KA...HOO CONSTRUCTIONS IN TAIWAN SOUTHERN MIN

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ABSTRACT
Taiwan Southern Min ka and hoo have been broadly investigated in the literature (e.g., Cheng et al. 1999, Lien 2002, Tsao 2005). However, very little of the previous research has focused on the interaction between these two functional words. This paper thus explores structures with a ka...hoo configuration. Through the examination of corpus data, this paper finds that ka...hoo constructions are mainly separated into two constructions: ditransitive and resultative constructions. Based on the constructional approach, the ditransitive construction is found to include four construction patterns which can help differentiate verb types. In addition, the event structure account of the resultative ka...hoo construction is explored. It is posited that the event telicity may change when the causative word hoo overtly occurs. The distinction between a ditransitive and a resultative ka...hoo construction significantly reduces the confusion in data where the ka...hoo configuration is found.

Key words: Taiwan Southern Min, ditransitive construction, resultative construction, causative construction

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1. INTRODUCTION

The ka...hoo\(^1\) configuration contains two important Southern Min functional words: ka and hoo. Taiwan Southern Min ka has been widely discussed in the literature (e.g., Teng 1982, Tsao & Lu 1990, Cheng & Tsao 1995, Tsao 1988, 2005, and Lien 2002). In addition, Taiwan Southern Min hoo has also been broadly investigated (e.g., Cheng 1974, Huang 1988, and Cheng et al. 1999). However, very few of the previous investigations on the ka structure also dealt with the interaction between ka and hoo\(^2\). Taiwan Southern Min ka can mark four different theta roles: patient, benefactive, source and goal (cf. Tsao & Lu 1990, Tsao 2005). Hoo, like ka, is also a multifunctional word. Syntactically, hoo can occur in a double object construction, a dative construction, a passive construction, and a causative construction (cf. Cheng et al. 1999). When the two multifunctional words co-occur in a sentence, the possibilities of the syntactic structures and semantic interpretations are presumed to be very complicated. However, the data\(^3\) reveal that the word ka in the ka...hoo pattern does not convey four thematic roles. Ka mostly functions as a patient marker; whereas hoo, on the other hand, retains its polysemous nature with both ditransitive and causative interpretations.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Section 2 deals with the distribution of ka...hoo constructions. In Section 3 we offer an account of the divergent distribution of ditransitive ka...hoo constructions. Section 4 focuses on resultative ka...hoo constructions. The last section is the conclusion of the paper.

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\(^1\) This paper utilizes the POJ system to signify Taiwan Southern Min. However, the POJ system signifies the word hoo as hou. This paper uses hoo to indicate hou when it encounters the multifunctional Taiwanese word because hoo is a more well-known marker in most linguistic papers.

\(^2\) The interface between the disposal and the passive markers in Hakka has been discussed in Lin (1990).

\(^3\) The data in the paper are from the Spoken Taiwan Southern Min Corpus compiled by National Tsing Hua University. The spoken Southern Min data in this corpus are collected from two Taiwanese drama series, Houshan Rijian Zhao (Stories of Eastern Taiwan) and Si Chong Zou (Stories about Four Sisters). In addition, I also made use of the data in the Taiwanese Concordance Corpus programmed by Un-gian Iunn.
2. KA…HOO

This section explores the distribution of structures with a ka...hoo configuration. Following observations made from corpus data, the three basic grammatical constructions in which the configuration ka...hoo appears present with the patterns [ka...hoo + NP], [ka...hoo + NP VP], and [ka...hoo + resultative complement]. It is found that the word ka in ka...hoo structures always serves as a patient marker. The word hoo, on the other hand, occurring along with ka, can be followed by an NP (2.1), an NP and a VP (2.2), or an adjectival complement referring to a resultative state (2.3).

2.1 Ka...Hoo + NP

There are many ka...hoo sentences which pattern like [ka...hoo + NP]. In [ka...hoo + NP] sentences, the object occupies the preverbal position and serves as a complement of the word ka. The main verb of the [ka...hoo + NP] sentence can generally take three arguments: agent, recipient, and patient. This is the case with kau1 ‘give’ and sang3 ‘send’, as in Examples (1)-(3).

(1) Goa2 ka7 in1 sann1 hiann1-ti7 kau1 hoo7 li2
1SG KA 3PL three brother give HOO 2SG4
‘I give the three brothers to you.’

(2) Keng3-jian5 ka7 goa3-e5 chap5-khou1 kau1 hoo7 in1 a-bu2
unexpectedly KA 1SG-GEN 10 dollar give HOO 3PL mom
‘To my surprise, he gave my ten dollars to his mother.’

(3) Ho2, goa2 khi3 ka1 sann1 sang3 hoo7 lang5
OK 1SG go KA clothes give HOO people
‘OK, I will go to give the clothes to the people.’

In ka...hoo + NP sentences like (1)-(3), the subject is construed as an agent, the complement of ka as a patient, and the complement of hoo as a recipient.

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4 The following abbreviations are used in glossing examples: SG singular; PL plural (e.g., 3PL = 3rd person plural); GEN genitive; CL classifier; PERF perfective aspect; NEG negation; PART sentence-final particle.
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2.2 Ka…Hoo + NP VP

The second distribution of the *ka...hoo* pattern is the *[ka...hoo + NP VP]* configuration. Examples are as in (4)-(5).

(4) Goa² ka⁷ khoat⁴-tiam² kong² hoo⁷ i¹ thiann¹
   1SG KA drawback say HOO 3SG listen
   ‘I talked to him about the drawbacks.’

(5) Tong¹-tiunn⁵ i¹ ka⁷ koa¹-su² liam⁷ hoo⁷ goa² thiann¹
   on the spot 3SG KA lyric read HOO 1SG listen
   ‘He read the lyrics to me on the spot.’

In addition, it is also very common to find *[ka...hoo + NP]* sentences patterning as *[ka...hoo + NP VP]*, as shown in (6) and (7).

(6) Put⁴-tek⁴-i² koh⁴ ka⁷ A¹-soat⁴ sang³ hoo⁷ pat⁸-lang⁵ (chhi⁷)
   reluctantly again KA A-soat give HOO other people breed
   ‘(I) again reluctantly gave A-soat to someone else (to raise her).’

(7) Ka¹ thiann³ tng²-khi³ hoo⁷ lin² lau⁷-bu² (chheng⁷)
   KA bring back HOO 2PL old-mother wear
   ‘Take (the clothes) back for your mother to wear.’

2.3 Ka…Hoo + Resultative Complement

The third type of *ka...hoo* sentence is the *[ka...hoo + resultative complement]* pattern (hereafter *[ka...hoo + RC]*) under which the word *hoo* expresses the causative function. Examples are shown as follows.

(8) Goa² seng¹ ka⁷ oe⁷ kong² hoo⁷ chHING¹-chhO² oh
   1SG first KA words say HOO clear PART
   ‘I say the words first and make them clear.’

(9) Kin⁷ ka¹ penn¹ i¹ hoo⁷ ho²
   quick KA illness cure HOO well
   ‘Quickly cure your illness.’

(10) Li² seng¹ ka¹ ang¹ kou³ hoo⁷ ho²-se³
    2SG first KA husband care HOO healthy
    ‘You first take care of your husband and make him healthy.’
The pattern [ka...hoo + RC] is very different from the patterns [ka...hoo + NP] and [ka...hoo + NP VP] because the former pattern denotes a result state, while the latter two patterns do not. The event, introduced by the main verb in the [ka...hoo + RC] configuration, involves a result overtly expressed by the word hoo. The complement of the word hoo may be revealed as an adjectival element, e.g., (8)-(11). An adjectival resultative complement can be transformed into a clause when a subjectival noun is added before the resultative adjective. For instance, the word hoo in Example (8) can be followed by a clause like i’ chhing1-chho2 ‘it clear’ as in Ga’ seng1 ka’ oe7 kong2 hoo7 [i’ chhing1-chho2] ‘I first say the words and make it clear’ and (10) can be Li2 seng1 ka’ ang1 kou3 hoo7 [i’ ho2-se3] ‘You first take care of your husband and make him healthy’.

In addition, the arguments in the [ka...hoo + NP] and [ka...hoo + NP VP] patterns are realized as agent, patient, and recipient, while the arguments in the [ka...hoo + RC] pattern are not. Moreover, the verb in the [ka...hoo + RC] pattern can often combine with the resultative complement to form a verb compound, such as kou3 ho2-se3 ‘take good care’, phah4 si2 ‘hit dead’, i’ ho2 ‘cure’, kong’ chhing1-chho2 ‘say clearly’, etc, while verbs in the [ka...hoo + NP/ NP VP] pattern rarely perform the compounding as found in the [ka...hoo + RC] patterns.

As demonstrated in this section, the findings from corpora data can provide details on the ka...hoo construction. The three syntactic distributions of the ka...hoo configuration can be basically construed as either ditransitive or resultative patterns. The former construction is attributed to the ditransitive function of the word hoo, and the latter pattern is imposed by the causative function of hoo. The word hoo accordingly plays an important role in the ka...hoo construction for argument realization. It is noticeable that another function of hoo, the passive one, is not performed in sentences with the ka...hoo configuration. If the construals of the ka...hoo construction are determined simply by the components involved in the construction, the passive interpretation should not be absent from the ka...hoo
construction. The findings lead us to the conclusion that the ka…hoo configuration is used in constructions that are pairings of meaning and form which are not predictable from the component parts. We consider the construal to reside in the syntactic context. This phenomenon meets the tenets of the constructional approach developed in Goldberg (1995, 2006), which in many respects trace back to Lakoff (1987), Fillmore, Kay & O’Connor (1988), and Lambrecht (1994). Construction grammar is therefore capable of accounting for the ka…hoo constructions as outlined in this paper.

3. DITRANSITIVE KA…HOO CONSTRUCTION

The previous section presents findings from an examination of the ka…hoo data. As shown above, the ka…hoo construction can convey a ditransitive interpretation. Before further discussing the ditransitive ka…hoo constructions, the ditransitive constructions in Taiwan Southern Min are explored to provide an account of the pattern of the ka…hoo ditransitive construction.

Based on insights gained from consideration of Her’s (2006) five-way and Liu’s (2006) three-way analysis of dative constructions in Mandarin Chinese, this paper assumes that ditransitive constructions in Taiwan Southern Min involve the following four constructions.

(12) a. The double object construction [S V OI O2]

A1-sam1 sang3 A1-bi2 chit8 pun2 chheh4
A-sam give A-bi one CL book
‘A-sam gave A-bi a book as a present.’

b. The V hoo double object construction [S V-hoo OI O2]

A1-sam1 sang3 hoo7 A1-bi2 chit8 pun2 chheh4
A-sam give HOO A-bi one CL book
‘A-sam gave A-bi a book as a present.’

c. The hoo object construction [S V O2 hoo O1]

A1-sam’ sang3 chit8 pun’ chheh4 hoo’ A1-bi2
A-sam give one CL book HOO A-bi
‘A-sam gave a book to A-bi as a present.’
d. The purposive *hoo* construction [S V O₁ hoo O₁ V₂]
   A₁-sam¹ sang³ chit⁵ pun⁵ chheh⁴ hoo⁷ A₁-bi² khoann³
   A-sam give one CL book hoo A-bi read
   ‘A-sam gave a book to A-bi to read.’

In the first double object construction, the verb is followed by the indirect object and direct object. The V-*hoo* double object construction contains a compound verb of the form V-*hoo*. The third construction represents a dative alternation of the double object construction. The last construction not only joins a double object structure but also reveals a purposive construal which is distinct from the other three constructions.

Different verbs may participate in different alternations. A verb such as *sang* ‘give’ in (12) may occur in all four constructions or in only one alternation. The construction alternations are assumed to be divided into three layers. The first layer detects verbs with or without participation in a dative shift construction. The second layer recognizes verbs with or without the availability of the preposition *hoo* ‘to’ construction. The third layer identifies verbs with or without the availability of a purposive alternation. The distinguishing feature of the alternation layers is essentially based on the core meaning of the word *hoo*, as a ditransitive verb involved in events with transfer of possession. The inner-most layer contains two Taiwan Southern Min double object constructions. One represents a simple-verb form, which patterns as [V O₁ O₂]. The other represents a verb-compound form in which a given verb and the word *hoo* clump together, patterning as [S V-*hoo* O₁ O₂]. In the second layer, *hoo* functions as a dative preposition, similar to the English dative marker ‘to’, as in [S V O₁, hoo O₂]. In the outer-most layer, *hoo* behaves unlike a ditransitive verb and it has even been analyzed as a complementizer in purposive clauses (c.f. Ting & Chang 2004, Her 2006). The purposive construction patterns as [S V O₁ hoo O₁ V₂].

(13) I. Double object construction: S V O₁ O₂/ S V-*hoo* O₁ O₂
    II. Dative construction: S V O₁ hoo O₁
    III. Purposive construction: S V₁ O₁ hoo O₁ V₂

Based on the different participations in the alternations, four verb types are shown as follows:
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(14) Verbs that participate in all alternations:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{SVO}_1 \text{O}_2 D \quad \text{e.g., } A \text{ sang } B \text{ chit pun } chheh \\
&\text{SV-} hoo \text{O}_1 \text{O}_2 \quad \text{e.g., } A \text{ sang } hoo \text{ B chit pun } chheh \\
&\text{SVO}_1 hoo \text{O}_1 \quad \text{e.g., } A \text{ sang } chit pun chheh hoo \text{ B} \\
&\text{SVO}_1 hoo \text{O}_1 \text{V}_2 \quad \text{e.g., } A \text{ sang } chit pun chheh hoo \text{ B khoann}
\end{align*}
\]

Sang\(^3\) ‘give’

(15) Verbs that only participate in the double object construction:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{SVO}_1 \text{O}_2 D \quad \text{e.g., } A \text{ hoo } B \text{ chit pun } chheh \\
&\text{*SV-} hoo \text{O}_1 \text{O}_2 \quad \text{e.g., } *A \text{ hoo } hoo \text{ B chit pun } chheh \\
&\text{*SVO}_1 hoo \text{O}_1 \quad \text{e.g., } *A \text{ hoo } chit pun B hoo Abi \\
&\text{*SVO}_1 hoo \text{O}_1 \text{V}_2 \quad \text{e.g., } *A \text{ hoo } chit pun chheh hoo \text{ B khoann}
\end{align*}
\]

Hoo\(^7\) ‘give’

(16) Verbs that cannot participate in the double object construction:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{*SVO}_1 \text{O}_2 D \quad \text{e.g., } *A \text{ sia } B \text{ chit tiunn phoe} \\
&\text{SV-} hoo \text{O}_1 \text{O}_2 \quad \text{e.g., } A \text{ sia hoo } B \text{ chit tiunn phoe} \\
&\text{SVO}_1 hoo \text{O}_1 \quad \text{e.g., } A \text{ sia chit tiunn phoe hoo } \text{ B} \\
&\text{SVO}_1 hoo \text{O}_1 \text{V}_2 \quad \text{e.g., } A \text{ sia chit tiunn phoe hoo } \text{ B khoann}
\end{align*}
\]

Sia\(^2\) ‘write’

(17) Verbs that can only participate in the purposive construction\(^5\):

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{*SVO}_1 \text{O}_2 D \quad \text{e.g., } *A \text{ chhiunn } B \text{ chit tiau koa} \\
&\text{*SV-} hoo \text{O}_1 \text{O}_2 \text{D e.g., } *A \text{ chhiunn hoo } B \text{ chit tiau koa} \\
&\text{*SVO}_1 hoo \text{O}_1 \quad \text{e.g., } *A \text{ chhiunn chit tiau koa hoo } \text{ B} \\
&\text*SVO}_1 hoo \text{O}_1 \text{V}_2 \quad \text{e.g., } A \text{ chhiunn chit tiau koa hoo } \text{ B thiann}
\end{align*}
\]

Chhiunn\(^3\) ‘sing’

* A verb does not arbitrarily participate in the alternations. It is assumed that the semantic commonality of the four ditransitive alternations can be related to the notion of transfer (see also Liu 2006 and Chen & Lien 2008). When the semantics of a given verb are compatible with the notion of transfer conveyed by the constructions, the verb can join in the ditransitive alternations. The more alternations a verb can participate in, the more of the core meaning of transfer a verb expresses. The four ditransitive construction alternations in Taiwan Southern Min not only provide a range of syntactic alternations, but also distinguish verbs with core senses of transfer from those with extended senses. An example like the verb sang ‘give’ is assumed to be a prototype of ditransitive verbs. It can join in all four constructions. Compared to sang ‘give’, the word hoo

\(^5\) The translation of (14) is ‘A gave a book to B (to read) (as a gift)’; the example (15) is ‘A gave a book to B (to read)’; the example (16) is ‘A wrote a letter to B (to read)’, and the example (17) is ‘A sang a song to B (to listen to)’. 

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seems to be excluded from the prototypical group of ditransitive verbs. However, the inappropriateness of *hoo* joining in the other three constructions is due to either its phonological reiteration or semantic requirements. The second construction has *hoo* overtly emerging in the construction as in [S V- *hoo* O1 O2]. When the word *hoo* serves as a main verb participating in the second construction, it obtains improper phonetic redundancy. In addition, the exclusion of *hoo* from joining in the third and the fourth constructions suggests that *hoo* cannot take a patient as its argument. This observation also supports a recipient as being the optimal candidate for the complement of *hoo*.

The four constructions are related to events of giving. Verbs from the group of giving verbs, such as *kau*1 ‘deliver’, *kia*2 ‘send’, *tan*3 ‘throw’, *sang*3 ‘give’, *hing*5 ‘return’, *su*3 ‘bestow’ and *hoo*7 ‘give’, can join in the constructions in one-way, two-way, three-way or four-way alternations. However, verbs of getting, such as *tho*2 ‘ask for’, *theh*5 ‘take’, *chhiunn*2 ‘rob’, *than*3 ‘earn’, *phian*3 ‘cheat’, and *siu*1 ‘accept’, join in the *hoo* constructions only along with an interpretation of a giving event. For example, the main verb in Example (18) is a getting verb, while the example contains two successive events, a getting event and an immediately-following-giving event.

(18) Goa2 *tho*2 goo7 pah4 khoo1 hoo7 ng5 sian1-sinn1
    1SG ask for five hundred dollar HOO Huang mister
    ‘I asked for five hundred dollars to give to Mr. Huang.’
    (= Chen & Lien (2008: (7)))

Example (18) shows that when a getting verb participates in the dative construction, the construction is still related to a giving event. In addition to verbs of giving and verbs of getting, verbs like *sia* ‘write’ can also participate in the dative construction. The activity verb *sia* provides the first event and *hoo* successively offers a giving event. To summarize, a given activity verb can join in the dative construction if the verb allows a transfer of possession conveyed in a dative construction to follow it. Furthermore, when an activity verb can be followed by an event of transfer of possession (or metaphorical transfer) and the event of the activity verb is held to initiate a purposive action, the verb can participate in the purposive *hoo* construction. For instance, Example (17), ‘A sang a song for B to listen to,’ denotes that the event of singing is held to transfer the song to A-bi for her to listen to it. This purposive
construction is assumed to be a variant of ditransitive constructions. Under such circumstances, many non-ditransitive verbs can also have access to the dative and the purposive constructions.

Returning to the ditransitive ka...hoo construction, the four ditransitive constructions help clarify the ka...hoo construction. The ditransitive ka...hoo construction basically relates to events of transfer of possession, in similar fashion to the four ditransitive constructions. The patterns of the double object construction, [S V O1 O2] and [S V-hoo O1 O2], do not fit in the ka...hoo construction because the word hoo does not exist in the former pattern and occurs in a compound verb in the latter one. The dative and the purposive constructions configured with the [S V O0 hoo O1] and [S V1 O0 hoo O1 V2] patterns are assumed to correspond to the ditransitive ka...hoo constructions in which the direct object following the word ka occurs preverbally, as in the patterns [S ka O0 V hoo O1] and [S ka O0 V1 hoo O1 V2].

The [S ka O0 V hoo O1] and the [S ka O0 V1 hoo O1 V2] constructions, respectively, are considered to be variants of dative and purposive constructions. The two ka...hoo constructions with dative and purposive interpretations are similar to their corresponding ditransitive constructions, except for the information structure. The syntactic function of the word ka is to mark the preverbal object. Tsao (1987) proposed that ka is used to mark the topic of a sentence. Moreover, old information occupies the front parts in a sentence and new information occupies postverbal positions. Thus, ka...hoo constructions with a preverbal object are believed to create an information structure distinct from SVO constructions. Shen (2006) pointed out that a function of the Mandarin ba construction is to help speakers express their empathy for the preverbal object, the complement of ba. The function of the word ka in the ka...hoo constructions is assumed to be parallel to that of the Mandarin ba since this ka consistently serves as a patient marker. The ka...hoo constructions accordingly can be distinguished from the ditransitive SVO constructions by the way in which they highlight the direct object.

In addition, a cardinal sense of the ditransitive constructions is “argued to be the sense involving successful transfer of an object to a

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6 Shen (2006) pointed out that when a speaker utters a normal SVO word order sentence, he or she aims to report a fact. When a speaker utters an SOV word order sentence using the word ba, he/she is intending to express his/her empathy for the preverbal object. In other words, the ba construction conveys a subjectivity effect on the preverbal object.
recipient” (Goldberg 1995: 33). She also points out that a double object construction (SVO_{O1}O_{O2}) may imply a successful transfer, while no such implication is necessary in a ‘to’ dative construction. Goldberg’s observation on English dative constructions seems to also be true for Taiwan Southern Min ka...hoo ditransitive constructions. Neither the dative nor purposive ka...hoo constructions imply a successful transfer of a patient to a recipient. There are many cases where ditransitive ka...hoo constructions occur in imperatives, as in (19).

(19) a. Ka7 siong3-phinn3 the6 hoo7 A1-bi2 (khoann3)  
KA photo take HOO A-bi see  
‘Take the photos to A-bi (for A-bi to see them).’  
b. Ka7 gin2-a2 sang3 hoo7 i1 (chhi7) la  
KA kid give HOO 3SG raise PART  
‘Give the kid to him (for him to raise your kid).’  
c. Ka7 ko3-su7 kong2 hoo7 ta7-ke1 thiann1  
KA story tell HOO everybody listen  
‘Tell the story for everybody to listen to it.’

What emerges from this section is that four ditransitive constructions in Taiwan Southern Min are proposed and the alternations are explained. The four constructions subsequently provide clues about the factors implicated in the two ditransitive ka...hoo constructions which correspond to dative and purposive constructions.

4. RESULTATIVE KA...HOO CONSTRUCTION

Sentences in the ka...hoo configuration pattern as [ka...hoo + NP], [ka...hoo + NP VP], and [ka...hoo + Resultative complement]. The first two patterns have been discussed as ditransitive constructions; this section explores the third type of ka...hoo sentence, the resultative ka...hoo construction. The resultative complement is usually present in an adjectival form. As in Examples (20)-(22), the adjectives

7 There are some sentences which can contain an object preceding the word ka, for instance, Oe7 ka’ kong2 hoo’ chhing’-ehho5 ‘To say the words clearly.’ I thank an anonymous reviewer for making this point. I assume that ka still functions as a patient marker in this [object ka...hoo] pattern. It is believed that a covert object occurs following the word ka. This object refers to the precedent overt object, as shown in the
kim¹-sih⁴-sih⁴ ‘shiny-gold-like,’ chui³ ‘drunk’, and sio¹ ‘hot’ are resultative complements of the main verbs siu¹-li² ‘fix,’ koan³ ‘pour’, and thng⁷ ‘warm.’

(20) Goa² to⁷ beh⁴ ka⁷ i¹ siu¹-li² hoo⁷ kim¹-sih⁴-sih⁴
1SG then will KA 3SG fix HOO gold shiny shiny
‘I will then take “good” care of him.’

(21) I¹ beh⁴ ka⁷ li² koan³ hoo⁷ chui³
3SG will KA 2SG pour HOO drunk
‘He will fill your cup to make you drunk.’

(22) Goa’ ka’ thng⁷ thng’ hoo’ sio¹
1SG KA soup warm HOO hot
‘I warmed the soup and made it hot.’

Some syntactic accounts of the Taiwanese hoo resultative construction are founded on the generative assumption and provide evidence for the process of head movement (cf. Cheng et al 1997). However, this paper basically follows assumptions that do not involve syntactic transformation. In Rappaport Hovav and Levin’s (2001) exploration of English resultatives, they present problems found in the syntactic approach and employ an event structure account. Syntactic phenomena are assumed to make reference to the internal structure of events (cf. Pustejovský 1991). Event structure is thus attractive to linguists in an examination of Chinese resultatives as seen in the work of Cheng and Huang (1994), Chang (2003), Lee (2005), and H. Huang (2008). The event structure of the resultative ka…hoo construction is thus discussed at the beginning of this section.

[O, ka (O)… hoo] pattern. When the object occurs in the [object ka…hoo] pattern, it is topicalized to occupy the initial position of a clause. The three basic ka…hoo patterns can all participate in this [object ka…hoo] pattern. That is, the three ka…hoo patterns can all join a topic construction. On the other hand, the word ka is also argued to mark a topic. The topic in the [object ka…hoo] pattern is assumed to be a ka-external topic, while the topic in the [ka object …hoo] pattern is a ka-internal topic. The scope of a ka-external topic is higher than that of a ka-internal topic. When the higher topic appears, the lower topic will not overtly co-occur, such as in the unacceptable utterance *Oe’ ka’ oe’ kong⁷ hoo’ chhing⁷- chho’ ‘To say the words clearly.’ Tsao (1995) points out that Chinese is a discourse-oriented language. To avoid topic reduplication, phonological omission is mostly employed in Chinese.
The event structure of the resultative construction is expressed as in (23), using canonical realization rules (cf. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005).

\[(x \text{ ACT}) \text{ CAUSE } (y \text{ BECOME } \text{<STATE>})\]

The resultative construction is a complex event composed of two subevents: the causing event and the changing of the state it generates. Dowty (1979: 77-78) proposes the notion of ‘endpoint’ to denote a result state which can determine the telicity of verbs. Dowty’s assumption is supported by English triads in which adjectives and verbs occur with a shared name. For example, the word *warm* can present as a verb as in (24)a, a past participle as in (24)b, and an adjective as in (24)c.

\[(24)\]
\[a. \quad \text{I warmed the soup.}\]
\[b. \quad \text{The soup warmed.}\]
\[c. \quad \text{The soup was warm.}\]

This triad phenomenon can also be found in Taiwan Southern Min data. A variant of example (22) without the word *hoo* is as shown in (25).

\[(25)\]
\[1\text{SG} \text{ KA soup warm hot}\]
\[\text{‘I warmed the soup.’}\]

The semantic meaning of Example (25) corresponds to (24)a. However, (24)a is a complex of events which comprises a causative event with a primitive predicate CAUSE and an event involved in (24)b. Example (24)b is likewise a complex of events that includes an inchoative event with a primitive predicate BECOME and a result event involved in (24)c. Moreover, the verb *thng* ‘warm’ serves as a manner of the activity of warming. The predicate ACT is modified by the manner *thng*; notated as a subscript (cf. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005), as in (26).

\[(26) \quad \text{thng}: [ x \text{ ACT}_{-\text{THNG}-}]\]

The ontological root, *thng*, is represented as a modifier. The event structure for the activity verb *thng* ‘warm’ and its result state *sio*
‘warm’ is shown as in (27)a and Example (25) \( Goa^2 ka^7 thng^7 sio^1 \)
‘I warmed the soup’ is as in (27)b, roughly glossed in (27)c.

\[
(27) \begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{warm: } \left[ [ x \text{ ACT}<\text{THNG}> \right] \text{ CAUSE } \left[ y \text{ BECOME } <\text{WARM}> \right] \\
\text{b.} & \quad \left[ [ \text{ goa } \text{ ACT}<\text{THNG}> \right] \text{ CAUSE } \left[ \text{ thng } \text{ BECOME } <\text{SIO}> \right] \\
\text{c.} & \quad \left[ [ I \text{ ACT}<\text{WARM}> \right] \text{ CAUSE } \left[ \text{ soup } \text{ BECOME } <\text{WARM}> \right]
\end{align*}
\]

In English the activity verb and the state adjective are morphologically identical as \textit{warm} (v.) and \textit{warm} (adj.), though this is not the case for Taiwan Southern Min. The English verb \textit{warm} is lexicalized with its ontological root and the primitive predicates \textit{BECOME} and \textit{CAUSE}. Unlike English, the manner verb and the result state are expressed by two different entries, \textit{thng} and \textit{sio}, in Taiwan Southern Min.

It is assumed in this paper that resultative constructions with \textit{hoo} such as (22) and without \textit{hoo} such as (25) differ in their telicity. Sentence (22) \( Goa^2 ka^7 thng^7 sio^1 \) ‘I warmed the soup’ can be interpreted either as an accomplishment event or as an atelic event depending on the context. However, the sentence basically has a telic construal. When a sentence contains the verb \textit{thng} ‘warm,’ it has the properties of an atelic predicate. It can be modified by a durative time adverbial which describes the duration of an event, as in (28)a. On the other hand, when a sentence with the verb \textit{thng} is followed by such a result state as \textit{sio} ‘hot’, the duration time adverbial describes the duration of the result state rather than the activity event, as in (28)b.

\[
(28) \begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{Goa}^2 ka^7 \text{ chhai}^3 \text{ thng}^7 \text{ goo}^5 \text{ hun}^1-\text{cheng}^1 \text{ a} \\
& \quad 1\text{SG} \text{ KA vegetable warm five minute PERF} \\
& \quad \text{‘I warmed the dish for five minutes.’}
\text{b.} & \quad \text{Goa}^2 ka^7 \text{ chhai}^3 \text{ thng}^7 \text{ sio}^1 \text{ goo}^5 \text{ hun}^1-\text{cheng}^1 \text{ a} \\
& \quad 1\text{SG} \text{ KA vegetable warm hot five minute PERF} \\
& \quad \text{‘I warmed the dish and the dish has been warm for five minutes.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The accomplishment interpretation of Example (28)b, with an activity verb followed by a result state, shows the hallmarks of having a telic predicate. The telic construal changes when the word \textit{hoo} occurs between the verb and the result state, as in (29).
As illustrated in (28)b without hoo co-occurrence and in (29) with hoo co-occurrence, the telicity of resultative sentences in the ka...hoo construction is distinct from those in the simple ka construction.

It is believed that the syntactic addition of the causative hoo in a resultative ka...hoo sentence (V-hoo-RC) may result in a semantic deviation from a resultative compound (V-RC). For instance, the examples ka phah hoo si (ka...V-hoo-RC) and ka phah si (ka...V-RC) ‘beat him to death’ can be differentiated through co-occurrence with the perfective marker a. In the V-hoo-RC example (30)a, the perfective marker a is ruled out, while in the V-RC example (30)b, it is fully grammatical.

(30) a. *Ka i phah hoo si a
KA 3SG hit HOO dead PERF
‘Hit him to death!’

b. Ka i phah si a
KA 3SG hit dead PERF
‘(Someone) has hit him to death.’

The V-RC example like (30)b is a resultative sentence which is considered to have the properties of telic eventuality and can co-occur with a perfective marker a. On the other hand, the V-hoo-RC example seems to select an atelic eventuality. However, there is still a limited amount of telic examples in the V-hoo-RC form observed in the corpus. Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001) point out that “resultatives place more restrictions on their constituent subevents than causatives. The second subevent in a causative’s event structure can be atelic and telic, but as has been often observed, the second subevent in a resultative’s event structure must be telic.” Our observation on the pairing of V-hoo-RC and V-RC examples exactly reflects this divergence in causative/resultative telicity. The V-hoo-RC behaves similarly to causatives which can basically express either atelic or telic eventuality, though in fact there is a strong tendency for it to be involved in atelic
events. The causative *hoo* is thus believed to serve as a media to join a causative event structure. The V-\(hoo\)-RC form should be, strictly speaking, identified as a causative-resultative construction. There is some further supportive evidence for the assumption that the V-\(hoo\)-RC form favors atelic eventuality. Many V-\(hoo\)-RC sentences are observed to be modified by adverbials which often describe irrealis events, such as *seng\(^1\) ‘first’, *ban’-it\(^4\) ‘in case’, as in (8)-(11). These elements are likely to co-occur with V-\(hoo\)-RC sentences due to their preference for the atelic eventuality.

From the semantic point of view, the addition of \(hoo\) in a V-\(hoo\)-RC form is assumed to change the telicity; from the syntactic point of view, the explicit \(hoo\) is posited to exhibit the high analyticity of the language. When examining Chinese causative/resultative compounds, Cheng et al (1997) posit that an abstract verb CAUSE will be incorporated with an ergative verb. For example, in the Mandarin example (31)a, the ergative verb \(\text{lei}^4\text{-si}^3\) ‘tired-dead’ originates from the following position of *tamen* ‘they’, as shown in (31)b. The verb \(\text{lei}^4\text{-si}^3\) “moves” to the CAUSE position and combines with the abstract verb.

(31) a. Zhe\(^4\) jian\(^4\) shi\(^4\) lei\(^4\)-si\(^3\) ta\(^1\)-men le
   this CL matter tired-dead 3PL PERF
   ‘This matter tired them to death.’

b. Zhe\(^4\) jian\(^4\) shi\(^4\) CAUSE ta\(^1\)-men lei\(^4\)-si\(^3\) le
   this CL matter CAUSE 3PL tired-dead PERF
   ‘This matter tired them to death.’

However, examples like (31)a are not acceptable in Taiwan Southern Min. This discrepancy is believed to result from the analyticity of Taiwanese. Unlike Mandarin, the abstract verb CAUSE can be overtly “spelled out” in Taiwanese. Example (32)a, the Taiwanese CAUSE is explicitly presented by the word *hoo*, while in the Mandarin example (32)b, the corresponding word *gei* cannot be overtly present.

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\(^8\) The atelic tendency of a V-\(hoo\)-RC sentence can be supported by a statistic result. I have examined a total of 149 sentences with *ka*...*hoo* configuration from the Taiwanese Concordance Corpus. Among these *ka*...*hoo* examples, 50 tokens are identified to be resultative *ka*...*hoo* sentences. Furthermore, only 8 sentences were found to involve telic events in the 50 tokens. That is, as high as 74% of the resultative *ka*...*hoo* sentences tend to realize atelic events. Moreover, more than one third of the 42 atelic examples (15 tokens) are recognized to be imperatives.
(32) a. Ka7 in1 phah4 hoo7 si2
   KA 3PL hit HOO dead
   ‘Hit them to death!’

   Example (32)a,b show that the causation of the expression ‘cause
someone to die by hitting him/her’ is transparently decomposed into
Taiwanese as phah hoo si, while it is articulated by an opaque compound
da3 si3 in Mandarin. This contrast leads linguists (e.g., Cheng et al 1997,
Lin 2001, Huang 2008) to assume Taiwan Southern Min to be more
analytic than Mandarin. This difference in analyticity also serves to
differentiate a resultative ka…hoo sentence (V-hoo-RC) from a sentence
with a resultative compound (V-RC).

   From the semantic/pragmatic point of view, the causative word hoo
in the V-hoo-RC form functions to convey the causer’s intention. Dixon
(2000) conducts a survey of causative constructions, and based on
typological investigation, he posits nine parameters for the semantics
of the verb, the causer, and the causee. A causer related parameter,
‘intention’, is believed to associate with the causative hoo. The
‘intention’ parameter is checked by the question of whether the causer
achieves the result accidentally or intentionally. When examples in the
V-hoo-RC form are considered, they are disallowed from co-occurring
with the word ‘accidentally’. For example, (33)a becomes unacceptable
with the word bo5 sio2-sim1 ‘accidentally’ as in (33)b. On the contrary, a
resultative V-RC sentence like (33)c is acceptable with the ‘accidentally’
word.

(33) a. A1-beng5 ka7 lang5 phah4 hoo7 si2
   A-beng KA person hit HOO dead
   ‘A-beng hit the person to death.’

   b. *A1-beng5 bo5 sio2-sim1 ka7 lang5 phah4 hoo7 si2
   A-beng NEG careful KA person hit HOO dead
   ‘A-beng accidentally hit the person to death.’

   c. A1-beng5 bo5 sio2-sim1 ka7 lang5 phah4 si2 a
   A-beng NEG careful KA person hit dead PERF
   ‘A-beng accidentally hit the person to death.’
Furthermore, the V-hoo-RC sentences are found to frequently co-occur with modal verbs like beh¹ ‘will/want’ which can display the intention of the subject (the causer), as in (34)-(37).

(34) Goa² beh¹ kin² ka⁷ chheh⁴ khoann⁷ hoo⁷ liau⁵  
1SG want quick KA book read HOO finish  
‘I want to quickly finish reading the book.’

(35) I¹ tit⁴-tit⁴ beh⁴ ka⁷ oe⁷ kong² hoo⁷ liau²  
3SG all the way want KA word say HOO finish  
‘He eagerly wanted to finish saying the words.’

(36) In¹ beh⁴ ka⁷ tui⁵-hong¹ me⁷ hoo⁷ si², chiah⁴ e⁷ hoann¹-hi²  
3PL want KA opponent scold HOO dead then will happy  
‘They want to scold the opponents to death. Not until then will they feel happy.’

(37) Goa¹ siunn¹ beh⁴ ka⁷ che¹ mng¹ hoo⁷ chin¹  
1SG think want KA this ask HOO true  
‘I want to ask this thing clearly.’

In summary, the word hoo in the resultative ka…hoo construction (V-hoo-RC form) performs the causative function, which may semantically express not only atelicity of eventuality but also the intention of the causer. In addition, Taiwan Southern Min demonstrates a transparent (analytic) property in its syntactic structures by means of the overt emergence of hoo.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based on the corpora data, the distribution of syntactic patterns with a ka…hoo configuration is observed to comprise [ka…hoo + NP], [ka…hoo + NP VP], and [ka…hoo + RC]. Owing to the polysemous properties of hoo, the ka…hoo constructions are primarily separated into two categories: ditransitive and resultative. The ditransitive part contains two sentence patterns, [ka…hoo + NP] and [ka…hoo + NP VP], corresponding to dative and purposive constructions, as shown in (38).

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ditransitive} \\
\text{purposive construction} \\
\text{resultative construction}
\end{array}
\]
This classification helps identify and distinguish data that seem to be very similar but in fact are different from each other. For example, Lin (2006) compared two constituents, \textit{phah} \textit{hoo} \textit{si} ‘hit to death’ and \textit{chhiunn} \textit{hoo} \textit{thiann} ‘sing (for him) to listen to’; she pointed out that the two elements are both morphological causatives. However, only \textit{phah} \textit{hoo} \textit{si} can have a resultative counterpart, \textit{phah} \textit{si} ‘hit-dead’. The resultative counterpart of \textit{chhiunn} \textit{hoo} \textit{thiann} is not acceptable, \textit{*chhiunn} \textit{thiann} ‘sing-listen.’ Her paper attributed this discrepancy to the verb type of the second predicate, V2. She claimed that when V2 is an intransitive stative verb and is predicated of the object of V1, the morphological causative compounds can have resultative counterparts. Lin’s assumption focuses on the property of the second verb, while it is believed in this paper that the two constituents belong to different constructions, resultative and ditransitive. The two constructions have similar surface configurations but differ from each other in semantic content and syntactic distribution. The different property of the second predicate is simply one of its distinguishing attributes. Therefore, the classification contributes to a better understanding of the nature of data with a \textit{ka...hoo} configuration.

In addition to the classification of ditransitive and resultative constructions, the present study also provides four ditransitive construction alternations which can differentiate verbs between proto-typical ditransitive and extended ditransitive ones. As for resultative constructions, previous research (e.g., Lin 2006) mostly focuses on the analytic and synthetic (or syntactic and morphological) distinctions between examples like \textit{phah} \textit{hoo} \textit{si} and \textit{phah} \textit{si}. This paper provides a different insight by taking an aspectual approach to telicity. An atelic event type preference occurs along with the visibility of the word \textit{hoo}. When a sentence appears with an overt causative \textit{hoo}, it is frequently interpreted to be atelic.

Although \textit{ka...hoo} sentences are arranged into various constructions, what unifies the two major uses is that they both involve the predicate CAUSE, each showing a semantic representation of the event structures as in (39) and (40).

(39) Ditransitive: \[\text{CAUSE} (x, (\text{RECEIVE} y, z))\]
(40) Resultative: \[\text{CAUSE} (x, (\text{BECOME} y, z))\]
The predicate CAUSE is derived from the semantic function of the word hoo. The ditransitive ka...hoo construction is associated with the ditransitive function of the word hoo which conveys the semantics ‘X causes Y to receive Z.’ The variant Z semantically links to the role ‘patient’ and is syntactically projected onto the direct object which occupies a preverbal position due to the presence of the patient marker ka. In the resultative construction, on the other hand, the resultative construction is associated with the causative function of the word hoo which denotes ‘X causes Y to become Z.’ The variant Y affiliates to the role ‘patient’ and likewise occupies a preverbal position because of the presence of the patient marker ka. The variant Z indicates a resultative state which syntactically projects onto a stative complement. As a result, ka...hoo constructions can be generalized as variants of causative constructions.

REFERENCES


Lee (2008) demonstrates various syntactic distributions of preverbal objects in Southern Min. She points out that when a verb is accompanied by a phase (or a resultative complement), the object is obligated to prepose to the preverbal position with an overt ka or without ka.


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台灣閩南語「共…予」結構

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台灣閩南語的「共」結構及「予」結構已有許多文獻討論，例如 Cheng et al (1999)、Lien (2002)及 Tsao (2005)。然而，先前並無太多文獻探討這兩個功能詞同現的結構。本文關注探討語序是「共…予」的句法結構。透過語料庫語料，本文發現「共…予」句式主要表現出「雙賓句式」及「結果句式」。本文採用構式語法理論，提出雙賓句式有四個句型，且提出相關的動詞分類。此外，本文還從事件結構的角度來探討「共…予」結果句式。本文還論證事件的終結性會影響帶致使功能「予」字的顯形出現。本文所提出的結果句式及雙賓句式的差異，幫助釐清「共…予」句式所引起的句法及意義的混淆。

關鍵詞：台灣閩南語、雙賓結構、結果結構、致使結構