticality. Thus, [ŋɔ^{13} kau^{55} pun^{35} sy^{55}] 我交本書 'I passed a book' sounds incomplete and even ungrammatical. In other words, the 畀-NP$_3$ phrase is an obligatory constituent in a double object sentence.

(b) It is observed that in many Chinese dialects the morpheme preceding the indirect object is always the double object verb *give* in the respective dialects. These include 撥 in the Wu dialects, 分 in the Hakka dialects, 互/乞 in the Min dialects (for more details, see Chin 2009, 2010a). There is no case in which other double object verbs (such as *jiāo* 交 'to pass', *sòng* 送 'to give as a gift', *dì* 遞 'to pass', *jì* 寄 'to send', *jiè* 借 'to lend', etc.) precede the indirect object.

(c) The third feature can be illustrated by Modern Standard Chinese in which there is more than one syntactic pattern for the *give*-type double object construction, such as *wǒ sòng gěi tā yì běn shū* 我送給他一本書, *wǒ gěi tā sòng yì běn shū* 我給他送一本書 (meaning 'I gave him a book'). In these patterns, *gěi* 給 always precedes the indirect object regardless of the position (pre-verbal or post-verbal) of the indirect object. This shows that there is a close relationship between the indirect object and the morpheme *give* preceding it in a double object construction in Chinese.

Thus, [pei^{35}] 畀 is better treated as a grammaticalized word (i.e. a preposition) with the function of introducing the indirect object in a *give*-type double object construction while the *deprive*-type double object construction does not require an indirect object

marker. As we shall see, there are other usages of [pei[35]] 畀 as a preposition. To distinguish them easily and clearly, we shall refer to them with their functional roles. For this particular function of [pei[35]] 畀 in the double object construction, we call it an Indirect Object Marker 間接賓語標記. It is also noted that in Cantonese, the indirect object marker [pei[35]] 畀 can be omitted especially when the main verb is [pei[35]] 畀 and the direct object is short (Matthews & Yip 1994, Chin 2009, 2010c).

2.1.2 Relationship between *give* and the indirect object marker function

After discussing the grammatical status of [pei[35]] 畀 preceding the indirect object in a double object construction, it is then relevant to ask how the double object verb acquires the indirect object marker function. Schematically, a double object sentence is used to describe an action involving a transfer of a thing from a giver to a recipient. The action can be divided into two parts: (a) The giver intends to give a thing and (b) the thing is transferred to the recipient. The first part is encoded by the main verb of the double object sentence. Different double object verbs describe various types of giving: to pass, to give as a gift, to send, to lend, to bestow, etc. The second part of the action depicts the movement of the thing to the recipient and the schema is the same for all kinds of giving. Thus, only one single morpheme is needed to encode this part of the action and this function is best taken up by the core member of the double object verb family: *give*. Figure 1 shows the schematic representation of the action of giving.
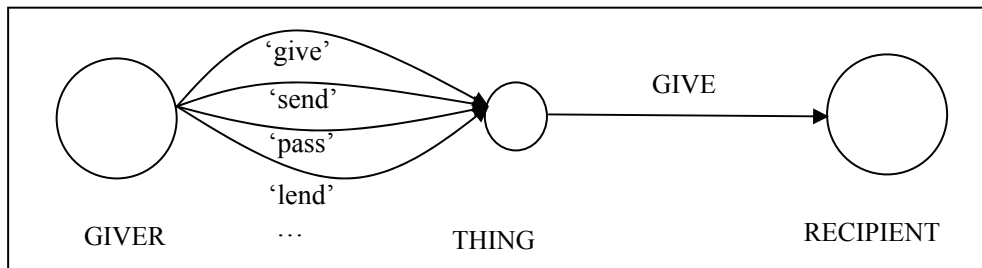

Figure 1: Schematic representation of the action of giving

2.2 A beneficiary marker

The second function of [pei[35]] 畀 is found in the syntactic construction called *beneficiary construction*. It is noted that the beneficiary construction shares the same surface structure with the double object construction: NP$_1$ V NP$_2$ 畀 NP$_3$. Consider (5) below:

(5) 我　　織　　咗　　件　　冷　　衫　　畀　　你
　　 ŋɔ^{13}　tsɪk^5　tsɔ^{35}　kin^{22}　laŋ^{55}　sam^{55}　pei^{35}　nei^{13}
　　 I　　knit　ASP　CL　　sweater　　　give　you
　　 'I knitted a sweater for you.'

The major difference between a double object construction and a beneficiary construction is that the main verb in the former has the inherent [+GIVE] feature and subcategorizes two syntactic objects. In a beneficiary construction, the main verb is monotransitive which subcategorizes only one object (i.e. the semantic feature is [–GIVE]). In other words, the 畀-NP$_3$ phrase is not an obligatory constituent in a beneficiary construction. For example, in (5), knitting a sweater does not necessarily require giving it to another person. Thus, these two syntactic constructions should be distinguished and they are represented by the following two formulæ where the parentheses indicate that the constituents inside are optional:

(6) Double object:　V$_{[+GIVE]}$　　+　NP$_2$　　+　畀$_{[indirect\ object\ marker]}$　　+　NP$_3$
(7) Benefactive:　　V$_{[-GIVE]}$　　+　NP$_2$　(+ 畀$_{[benefactive\ marker]}$　　+　NP$_3$)

Syntactically, [pei^{35}] 畀 is a grammaticalized morpheme and is thus a preposition. In terms of function, it introduces the beneficiary encoded by NP$_3$ and is called a beneficiary marker. It is also considered a marker because there is no other double object verbs that can replace [pei^{35}] 畀 in this construction. In other words, [pei^{35}] 畀 in the benefactive construction and the double object construction are two different types of grammatical markers.

It is not difficult to understand why the beneficiary marker and the indirect object marker are performed by the same morpheme. As noted by Kittilä (2005), the semantic roles of recipient and beneficiary are common such that they "usually benefit from the events they are parts of" (p.269).[8] These two actions are closely related and it is thus not unusual for a language to use the same morpheme, such as *give*, to mark these two semantic roles.

The beneficiary marker and the indirect object marker are found in the constructions involving three arguments which are realized by noun phrases. In the following, we discuss three additional functions of [pei^{35}] 畀 which involve a different syntactic pattern. In particular, one of the noun phrases is replaced by a verb phrase. This can be seen as an extension of [pei^{35}] 畀 whereby the requirement on the syntactic arguments is relaxed such that all three arguments need not be noun phrases. These three functions

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[8] Rice & Kabata (2007) also find that some languages use the same case marker such as allative for the semantic roles of beneficiary and recipient.

Andy C. Chin

of [pei³⁵] 畀 share the same syntactic pattern:

(8) NP₁ 畀 NP₂ VP

2.3 A causative verb

The third function of [pei³⁵] 畀 is as a causative verb and the construction where it occurs is the causative construction which describes a situation involving two events: (a) causing event and (b) caused event (Comrie 1976, Shibatani 1976, Talmy 1976, Kemmer & Verhagen 1994, Song 1996, 2001). The causing event refers to the situation that the causer (NP₁) exerts some force on the causee (NP₂) to carry out another action and the caused event describes the situation that the action carried out by the causee might affect another entity (i.e. an affectee, the noun phrase in the embedded VP) or that the causee himself undergoes a change of state.

Following Song's (2005a, 2005b) classification, the causative construction can be divided into two sub-types: periphrastic and non-periphrastic (which is also known as morphological causative). The causative verb function played by [pei³⁵] 畀 in Cantonese belongs to the periphrastic type because the causing event and the caused event are expressed in different clauses while for the non-periphrastic type, the causing and the caused events are expressed by morphological devices or case marking (Song 2005a, 2005b).

An example of [pei³⁵] 畀 functioning as a causative verb is shown in (9) below.

(9) 我   畀   佢   打   籃   球
     ŋɔ¹³   pei³⁵   k'ɵy¹³   ta³⁵   lam¹¹ k'ɐu¹¹
     I   give   s/he   hit   basketball
     'I let him/her play basketball.'

It is noted that in Cantonese, [pei³⁵] 畀 does not express the causative meaning 'I CAUSE him/her to play basketball'. Instead (9) expresses the meaning of permissiveness: 'I *let* him/her play basketball'.

In terms of semantics, permission is also considered a subtype of causation which involves "the removal by the causer of a conceived barrier that was preventing the causee from carrying out or undergoing the effected event" (Kemmer & Verhagen 1994:120). Matisoff (1991:427) describes this as a *permissive-causative* function. Furthermore, the relationship between *give* and causative (as well as permissiveness) is found to be close.[9]

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[9] One reviewer points out that in English, sentences having *give* do not necessarily involve the intent or causation by the agents, such as *He gave me a headache / the noise gave me a*

538

Kemmer & Verhagen (1994:115) claim that "causatives of transitive predicates … are seen as modeled on simple *three-participant clauses*" [my emphasis]. The three participants with the semantic roles of *causer*, *causee*, and *affectee* correspond to NP$_1$, NP$_2$, and NP$_3$ in the formula NP$_1$ 畀 NP$_2$ V (NP$_3$) respectively. Kemmer & Verhagen (1994:128-129) further argue that the use of *give* as a causative marker/verb shows that "the participants of the causative structure are recurrently seen as analogous to the participants of a ditransitive clause [i.e. double object construction]" because double object verbs also "involve the idea of an agent *causing* an entity to come into possession of something" [my emphasis].[10] Newman (2005:158) thus claims that causative is "a grammaticalized extension of 'give'". Lai (2001), in her studies of the polygrammaticali- zation of BUN in the Hakka dialects, also argues that the meaning of the transfer "can be easily extended from a noun phrase [i.e. the thing] to a verb phrase [i.e. the caused event]" (p.146). Precisely, what Lai claims is that "the meaning of giving someone something is transferred into giving someone the permission to do something" (ibid.). It is also noted that in his earlier cross-linguistic studies on the syntax of causative constructions, Comrie (1976) finds that the causees of causatives of transitives tend to be morphologically marked as dative.[11]

In view of the close relationship between the double object verb and the causative construction (with the permissive meaning), it is thus not surprising to find [pei³⁵] 畀 in Cantonese also functioning as a causative verb. The syntactic patterns of the causative construction and the double object construction are formulated in (10) and (11) respectively:

(10)   NP$_1$ [causer]   畀   NP$_2$ [causee]   [V   NP [affectee]] [caused event]
(11)   NP$_1$ [giver]   畀   NP$_2$ [thing]   NP$_3$ [recipient]

Notice that in our analysis, [pei³⁵] 畀 in a permissive construction is treated as a verb instead of a preposition (i.e. a causative *verb* but not a causative *marker*) because it can still take aspect markers, such as [ŋɔ¹³ pei³⁵ tsɔ³⁵ kʰɵy¹³ hɵy³³ tʰi³⁵ hei³³] 我畀咗佢去睇戲 'I let him/her watch movies' where [tsɔ³⁵] 咗 is a perfective aspect marker.

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headache. In Cantonese, we do not have this kind of usage of [pei³⁵] 畀. To express this meaning of non-agentive causative, the causative verb [lɪŋ²²] 令 'to cause' or [kau³⁵] 搞 'to make (a mess of)' is used: [kʰɵy¹³ lɪŋ¹¹/kau³⁵ tou³³ ŋɔ¹³ hou³⁵ tʰɐu¹¹ tʰʊŋ³³] 佢令/搞到我好頭痛 'S/he gave me a headache'.

10   Kemmer & Verhagen (1994:129) also discuss the close relationship, in terms of semantic attributes such as animacy and experience-like properties, between the causee in a causative construction and the recipient in a double object construction.

11   Comrie (1976) includes examples from languages of different families, such as Hindi, Persian, French, Dutch, Turkish, Georgian, and Tagalog.

2.4 A passive marker

The fourth function of [pei^{35}] 畀 is found in the passive construction whose pattern is identical to the causative construction: NP$_1$ 畀 NP$_2$ VP. We argue that, semantically speaking, the passive construction is closely related to the causative construction. Example (12) is a passive sentence in Hong Kong Cantonese.

(12) 我　　畀　　阿　　媽　　鬧
　　　ŋɔ^{13}　pei$^{:35}$　a^{33}　ma^{55}　nau^{22}
　　　I　　give　PRF　mother　scold
　　　'I was scolded by my mother.'

Although (12) has the same surface structure NP$_1$ 畀 NP$_2$ VP with the causative construction, it is usually interpreted as a passive sentence although it is not totally impossible to interpret the sentence with the causative meaning in some specific contexts: 'I let my mother scold (me)'. In a passive sentence, NP$_2$ is regarded as the agent of the action (VP) and NP$_1$ is the patient. Thus, [pei^{35}] 畀 is considered an agent marker (or a passive marker in general).[12]

It is also noted that in Cantonese, the passive marker [pei^{35}] 畀 has a close pronunciation with another passive marker [pei^{22}] 被 (mainly used in written Chinese).[13] The two morphemes however differ in the tone in Cantonese: The former has a high-rising tone (*yīnshǎng* 陰上) while the latter has a mid-low level tone (*yángqù* 陽 去). Matthews & Yip (1994:150) claim that "the usual spoken form *béi* [i.e. 畀] originates as *beih* [i.e. 被] with a changed tone." In other words, they argue that the passive marker in colloquial Cantonese is [pei^{22}] 被 instead of [pei^{35}] 畀. However, we do not support their claim because of the following two reasons.[14]

(a) According to Chin's (2009) survey on the usage of *give* across the Chinese dialects, the passive marker in many dialects is identical to the double object verb *give*

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[12] The use of *give* to express the passive meaning is also found in other languages, such as some dialects of Malay (Yap & Iwasaki 2003:425).

　　Duit　　kita　habis　bagi　orang　　curi
　　money　our　finish　give　someone　steal
　　'our money completely give/let someone steal'

According to Yap & Iwasaki (2003), younger speakers of these Malay dialects have begun to use the passive prefix *di-*.

[13] Matthews & Yip (2001:269) notice that [pei^{22}] 被 is now also used in spoken Cantonese, especially in high register contexts such as news reports: [keoi^5 zung^1 jyu^1 bei^6 sik^1 fong^3] (with their transcriptions) 佢終於被釋放 'S/he was released eventually'.

[14] See also Cheung (1996:133) for a similar comment on their claim.

in the respective dialects. It is just a coincidence that the pronunciation of the passive marker in colloquial Cantonese (i.e. [pei^{35}] 畀) is close to [pei^{22}] 被.

(b) For those passive sentences using the marker *bèi* 被, the agents can be left out, such as *Zhāng Sān bèi dǎ le* 張三被打了 'Zhang San was beaten'. On the contrary, in Cantonese, the agent cannot be elided after the passive marker.[15] If the passive marker in Cantonese is [pei^{22}] 被, then we need to explain why the omission of the agent in Cantonese passive sentences results in ungrammaticality.

In the following, we discuss how the passive marker function of [pei^{35}] 畀 is related to the causative function of [pei^{35}] 畀. Let us first examine the relationship between causative and passive constructions in Modern Standard Chinese.[16]

(13) 我　讓　他　打傷　　了　　頭
　　　wǒ　ràng　tā　dǎshāng　le　tóu
　　　I　let　he　beat-injure　ASP　head
　　　Causative reading:　'I let him beat my head.'
　　　Passive reading:　　'My head was beaten (and then injured) by him.'

Jiang (2000:231-232) and Jiang (2003:215) claim that the passive meaning is obtained from the surface causative pattern when (a) the verb phrase after the causative verb *ràng* 讓 (i.e. *dǎshāng* 打傷) is transitive and carries the meaning of passive (*shòudòng* 受動); (b) the noun phrase before *ràng* 讓 (i.e. *wǒ* 我) carries the semantic role of patient. In other words, their analyses claim that there is a switch of the semantic role of the subject from an agent to a patient. However, they have not explained why there is such a switch of the semantic role, and why and how the verb is interpreted with the passive sense.

When we compare the two readings in (13), we can see some subtle differences in meaning. For the causative reading, the causer (i.e. *wǒ* 我 'I') intends to instigate the action of beating to be carried out by the causee (i.e. *tā* 他 'he'). For the passive reading, the subject of the sentence has no control over the action of beating. Instead, the subject suffers from beating. The choice of the passive and the causative meanings

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[15] This syntactic feature is commonly found in many Southern dialects. See Zhan (1981).

[16] The same also applies to other causative verbs such as *jiào* 叫/教 in Modern Standard Chinese. Notice that in Modern Standard Chinese, the double object verb *gěi* 給 can also be used as a causative verb such as *Nǐ nà běn shū gěi kàn bù gěi kàn*? 你那本書給看不給看？ 'Do you let people read your book?' (Lü 1993:196), although it is less productive. Furthermore, although *gěi* 給 can be used as a passive marker in Modern Standard Chinese, such as *Zhāng Sān gěi shā le* 張三給殺了 'Zhang San was killed', it has been reported that *gěi* 給 is not used as a passive marker in Greater Beijing Mandarin (北京官話) and the Ji-Lu Mandarin dialects (冀魯官話) of the Shandong area (Chirkova 2008).

for (13) is thus determined by semantics as well as pragmatics instead of syntax. This sort of dual-interpretation of the NP$_1$ 畀 NP$_2$ VP pattern is also found in Cantonese, as shown in (14).

(14) 我　畀　隻　狗　食　晒　啲　飯
　　　ŋɔ^{13}　pei^{35}　tsɛk^3　kɐu^{35}　sɪk^1　sai^{33}　ti^{55}　fan^{22}
　　　I　give　CL　dog　eat　SUF　CL　rice
　　　Causative reading: 'I let the dog eat all the rice.'
　　　Passive reading:　 'My rice was eaten up by the dog.'

The crucial difference between the causative and the passive readings is on the semantic judgment of the second action [sɪk^1 sai^{33} ti^{55} fan^{22}] 食晒啲飯, 'eat up the rice'. If this action is not favored by the subject of the sentence, the passive reading is obtained. Otherwise, the sentence carries the causative meaning.

The close relationship between causative and passive can also be found in other languages which use either periphrastic (such as German) or non-periphrastic (such as Japanese) strategies for the causative construction.

In German, sentences containing the causative verb *lassen* 'let, make' with an inanimate subject can receive a passive reading. Compare (15) and (16) (Haspelmath 1990:46-47).

(15)　Nesrin lässt sich fotografieren
　　　'Nesrin has herself photographed.'

(16)　Das Fahrrad lässt sich reparieren
　　　'The bike can be repaired / is repairable.'

In Japanese, a passive sentence can be interpreted as a causative sentence (Washio 1993:49).

(17)　John-ga　　Mary-ni　　kami-o　　kir-are-ta
　　　John-NOM　Mary-BY　hair-ACC　cut-PASSIVE-PAST
　　　'John$_i$ had his$_{i/j}$ hair cut by Mary.'

According to Washio (1993), the hair in (17) can belong to either John or someone else. For the former, the sentence has a passive reading. For the latter, the sentence is a causative construction with the meaning 'John made Mary cut someone's hair'.

In view of the semantic difference between the causative and the passive constructions, Yap & Iwasaki (2003) claim that causative or permissive sentences obtain

a passive reading when permission becomes *involuntary*, whereby the causer has no control over but suffers from the action carried out by the causee. This could explain why the passive construction is always associated with adversative and unfavorable events or situations, which is one of the major characteristics of the passive construction in Chinese.[17] Chang (2006:139) holds a similar view and claims that the causative meaning first derives the meaning of *involuntary permission* 非自願允讓 which further extends to acquire the passive meaning. The route of the development is shown in (18) (Chang 2006:141).

(18)   Causative/permissive > involuntary permissive > passive

To sum up, NP₁ in the structure NP₁ 畀 NP₂ VP can be either a causer (in a causative construction) or a patient (in a passive construction) and the selection between these two semantic roles depends on contextual and pragmatic factors, as claimed by Newman (1996:197).

2.5 An instrument marker

The fifth function of [pei³⁵] 畀 in Cantonese, to my best knowledge, has not been discussed in the literature. In her comparative study of the syntactic constructions involving [pei³⁵] 畀 and *gěi* 給, Wong (2009) claims that [pei³⁵] 畀 in the phrase [pei³⁵ sɐm⁵⁵ kei⁵⁵] 畀心機 'to use one's heart' does not belong to any usage she finds for [pei³⁵] 畀, namely (a) an indirect object marker; (b) a passive marker; and (c) a verb meaning 'to allow'.[18] As for the usage of [pei³⁵] 畀 in this set phrase, Wong claims that "no such usage of Mandarin *gěi* 給 was detected" (p.74). We argue that [pei³⁵] 畀 in [pei³⁵ sɐm⁵⁵ kei⁵⁵] 畀心機 has a different function, which is seldom reported in previous studies on the double object verb *give*. Consider the following two Cantonese sentences.

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[17] Wang (1996) claims that due to the influence of western languages in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the passive construction in Chinese can now be used to describe desirable and favorable events such as *tā bèi rén zàn le* 他被人讚了 'He was praised'. The passive sentence [kʰɵy¹³ pei³⁵ lou¹³ pan³⁵ tsan³³] 佢畀老闆讚 'S/he was praised by the boss' is also acceptable in contemporary Cantonese.

[18] Wong (2009) does not discuss the beneficiary marker function in the paper.

(19)　畀　　個　　袋　　　包　　住　　隻　　雞,
　　　pei^{35}　kɔ^{33}　tɔi$^{22\text{-}35}$　pau^{55}　tsy^{22}　tsɛk^3　kɐi^{55}
　　　give　CL　bag　wrap　SUF　CL　chicken

　　　跟住　　　擠　　入　　雪櫃
　　　kɐn^{55}tsy^{22}　tsɐi^{55}　jɐp^1　syt^3-k^{w}ɐi^{22}
　　　then　　　put　into　fridge
　　　'Use a bag to wrap the chicken and then put it into the fridge.'

(20)　首先　　　畀　　水　　洗　　乾淨　　　隻　　雞,
　　　sɐu^{35}sin^{55}　pei^{35}　sɵy^{35}　sɐi^{35}　kɔn^{55}-tsɛŋ^{22}　tsɛk^3　kɐi^{55}
　　　first　give　water　wash　clean　CL　chicken

　　　跟住　　　畀　　豉油　　　腌　　佢　　兩　　個　　鐘頭
　　　kɐn^{55}tsy^{22}　pei^{35}　si^{11}-jɐu^{11}　jip^3　k'ɵy^{13}　lœŋ^{13}　kɔ^{33}　tsʊŋ^{55}-t^{h}ɐu^{11}
　　　then　　　give　soy-sauce　marinate　it　two　CL　hour
　　　'First, clean the chicken with water. Then, marinate it with soy sauce for two hours.'

The above two sentences were provided by a 65-year-old Hong Kong Cantonese speaker when he was asked to demonstrate how to prepare a dish. The noun phrase after [pei^{35}] 畀 is inanimate and thus is not a recipient, a beneficiary, a causee, or an agent. In other words, [pei^{35}] 畀 is not an indirect object marker, a beneficiary marker, a causative verb, or a passive marker. The semantic role of the noun phrases after [pei^{35}] 畀 in the above two sentences is *instrument*. According to my own observation as a native speaker of Cantonese, this function of [pei^{35}] 畀 is not very productive among the young speakers[19] but was commonly found in early Cantonese, as reflected by the dialect materials compiled between the 19th century and early 20th century.[20] Some examples from these dialect materials are given below.

(21)　俾　　水　　洗　　米
　　　give　water　wash　rice
　　　'Take water and wash the rice.' (Bonney 1853:54)[21]

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[19] In my own speech, I use the verb [jʊŋ^{22}] 用 'to use' to introduce the instrument. In Zhan & Cheung's (1988:443) survey of 31 Cantonese dialects in the Pearl River Delta region, the morphemes used to introduce instruments are [jʊŋ^{22}] 用 and [sɐi^{35}] 使.

[20] For more details on the rise and fall of this usage of [pei^{35}] 畀 in Cantonese during the one and half centuries, see Chapter 4 of Chin (2009).

[21] No phonetic transcription is provided in this work.

(22)　我　　見　俉　畀　棍　　打　　一　　箇　細　佬　仔
　　　　ₑngo　kin'　ₑk'ü　ᶜpi　kwan'　'ta　yat₋　ko'　sai'　ₑman　'chai
　　　　I　　see　s/he　give　stick　beat　one　CL　child
　　　　'I saw him beating a boy with a stick.' (Stedman & Li 1888:145)

(23)　呢　的　藥　　材　　俾　水　　嚟　　開
　　　　ₑni　tik₋　jeuk₋ - ₋ts'oi　ᶜpi　ᶜshui　ₑlai　ₑhoi
　　　　this　CL　medicine　　give　water　come　dilute
　　　　'Dilute this medicine with water.' (Fulton 1888:21)

(24)　先先　　　要　　俾　石　　共　　坭,　整　　一　　條　　路
　　　　ₑsin ₋sin　jiu⁼　ᶜpei　shek₋　kung⁼　ₑnai　ᶜching　yat₋　ₑtʰiu　lo⁼
　　　　first　　need　give　stone　and　mud　make　one　CL　road
　　　　'First of all a road has to be made with stones and earth.' (Ball 1912:148)

(25)　俾　的　梳打　　嚟　　煠　的　枱　布　　喇
　　　　peí　₀ti　₀shoh tá　laī　shaāp　ti　*tʰoī　pò　la
　　　　give　CL　soda　　come　boil　CL　table cloth　SFP
　　　　'Put in some soda when you boil the table cloth.' (Belt & Hoh 1936:69)

In some Cantonese dialects, such as Taishan 台山 of the Siyi 四邑 area, the use of the double object verb [ʔei] to introduce instruments is still productive, as shown in the following examples.[22]

(26)　□　　心　機　　讀　書
　　　　ʔei⁵⁵　ɬim³³-kei³³　uk³²-ʃi³³
　　　　give　heart　　study
　　　　'Study hard.'

(27)　□　　條　繩　綁　　個　狗
　　　　ʔei⁵⁵　hiu¹¹　ʃaŋ¹¹　pɔŋ⁵⁵　kui³³　kau⁵⁵
　　　　give　CL　string　tie　CL　dog
　　　　'Tie up the dog with a string.'

(28)　□　　筷　箸　夾　　餸
　　　　ʔei⁵⁵　fai³³-tu⁵⁵　kap³　ɬuŋ³³⁻²¹
　　　　give　chopsticks　clip　dish
　　　　'Clip the dish with chopsticks.'

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[22] This is based on my fieldwork conducted in early 2008 with a 90-year-old female speaker who has been residing in Seattle for more than 60 years. She mainly speaks the Taishan dialect and some English. According to her 42-year-old daughter-in-law who also speaks the same dialect, [ʃɔi] 使 'to use' is also used in addition to [ʔei]. See also Yue-Hashimoto (2005).

(29) 件   衫   □   凍   水   洗
    ken^{32} ʃam$^{33\text{-}21}$ ʔei^{55} uŋ^{33} ʃui^{55} ɬai^{55}
    CL   shirt   give   cold   water   wash
    'Wash the shirt with cold water.'

In modern Hong Kong Cantonese, this function of [pei^{35}] 畀 is only found in the crystallized expression [pei^{35} sɐm^{55} kei^{55}] 畀心機 'to use one's heart'.[23]

The use of the double object verb *give* to introduce instruments is seldom reported in other Chinese dialects.[24] It is also not cross-linguistically attested. In Heine & Kuteva's grammaticalization lexicon (2002:332), the major sources of instrument markers are *verbs of taking* and *comitative markers*.[25] It is thus relevant to examine how this function is related to *give*.

A double object construction depicts a three-participant event. When viewing an action involving an instrument, we also obtain a three-participant event. According to Stolz (2001:171), "[p]rototypical situations involving instrumentals require three participants, viz. an agent⸺the one who deploys the instrument⸺, the instrument itself,

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[23] It is interesting to note that the equivalents of this expression in Modern Standard Chinese also use the instrumental verb 'to use', such as *huā* 花 and *yòng* 用 in *huā xīnjī* 花心機 and *yòng xīn* 用心 respectively.

[24] In some dialects such as the Hankou 漢口 dialect (of Southwestern Mandarin) in Hubei 湖北, the double object verb *gěi* 給 can also be used as a disposal marker (similar to *bǎ* 把) (see Xu 1994 and Chappell 2006 for more details). For example, *láng gěi yáng chī le* 狼給羊吃了 (taken from Xu 2005:256) can either mean 'the wolf was eaten by a sheep' (a passive meaning) or 'the wolf ate the sheep' (a disposal construction similar to *láng bǎ yáng chī le* 狼把羊吃了). One reviewer pointed out that this function of *gěi* 給 (as a disposal marker) is similar to the one that [pei^{35}] 畀 as an instrument marker. However, the semantic roles of the noun phrases after *gěi* 給 and [pei^{35}] 畀 are different. The former is a *patient* while the latter is an *instrument*.

[25] In English, the former can sometimes be found in recipes such as: "It's possible, but to *take* yeast/sourdough instead of baking soda is not common." The latter can be exemplified by the preposition *with* as in: "I eat *with* chopsticks." It is also noted that some Chinese dialects (especially those of the Central dialect group *à la* Norman 1988) have the double object verbs expressed by morphemes meaning 'to take' such as *ná* 拿 and *bǎ* 把, which are also used to mark instruments. The former can be found in the Hakka dialects of Dayu 大余, Nankang 南康, Anyuan 安遠, Yudu 于都, Longnan 龍南, Quannan 全南, Dingnan 定南 in the Jiangxi Province (Li & Chang 1992, Liu 1999). The latter can be found in some Gan and Xiang dialects such as Nanchang 南昌 (Wei & Chen 1998), Lichuan 黎川 (Yan 1993), Changsha 長沙 (Li 1991), Yiyang 益陽 (Cui 1998), and Shaoyang 邵陽 (Chu 1998). This has led to the discussion on the alignment (such as the relative word order of the two objects) and sources of double object verbs in some Chinese dialects, especially the Central and the Southern ones (see more details in Zhang 2011).

and a patient". The major difference between the two constructions is that in the action of giving, the thing is received by an animate object (realized by a noun phrase) while in the action involving an instrument, the instrument is used to carry out another action (realized by a verb phrase). Syntactically, the two constructions are formulated in (30) and (31). Again, we can see that the surface structure with [pei[35]] 畀 as an instrument marker is identical to the ones with [pei[35]] 畀 as a causative verb and a passive marker.

(30) GIVING: $NP_1 + $ 畀 $ + NP_2 + NP_3$
(31) INSTRUMENTAL: $NP_1 + $ 畀 $ + NP_2 + VP$

It is also noted that in many non-European languages, there is a syncretism of the markers for the instrument and the agent (see, for example, Nilsen 1973). Stolz (2001:170) thus claims that the syncretism is not a random process and there must be "some reason for the empirical fact that certain categories combine more easily in syncretism than others do." The common feature shared by both the agent and the instrument is *causation*. The agent deliberately *causes* and instigates an action while the instrument can be considered an assistant to *cause* the subsequent action to take place. In their analysis of the double object verb *hoo* in the Southern Min dialects, Cheng et al. (1999) argue that the various functions of *hoo* is related to the semantic attribute of *causative* which has been claimed to be one of the key universal cognitive concepts in human minds (Lakoff 1990:55).

3. Grammaticalization paths of [pei[35]] 畀

The above sections have shown how the core double object verb [pei[35]] 畀 in Cantonese is grammaticalized to derive a number of syntactic functions. We have also seen that two different syntactic patterns are involved in the grammaticalization process: NP_1 畀 NP_2 NP_3 and NP_1 畀 NP_2 VP. The question we want to raise is whether the process took on only one or more than one grammaticalization path; and furthermore, what the relative chronology of these functions of [pei[35]] 畀 might be.

Chappell & Peyraube (2006:982) propose two independent grammaticalization paths for the double object verb *give* in the Southern Min dialects:

(32) *Give* > dative marker[26]
(33) *Give* > causative > passive marker

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[26] Chappell & Peyraube (2006) use the notion dative marker instead of indirect object marker.

This proposal for two grammaticalization paths is an illustration of *polygrammaticalization* suggested by Lai (2001). The major difference between Chappell & Peyraube's (2006) study and ours reported here is that the instrument marker and the beneficiary marker functions were not discussed in the Min dialects.

We have examined the close relationship between the indirect object/beneficiary markers and the double object verb *give* when the serial verb construction is taken into consideration. Thus, we claim that these two markers developed directly from the main verb [pei^{35}] 畀. In terms of their relative chronology, Takashima & Yue-Hashimoto (2000) and Chin (2009, 2010c) find that, in the 19th century, the indirect object marker was dominantly performed by the directional verb [k^{w}ɔ^{33}] 過 'to cross' which was later replaced by [pei^{35}] 畀. For the beneficiary marker, it was always [pei^{35}] 畀.[27] The chronological development of these two markers is shown in (34).

(34)   *Give* > beneficiary marker > indirect object marker

We follow Chappell & Peyraube's (2006) proposal that the causative and the passive marker functions of [pei^{35}] 畀 take on a different grammaticalization path. The instrument marker function also follows this path because these three functions share the same syntactic pattern NP$_1$ 畀 NP$_2$ VP.[28] Chronologically speaking, the instrument marker function developed before the passive marker function, as shown in (35) below:

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[27] Chin (2010a) argues that the main verb in a double object construction carries the inherent [+GIVE] meaning. The indirect object marker thus need not be a verb with the [+GIVE] meaning and the directional verb [k^{w}ɔ^{33}] 過 is sufficient to denote the meaning of transfer. On the contrary, the main verb in the beneficiary construction does not have the inherent [+GIVE] meaning. The beneficiary marker then has to be a morpheme with the [+GIVE] meaning to denote the meaning of transfer. Thus, [pei^{35}] 畀 has always been the preferred marker for the beneficiary.

[28] One reviewer pointed out that, on the basis of the Fuzhou dialect reported by Chen (2006), the instrument marker could be related to the beneficiary marker function. However we do not agree with this proposal because the beneficiary marker function and the instrument marker function in Cantonese, unlike the Fuzhou dialect, share different surface structures (NP$_1$ V NP$_2$ 畀 NP$_3$ for the former and NP$_1$ 畀 NP$_2$ VP for the latter). In the Fuzhou dialect (Chen 2006:233), both functions are found in the same surface pattern: NP$_1$ 共 NP$_2$ VP where 共 is the marker. Furthermore, Chin (2010d) observes that there is potential ambiguity between the two constructions in Cantonese due to their identical surface structure. For example, the sentence 佢哋就俾嗰大石塞住個籠口 [k^{h}œy^{13} tei^{33} tsɐu^{33} pei^{35} kɐu^{22} tai^{22} sɛk^1 sɐk^5 tsy^{22} kɔ^{33} lʊŋ^{55} hɐu^{35}] allows two readings: "They blocked the den with a big rock" ([pei^{35}] 畀 as an instrument marker) and "They were blocked by the big rock at the den" ([pei^{35}] 畀 as a passive marker).

(35)   *Give* > causative > instrument marker > passive marker

There are two reasons to support our proposal for this chronological development:

(a) On the basis of the early Cantonese materials, Chin (2010d) finds that in 19th century Cantonese, the passive marker was represented more frequently by [pei[22]] 被 than [pei[35]] 畀,[29] while within this same period, the instrument marker function of [pei[35]] 畀 was prevalent.

(b) *Give* carries the semantic attribute of 'to cause' and the subjects of the sentences are the entities that have the ability and volition to cause something to happen. This is particularly clear in causative sentences and sentences involving instruments as discussed above. The entities realized as the subjects in the passive sentences, on the contrary, lack the control and they are in fact adversely affected. The lack of this causative attribute indicates that [pei[35]] 畀 has been *desemanticized* or *bleached out* in the construction such that the verb originally "requiring typically human subject referents … was extended to contexts involving inanimate subjects" (Heine 2003:580). Table 2 lists the semantic attributes of the subjects in these three constructions in terms of animacy.

Table 2: Semantic attribute of the subjects in terms of animacy in the three constructions involving [pei[35]] 畀

	Causative construction	Construction involving instrument	Passive construction
Subject	[+animate]	[+animate]	[±animate]

The passive construction has relaxed the semantic requirement on the subject (NP$_1$) in terms of animacy and this suggests that the passive marker function of [pei[35]] 畀 might have developed later than the other two functions.

This proposed chronological sequence also fits in the semantic-pragmatic change scheme put forth by Traugott & König (1991). In particular, tendencies I and III in their scheme are relevant to our discussion (pp.208-209, with my emphasis):

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[29] Chin (2010d) argues that [pei[22]] 被 cannot be simply taken as the passive marker borrowed from the written language. Instead it was a form actively used in the colloquial dialect at that time. He also claims that the disappearance of the instrument marker function and the rise of the passive marker function (after the beginning of the 20th century) played by [pei[35]] 畀 might be due to the ambiguity arising from their identical surface structures which could impose an extra cognitive burden for the interlocutors in processing the utterances (see the sentence in footnote 28 above).

(a) Semantic-pragmatic tendency I: Meanings based on the *external* described situation → meanings based on the *internal* (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situation;

(b) Semantic-pragmatic tendency III: Meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's *subjective belief-state/attitude* toward the situation.

Tendency I is related to the "shift from a concrete, physical situation to reference to a cognitive, perceptual situation" (p.208), which can account for the use of *give* as a causative verb because what is given to the recipient is not a concrete object but an abstract one, such as permission or a right. Tendency III illustrates the grammaticalization of [pei[35]] 畀 into a passive marker which is concerned with the speakers' subjective perception toward the situation(s) s/he wants to describe. For example, the passive meaning in Chinese is usually associated with unfavorable situations.

The developmental paths of the five grammatical functions of [pei[35]] 畀 and their relative chronology are diagrammatized in Figure 2.
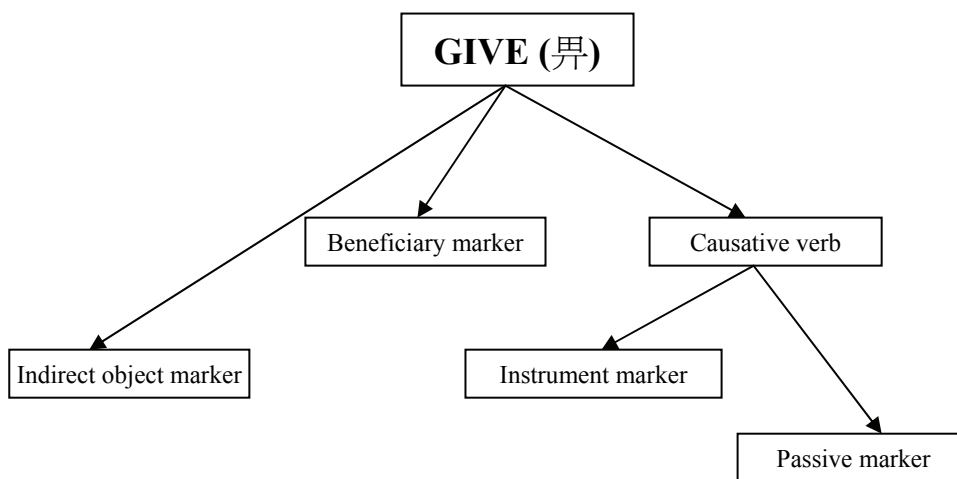

Figure 2: Grammaticalization paths and relative chronology of the various syntactic functions of Cantonese [pei[35]] 畀

The vertical distances among the functions (stemming from the same node) in Figure 2 indicate the chronology of their development on the basis of our analysis from both diachronic and synchronic data on Cantonese. For example, the indirect object marker is placed below the beneficiary marker, meaning that it developed later than the beneficiary marker. By the same token, the instrument marker predated the passive marker.

Among the various functions of [pei^{35}] 畀, the passive marker usage is the farthest from the double object verb. It is also interesting to note that this function is acquired later than the other functions by Hong Kong Cantonese children (Wong 2004).[30]

4. Grammaticalization of *give* in an areal perspective

Besides the Chinese language, some neighboring non-Sinitic languages are also found to have the double object verb *give* performing different syntactic functions. For example, *give* in Thai can function as an indirect object marker, a causative verb, and a beneficiary marker (Diller 2001, Thepkanjana & Uehara 2008). These languages are spoken in the region known as the Southeast Asian linguistic area, which is "home to more than a thousand languages, belonging to five major language families: Austronesian, Austroasiatic, Tibeto-Burman, Tai-Kadai, and Hmong-Mien" (Matisoff 1992:44). These genetically unrelated languages are found to share some linguistic features due to borrowing as a result of their prolonged and extensive language contact (cf. Thomason 2001, Heine & Kuteva 2005, Aikhenvald 2006).[31]

On the basis of examples drawn from the Lahu language of the Tibeto-Burman group, as well as Vietnamese, Chinese, and Miao Yao, Matisoff (1991) argues that the use of the double object verb as a causative verb and a beneficiary marker is one of the areal linguistic features in the Southeast Asian linguistic area. Notice that Matisoff does not mention the use of *give* as a passive marker in these languages and we shall address this issue later in this section.[32] Consider the following sentences from Thai, Vietnamese, and Lao.

A. Thai (Yates & Tryon 1970:442-444)
(36) chûaj rîak théksîi hâj phǒm
      please call taxi for I
      'Please call a taxi for me.' ([hâj] as a beneficiary marker)

(37) kháw anújâat hâj phǒm rian phaasǎathaj
      he give I study Thai
      'He allows me to study Thai.' ([hâj] as a causative verb)

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[30] Wong's (2004) study does not include the instrument marker function of [pei^{35}] 畀.

[31] There are opposing views arguing that some of these languages such as Thai and Chinese are genetically related. See, for example, Li (1973, 1976), Prapin (1976), Ting (2005).

[32] Yap & Iwasaki (2003:433) survey the grammaticalization of *give* in some Southeast Asian languages including Vietnamese, Thai, Malay, Akan, and Khmer. They find that the passive marker function of *give* is not found in these non-Sinitic languages.

The passive marker in Thai is [tɯɯk].

B. Vietnamese (Thompson 1965:232, 332)

(38) ʌ̃ũŋ͡m lam ɔn   cɔ   tɔɪ   haɪ   d̃ʌ̃ũŋ͡m
      please   give   me   two   pastries
      'Please give me two pastries.' ([cɔ] as a double object verb)

(39) cɪɪʌɪ viet   tʰɔ   cɔ   tɔɪ
      she   write letter give   me
      'She wrote a letter to/for me.' ([cɔ] as an indirect object marker or a
      beneficiary marker)

(40) sɪin ʌ̃ũŋ͡m   viet   tʰɔ   cɔ   tɔɪ   ɓiet
      please   write letter let   me   know
      'Please write a letter to let me know.' ([cɔ] as a causative verb)

The passive marker in Vietnamese is [ɓɪi] (meaning 'to suffer, to undergo'), [zɔ] (meaning 'to be caused, to be effected by' which supports the close relationship between causative and passive meanings) or [d̃wŏk] (meaning 'to receive, to obtain') but not [cɔ] (Thompson 1965:228-229).

C. Lao (Enfield 2007:364, 371, 423, 438)

(41) caw4   haj5   khòòj5   haa5-lòòj4   kiip5
      2SG   give   1SG   five-hundred   kip
      'You gave me 500 kip.' ([haj] as a double object verb)

(42) khòòj5   siØ   song1   lot1-cak2   haj5   phòò1
      1SG   IRR   send   CT.VEHICLE-motorcycle   give   father
      'I'm going to deliver the motorcycle to Dad.' ([haj] as an indirect object
      marker)

(43) man2   haj5   nòòj4   paj3   talaat5
      he   give   Noi   go   market
      'He let/made Noi go to the market.' ([haj] as a causative verb)

In Lao, the passive marker is [thùùk] with the meaning of 'strike, come into contact with'.

To explain why these non-Sinitic languages in the linguistic area, unlike most of the Southern Chinese dialects, have not yet developed the passive usage for the verb *give*, Hashimoto (1988) claims that the development of *give* to the passive usage might be "an autonomous development" (p.350) in the Southern Chinese dialects.

According to Chin's (2009) survey on the multiple usage of *give* in the non-Sinitic languages spoken in China, 10 out of 31 languages (from three language families) are found to use the double object verb *give* as the passive marker. These languages include (1) Pula 仆拉語 and Kazhuo 卡卓語 of the Tibeto-Burman group; (2) Dai 傣語, Zhuang 壯語 of Longzhou 龍州, Mo 莫話, Cun 村語, Mulao 木佬語, and Buyang 布央語 of the Kam-Tai family; (3) She 畬語 and Mian 勉語 of the Miao-Yao family. This observation might suggest that these non-Sinitic languages have *borrowed* the mechanism of developing the passive marker usage from the causative usage of *give*. This kind of borrowing is proposed by Heine & Kuteva (2002, 2003, 2005) as *contact-induced grammaticalization*. Such a borrowing of a syntactic mechanism in fact is not uncommon in the linguistic area. In his study of the post-verbal usage of *acquire* in some Southeast Asian languages, Enfield (2001:287) claims that it is the "*functional application*—not the form—that is shared" among the languages coming into close contact [italics original]. In this regard, the passive marker usage of *give* in these non-Sinitic languages can be considered an additional areal feature possibly originating from Southern Chinese dialects.

5. Concluding remarks

This paper examines the grammaticalization process of the double object verb [pei³⁵] 畀 in the Cantonese dialects. It has shown that some but not all of the syntactic functions are cross-linguistically attested. These include the indirect object marker, the beneficiary marker, and the causative verb. On the other hand, the functions of the instrument marker and the passive marker are not commonly found in other languages but we have demonstrated how these functions can be correlated with the double object verb [pei³⁵] 畀. We have also proposed the relative chronology and grammaticalization paths of these syntactic functions on the basis of synchronic and diachronic data from Cantonese.

From a broader perspective, the grammaticalization of *give* into an indirect object marker, a causative verb, and a beneficiary marker can be regarded as one of the areal features in the Southeast Asian linguistic area (Matisoff 1991). At the same time, we also note that some non-Sinitic languages spoken in China have begun to use *give* as the passive marker possibly due to syntactic borrowing upon their prolonged and extensive contact with the Southern Chinese dialects, which have fully developed this syntactic function of *give*.[33]

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[33] Some recent studies on the syntax of languages in the mainland Southeast Asia under the notion of areal linguistics and language contact include Sybesma's (2008) comparative study of

The comparison of the grammaticalization of *give* in Cantonese with other Chinese dialects as well as other genetically unrelated languages allows us to observe the similarities and the diversities in Cantonese grammar and in its development.

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post-verbal 'can' (to acquire) in Zhuang (壯語), Cantonese, Vietnamese, and Lao, Enfield's (2001) study on the multifunctionality of the verb *acquire* and Bisang's (1996, 1999) examination of the grammaticalization process of nouns and verbs as well as classifiers (see also Gerner & Bisang 2010), Kwok's (2010) study of the two typologically distinct word order patterns of the verb-complement construction: Verb-Complement-Object and Verb-Object-Complement in the Cantonese dialect and Zhuang language in Nanning (南寧) of Guangxi (廣西), Wu's (2008) study on the origin of the neutral question in the languages spoken in Southern China.

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從語言類型學和區域語言學角度
探討粵語雙賓動詞「畀」的語法化現象

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　　本文探討粵語雙賓動詞「畀」的五種語法功能：(1) 間接賓語標記；(2) 受益者標記；(3) 使役動詞；(4) 被動標記；(5) 工具標記。透過跨方言和跨語言比較，本文指出以上語法功能是雙賓動詞語法化產生的結果。此外，本文利用早期和當代粵方言材料，構擬這五種語法功能的發展時序。最後，本文從區域語言學角度，把有關的語法化現象跟中國大陸和鄰近地區（特別是東南亞語言區域）非漢語語言比較，歸納當中涉及的一些語言演變機制。

關鍵詞：雙賓動詞，語法化，區域語言學，東南亞語言區域