

# On the syncretism of *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 ‘arrive’ and its pathway of grammaticalization in the Pingjiang dialect (Sinitic)

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The Pingjiang 平江 dialect (Chengguanzhen 城关镇 variety) of Gan 赣 is a Sinitic language spoken in the northeast Hunan Province 湖南省 bordering Jiangxi 江西省 and Hubei 湖北省. The present paper sets out to analyze the polyfunctionality of the verb *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 ‘reach, arrive’ in Pingjiang and propose a possible pathway of grammaticalization for it.

# 1. Background

Locating on the border of Hunan, Jiangxi and Hubei Province, the inhabitants of Pingjiang County practice the different dialects. The following maps show the geographical location and the dialectal diffusion of Pingjiang.

# 1. Background



Map 1. the location of Pingjiang County

# 1. Background



図 17 筆者による平江諸方言の区分

Map 2. Dialectal diffusion in Pingjiang (Zhang. 2009)

Bao & Yan. 1986 :

Subgroups 1, 2 & 3: Gan (赣语) ;

Subgroups 4 & 5: Xiang (湘语) ;

Subgroup 6: Hakka (客家话).

## 2. *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 in the Chengguan dialect of Pingjiang

- ▶ Lexical verb ‘reach, arrive’;
- ▶ Verbal resultative;
- ▶ Allative ‘to’;
- ▶ Locative ‘at’, ‘within’;
- ▶ Ablative ‘from’;
- ▶ Comitative ‘with’ & Coordinative conjunction ‘and’;
- ▶ Benefactive & Malefactive ‘for’;
- ▶ Dative ‘to’;
- ▶ Semi-disposal marker;

## 2.1. Lexical verb ‘reach, arrive’

Like Standard Mandarin, *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 is a lexical verb in the Chengguan dialect meaning ‘reach, arrive’:

- (1) 我 到 哒 屋。  
ŋo<sup>21</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>42</sup> w<sup>42</sup>.  
1SG arrive PFV house  
I've arrived home.

## 2.2. Verbal resultative

*tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 is also a verbal resultative in the Chengguan:

- (2) 我 看 到 只 鸟 落 □ 飞。  
ŋo<sup>21</sup> kʰan<sup>55</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>42</sup> tiau<sup>35</sup> lo<sup>42</sup> ko<sup>35</sup> fi<sup>33</sup>.  
1SG see RES CLF bird PROG there fly

I saw a flying bird.

## 2.3. Allative ‘to’

*tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 can also be an allative preposition ‘to’ in the Chengguan dialect:

- (3)  只 仔-  走 到 河 里 去 啜。  
i<sup>35</sup> tʂa<sup>42</sup> ɿa<sup>13</sup>-tsei<sup>42</sup> tsœu<sup>35</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> xo<sup>13</sup> li<sup>42</sup> tɕi<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>42</sup>.  
this CLF boy-DIM walk into river inside go PFV

This boy walked into the river.

## 2.4. Locative ‘at’, ‘within’

Unlike the Standard Mandarin, *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 is a locative preposition in the Chengguan dialect, as shown below:

- (4) 我 今 夜 不 出 去，到 屋 里 吃 饭。  
ŋɔ<sup>21</sup> tɕin<sup>33</sup> ia<sup>22</sup> pɛi<sup>42</sup> tʂuei<sup>42</sup> tɕʰi<sup>55</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> w<sup>42</sup> li<sup>42</sup> tɕʰia<sup>42</sup> fan<sup>22</sup>.  
1SG tonight NEG out go at house inside eat rice  
I won't go out this evening and will have dinner at home.

## 2.4. Locative ‘at’, ‘within’

Apart from the meaning ‘at’, *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 can also express the meaning ‘within, among’:

- (5) 尔 到   笔 内 里 选 一 只。  
n<sup>21</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> i<sup>35</sup> ηa<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>42</sup> lai<sup>22</sup> li<sup>42</sup> ciɛn<sup>35</sup> i<sup>42</sup> tʂa<sup>42</sup>.  
2SG within this some pen inner inside choose one CLF  
Choose one within these pens.

The locative function of *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 is not rare in Sinitic languages, as in the Jishui dialect (Gan), the Ruicheng dialect and the Wenxi dialect (Mandarin 官话) (Li & Wu. 2018).

## 2.5. Ablative preposition ‘from’

In the structure : *tau<sup>55</sup>* + NP<sub>(place)</sub> + V<sub>(deprivation)</sub>, *tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 is employed as an ablative preposition ‘from’:

- (6)   钱 到 尔 压 岁 钱 内 里 出。  
i<sup>35</sup> ηa<sup>55</sup> tɕʰiɛn<sup>13</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> n<sup>21</sup> tsa<sup>42</sup> ci<sup>55</sup> tɕʰiɛn<sup>13</sup> lai<sup>22</sup> li<sup>42</sup> tʂuei<sup>42</sup>.

this some money from 2SG new year’s money inside take out

You should take out this money from your new year’s money.

This ablative function of *tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 resembles a lot *Cāng* 共 of Southern Min (Chappell, Peyraube & Wu. 2011. 323-324).

## 2.6. Comitative ‘with’

When *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 is used as a comitative preposition ‘with’, we can add an adverb before it:

- (7) 佢 尽 到 我 □ □ □ 。  
e<sup>21</sup> tɕʰin<sup>22</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> ηo<sup>21</sup> tɕiɛ<sup>42</sup> tɕin<sup>33</sup> ko<sup>21</sup>.  
3SG often with 1SG quarrel PART

He often quarrels with me.

## 2.7. Coordinative conjunction ‘and’

*tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 can also be a coordinative conjunction:

- (8) 多 吃 水 果 到 蔬 菜  
to<sup>33</sup> tɕʰia<sup>42</sup> ɕy<sup>35</sup> kuø<sup>35</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> sɿ<sup>33</sup> tsʰai<sup>55</sup>  
more eat fruit and vegetable  
Eat more fruits and vegetables.

## 2.8. Benefactive & Malefactive ‘for’

*tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 can be used as a benefactive or malefactive preposition in the Chengguan dialect:

(9) 我	□	娘	到	我	买	哒	只	笔。
	ŋo <sup>21</sup>	li <sup>42</sup>	nionŋ <sup>13</sup>	tau <sup>55</sup>	ŋo <sup>21</sup>	mai <sup>21</sup>	ta <sup>42</sup>	tʂa <sup>42</sup>
	1SG	POSS.KIN	mother	for	1SG	buy	PFV	CLF

My mother bought a pen for me.

## 2.8. Benefactive & Malefactive ‘for’

*tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 can be used as a benefactive or malefactive preposition in the Chengguan dialect :

(10) 佢 到 我 把 只 杯 打 烂 哟。  
e<sup>21</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> ηo<sup>21</sup> pa<sup>35</sup> tʂa<sup>42</sup> pai<sup>33</sup> ta<sup>35</sup> lan<sup>22</sup> ta<sup>42</sup>

He has broken my cup (broken the cup for me).

## 2.9. Dative preposition ‘to’

When *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 is used as a preposition to introduce the indirect object, the verb must be a ‘speech verb’ as the following examples show:

- (11) 快 去 到 尔 □ 娘 爷 报 喜。  
k<sup>h</sup>uai<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ci<sup>55</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> n<sup>21</sup> li<sup>42</sup> nion<sup>13</sup> ia<sup>13</sup> pau<sup>55</sup> ci<sup>35</sup>  
quickly go to 2SG POSS.KIN parents announce good news  
Go and tell your parents this good news.

## 2.9. Dative preposition ‘to’

(12) 我	不	想	到	尔	话	事。
ŋɔ <sup>21</sup>	pɛi <sup>42</sup>	cion <sup>35</sup>	tau <sup>55</sup>	n <sup>21</sup>	ua <sup>22</sup>	sɪ <sup>22</sup>
1SG	NEG	want	to	2SG	talk	things

I don't want to talk to you.

This kind of preposition (must occur with ‘speech’ verb) can be found in many Sinitic languages, such as *ai*<sup>55</sup> 挨 in Kaiyuan dialect (Zhu. 2013) and *kēn* 跟 in South-western Mandarin (Li & Liu. 2015).

## 2.10. Semi-disposal marker

*tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 can introduce the undergoer of the action in the disposal construction, but only in three specific structures.

a. ***tau*<sup>55</sup> + O<sub>1</sub> + V [+causative] + O<sub>2</sub>**

(12) 到 他 急 出 哒 一 身 □ 汗。  
tau<sup>55</sup> tʰa<sup>33</sup> tɕi<sup>42</sup> tʂʰuei<sup>42</sup> ta<sup>42</sup> i<sup>42</sup> ʂən<sup>33</sup> ko<sup>21</sup> xən<sup>22</sup>  
DM 3SG worry out PFV one CLF PART sweat

He is so worried that he sweats inside-out.

## 2.10. Semi-disposal marker

b. *tau<sup>55</sup> + O<sub>1</sub>[+entity] + V + O<sub>2</sub>[+part]*

(13) 他 到 橘 子 剥 哒 皮。

t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>33</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> tʂuei<sup>42</sup> tsɿ<sup>35</sup> po<sup>42</sup> ta<sup>42</sup> p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>  
3SG DM orange peel PFV skin

He peeled the orange (of its skin).

## 2.10. Semi-disposal marker

c. *tau<sup>55</sup> + O<sub>1</sub> + V + O<sub>2</sub> [+instrument]*

(14) 到 桌 子 罩 块 布。

tau<sup>55</sup> tso<sup>42</sup> tsɻ<sup>35</sup> tsau<sup>55</sup> kuai<sup>55</sup> pu<sup>55</sup>  
DM desk cover CLF cloth

Cover the desk with a piece of cloth.

### 3. Pathway of grammaticalization of *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到

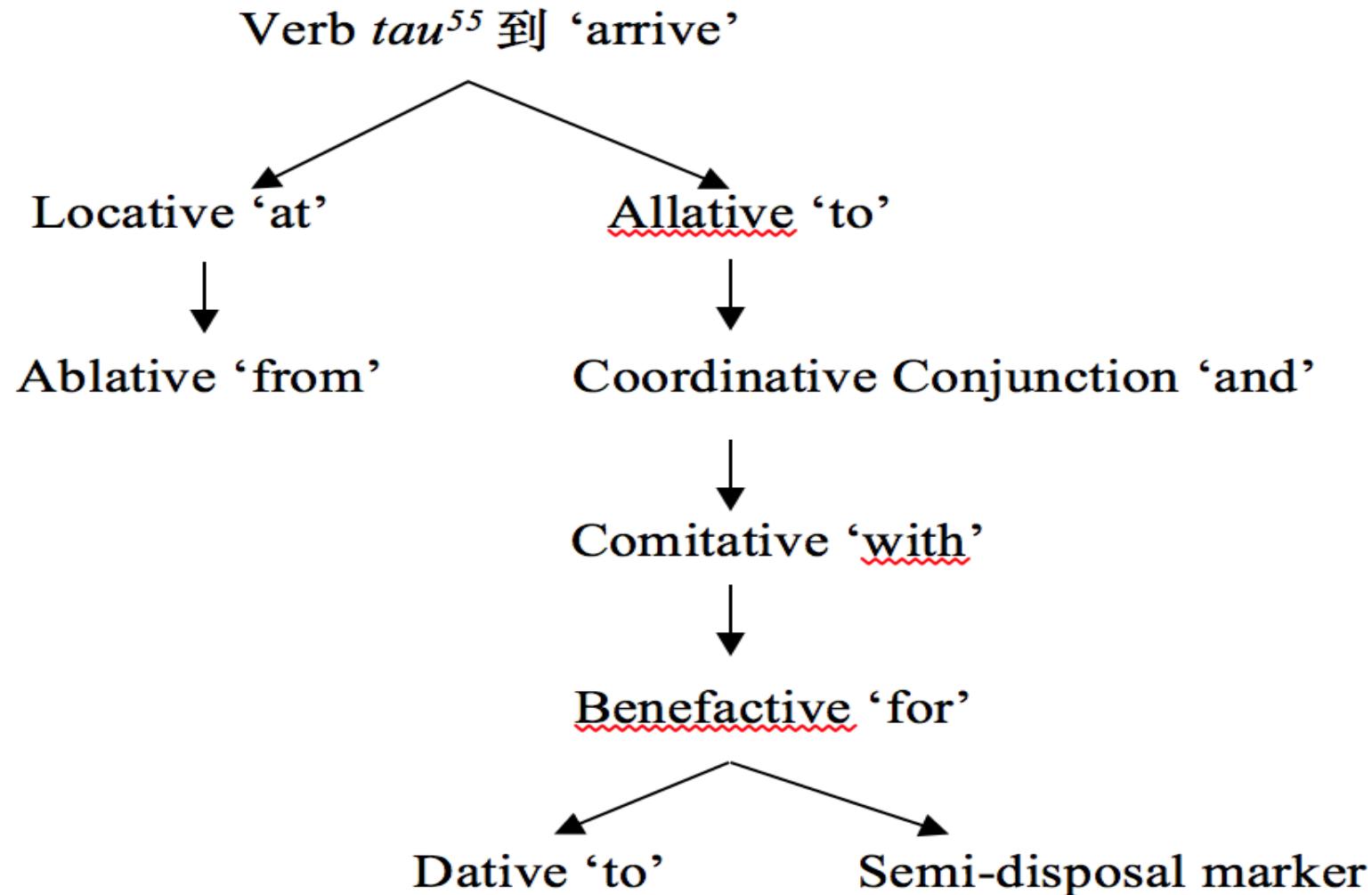


Figure 1. The pathway of grammaticalization of *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 in the Chengguan dialect

### 3.1. Lexical verb ‘arrive’ > allative ‘to’

Tong (2006):

“‘到’由表示处所、时间位置到为另一动作提供处所时间位置，完成了由动词到介词的转化[……]经历了普通动词 – 次要动词 – 介词这样一个变化过程。When *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 becomes an element which indicates the time or the place for another verb, it has accomplished the transition from verb to preposition [...] the process is : verb – second verb – preposition”

### 3.2. Lexical verb ‘arrive’ > locative ‘at’

‘Syntactical change’ (‘句法位置的改变’, Liu, Cao & Wu. 1995. 161-164).

Assume that the source structure is :

S + *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 ‘arrive’ + NP<sub>1</sub> (place) + V<sub>2</sub> + (NP<sub>2</sub>)

(15) 我 到 操 坪 里 等 你。

ŋɔ<sup>21</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>au<sup>33</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ian<sup>13</sup> li<sup>42</sup> ten<sup>35</sup> n<sub>i</sub><sup>21</sup>

1SG arrive playground inside wait 2SG

I'll go to the playground and wait you there.

### 3.2. Lexical verb ‘arrive’ > locative ‘at’

When we concentrate on the verb *ten<sup>35</sup>* 等 ‘wait’, *tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 becomes a second verb, and the action ‘arrive’ is no longer important: *tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 acts as an element which introduces the NP<sub>(place)</sub>:

- (16) 我 到 操 坪 里 等 你。  
ŋɔ<sup>21</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> tsʰau<sup>33</sup> pʰianj<sup>13</sup> li<sup>42</sup> ten<sup>35</sup> n<sup>21</sup>  
1SG preposition playground inside wait 2SG  
I'll wait you (when I arrive) to the playground.

### 3.2. Lexical verb ‘arrive’ > locative ‘at’

Besides, there is no elements which can keep the ‘movement’ properties of *tau<sup>55</sup>* 到, *tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 could be interpreted as a stative preposition, compare :

(17) 我 到 屋 里 吃 饭。

ŋo<sup>21</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> w<sup>42</sup> li<sup>42</sup> tɕʰia<sup>42</sup> fan<sup>22</sup>

1SG at house inside eat rice

I'll have dinner at home.

(18) 我 到 屋 里 去 吃 饭。

ŋo<sup>21</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> w<sup>42</sup> li<sup>42</sup> tɕʰi<sup>55</sup> tɕʰia<sup>42</sup> fan<sup>22</sup>.

1SG arrive house inside go eat rice

I'll go home for dinner.

### 3.3. Locative ‘at’ > ablative ‘from’

‘Semantic change’ (‘词义变化’, Liu, Cao & Wu. 1995. 164-166) triggered by the context.

The source meaning : locative preposition ‘at’

(19)	尔	到	□	塘	里	游	泳	。
	n <sup>21</sup>	tau <sup>55</sup>	i <sup>35</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> on <sup>13</sup>	li <sup>42</sup>	iəw <sup>13</sup>	yuən <sup>55</sup>	
	2SG	in	this	pond	inside		swim	

You swim in the pond.

### 3.3. Locative ‘at’ > ablative ‘from’

The meaning of the verb brings another interpretation for the preposition *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 (bridging context):

(20)	尔	到	□	塘	里	钓	鱼	。
	n <sup>21</sup>	tau <sup>55</sup>	i <sup>35</sup>	tʰon <sup>13</sup>	li <sup>42</sup>	tiau <sup>55</sup>	ŋ <sup>13</sup>	
	2SG	in/from	this	pond	inside	fishing		

You fish in this pond/You get the fish from the pond.

### 3.3. Locative ‘at’ > ablative ‘from’

Then, when the NP<sub>(place)</sub> is a place where human being cannot physically ‘stay’, the target meaning ‘from’ becomes the only interpretation: it depends on the specific context (‘deprivation’ verb)

(21) 尔	到	塑	料	袋	里	拿	鱼。
n <sup>21</sup>	tau <sup>55</sup>	so <sup>42</sup>	liau <sup>22</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>22</sup>	li <sup>42</sup>	la <sup>42</sup>	ŋ <sup>13</sup>
2SG	from	plastic	bag	inside	take	fish	

You take the fish from the plastic bag.

### 3.4. Lexical verb ‘arrive’ > conjunction ‘and’

Context-induced reinterpretation (Heine. 2002)

The source meaning of *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到: verb ‘arrive :

- (22) 我 到 长 沙 要 两 个 钟 头。  
ŋo<sup>21</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> tʂʰon<sup>13</sup> sa<sup>33</sup> iau<sup>55</sup> lion<sup>21</sup> ko<sup>55</sup> tʂəŋ<sup>33</sup> tʰœu<sup>13</sup>  
1SG arrive Changsha need two CLF hour

It takes me two hours to go to Changsha.

### 3.4. Lexical verb ‘arrive’ > conjunction ‘and’

When *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 is used to connect two NPs<sub>(place)</sub>, it can be interpreted as ‘to’ semantically, but it is still a verb syntactically :

- (23) 平 江 到 长 沙 要 两 个 钟 头。  
p<sup>h</sup>ian<sup>13</sup> kon<sup>33</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>on<sup>13</sup> sa<sup>33</sup> iau<sup>55</sup> lion<sup>21</sup> ko<sup>55</sup> tsəŋ<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>œu<sup>13</sup>  
Pingjiang to Changsha need two CLF hour  
It takes two hours from Pingjiang to Changsha.

### 3.4. Lexical verb ‘arrive’ > conjunction ‘and’

Then *tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 is used to connect two NPs<sub>(humain)</sub>:

- (24) 佢 □ 屋 里 从 大 人 到 细 人 □ □ □ 吃 零 碎。  
e<sup>21</sup> li<sup>42</sup> w<sup>42</sup> li<sup>42</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>əŋ<sup>13</sup> tʰai<sup>22</sup> nin<sup>13</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> ci<sup>55</sup> nin<sup>13</sup> xa<sup>22</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>əŋ<sup>55</sup> in<sup>21</sup> tɕʰia<sup>42</sup> liŋ<sup>13</sup> ci<sup>55</sup>.  
3SG POSS house inside from big people to small people all like eat snack

From adult to children, everyone likes snacks in this family.

### 3.4. Lexical verb ‘arrive’ > conjunction ‘and’

When  $ts^həŋ^{13}$  从 ‘from’ is removed, we can translate the phrase as either ‘from A to B’ or ‘A and B’:

- (25) 佢 □ 屋 里 大 人 到 细 人 [……]  
e<sup>21</sup> li<sup>42</sup> w<sup>42</sup> li<sup>42</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>22</sup> nin<sup>13</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> ci<sup>55</sup> nin<sup>13</sup> [...]  
3SG POSS.KIN house inside big people to/and small people  
The adults and the children of his family/ From the adults to the children [...]

### 3.4. Lexical verb ‘arrive’ > conjunction ‘and’

Finally, the allative meaning is ruled out:

- (26) 我 买 哒 苹 果 到 梨 子。  
ŋo<sup>21</sup> mai<sup>21</sup> ta<sup>42</sup> pʰin<sup>13</sup> kuø<sup>35</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> li<sup>13</sup> tsɿ<sup>35</sup>  
1SG buy PFV apple and pear  
I bought the apple and the pear.

### 3.5. Conjunction > comitative ‘with’

This evolution is rare (antigrammaticalization), but it is not impossible (cf. Wu. 2017 ; Jiang. 2012. 2014). We assume here this evolution in the Chengguan dialect due to ‘analogy’, compare (26) with (27) :

- (27) 我 买 哒 苹 果 同/湊 梨 子。  
ŋɔ<sup>21</sup> mai<sup>21</sup> ta<sup>42</sup> pʰin<sup>13</sup> kuø<sup>35</sup> tʰəŋ<sup>55</sup>/tsʰa<sup>55</sup> li<sup>13</sup> tsɿ<sup>35</sup>  
1SG buy PFV apple and pear

I bought the apple and the pear.

*tau*<sup>55</sup> 到, *tʰəŋ*<sup>55</sup> 同 and *tsʰa*<sup>55</sup> 湊 share the same functions as conjunction, comitative, benefactive, dative and demi-disposal preposition.

### 3.6. Comitative > beneficative ‘for’

#### Context-induced reinterpretation

In the structure ‘NP<sub>(agent A)</sub> + *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 + NP<sub>(agent B)</sub> + V [+reciprocal]’, *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 is a comitative preposition:

- (28) 我 到 尔 □ □ °
- $\eta$ o<sup>21</sup>    *tau*<sup>55</sup>    n<sub>i</sub><sup>21</sup>    tɕiɛ<sup>42</sup>    tɕin<sup>33</sup>
- 1SG with 2SG    quarrel
- I quarrel with you.

### 3.6. Comitative > beneficative ‘for’

When the verb doesn't demand two agents, it is possible to interpret the agent B as a beneficial :

- (29) 我 到 尔 去 买 菜。  
ŋɔ<sup>21</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> n<sup>21</sup> tɕʰi<sup>55</sup> mai<sup>21</sup> tsʰai<sup>55</sup>  
1SG with/for 2SG go buy fresh food  
I will go buy fresh food with/for you.

### 3.6. Comitative > beneficative ‘for’

When the verb demandes a beneficial, it is more natural to interprete *tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 as a benefactive preposition :

(30)	我	到	尔	整	病。
	ŋo <sup>21</sup>	tau <sup>55</sup>	n <sup>21</sup>	tʂan <sup>35</sup>	pʰian <sup>22</sup>
	1SG	for	2SG	heal	illness

I will cure you (I will cure the illness for you).

*tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 is still on its way of grammaticalization (bridging context > switch context): we cannot rule out the comitative interpretation in (29); in (30), with some specific verbs, the benefactive interpretation is the only one.

### 3.7. Benefactive > dative ‘to’

In  $\text{NP}_1 + \text{tau}^{55}$  到 (benefactive) +  $\text{NP}_2 + \text{V}_{\text{speech}}$ , we have tendency to interpret  $\text{tau}^{55}$  到 as a dative preposition ‘to’, compare (31) and (32) :

(31) 我 到 尔 写 信。

$\eta\text{o}^{21}$      $\text{tau}^{55}$      $n_i^{21}$      $\text{cia}^{35}$      $\text{cin}^{55}$   
1SG    for/to    2SG    write    letter

I write a letter for you/I write you a letter.

### 3.7. Benefactive > dative ‘to’

When the verb demandes an direct/indirect object, and there is no element which can take on this position, we interprete *n<sup>21</sup>* 尔 as an IO, thus *tau<sup>55</sup>* 到 becomes a dative preposition :

- (32) 我 到 尔 话。  
       $\eta o^{21}$      $tau^{55}$      $n^{21}$      $ua^{22}$   
      1SG      to      2SG    talk  
      I talk to you.

### 3.8. Benefative > semi-disposal marker

The disposal marker function of *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 is still on its way of grammaticalization, compare (33) and (13):

(33)	我	到	尔	剥	哒	个	橘	子。
	t <sup>h</sup> a <sup>33</sup>	tau <sup>55</sup>	n <sup>21</sup>	po <sup>42</sup>	ta <sup>42</sup>	ko <sup>55</sup>	tʂuei <sup>42</sup>	tsi <sup>35</sup>
	1SG	for	2SG	peel	PFV	CLF	orange	

I peeled an orange for you.

### 3.8. Benefative > semi-disposal marker

(13) 他 到 橘 子 剥 哒 皮。

t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>33</sup> tau<sup>55</sup> tʂuei<sup>42</sup> tsɿ<sup>35</sup> po<sup>42</sup> ta<sup>42</sup> p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>

3SG DM orange peel PFV skin

He peeled the orange (of its skin) /He peeled the skin for the orange.

Therefore, we regard it as a subset of the benefactive function.

## 4. Conclusion

- In this paper, we have analyzed the syncretism of *tau*<sup>55</sup> 到 in the Chengguan dialect, and we assume that the context-induced reinterpretation plays a key role in its process of grammaticalization on the one hand, and the analogy on the other hand;
- Every step of the grammaticalizational chain can be found in other Sinitic languages, but the total evolution is quiet rare;
- In the future, we would like to study the dialects of the counties which bordering Pingjiang to see if the contact influences exist.

## 5. References

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