子計畫四：四溪流域客語的社會語言學研究

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四溪流域客語的社會語言學研究

摘要

本研究為三年期的計畫，為了配合總計畫我們分三年三個調查點來進行研究。第一年的研究區域為鳳山溪流域的新竹縣新埔鎮。新埔鎮為客家人佔多數的鄉鎮，此地的客家人大部分說海陸話只有少數說四縣話，但因為長期比鄰而居，生活上長期密切交往而形成一種特殊的客家話混合腔，羅肇錦教授稱之為「四海」客家話。自鄧盛有(1999)的碩論就不停地有關於「四海話」的論述發表。這些論述(見後附書目)都是有關不同的客語地區所發現的四縣與海陸客家混合語，但因為各地說四縣話與海陸話的人口比例不同，交往互動的方式也互異，因此各地所形成的「四海話」並不一致。本研究希望透過對新埔鎮的「四海話」在語音、詞彙、語法的結構、形成的原因，以及當地人對「四海話」的態度等進行深入的研究，並就這幾個方面與其他地方的「四海話」進行比較，以求得台灣島內四海話形成之共同原因，以及在語音、詞彙及語法方面之共同點及各地四海話的特色。

第二年我們將從事後龍客家話與閩南語比較研究，尤其是其中的稱謂詞、小稱詞與地名。我們將拿我們蒐集到的語料與台灣別的地區的四縣話客語及閩南語做一系統的比較以便了解當地客家話與閩南語的特色，以及長期互相溝通之後有沒有互相牽就而趨同的情形。我們將能提供實際的例子來支持或反對語言牽就理論(Accommodation Theory)和趨同演變(Converge change)的說法。

第三年本計畫將移師苗栗縣南庄鄉並對當地的客家人與原住民賽夏族族人進行"稱讚語行的比較研究" 以探求其中哪些成分具有普世性而哪些成分是兩個文化所特有的部分。我們也擬經由比較研究找出那些成分是經影響而產生的結果，這樣的研究成果對於促進民族間之溝通與和平共處有一定之助益。

這些計畫都屬於微觀型的研究計畫，因此擬以鄭錦全院士所率領的語言地理資訊調查小組所得的資料為基礎，對其中具代表性的家庭進行更細密的調查研究。這幾項計畫也可以與劉秀雪教授所主持的「四溪流域語言接觸下之客家方言音韻對

比」子計畫及鄭縈教授所主持的「四溪流域客語特徵詞調查」子計畫之研究所得互相參照、互相發明，我們因此擬定期召開工作坊以交換資訊並互相比對校正，與交換研究所得。

關鍵詞： 四海客家話；語言接觸；語言演變；次方言

Abstract

After a frequent contact between languages, languages may generally affect each other's structures, and consequently, systematic language changes may result. This type of changes frequently occurs between sub-dialects. The sub-dialects of Hakka in Taiwan mainly involve two, i.e. Si-Xien Hakka and Hai-Lu Hakka. As these variations are in frequent contact a new variety, which is a mixture of the two has arisen and has been aptly termed Si-Hai Hakka. The studies on Si-Hai Hakka firstly appeared in Deng's (2000) thesis, and later in Deng (2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2003), Chong (2006) and Chang (2006). However, every one of these studies was based on a few informants in one specific place, e.g., 峨嵋 Emei, 關西 Kuanhsi in Hsinchu country, and 平鎮 Pingjen, 楊梅 Yangmei in Taoyuan county. Although, these studies have certainly enhanced our understanding of language changes induced by contact, they have apparently failed to give a general picture of the linguistic processes that have occurred. Furthermore, they also have restrictions on revealing the direction of the language change. So in order to avoid the problems, this study intends to investigate more intensely the phenomenon of language accommodation in a village of Si-Xien Hakka surrounded by Hai-Lu Hakka in 新埔 Sinpu, Hsinchu. We will collect data in depth on phonology, syntax, morphology (especially on diminutives), vocabulary, and in the meanwhile, looked into

the social factors, such as sex, age, and the background of the speakers to determine how they affect linguistic variation. After collection and analysis, the data will be compared with the neighboring Hai-Lu Hakka in Hsinchu and Si-Xien Hakka in Miaoli in detail to determine which linguistic and social factors are involved in bringing about the changes in the village and the direction of shift in the future. We will further compare our conclusion with Deng's and Chong's, and in the end, demonstrate the features generally found in Si-Hai Hakka on Taiwan and the triggers and mechanisms involved in these changes.

Keywords: Si-Hai Hakka；Language Contact；Language changes；Sub-dialects

壹、前言

　　由於人類需求的溝通，不同的語言在頻繁接觸後，會觸發語言演變，而產生一種融合彼此、兼容並蓄的新興語言。此類的研究往往著重在不同語言（方言）間互動情形，例如曹逢甫（2000）研究日語對台灣閩語及閩語對國語所產生之影響，或者呂嵩雁（2004）討論到日語及台灣強勢方言閩語對客語產生之影響。然而次方言間之接觸演變，特別是客語次方言受到大量討論，主要是在羅（1998）提出「四海話」概念之後才開始有大量研究產生。本文將針對客語次方言「四縣客語」（以下簡稱四縣）以及「海陸客語」（以下簡稱海陸）在桃園縣楊梅地區接觸產生之語言演變（四海話）為主題，討論語言改變的現況以及預測未來可能的演變趨勢。此外，自從政府推行國語教育，國語成為台灣地區最普及且通行之共通語，國語數十年來對客語影響不容小覷。因此，本研究亦將國語干擾客語之因素納入討論範圍，以期能夠對於現今客語現況有更深入的探討以及貢獻。

貳、研究目的

　　多數的次方言接觸或四海話研究，常忽略到語言是「相互影響」，而僅注意到「弱勢語言」受到的影響與產生之變化。本文研究重點在於海陸客語（在該區是相對的較強勢之語言）與四縣客語相互影響後，所產生的語言變化。除了客語次方言間的互動之外，本文將考量國語的影響，進一步探討楊梅地區海陸客語與國語間的互動關係。雖然鄧盛有（2005）有注意到此一現象，分別調查以海陸四縣兩種方言為基底之四海話，但發音人集中在五十歲以上的老年發音人，無法全盤了解楊梅地區的現象。本研究納入三代發音人之調查結果，以期得到楊梅地區全面性語言現象。

參、文獻探討

　　羅（1998）首先提出了四海話的概念。由於四縣為台灣客家話之大宗，因此指出「四海話」為「四縣聲調為基礎，聲母、韻母保有海陸特徵」之一種混和客

家話，且推測「四海話」會成為未來台灣客家話的優勢語言，開啟了四海話研究之先驅。鄧（2000）將羅（1998）對四海話之定義擴大成為「台灣地區兩種主要的客語次方言--四縣客語與海陸客語，相互接觸後，使得四縣或海陸客語原有的語音、詞彙、甚至語法，發生改變（包括四縣向海陸變化，或海陸向四縣變化），而形成的一種混合型客家話。」現今多數的四海研究多採用鄧（2000）之廣義四海話定義。

鄧（2003a）分別從新竹縣兩個四縣與海陸客語混和所形成的「四海話」代表點：關西以及峨嵋的客家話，探討客語在語言接觸後所產生的語言演變的現象。鄧發現聲母、韻母、聲調和詞彙的演變速度並不一致，但大體來說詞彙是最容易發生演變的，而聲調是最難發生改變的。此外，四海話產生部分特殊的音韻結構多為「海陸聲母 ＋ 四縣韻母」，顯示海陸聲母和四縣韻母的結合強度比四縣聲母和海陸韻母來得強。鄧（2005）在桃園縣平鎮市與楊梅鎮兩地調查當地的四海話情形。兩區之四海話各以四縣及海陸為主，依聲調、聲韻結構等共發現四種四海話類型。四類的四海話雖然在聲、韻、調和辭彙上演變速度並不相同，但大抵而言，詞彙是較易發生演變的，而聲調是最難改變的，且四海話中所產生的特殊聲韻多為「海陸聲母 ＋ 四縣韻母」的情形，皆與關西、峨嵋的四海話的結論是類似的。

張素玲（2005）則以新竹縣關西鎮內的客家話為例，探討海陸與四縣客語的混同關係。鎮內的東平里因緊鄰著講海陸客語的新埔、竹北，與鎮中心的南山里講四縣客語所呈現的情況不同，作者分別以東平里與南山里為海陸客語以及四縣客語的四海話代表地點，並與苗栗四縣的客語綜合比較三者之間的異同。調查結果發現，南山里的四縣客語除了聲調之外，聲母與韻母都與東平里的海陸客語有很大的相似性，而與苗栗的四縣客語呈現不同的面貌，只有聲調完全與苗栗的四縣客語相同；由此可知，在混同關係中，東平里海陸客語在語言上是扮演較為優勢的角色，驅使該區的四縣客語往海陸客語靠攏。

肆、研究架構與方法

本研究將以實地採訪所得為依據，兼採歷史演變及語言接觸理論應用方言比較法來進行研究。

本文以楊梅鎮老街地區為觀察重點，將次方言互動結果產生之四海話以及客語受到國語之影響綜合比較分析，並且訪問三代發音人[3]，希望藉此可得到較為全面性的語言現象。以下為此次採訪之四海發音人資料[4]：

(2)

姓名	性別	年齡	職業	居住地	本人使用語言[5]	教育程度	備註
彭馨瑩 （以下簡稱 彭60）	女	60	服務業	楊梅鎮大華街	海陸客語 國語	三專	世居楊梅
彭桂陵 （以下簡稱 彭53）	男	53	退休	楊梅鎮大華街	海陸客語 國語	專科	世居楊梅
彭忻君 （以下簡稱 彭20）	女	20	學生	楊梅鎮大華街	國語 海陸客語	大學	世居楊梅
彭彥嘉 （以下簡稱 彭16）	男	16	學生	楊梅鎮大華街	國語 海陸客語	高中	世居楊梅

伍、研究成果與發現

本文之研究重點在於楊梅鎮強勢語言海陸與弱勢語言四縣相互影響後，所產生的語言變化。除了客語次方言間的互動之外，本文亦考量國語的影響，進一步探討楊梅地區海陸客語與國語間的互動關係。在四海交互影響的部分，我們發現語言的確是互相影響，因此即使是強勢的海陸也會受到四縣潛移默化的改變。另

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[3] 三代定義為第一代：六十歲以上（九年國教尚未推行，國語影響極微）、第二代：三十歲至五十九歲（九年國教推行後，國語漸漸取代方言）以及第三代：二十九歲以下（國語幾乎取代方言）。

[4] 本次訪問之四位發音人，其中有三位為父女/子關係，分別為彭桂陵（父）、彭忻君（女）、彭彥嘉（子），彭馨瑩女士則為彭桂陵先生家族之朋友。在此由衷感謝三代發音人共四位抽出時間接受採訪。

[5] 彭60在家以及工作場合皆以海陸為主。彭53在家以海陸客語為主，出外溝通以國語為主，因此使用語言將海陸客語列為第一使用語言。彭20及彭16大多都使用國語，海陸客語僅偶爾與家人溝通時使用。

外，楊梅四海話在聲、韻、調和辭彙上演變速度並不相同，演變速度從快到慢依序如下：韻母>詞彙≧聲母>聲調，與鄧（2003a）的調查相符，但由本研究之結果，我們可更深入得知，年輕一代的發音人受到四縣的影響益深。

至於海陸與國語交互影響後的語言現象，我們發現演變速度亦略有差異，國語詞彙最快進入海陸客語，其次是韻母、聲母、聲調。在語言習得理論中，聲調應該是最早根深蒂固在語言使用者腦海，因此也最不容易改變，此一理論我們在此也得到了證實。依照我們得到之結果，若四海話或是國語繼續發展下去，我大膽預測未來楊梅地區（甚至全客語地區）將可能採用不分海陸或四縣為基底的四海話，僅以聲調做為次方言區分。客國語交雜的混合語也將會是未來客語發展趨勢。

陸、計畫成果自評

1. 調查地點

本文以語言接觸的角度試論桃園縣楊梅鎮客語次方言間的互動，以及其受國語的影響。計畫原先規劃的調查點為後龍鎮，但因幾位符合調查條件的發音人於調查期間相繼過世，而後重新找尋的幾位發音人又不願接受採訪，於是本計劃今年度的兼任助理便以其地緣關係及人脈在桃園縣的楊梅鎮找到符合調查條件的發音人。

2. 研究主題

本計劃的主題為社會語言學研究。本文針對客語次方言「四縣客語」、「海陸客語」在桃園縣楊梅地區因接觸而產生之語言演變（四海話）為主題，並以社會語言學的理論為輔，提供語言改變的現況及預測未來可能的演變趨勢的背景。另外，因政府推行國語教育，使國語成為台灣地區的通行語，因此本研究也將國語干擾客語的現象納入討論的範圍，並於詞彙及語音這兩個面向呈現了楊梅地區海陸客語和國語間的互動。

3. 發表情況

本文已於 98 年 12 月 12-13 日四溪計畫期末研討會上宣讀，目前仍在修改中，將來會嘗試投稿至期刊中。

柒、結論與建議

此文研究之楊梅四海話是以海陸為基底，我們將與新竹縣新埔鎮的四海話[6]（以四縣為基底）進行綜合的比較，觀察其異同之處。

聲母部分，楊梅與新埔之四海話中青兩代發音人使用顎化音的頻率明顯高於老一代發音人。兩地之四海話明明為不同次方言為基底，但卻顯示出相同的顎化音現象，由此可證實顎化聲母在此扮演的角色並非「四縣聲母」的特徵，應是同受到國語的影響所致。韻母部分，新埔鎮的四海話韻母漸採用海陸取代四縣韻母，而楊梅鎮則是受到國語的影響而產生鼻韻尾取代之現象。由此可推斷新埔鎮的強勢語言目前應仍是海陸客語[7]，但在楊梅鎮應屬國語為最強勢語言，因此造成語言變遷之方向略有差異。聲調部分，無論在新埔或楊梅地區，聲調都是基底語言保留比例最高的，顯示聲調為辨別次方言的主要依據，也是族群認同的重要依歸。至於詞彙的變化方向以及速度，新埔四海話合璧詞（四縣與海陸詞彙各取部分）顯示出四縣向海陸靠攏的過渡期特徵，而楊梅四海話的詞彙可能直接變為四縣或者改採用國語詞彙替代。由此可見楊梅地區語言變遷速度相較快速。

第三年本計畫將移至苗栗縣南庄鄉，並對當地的客家人與原住民賽夏族族人進行"稱讚語行的比較研究"以探求其中哪些成分具有普世性而哪些成分是兩個文化所特有的部分。我們也擬經由比較研究找出那些成分是經影響而產生的結果，這樣的研究成果對於促進民族間之溝通與和平共處有一定之助益。

捌、附錄

參考文獻

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[6] 新埔鎮四海話之資料詳見本子計畫九十七年成果。
[7] 此推論僅能擴及到約二、三十歲的發音人，年紀再小之發音人受國語影響應該就更大。

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(1)專任助理張瑩如參加「第四十二屆國際漢藏語言學研討會」出國報告。
(詳見附錄 4)
(2)「第四十二屆國際漢藏語言學研討會」發表論文:The Grammaticalization of 同
---Induced by Southern Min and Hakka.(詳見附錄 5)

附錄 4：出席國際研討會心得報告—「第四十二屆國際漢藏語言學研討會」出國
　報告。(張瑩如)

出國報告（出國類別：出席國際會議）

參加「The 42nd International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics 第四十二屆國際漢藏語言學研討會」

服務機關：國立交通大學客家文化學院

姓名職稱：張瑩如 計畫助理

派赴國家：泰國清邁

出國期間：20091102-20091111

報告日期：20100129

補助單位：行政院客家委員會

一、目的

　　本次出國主要目的為參加「第四十二屆國際漢藏語言學研討會」，於 11/4 下午 1:00 Min（閩語）的專題場次中發表論文一篇。論文題目為「The Comparative Study on the Comitative Marker 共/同 in Southern Min and Hakka(閩南語及客語的伴隨標誌「共/同」的比較分析)。該論文為行政院客家委員會補助之政府科技預算「台灣客家族群的聚落、歷史與社會變遷：以鳳山、頭前、中港及後龍四溪流域為範圍之跨學科研究」子計畫四「四溪流域的社會語言學研究」之部分成果。

二、過程

　　「第四十二屆國際漢藏語言學研討會」於 2009 年 11 月 2 日在泰國清邁 Payap University 的 Mae Khao 校區舉行，會議的主要場地在 Sirindhorn Learning Resource Center 舉行。此次大會的參與學者專家人數超過 150 人，共有 105 位發表研究論文。主辦單位將研究論文分為 16 個主題：Chinese, Language Vitality, Southern Ngwi and Austroasiatic, Himalayish, Southern Ngwi, Tai, Tibeto-Bruman, Qiangic and Nungish, Burmese, Karen and Tibeto-Burman, Zhuang & Others, Mon, Hakka or Min, Kuki-Chin-Naga, Tai or Typology, Wide Comparsion。

　　每天第一場為全體會議講座演講(plenary speeches)，其餘時間又分為三個發表時段(Morning, Early Afternoon, Late Afternoon)，每一個發表時段同時有三組並列的會議演講(parallel sessions)舉行，每一組又有 3 篇以上的論文發表，因此一天下來計有 28 場以上的演講，三天則有超過 85 場以上的演講發表。

　　筆者因班機問題，11/2 自台灣出發，因此沒有參與第一天的議程。但 11/3 及 11/4 這兩天筆者除了發表 1 篇研究之外，亦參與了 2 場的全體會議講座演講與 16 場並列的會議演講。

三、心得與建議

　　筆者此次參與「第四十二屆國際漢藏語言學研討會」除積極參與演講之外，亦於 11 月 4 日下午 1:00 在 Room 3 的場次發表我的研究論文：The Comparative Study on the Comitative Marker 共/同 in Southern Min and Hakka(閩南語及客語的伴隨標誌「共/同」的比較分析)。

　　此篇研究發表的過程非常順暢，該場次的主持人 Larin Adams 與 Peiyu Shih 頻頻稱讚此篇的論文的發表，使我對此篇論文的研究更有信心。筆者回國後仍會繼續發展此篇論文，將之修改得更為嚴謹，之後擬投稿至語言學期刊上。

　　此次與會聆聽了非常多場國外學者的研究，於方法論層次上而言，這些國外學者喜歡由理論本身出發，思考理論的邏輯性與適用性等面向的問題，而不是僅僅將理論應用至語言現象上而已；這一點與台灣訓練出來的學者有很大的不同。台灣的學者所發表的研究通常僅侷限在方法論的應用上居多，亦很少檢討理論本身的問題。另外，大多國外的學者能以清楚的邏輯敘述他們的發現與觀點，而台灣的學者在這點的表現上較為遜色。以研究內容而言，此次有壯侗等少數民

族語言的研究發表，這對我近年來的研究有相當的啟發，收穫匪淺。

　　此外，本次研討會在清邁的 Payap University 舉行，會中除了研究論文的發表外，駐 Payap University 的國外學者專家也在會中提及他們未來的研究計畫與泰國政府對這些研究計畫的補助。這些研究計畫多與少數民族語言的保存與記載相關，而泰國政府對這些少數民族語言研究的支持度相當高，給予相當多的資源讓學者專家們實踐他們的計畫。筆者認為我們的政府亦可參考泰國政府在這方面的作法，提高國內對少數民族語言研究的支持，並從中學習如何保存與振興台灣境內的少數民族語言。

Tentative Program Schedule for 42nd Sino-Tibetan Conference

Mon	Room 1	Morning	Chinese 1

Fuchen Nien — A Corpus-Based Analysis of Coda Insertions in Taiwanese Loanwords

Wang-Chen Ling — The Phonological-Musical Strategies in Textsetting of Chinese Bible Verses: a Corpus-Based Analysis

Mon	Room 2	Morning	Language Vitality 1

Doug Cooper — Catch and Release: the Care, Feeding, and Sharing of Comparative Language Data

Bhaskarjyoti Sarma — First Language Interference in Education: Some Crucial Problems of   Bilingual Communities of   Assam.

Mon	Room 3	Morning	Southern Ngwi and Austroasiatic

Jake Terrell — Sound and Meaning Correspondences in Akha: Phonesthemes or Not?

Tam Nguyen — Bih Phonology: from Proto-Cham to the Modern Dialect

Mon	Room 1	Early Afternoon	Himalayish 1

Jeff Green — Phonological Profile of Rebkong Amdo Tibetan

You-Jing Lin — Intonation in Zhuokeji rGyalrong

Jackson T.-S. Sun & You-Jing Lin — Relativization Constructions in rGyalrong: a Cross-dialect Comparison

Mon	Room 2	Early Afternoon	Language Vitality 2

CHANG Melody Ya-Yin & WANG Cheng-Yu & GUO JingPing & MA Ning — Language Use and Language Attitudes of the $k^{h}\alpha^{55}$ tso^{31} People of Mongolians in Yunnan

Somsonge Burusphat, Amon Saengmanee, Pattama Patpong — Language Vitality and Language Attitude of Karen Ethnic Group in the Western Region of Thailand: Preliminary Report

Tom Tehan and Erin Dawkins — Tai Ya Present and Future: Reversing Language Shift

Mon	Room 3	Early Afternoon	Southern Ngwi

Gillian Day — Evidence for a Number Marking System in Bisu

Paul Lewis — Sentence Final Particles in Dolnia (Luchun) Hani

Nathan Badenoch — Preliminary Observations on the Paza Language of Northern Laos

Mon	Room 1	Late Afternoon	Chinese 2

Jiang Ling and Phua Chiew Pheng — A Study of V+Jiang 将+Directional Complement Construction in Early Mandarin Chinese

Shu-Fen Chen — Study on the Chinese Transliterations of the Sanskrit Dhāraṇīs by Amoghavajra

Jiao WANG and Foong Ha YAP — A Study of Negator /bu/ as Interrogative Sentence Final Particle in Chinese

Mon	Room 2	Late Afternoon	Tai 1

Jarinya Thammachoto — Address Terms as Politeness Strategies Employed in Objections and Objection Responses in Thai No-Confidence Debates 1997 – 2004

Prang Thiengburanathum — Thai motion verbs /paj/ 'go' and /maa/ 'come': beyond time and space

Natchaya Chalaysap — Syntactic and Rhetorical Structure of Newspaper Columns in Thai and English Newspapers: Likeness and Unlikeness

Mon	Room 3	Late Afternoon	Tibeto-Burman 1

George Bedell and Roland Siang Nawl — Lai Reflexives and Reciprocals

Helga So-Hartmann — Case in Mro

David Peterson — Where Does Mru Fit Into Tibeto-Burman?

Tue	**Room 1**	**Morning**	**Qiangic and Nungish**
Chenglong Huang		Spatial Relation "Up" and "Down" in Qiang	
Randy J. LaPolla and Dory Poa		Questions on Transitivity in Three Tibeto-Burman Languages	
Ross Perlin		Reduplication in T'Rung	

Tue	**Room 2**	**Morning**	**Chinese 3**
Tzu-chuan Huang		Consonant-Tone Interaction in New Shanghai	
Hsiung, Jui-Hua		A Corpus Analysis of Chinese Raps	
Hsiao, Yu-Tai (蕭裕台) and Yeh, Wen-Chi(葉雯琪) and Chang, Ming-Te (章明德)		A Phonological Analysis of Disyllabic Mandarin Onomatopoeia	

Tue	**Room 3**	**Morning**	**Burmese**
Uwe Krech		Typological Comparison of Pyu Syntax and Genetic Comparison of Pyu	
Ampika Rattanapitak		The Comparison of Linguistic Structures of Requests in Burmese and in Thai	
Nicoletta Romeo		Grounding in Burmese Narrative Discourse	

Tue	**Room 1**	**Early Afternoon**	**Karen and Tibeto-Burman**
Ken Manson		The Classification of Karen Languages	
Kirstie Swanson		General Subordination: /lə/ in Sgaw Karen	
Tobias Weber		Conjunct/Disjunct Systems in Tibeto-Burman Languages	

Tue	**Room 2**	**Early Afternoon**	**Zhuang**
Pen-Ying Wang		The Development of MC Voiced Initials in Ping-hua	
Francois Langella and Kachen Tansiri		Contact Induced Word Order Change: a Case Study of Wuming Zhuang Under an Influence of Mandarin Chinese	

Tue	**Room 3**	**Early Afternoon**	**Tai 2**
Phinnarat Akharawatthanakun		Linguistic Hybridization: a Case Study of Khün Spoken in Nan Province, a Language Mixture Area in Northern Thailand	
Pittayawat Pittayaporn		The Sound of Proto-Tai Tones	
Dipima Buragohain		Ancient Manuscript Literature of Tai Ahom	

Tue	**Room 1**	**Late Afternoon**	**Himalayish 3**
Karen-Grunow-Hårsta		Patterns of Extension and Renewal within the Nominalization System of Magar	
Dubi Nanda Dhakal, Tej Ratna Kansakar, Yogendra Prasad Yadava, Krishna Prasad Chalise, Balaram Prasain, Krishna Prasad Poudel		Ventive and Andative in Baram	
SHIRAI Satoko		Copulas of nDrapa	

Tue	**Room 2**	**Late Afternoon**	**Chinese 4**
Yu Cian Hueng		The Optimality Theory of the Movement of Un-Nuclear Tone in Beijing Speech	
Peng Hsin-Yi		A Brand-New I Vowel, Discontinuous Tone and Lateral-Ending of the Gan（贛）Dialect in Jiangxi（江西）	
Chungmin Hsu, and Meichun Liu		From Numeral Classifier to the Expression of Indefiniteness: a Variationist Approach	

Tue	**Room 3**	**Late Afternoon**	**Mon**
Patrick McCormick		Translations Between Mon and Burmese: Reconsidering the Transmission of Histories through Linguistic Evidence	
Christian Bauer		From Lamphun to Nakhorn Sri Thammaraj: the Mon Basis of Thai Orthography	
Mathias Jenny		How Much Mon is There in Burmese?	

Wed	**Room 1**	**Morning**	**Tibeto-Burman 2**

Jakob Dempsey 田雅客 — Yipo-Ish, Yipo-Esque and Ex-Yipo

Yankee Modi and Mark W. Post — The Sociolinguistic Context and Genetic Position of Holon (Milang) in Tibeto-Burman

David Peterson and Jonathan Wright — Mru-Hkongso: a New Tibeto-Burman Grouping

Wed	**Room 2**	**Morning**	**Wide Comparison 2**

Michel Ferlus — Formation of Ethnonyms in Southeast Asia

Emily Yiu Sze Man and Candice Ng Sheung Pui — Grammaticalization of "Give" from An Areal Perspective

U. Ansaldo and E.O. Aboh — Surpass Comparatives from East Asia to West Africa

Wed	**Room 3**	**Morning**	**Hakka or Min**

Wichaya Bovonwiwat — The Aspectual Perspectives on Negative Markers in Hakka

Chi-Mei Tung — Against Gemination Integrity: Evidence from Sixian Hakka

Feng-fu Tsao and Yen-ling Chen — Diminutive-Induced Sound Changes in the Huìyīnmiaòwù

Wed	**Room 1**	**Early Afternoon**	**Tibeto-Burman 3**

Hsa Eh Ywar and Ken Manson — Clause Structure in Kayan

David Mortensen and James Miller — Proto-Tangkhul Onsets in Comparative Perspective

Chungkham Yashawanta Singh — Manipuri Poetry: a Linguistic Analysis

Wed	**Room 2**	**Early Afternoon**	**Kuki-Chin-Naga**

Roland Siang Nawl and George Bedell — Lai Quoted and Reported Speech

A.R. Coupe — The Origins of Tense Marking in Ao

Wed	**Room 3**	**Early Afternoon**	**Min**

Tsao Feng-Fu and Chang Ying-Ju — The Comparative Study on the Comitative Marker 同 in Southern Min and Hakka

Hsu, Ching-Han — Partial Reduplication Tone Sandhi in Southern Min

Peiyu Shih — The Distribution and Evolution of the Ancient Nasal Initials in Min Dialect

Wed	**Room 1**	**Late Afternoon**	**Himalayish 2**

NISHIDA Fuminobu — The Mande Language (ༀ་སྨེ་པའི་ཁ) in Bhutan

Kavita Rastogi — Raji Causatives: An Introduction

Hiroyuki Suzuki — Historical development of *r initial in Gagatang Tibetan (Weixi, Yunnan)

Wed	**Room 2**	**Late Afternoon**	**Tai or Typology**

Udom Warotamasikkhadit — Sentence Classifiers and Verb Phrase Classifiers

Luo Yongxian — Sino-Tai Lexical Correspondences: The link of phonetic series

David Penn — A Prosodic Reanalysis of Elaborate Expressions, with Data from Mueang (Northern Thai)

Wed	**Room 3**	**Late Afternoon**	**Wide Comparison 1**

Mark Post — Prosody and Typological Drift in Tibeto-Burman: Against "Indosphere" and "Sinosphere" (in some cases at least!)

Keith Slater — What is a Particle? on the Use and Abuse of the Term Particle in East and Southeast Asian Languages with Some Modest Recommendations for Improving a Mildly Lamentable Situation

Roger Blench — Can Agriculture Be Reconstructed for Proto-Sino-Tibetan?

附錄 5：會議論文—The Grammaticalization of 同---Induced by Southern Min and Hakka.(張瑩如)

會議論文

The Comparative Study on the Comitative Marker 共/同 in Southern Min and Hakka[1]

Tsao Feng-Fu   Chang Ying-Ju

National Tsing Hua University   National Tsing Hua University

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1. The grammaticalization of *tong*^{35} 同

1.1 *tong*^{35} 同 in Archaic Chinese

The Archaic Chinese indicates the Chinese spoken from the Shang Dynasty (商代) to the Western Han Dynasty (西漢). In Archaic Chinese, *tong*^{35} 同 can be used as a verb, an adverb, an adjective and a noun. Most usages of noun relate to the reference of specific items or unit nouns and therefore would be ignored in this paper.

As an adjective, *tong*^{35} 同 bears the meaning "to be the same as", as in (1); it has the meaning "together/ along with" as an adverb, as in (2):

(1) to be the same as

同　類　相　　從，同　　聲　　相　　應。　　　　　（莊子·漁父）

tong lei xiang cong tong sheng xiang ying   (Zhuangzi·The Old Fisherman)

(Like seeks to like and (birds) of the same note respond to one another.)[2]

(2) together/along with

女　心　　傷　　悲，殆　及　公　子　同　歸。　　　（詩·豳風·七月）

nu xin shang bei dai ji gong zi tong gui

(Book of Poetry·Odes of Bin·Qi Yue)

(That young lady's heart is wounded with sadness. For she will [soon] be

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[2] The English translations of (1) to (9) are from the website: Chinese Text Project (http://chinese.dsturgeon.net/index.html).

(That young lady's heart is wounded with sadness. For she will [soon] be
going with one of our princes as his wife.)

Tong[35] 同 has only one sense when it was taken as an adjective and an adverb, but it
conveys seven different messages as a verb, as shown in (3) to (9):

(3) to congregate/ collect

嗟我 農 夫，我 稼 既 *同*， 上 入 執 宮 功。（詩·豳風·七月）

Jie wo nong fu   wo jia ji tong shang ru zhi gong gong

(Book of Poetry·Odes of Bin·Qi Yue)

(O my husbandmen. Our harvest is all collected. Let us go to the town. And
be at work on the royal palace[3].)

(4) to adulate

君 子 和 而 不 *同*，小 人 *同* 而 不 和。　　　（論語·子路）

jun zi he er bu tong xiao ren tong er bu he　　(The Analects·Zi Lu)

(The superior man is affable, but not adulatory; the mean man is adulatory,
but not affable.)

(5) to be/make the same as

子 比 而 *同* 之，是 亂 天 下 也。　　　（孟子·騰文公 上）

zi bi er tong zhi   shi luan tian xia ye　　(Mengzi·Teng Wen Gong I)

(If you reduce them all to the same standard. That must throw the kingdom
into confusion.)

(6) to unite/regulate

協 時 月 正 日，*同* 律 度 量　衡。　　　　　（書·舜典）

xie shi yue zheng ri   tong lu du liang heng　(Shang Shu·Canon of Shun)

(He set in accord their seasons and months, and regulated the days; he
made uniform the standard-tubes, with the measures of length and of

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[3] The English translation "at work on our houses" from the website Chinese Text Project
is incorrect.

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capacity, and the steelyards.)

(7) to share

有　女　*同*　車，顏　如　舜　　華。　　　　　　（詩‧鄭風‧有女同車）

you nu *tong* che　yan　ru shun hua

<div align="right">(Book of Poetry‧Odes of Zheng‧You Nu Tong Che)</div>

(There is the lady in the carriage [with him], with the countenance

like the flower of the ephemeral hedge-tree.)

(8) to participate in/take part in

嗚　呼！其在 受 德 瞀，惟　羞　刑　暴 德 之 人，*同*于 厥　邦。

wu hu!　　qi zai shou de min　wei　xiu xing bou　de zhi ren　　*tong* yu jue bang

<div align="right">（書‧立政）(Shang Shu‧Establishment of Government)</div>

(Oh! when the throne came to Shou, his character was all violence. He

preferred men of severity, and who deemed cruelty a virtue, to share with him

in the government of his states)

(9) to accompany

同　我　婦 子，饁　彼　南　　畝，田　　畯　至　喜。　　（詩‧豳風‧七月）

tong wo fu　zi　　ye　bi　nan　mu tian　jun　zhi　xi

<div align="right">(Book of Poetry‧Odes of Bin‧Qi Yue)</div>

(Along with my wife and children, I carry food to them in those

south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields comes, and is glad.)

There are five classic works mentioned from (1) to (9), such as the Book of Poetry (詩 經), the Shang Shu (尚書), the Analects[4] (論語), the Mengzi (孟子) and the Zhuangzi (莊 子). The compilation of the Book of Poetry, which collects 305 poems written during the early Western Zhou Dynasty (西周初年) to the middle Spring- Autumn Period (春秋中 葉) (1134-515 BC), was carried out (around the 6th centry BC) first among the five classic works we mentioned here. The next is the Shang Shu and The Analects. Shang Shu is the most aged writing of history in Chinese. It can be further segmented into four chapters:

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[4] Also called "Confucian Analects".

Yu Shu(虞書), Xia Shu(夏書), Shang Shu(商書) and Zhou Shu(周書). All the 28 pieces it collects are regarding political issues. As the names of the four chapters imply, the content of this book describes the events from the time of the Yellow Emperor (黃帝) to Shang Dynasty (商朝). The exact time of when these works were written remains unknown, but it is commonly recognized that it is in Spring-Autumn Period that Shang Shu was edited.

The Analects, compiled by Confucius's students, is a collection of sayings and teachings of Confucius. He is believed to have been born in 551 BC., in the state of Lu, and died in 479 BC.. Hence the collections of The Analects must have been written after 551 BC..

Then come the texts Mengzi and Zhuangzi. The book Mengzi was written by Meng Ke (孟軻). He is believed to have lived during 372-289 BC.. As to the book Zhuangzi, the life of its author, Zhuang Zhou, is quite unknown. It is believed that Zhuang Zhou was 10 years younger than Meng Ke.

Although the compilation of the Book of Poetry is finished earlier than the Shang Shu, the time of the described events in the Shang Shu is earlier than that in the Book of Poetry. As introduced above, the Shang Shu is a historiographical work. An important character of this kind of writings is that the description of historical events is supposed to be done after they happened. To avoid distortion, the statement of events should be done as soon as possible. Since that the time of events described in Shang Shu happened before Zhou Dynasty (1100 BC.) and the time of occurrences mentioned in the Book of Poetry took place after Zhou Dynasty, we assume that the articles in the Shang Shu were written before those in the Book of Poetry.

Assuring the time sequence is a crucial feature to reconstruct the grammaticalization process. According to Liu & Peyraube (1994:193), the first meaning of $tong^{35}$ 同 is the verbal use with the sense "to be the same as". Then $tong^{35}$ 同 developed another verbal meaning "to share with"; it continued to have another verbal use "to accompany". And it is from the meaning "to accompany" that $tong^{35}$ 同 has been grammaticalized into a preposition "with". This grammaticalization process took place in the Tang Dynasty (唐朝).

On the basis of the data (1) to (9), we have different views from those of Liu & Peyraube. As illustrated in (6), the verbal senses of $tong^{35}$ 同 in the Shang Shu are "to unite/regulate" and "to participate in". Another verbal one "to make the same as" in (5) is

from the Mengzi. Since the articles in Shang Shu were completed before those in the Mengzi, this indicates that the meaning " to unite/regulate" was used before "to make the same as". In another word, the meaning "to make the same as" is not the first verbal meaning of $tong^{35}$ 同.

The messages "to share" and "to accompany" that $tong^{35}$ 同 conveys in (7) and (9) are taken from the Book of Poetry, which is also published before the Mengzi. Due to "to share" and "to accompany" are both from the Book of Poetry, it is tremendously difficult to tell which one came first. Actually, there are seven different verbal meanings, one adjective and one adverbial senses showed above. For the ease of comprehension, we chronologically arrange them in (10). It is obvious to see that the verbal senses of $tong^{35}$ 同 in Archaic Chinese are versatile; the meaning "to make the same as" is the latest one among them.

(10)

Shang Shu	(6) unite/ regulage
	(8) to participate in/ take part in
Book of poetry	(3) to congregate/ collect
	(7) to share
	(2) together/ along with(adj)
	(9) to accompany
The Analects	(4) to adulate
Mengzi	(5) to make the same as
Zhuangzi	(1) to be the same as (adv)

1.2 $tong^{35}$ 同 in Medieval Chinese

The Medieval Chinese indicates the Chinese spoken from the Eastern Han Dynasty to the Northern and Southern Dynasties. According to Ma (1993), $tong^{35}$ 同 converted a verb into a preposition under the influence of $gong^{41}$ 共 during the Medieval Chinese period. This is a kind of assimilation of lexicon, or we can put it another way--- lexical assimilation. The concept of "lexical assimilation" is: if a word A means nearly the same as another word B in the same language, then the change of meaning of A will induce that of B. If the semantic assimilation goes on, the categorical variation would be the next.

$gong^{41}$ 共 and $tong^{35}$ 同 are synonyms before Three Kingdom Period (三國時代)[5](Ma

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[5] The examples are illustrated in Ma (1993: 151).

1993:151). This synonymic relationship caused *tong*^{35} 同 to assimilate *gong*^{41} 共 in two aspects: both significance and part of speech. *gong*^{41} 共 began to grammaticalize into a preposition during the Northern and Southern Dynasties (220 – 581 AD.), while *tong*^{35} 同 began its grammaticalization process in Tang Dynasty (Liu 1989: 450), see (11) and (12). *gong*^{41} 共 in (11)a, as Liu (1989) suggested, is an adverb meaning "together", but it turned out to be a preposition in (11)b. *tong*^{35} 同, however, grammaticalized into a preposition in Tang Dynasty, as in (12) (Ma 1993: 152).

(11) a. 四　姓　欲　共　治 之　　　　　(三國志·卷十三·王肅傳裴注)

　　　si xing yu gong zhi zhi　　　(Records of Three Kingdoms·volume 13)

　　　(The four families would like to share the government.)

　 b. 吾　共　　諸 君 踰 越　險 阻　　　(後漢書·卷十八·吳漢傳)

　　　wu gong　zhu jun yu yue　xian zu　　(Hou Han Shu·volume 18·Wu Han Zhuan)

　　　(I conquered many hindrances and barriers with you.)

(12) 雖　同　故　山　會　　　　　　　　(李涉·杪春再遊廬山)

　　sui tong gu shan hui　　　　　(Li She·Miao Chun Zai You Lu Shan)

　　(Although we meet by the same mountain.)

1.3 *tong*^{35} 同 in Early Chinese

The preposition *tong*^{35} 同 was initiated in Medieval Chinese, but it burgeoned in Early Chinese, especially after the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368). The Early Chinese refers to the Chinese spoken from Tang Dynasty. In the Thirty Kinds of Plays of Yuan Dynasty (元刊雜劇三十種) and The Collection of Guan Hanqing's Operas (關漢卿戲曲集), there are three distinct usages of *tong*^{35} 同: an adverb, a verb and a preposition. There are 15 examples of prepositional *tong*^{35} 同 in Thirty Kinds of Plays of Yuan Dynasty, see (13), and 49 examples of prepositional *tong*^{35} 同 in The Collection of Guan Hanqing's Operas, see (14). We, however, cannot find any *tong*^{35} 同 taken as a conjunction in both the Thirty Kinds of Plays of Yuan Dynasty and The Collection of Guan Hanqing's Operas.

(13) a. 同　仙子　上　瀛洲　　　　　(元刊雜劇三十種·陳季卿悟道)

　　　tong xianzi shang yingzhou

(Go to Ying Zhou with the angel.)

b. 今日 *同* 嫂嫂 與 母親 往 祖墳 去 (元刊雜劇三十種·鯁直張千替)

jin ri tong saosao yu muqin wang zufen qu

(Thirty Kinds of Plays of Yuan Dynasty·Frank Chang Qian-Ti)

(Go to the tumulus with Sister-in-law and Mother today.)

(14) a. 喒 *同* 母親 尋 三哥 尸首 來去 (關漢卿戲曲集·包待制三勘)

zan tong muqing xun sange shishou lai qu

(The Collection of Guan Hanqing's Operas·Bao Dai-zhi Sankan)

(Let's go find our brother's corpse with Mother.)

b. 我 扯 他 *同* 住 老子去 衙門 中 告 他去

wo che ta tong zhu laozi qu yamen zhong gao ta qu

(關漢卿戲曲集·王閨香夜月) (The Collection of Guan Hanqing's Operas·Wang Gui-Xiang Ye Yue)

(I forced his father living with him to go to the yamen with me and sued him.)

In the Outlaws of the Marsh[6](水滸傳), the great work written during the period from the late Yuan Dynasty to the beginning of Ming Dynasty, there are over 100 instances of prepositional *tong*[35] 同. This happens also in another two classical novels: the Journey to the West (西遊記) and The Story of a Marital Fate to Awaken the World[7] (醒世姻緣).

The Journey to the West is published in the 1590s during the Ming Dynasty. More than 100 *tong*[35] 同 are considered prepositions in it. The Story of a Marital Fate to Awaken the World is believed to be brought out before 1644 (崇禎十七年) in Qing Dynasty. There are also over 100 examples of prepositional *tong*[35] 同 in it. Here comes an intriguing phenomenon: there are a few *tong*[35] 同 used as conjunctions in these three classical novels. In the Outlaws of the Marsh, there are three conjunctive *tong*[35] 同 ; one conjunctive *tong*[35] 同 in the Journey to the West and one in The Story of a Marital Fate to

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[6] Also called "All Men are Brothers", "The Marshes of Mount Liang", "Water Margin".

[7] Also called "A Cursed Marital Fate" (惡姻緣).

Awaken the World. We list the selected examples of the prepositional *tong*[35] 同 of the Outlaws of the Marsh in (15), the Journey to the West in (16) and The Story of a Marital Fate to Awaken the World in (17). The conjunctive instances of *tong*[35] 同 are illustrated in (18). It is interesting that 同 worked as another benefactive marker and also a preposition 給 in the literature work Ku She E Juan Yun (苦社額鄆云), the example is in (19). The 同 here introduces the benefactor *zhuwui* (諸位) of the VP *ketou* (磕頭)

(15) a. 因 此　林沖　同 二 人 到 節 堂 下　　　　（水滸傳·第八回）

yin ci Lin-Chong tong er ren dao jie tang xia　　(Outlaws of the Marsh·Chapter 8)

(Hence Lin-Chong goes to the shrine with other two people.)

b. 我 同 你 上　樓 去　　　　　　　（水滸傳·第二十一回）

wo tong ni shang lou qu　　　　　　(Outlaws of the Marsh·Chapter 8)

(I'll go upstairs with you.)

(16) a. 你 還　同 我 進去　　　　　　　（西遊記·第四回）

ni hai tong wo jinqu　　　　　　(Journey to the West·Chapter 4)

(You even went in there with me!)

b. 玉帝 即 同　王母　出 迎　　　　　（西遊記·第五回）

yudi　ji tong wangmu chu ying　　(Journey to the West·Chapter 5)

(Jade Emperor comes out to welcome Most Exalted Lord Lao[8] with Queen Mother.)

(17) a. 若同他進房去　　　　　　　（醒世姻緣·第二回）

ruo　tong ta jin fang qu　　(The Story of a Marital Fate to Awaken the World·Chapter 2)

(If (Jenge) goes in that room with him.)

b. 請　同　禹明吾　來 吃 午 飯　　　（醒世姻緣·第四回）

qing　tong Yu Mingwu lai chi wu fan

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[8] That is Tai Shang Lao Jun (太上老君).

(Please come and have a lunch with Yu Mingwu.)

(18) a. 帶了 自己 的 財賦 同　老小　　　　　(水滸傳·第五十回)

daile ziji de caifu tong laoxiao　　　　(Outlaws of the Marsh·Chapter 50)

(He took his riches and families.)

b. 一個　長嘴　大耳 的 和尚　**同**　火燄山　土地

yige changzui da er de heshang tong huoyanshan tudi

〈西遊記·第六十一回〉(Journey to the West·Chapter 61)

(One bonze with a long mouth, a pair of big ears and The Flaming Mountains.)

c. 叫　上　韓蘆　同　劉　芳名　　　(醒世姻緣·第八十二回)

jiao shang Hanlu tong Liu Fangming

(The Story of a Marital Fate to Awaken the World·Chapter 82)

(Bring Hanlu and Liu Fangming.)

(19) 恕　我 不　能　起 來，等　好 了 再 *同*　諸　位　磕頭。

shu wo bu neng qi lai deng hao le zai xiang zhu wui ketou

(苦社額鄳云·二十八回)(Ku She E Juan Yun·Chapter 28)

(Please forgive me for being ill; I'll bow to you after recovery.)

1.4 Summary

In this chapter, we present the development of *tong*^{35} 同 chronologically: from Archaic Chinese to Medieval Chinese and finally Early Chinese. For the ease of comprehension, we summarize its grammaticalization process in (20). In Archaic Chinese, *tong*^{35} 同 can be a noun, an adjective, an adverb and a verb. As a verb, *tong*^{35} 同 had seven different meanings, such as: to congregate/ collect, to adulate, to make the same as, to unite, to share, to participate in, to accompany. In Medieval Chinese, *tong*^{35} 同 began to grammaticalize into a preposition under the influence of *gong*^{41} 共. In Early Chinese, prepositional *tong*^{35} 同 burgeoned and we can see a few conjunctive *tong*^{35} 同 in literature works at that time.

(20)

	Archaic Chinese	Medieval Chinese	Early Chinese

Grammaticalization Process	· <u>Adjective</u>
	  together/ along with
	· <u>Adverb</u>
	  to be the same as
	· <u>Noun</u>
	· <u>Verb</u>
	  ① to congregate/collect
	  ② to adulate
	  ③ to make the same as
	  ④ to unite
	  ⑤ to share
	  ⑥ to participate in
	  ⑦ to accompany
		· Grammaticalization process began
		· Preposition
			· Prepositional $tong^{35}$ 同 burgeoned.
			· a few instances of conjunctive $tong^{35}$ 同.
			· gei^{35} 給

2. 同 in Southern Min

同 in Southern Min is aspirated as $kang^{214}$. It can be a comitative marker, a source marker, a goal marker, a benefactive marker, and a patient marker, as shown from (21) to (25). In thematic-role perspective, $kang^{214}$ 同 in (21) work as comitative markers, but in (21)a it serves as a conjunction "and", in (21)b as a preposition "with". Grammatically, $kang^{214}$ 同 in (22)a is a preposition "from" while in (22)b, it is equal to ba^{214} 把 in Mandarin, which causes the object "伊的一隻手指" ahead of the VP "咬掉". In example (23)a, $kang^{214}$ 同 is a preposition "to"; in (23)b, $kang^{214}$ 同 is also a preposition. In example (24)a and b, the function of $kang^{214}$ 同 are equal to another benefactive marker gei^{35} 給 in Mandarin. In example (25)a and b, $kang^{214}$ 同 serve as ba^{35} 把 in Mandarin. In (25)a, $kang^{214}$ 同 causes the object "彼盒餅" ahead of the VP "提走". In (25)b, $kang^{214}$ 同 causes the object "彼叢樹" ahead of VP "剉倒". The "呼" between "剉" and "倒" can be omitted here.

(21) comitative marker

a. hit jit am, ngoo *kang* nng tsong khi hoo lang thau the khi

彼 一 暗 鵝 同 卵 總 去 呼 人 偷 拿 去

(The goose and the eggs were stolen on that night.)

b. i tsin ting-tsin, m kann *kang* thau-ke hap-koo

伊 真 頂 真 毋 敢 同 頭 家 合 股

(He/She is so scrupulous that he/she does not dare to partner with

his/her boss.)

(22) source marker

    a. i   si-siong *kang* i   e   lau-pe tsioh tsinn

       伊　時常　　同　伊 的　老爸　借　錢

       (He/She borrows money from his/her father quite often.)

    b. hit tsiah kau *kang* i   e   jit ki tshiu-tsi ka tiau

       彼　隻　狗　同　伊 的 一　隻　手　指　咬　掉

       (That dog bit off one of his/ her fingers.)

(23) goal marker

    a. gua u tiann-tiann *kang*   i kong tsit kiann tai-tsi

       我 有　常常　　同　伊 講　這　件　代誌

       (I remind him/her of this matter many times.)

    b. li khi *kang* huat-kuann kiu-tsing

       伊 去 同　　法官　　　求情

       (He interceded with the judge.)

(24) benefactive marker

    a. li *kang*   in   sang nng ah tsui-ko khi

       你 同 他們 送　兩　盒　水果　去

       (You buy them two boxes of fruits.)

    b. li phong jit puann ang nng khit *kang* ling lau-bu tso-sinni-jit

       你　捧　　一　盤　紅　卵　去 同　你 的 母親　　做生日

       (You hold up with a plate of red eggs to celebrate your mother's

        birthday.)

(25) patient marker

    a. li *kang* hit ah piann the tsau

你　同　彼　盒　餅　提　走

(You take that box of cookies with you.)

b. *kang* hit tshong tshiu phut hoo to

同　彼　叢　樹　剒　呼　倒

(Please chop down that tree.)

3. 同 in Hakka

同 in Hakka is aspirated as tʰuŋ². As *kang²¹⁴* 同 in Southern Min, *tʰuŋ²* 同 in Hakka can be a comitative marker, a source marker, a goal marker, a benefactive marker, and a patient marker, as shown from (26) to (30). In (26)a, *tʰuŋ²* 同 is a coordinative conjunction while *tʰuŋ²* 同 in (26)b is a comitative preposition. As Chiang (2006) points out: it's not easy to discriminate the comitative preposition from the coordinative conjunction in Chinese grammar. Furthermore, the comitative preposition and the coordinative conjunction in Chinese are always isomorphemic, thus Chiang proposes that the comitative preposition and the coordinative conjunction can be seen in the same class in the typological viewpoint.

tʰuŋ² 同 in (27)a and b are both source markers and both prepositions. In (28) a and b, *tʰuŋ²* 同 serve as goal markers and they merge with *ki²* 佢, and then turn out like *tʰi²*. This mergence is quite common in Hakka. *tʰuŋ²* 同 in (29) a and b function as 給 in Mandarin Chinese. This phenomenon happens in the previous example of Southern Min *kang²¹⁴* 同 in example (24). In example (30) a and b, *tʰuŋ²* 同 work as patient markers. *tʰuŋ²* 同 and *ki²* 佢 merge again here. *ki²* 佢 here serve as resumptive pronouns. They refer to the noun phrase preceding *tʰuŋ²* 同. And the *tʰuŋ²* 同 in a and b function as *ba³⁵* 把 in Mandarin Chinese. Therefore the object NPs *kai⁵ vok⁸ tʰeu² koi⁵* 那鑊頭蓋 and **ʒ***it⁷ ki¹ ŋioŋ² fa¹* 一枝娘花 move ahead of the VPs.

(26) comitative marker

a. 那一　暗晡　鵝　*同* 卵　總　下　分　人　捧　捧　走

kai **ʒ**it am pu, ŋo tʰuŋ lon tsuŋ ha pun ŋin pʰaŋ pʰaŋ tseu

(The goose and the eggs were all stolen on that night.)

b. 佢 就 真 老 實 毋 敢 *同* 那 頭 家 合 股

ki tsʰ tʃin lo ʃit m̩ kan tʰuŋ kai tʰeu ka kap ku

(He/She is so scrupulous that he/she does not dare to partner with

his/her boss.)

(27) source marker

a. [他的]兒 子 賭 繳 就 緊 *同* [他的]爸 拿 錢

kia lai ts , tu kiau, tsʰ kin tʰuŋ kia pa na tsʰien

(His son relishes gambling and thus keeps borrowing money from

his father.)

b. 那 師 父 就 *同* 佢 咬 一 個 手 指 包 轉 來

kai s fu, tsʰ tʰuŋ ki ŋau ʒit kai ʃiu tʃi pau tʃion loi

(That master bit off her finger and enfolded it.)

(28) goal marker

a. 就 *同* 佢 講 前 生 事 情 佢 無 愛 相 信

tsʰ tʰi koŋ tsʰien sen s tsʰin, ki moi sioŋ sin

((that master) described what happened in his last life to him, but he

didn't believe him.)

b. 那 水 鬼 *同* 佢 求 情

kai ʃui kui tʰi kʰiu tsʰin

(That ghost interceded with him.)

(29) benefactive marker

a. 太 白 星 君 就 *同* 佢 賜 兩 支

tʰai pʰak sen kiun tsʰ tʰuŋ ki s lioŋ ki

(Tai-Bai-Xing-Chun deigned to give him/her two (bamboo

shoots).)   (東勢鎮客語故事集三·頁十四)

b. 你 挑 一 擔 麵 線 去 *同* 阿 爸 做 生 日

hnˌ kʰai **ʒ**it tam mien sien kʰi tʰuŋ a pa tso sen ŋit

(You deliver a picul of noodles to celebrate Father's birthday.)

(東勢鎮客語故事集三·頁一 O 八)

(30) patient marker

a. [他的]家 娘 那 鑊 頭 蓋 就 *同*佢打 開 看

   kia ka ŋioŋ kai vok tʰeu koi ts   tʰi   ta kʰoi kʰon

(Her mother-in-law uncovered the kettle and saw what's in it.)

(東勢鎮客語故事集三·頁一七六)

b. 一 支 娘 花 *同*佢 插 落 去   (東勢鎮客語故事集二·頁四十六)

ʒit ki ŋioŋ fa tʰi tsʰap lok hi

(Put a flower into the vase.)

4. Concluding remarks

The northern areas in China were more dominant in political, economic, cultural and educational aspects than those in southern areas. The dominance would enhance the popularity of northern Chinese dialects. Thus it is reasonable that the northern Chinese dialects were much more powerful than southern ones.

Furthermore, the northern areas were nearby other foreign folks, such as 女真、匈奴、契丹. The northern Chinese habitants had many opportunities to contact with these foreign people. These frequent contacts have planted many alien linguistic elements into northern Chinese dialects. In other words, southern Chinese dialects preserve more characters of archaic Chinese. All of these reflect a situation that people's life patterns and contacts would surely have a great effect on the character and development of a language or a dialect.

As illustrated above, 同 is versatile in expression. In Archaic Chinese, it can be taken as a verb, an adjective, an adverb and a noun. And it had 7 varying meanings while it was a verb. We cannot tell exactly which meaning came first among these 7 meanings in this study, but we can construct a rough grammaticalization process of 同. It first serves as a verb, an adjective, an adverb and a noun in Archaic Chinese, then it developed the

comitative preposition use in Medieval Chinese, and finally it functioned as the coordinative conjunction in Early Chinese. This grammaticalization route of 同 accords with the grammaticalization pattern proposed by Liu and Peyraube in 1994.

The timings of the grammaticalization of 同 attract our attention. The first grammaticalization of 同 occurred in Medieval Chinese Period. In that period, the first great immigration caused by 永嘉之亂 took place in Western Jin Dynasty. This political turbulence resulted in that over 900,000 northern Chinese people, including the royal members, immigrated to southern china.

The second grammaticalization of 同 happened in Early Chinese Period and there are two great immigrations coming up during this time. The second immigration happened in Tang Dynasty. There was another huge political convulsion called 安史之亂 (755 AD) occurred. And this convulsion also made a great amount of Northern Chinese to move to southern China. This immigration led to a big change of the population distribution in China: the amount of population in Southern China exceeded that in northern China for the first time.

The third immigration took place in Song Dynasty. The convulsion 靖康之變 and the movement of the imperial household of Song to Southern China engendered a great amount of Northern Chinese people to move into Southern China. At this time, the economic development of Southern China exceeded that of Northern China.

There are three great immigrations, 永嘉之亂、安史之亂、靖康之變, in Chinese history. The timings of the two phases of 同 's grammaticalization correspond to those of three great immigrations. So we assume that the grammaticalizaiton of 同 is motivated by the three great immigrations. Though we don't have heavy evidence on this assumption, this assumption itself is quite sensible and logical. That the Northern Chinese moved into Southern China results in the communication between Northern and Southern dialects. So it is very common and logical that Northern dialects assimilated some linguistic constituents from Southern dialects. And 同 is one of these assimilations.

As the examples (21) to (30) show above, we can see that 同 can serve as a comitative preposition and a coordinative conjunction in both Southern Min and Hakka. Because of the geographical secludeness and the distance from foreign folks, Southern Min and Hakka kept themselves from contacting with alien folks. Thus they preserve more Archaic Chinese features than Mandarin Chinese. If we assume the prepositional and

conjunctive uses of 同 as original constructions in Southern Min and Hakka, in addition to the effect of the three great immigrations, we can say that the grammaticalization of 同 was induced by Southern Min and Hakka. It's one case of language contact.

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