Grammaticalization of 'give' in Hui varieties of Chinese:
A Typological and Areal Perspective

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Abstract

The multi-functions of the morpheme 'give' have been studied extensively in the world's languages. Apart from a lexical word, the morpheme 'give' can also function in an array of occasions as a recipient marker, a benefactive marker, a permissive marker, a passive marker, a purpose marker, etc. (Kuteva et. al. 2019: 192- 203). With reference to Sinitic languages, literature on the grammaticalization of 'give' usually takes the form of the grammaticalization pathways of a particular Chinese language (Chen 2009, Chin 2011, Lu 2012, among others), or the GIVE type of passive marker as a parameter for the North-South Divide among Sinitic languages (Hashimoto 1976, Norman 1988, Chappell 2015, Szeto 2019). As an addition to the above research, this study provides a typological analysis of the multi-functions of the 'GIVE' morpheme in a lesser-known central 'transitional' variety of Sinitic languages - the Hui group of Chinese, including 18 datapoints comprising five subgroups of Hui varieties 徽語.

Making use of both primary and secondary data from both our fieldwork as well as reference grammars and dictionaries in Hui languages, this study has identified two functions of 'give' which has seldom been addressed before, i.e. the GIVE morpheme as the locative marker 'at/in', and the temporal marker 'till'. To be specific, the multiple functions of the GIVE morpheme observed in Hui Chinese varieties include: (i) the lexical verb 'give'; (ii) recipient marker 'to', (iii) goal marker; (iv) purpose marker; (v) permissive marker; (vi) passive marker, (vii) disposal pretransitive marker, (viii) locative marker 'at/in'; and (viiii) temporal marker 'till'.

Furthermore, two of the nine functions listed above showcase areal distribution, namely GIVE as the passive marker and GIVE as the disposal pretransitive marker. For passive markers, 15 out of 18 datapoints of Hui languages make use of a passive marker grammaticalized from the GIVE verb, a feature commonly shared by Southern Sinitic languages and Mainland Southeast Asian languages (Hashimoto 1976, Hashimoto 1986, Lord et al. 2002, Chappell 2015, Szeto 2019). Among the three exceptions, two varieties employ the SUFFER verbs, the remaining one uses the CAUSATIVE verb typically affiliated with Northern Mandarins. For disposal pretransitive marker, Hui languages in this study demonstrate a three-way split. Seven out of eighteen Hui languages make use of a marker grammaticalized from GIVE verb, five with HELP verbs and one with both GIVE and HELP verbs, while the remaining five Hui languages employ a disposal marker grammaticalized from HOLD verbs, a phenomenon commonly observed in Northern Sinitic languages. The hybridization of such distribution unravels the 'transitionality' of Hui Chinese, with the passive marker and disposal transitive marker as plausible parameters for categorization of linguistic areas in China.

It is hoped that analysis of the multiple functions of GIVE in Hui varieties of Chinese will help shed light on the areal typology of grammaticalization and categorization of linguistic areas in China.

Key word: grammaticalization, areal typology, Hui Chinese, transitional Sinitic languages

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Table 1: GIVE morpheme as Passive and disposal marker in Hui Chinese languages

Datapoint	Subgroup	GIVE	PASSIVE	Disposal Pretransitive	Source
Jingde	Jingzhan	$pæ^{213}$: give	$pæ^{213}$: give	$pæ^{213}$: give	Meng (2005)
Zhanda	Jingzhan	$pɔ^{35}$: give	$pɔ^{35}$: give	$pɔ^{35}$: give	Meng (2005)
Jixi	Jishe	$xã^{53}$: give	$xã^{53}$: give	po^{213}: hold	Li (2002) Zhao (2003)
Daguyun	Jishe	$xɤ↓$: give	$xɤ↓$: give	$pa┤$: help	Chen (2013)
Xianggao	Jishe	$kɤ↗$: give	$kɤ↗$: give	$po↗$: hold	Shen (2012)
Huicheng	Jishe	xe^{31}: give	xe^{31}: give	$pɔ^{31}$: help	Hirata (1998)
Qimen	Qiwu	$fã^{11}$: give	$fã11$: give	$fã11$: give	Hirata (1998) Cao (2008)
Fuliang	Qiwu	$to┐$: give	$to┐$: give	$to┐$: give	Xie (2012)
Ziyang	Qiwu	tom^{44}: give	$tɕʰi^{51}$ or tom^{44}: give	$pã^{44}$: hold	Hirata (1998)
Qiukou	Qiwu	ka^{55}: give	ka^{55}: give *or* $fɛ̃ĩ^{33}$	$pã^{33}$: help	Cheng (2018)
Xiuning	Xiuyi	te^{55}: give	te^{55}: give	te^{55}: give or pau^{33}: help	Hirata (1998) Cao (2008)
Tunxi	Xiuyi	ti^{42}: give	ti^{42}: give	pau^{11}: help	Our fieldwork
Tangkou	Xiuyi	$xa↓$: give	$xa↓$: give	$pɔ̃┐$: help	Liu (2013)
Yixian	Xiuyi	$pɛi^{31}$: give	$pɛi^{31}$: give	$pɛi^{31}$: give	Hirata (1998)
Suian	Yanzhou	n^{422}	$fã^{422}$: suffer	pa^{422}: hold	Cao (1996)
Jiande	Yanzhou	po^{55}: give	po^{55}: give	po^{55}: give	Cao (1996)
Shouchang	Yanzhou	$nuə^{11}$	$iã^{33}$: causative	pa^{11}: hold	Cao (1996)
Chun'an	Yanzhou	la^{53}	$iə^{24}$ or $tsʰə^{31}$: suffer	la^{535}: give	Cao (2008)