**Chinese co-verbs (*ba/jiang*) and Differential Object-Marking (DOM):**

Differential object-marking (DOM) (Bossong (1991)) applies to Chinese ‘disposal’ constructions where the co-verb *ba* and related etyma (e.g. Cantonese *jiang*) have been noted to select referential/specific objects which display a high degree of ‘affectedness’ in relation to the second main verb which has to be aspectually bound (Li (2006:413ff)). It is widely argued, then, that this construction is derived from Medieval Chinese serial verb constructions in which the second verb has a covert non-realised object and may hence select the object of *ba/jiang* as its object (Peyraube (1996:369), Feng (2002:122-128)). Furthermore, it has been argued that prosodic rules in Medieval Chinese poetry shifts the emphasis from the first verb phrase to the second which yields the latter as the main verb predicate (Feng (2002:134-136)). This is unsatisfactory, since it relies on putative prosodic rules which are entirely reconstructed and it omits the perceived effect of realis and specificity in the object of *ba/jiang*. Rather, cross-dialectal data shows that in numerous dialects and older forms of Mandarin it is possible to use a resumptive pronoun in the second verb phrase which is coreferential with the complement of *ba/jiang* (1)*,* which is also attested in Medieval Chinese (2):

1. Chinkei ng hou jeung di taufaat yim-hak keuih

Absolutely.not NEG IMPERATIVE DOM CL hair dye-black PRO

‘Absolutely do not dye your hair (*taufaat… keuih*) black.’ (Cantonese) (Chappell (2014:12))

1. Ru jiang ci ren anxu sha zhi

You take this man careful kill PRO

‘You take this man and kill him carefully’ > ‘you kill this man carefully’

(*Fo Shuo Chang A Han Jing*, 4th-5th century AD)

From this particular type of disposal construction one can account for the DOM properties of modern Chinese *ba/jiang*, since its lexical meaning ‘to take’ necessarily selects real and specific object which can be ‘taken’ (*ci ren* ‘this man’ in 2)) and the resumptive pronoun (*ci ren… zhi* ‘this man… him’ in 2)) entails that it is emphatically acted upon by the second verb and hence ‘affected’ by it. Furthermore, as the second verb phrase is complete with an overtly expressed direct object (*sha zhi* ‘kill him’ in 2)), it is semantically stronger than the preceding *ba/jiang* phrase and may hence be reanalysed as an aspectually bound matrix verb. Contrary to traditional analyses, therefore, it is the inclusion of a direct object resumptive pronoun in the second verb phrase which yields its DOM properties, and one can incorporate semantic features in the original construction into the newly formed disposal construction, namely the object of *ba/jiang* [specific/referential] and the second matrix verb phrase [dynamic/telic, i-Aspect], which account for its DOM properties. A combination of historical and dialectal data yields a better empirical understanding and a finer-grained formal analysis where semantic/formal features can used to account for DOM in modern Chinese *ba/jiang*.

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