

Passives and Causatives in a Specific Taiwanese Construction*

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ABSTRACT

The present study explores the syntactic and semantic properties of the construction featuring the *hoo ... ka* configuration. The two words, *hoo* and *ka*, can perform multiple functions, and their interactions have various interpretations. The study collected data from Taiwanese corpora and observed that the *hoo ... ka* sentences can express passives and causatives. The word *hoo* provides the passive and causative attributes, while the word *ka* contributes to the transitivity. The repetition of the object argument and the occurrence of the resultative complement are assumed to be mechanisms to facilitate the transitivity of the *hoo ... ka* sentences.

Key words : *hoo ... ka* construction, passive, causative, transitivity, Taiwan Southern Min

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1. Introduction

This paper focuses on a special syntactic construction in Taiwan Southern Min (henceforth TSM). This construction contains two important functional words, *hoo* and *ka*, in TSM. The word *hoo* which is a multifunctional word can occur in a double object construction, a dative construction, a serial verb construction, a passive construction or a causative construction (cf. Cheng et al. 1999). Therefore, *hoo* is generally assumed to be a giving verb, a dative preposition, a passive marker and a causative marker. Likewise, the word *ka* can also perform several functions, such as a patient marker, a benefactive marker, a source marker and a goal marker (cf. Tsao & Lu 1990, Tsao 2005). These two versatile words can co-occur as both *hoo ... ka* and *ka ... hoo* configurations. Though both combinations are common in TSM, few previous studies have explored the interesting combined constructions.¹ Lee (2009) observed two constructions of the *ka ... hoo* configuration, ditransitives and resultatives. Although *ka* and *hoo* can be used to express several meanings, Lee observed that in the *ka ... hoo* constructions the word *ka* serves only as a patient marker and the word *hoo* can only perform a ditransitive or a causative function. For the *hoo ... ka* configuration, Lien (2008) employed construction grammar to discuss the TSM passive constructions in which the *khit-hoo ... ka* construction is contained. He pointed out that the *khit-hoo ... ka* sequence is sometimes articulated as *hoo ... ka*. According to Lien's hypothesis, the *hoo ... ka* utterance is a simplified form of the *khit-hoo ... ka* expression which basically performs as a passive structure.

This paper, which will examine in-depth the *hoo ... ka* construction in TSM, uses data mainly derived from the corpora in Taiwan Southern Min.² The corpus data suggests that not only can the sentences with the *hoo ... ka* configuration be interpreted as passives,

1. Lin (1990), Liu (1997), Tang (2006) and Wang (2007) have discussed the interaction between the passive construction and the disposal construction in Hakka or in Mandarin. The Mandarin *bei...ba* construction has not attracted the attention of many linguists either. Liu (1997) and Wang (2007) focus on the *bei...ba* construction and describe the types of *bei...ba* sentence patterns. Tang (2006) points out that only long passive sentences can allow the co-occurrence of the *ba* structure.

2. I used two corpora: the Spoken Taiwan Southern Min Corpus and the Taiwanese Concordance Corpus. The former corpus is compiled by National Tsing Hua University. The data are collected from two Taiwanese drama series, *Houshan Ri xian Zhao* 後山日先照 (*Stories of Eastern Taiwan*) and *Si Chong Zou* 四重奏 (*Stories about Four Sisters*). The latter corpus is administered by Un-gian Iunn and includes at least 3,000,000 words.

but also as causatives. This finding differs from the results of previous studies and provides a fresh perspective of the *hoo ... ka* construction.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 deals with the distribution of the *hoo ... ka* structure. In section 3 we offer an account for the aspectuality and the transitivity of the *hoo ... ka* structure while section 4 examines another structure, the *hoo ... kah* structure. This sounds very similar to the *hoo ... ka* structure, but is used quite differently. Finally, section 5 presents a conclusive analysis of the *hoo ... ka* structure.

2. Observations on the *hoo ... ka* data

Taiwan Southern Min *hoo* can be interpreted not only as a giving verb, a causative verb, and a dative preposition, but also as an agent marker (passive marker). For many years, the word *hoo* has been widely discussed in the literature, but the exploration of the syntax of sentences in which *hoo ... ka* co-occurs is much more recent. Lien (2008) studied the *hoo ... ka* sentences using data mostly collected from *Li Jing Ji* 荔鏡記 (AD 1566). In modern Taiwan Southern Min, data on the *hoo ... ka* configuration are scarce. Among the 6000 sentences with the word *hoo*, there are only 24 tokens with the co-occurrence of *hoo* and *ka*. Among the 24 tokens, there are 13 sentences that can be interpreted as passive sentences. Two examples are shown in (1) and (2).

(1) 予牧師娘共伊重重責備

Hoo7 bok8-su1 niu5 ka7 i1 tang7 -tang7 chek4-pi7
 HOO priest wife KA 3SG³ heavily scold
 ‘He was heavily scolded by the priest’s wife.’

(2) 攏予阿伯共伊笑倒轉去

Long2 hoo7 a1-peh4 ka7 i1 chhio3 to2-tng2 khi3
 all HOO uncle KA 3SG laugh return go
 ‘In return, he is laughed at by the uncle.’

3. The following abbreviations are used in glossing examples: CL classifier; DIM diminutive; GEN genitive; MOD modifier; NEG negation; PL plural (e.g. 3PL = 3rd person plural); PART sentence-final particle; PERF perfective aspect; SG singular.

The other 11 examples can be interpreted as causatives. One example of the causative *hoo ... ka* sentences is shown in (3).

(3) in 序大人哪會肯予你共囡仔拽走

In1 si7-toa7-lang5 nah4 e7 kheng2 hoo7 li2 ka7 gin2-a2 chhoa7 chau3
 3PL senior people how will willing HOO 2SG KA kid-DIMbring run
 ‘How come the elders in their family are willing to let you bring the kid away?’

Although the word *hoo* can serve four functions, the present study focuses on the functional uses of *hoo* in the *hoo ... ka* construction. The following sections illustrate the passive and the causative *hoo ... ka* constructions, respectively.

2.1 Passive *hoo ... ka*

Lien (2007) explored the passive family in TSM. In his paper, he summarized two types of TSM passives which included the [*khit-hoo ... ka V_t*] pattern and the [*khit-hoo V_i*] pattern, as shown in (4) and (5).

(4) 煞乞予這賊黨共拐去

Soah4 khit4-hoo7 che1 chhat8-tong2 ka7 koai2 khi3⁴
 unexpectedly PASS this thief KA deceive go
 ‘(Somebody) was unexpectedly deceived by this deceiver.’ (Lien 2007:41, (1b))

(5) 彼桶煞乞予跤落去

He1 thang2 soah4 khit4-hoo7 poah8 loh8 khi3
 that bucket unexpectedly PASS stumble fall go
 ‘That bucket fell down by accident.’ (Lien 2007:42, (4))

4. Example (4) comes from *Da-an Xiang Minnanyu Gushi Ji* 大安鄉閩南語故事集 (The Southern Min Stories of Da-an Village); example (5) comes from *Zhanghua Xian Minjian Wenxue Ji* 彰化縣民間文學集 (The Folk Stories of Zhanghua County XVIII).

The first pattern of Lien's TSM passives parallels the passive *hoo ... ka* structure in the present study, whereas the *khit-hoo* form is presented only as the *hoo* form.⁵ The *hoo ... ka* configuration can express passives in TSM, such as (6)-(7).

(6) 彼个囡仔予人共伊關佇牛欄

Hit4 e5 gin2-a2 hoo7 lang5 ka7 i1 koainn1 ti7 gu5 tiau5
 that MOD kid-DIM HOO people KA 3SG lock in cattle hut
 'That child is locked in a cattle pen.'

(7) 有一位坐佇寶座頂，予五色个虹共伊圍住

U7 chit8 ui7 che7 ti7 po2-cho7 teng2, hoo7 ngoo2 sek1 e5 kheng7
 have one CL sit at throne top HOO five color MOD rainbow
 ka7 i1 ui5 teh4
 KA 3SG surround firm
 'Someone was seated on the throne, and there was an arc of light around the high seat.'

(8) 予平地人共 in 抄家滅族

Hoo7 penn5-te7-lang5 ka7 in1 chhau1-ka1-biat8-chok8
 HOO flat land people KA 3PL eliminate family and tribe
 'Their family would be eliminated by Chinese people.'

The word *ka* in the passive *hoo ... ka* construction always serves as a patient marker, though it can also function as a benefactive, a source and a goal marker in other constructions. Lien (2008) employed the term 'underspecified' to indicate *ka*'s multifunctional property. Following Lien's hypothesis, the word *ka* establishes its thematic role marker, a patient marker, through the passive *hoo ... ka* structure.

2.2 Causative *hoo ... ka*

5. The main verbs in the [*khit-hoo* V_i] pattern are mostly intransitive. The examples in this type behave like unaccusatives.

For its lexical content, the word *hoo* can be classified as a giving verb indicating ‘to give.’ However, according to the corpus data, this lexical function of the *hoo ... ka* configuration is rarely used. Instead, *hoo*’s functional uses, passive and causative, are more often associated with the *hoo ... ka* structure. The causative examples are demonstrated as follows.

(9) 閣予伊會曉共人作產婆

Koh4 hoo7 i1 e7-hiau2 ka7 lang5 cho3 san2-po5
 again HOO 3SG know KA people do midwife
 ‘Again, let her know how to be a midwife.’

(10) 毋願予人共我抱去埋葬

M7-goan7 hoo7 lang5 ka7 goa2 phoo7 khi3 bai5-chong3
 NEG-willing HOO people KA 1SG carry go bury
 ‘I am not willing to let people carry me to be buried.’

(11) 提一千箍來予我共阿雪買物件

Theh8 chit8 chheng1 khoo1 lai5 hoo7 goa2 ka7 A1-suat4 boe2 mih8-kiann7
 take one thousand dollar come HOO 1SG KA A-suat buy thing
 ‘Bring one thousand dollars to let me buy things for A-suat.’

Talmy (1988), from a force dynamic perspective, pointed out that the concept of CAUSE can be divided. Following the force dynamic idea, linguists (e.g. Jackendoff 1990, Kemmer & Verhagen 1994, Pinker 1989) assume that causatives can be categorized into “direct” and “indirect” causation. Harley (2006) employed “*make-causative*” to indicate forcible or direct causation and “*let-causative*” to indicate permission or indirect causation. In Japanese, the *make-causatives* and the *let-causatives* are distinguished by different case markings on the causees (cf. Dubinsky 1994, Miyagawa 1999). However, unlike Japanese, TSM does not overtly distinguish *make-causatives* from *let-causatives*. The TSM corpus data show that the causative *hoo ... ka* examples are all interpreted as indirect causation, *let-causatives*.

The word *ka* in the causative *hoo ... ka* construction, as distinct from the passive construction, not only serves as a patient marker, but also as a benefactive marker in the causative *hoo ... ka* construction. For example, *ka* in (12) and (13) can be replaced by *the3* ‘for’ or *ui5* ‘for’ which is generally assumed to be benefactive.

(12) 阿母揉一條巾仔來予你共勇仔擦清涼

A1-bu2 joe5 chit8 tiau5 kin1-a1 lai5 hoo7 li2 ka7 Iong2-a1
 mother rub one CL towel -DIM come HOO 2SG KA Iong-a
 chhit1 chheng1 liang5
 scrub clean cool

‘Mother brought a towel to enable you to scrub Iong-a to make him feel cool.’

(13) 自按呢予永福仔去共人牽牛仔度飽

Chu7 an2-ne1 hoo7 Eng2-hok4-a2khi3 ka7 lang5 khan1 gu5-a2 too7 pa2
 since this way HOO Eng-hok-DIM go KA people drag cattle-DIM spend full
 ‘Since then, let Eng-hok-a take care of the little cattle for others to earn his living.’

3. Analyses of the *hoo ...ka* data

After discussing the syntactic and semantic properties of the *hoo ... ka* data, the present study will explore the transitivity of the *hoo ... ka* sentences. It is assumed that the *hoo ... ka* construction employs two syntactic mechanisms, the repetition of participants and overt resultative complement, in order to enhance its transitivity properties.

3.1 Participant repetition

Lien (2008) posited that the word *ka* performs the structural function of marking transitivity in passives. The transitivity approach is based on Bowers (2002) who argued that there is a functional category Tr (transitivity) located between v/Pr⁶ and V. For TSM passive *hoo ... ka* structure, the word *hoo* heads the passive mood and the word *ka* heads the transitivity. The highest layer occupies the “topic” stratum, the second layer the

6. Bowers (2002) employs the term ‘Pr’ to denote a generalization of the ‘light verb.’

“mood,” the third layer the “transitivity” and the last layer the “aktionsart.” Lien further pointed out that the internal argument of the verb is preposed to occupy the topic position in the passive, but it leaves a trace immediately preceded by *ka* as a marker of transitivity. This remnant trace is usually presented as a proform *i* ‘3SG’ or an empty category coreferential with the internal argument. In other words, the word *ka* is always followed by the pronoun *i* ‘3SG’ which refers to the patient. The present study basically follows Lien’s theory. In most *hoo ... ka* data, the word *ka* is accompanied by the pronoun *i* to refer to the patient, as shown in (14) and (15).

(14) 惠美予我共伊拍倒輾對池裡

Hui7-bi2 hoo7 goa2 ka7 i1 phah4 to2 lian3 tui3 ti5 li2
 Hui-bi HOO 1SG KA 3SG hit fall roll towards pond in
 ‘Hui-bi was hit by me and fell down and rolled to the pond.’

(15) 予牧師硬共伊拖去 in 厝

Hoo7 bok8-su1 nge7 ka7 i1 thoa1 khi3 in1 chhu3
 HOO priest hard KA 3SG drag go 3SG-GEN house
 ‘He was unwillingly dragged by the priest to the priest’s house.’

In contrast to Lien’s hypothesis, we have also observed *hoo ... ka* sentences with proforms not represented by *i* ‘3SG.’ The *ka*-pronoun can be the first person and singular, like (16), the second person and singular, like (17), or the third person and plural, like (18).

(16) 我予遮个序細共我笑真久

Goa2 hoo7 chiah4-e5 si7-se3 ka7 goa2 chhio3 chin1 ku2
 1SG HOO here-MOD offspring KA 1SG laugh at very long
 ‘I was laughed at by these young people.’

(17) 你閣較水，別予年紀共你耽誤去

Li2 koh4 khah4 sui2, mai3 hoo7 ni5-ki2 ka7 li2 tam1-gou7 khi3
 2SG again more pretty NEG HOO age KA 2SG impede go

‘No matter how beautiful you are, don’t be impeded by age.’

(18) 尚尾仔，in 予我來共 in 拆分開

Siong7-boe2-a2, in1 hoo7 goa2 lai5 ka7 in1 thiah1 hun1-khui1
eventually 3PL HOO 1SG come KA 3PL split separated

‘They were eventually separated by me.’

Since the pronominal patient generally refers to the preceding patient, which may have many coding possibilities in various languages, the pronoun should not be restricted to the third person and singular. In passives, the patient occupies the subject position. However, in the passive structures of languages such as English and Mandarin, the patient generally is not repeated. In contrast, in TSM, the patient re-occurs after the word *ka* and is always rendered by a proform (or an empty category) which refers to the preposed patient subject.

Hopper and Thompson (1980) proposed ten semantic parameters for transitivity. The set of parameters is used to refine the concept of transitivity. The parameters are participants, kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency, affectedness of O, and individuation of O, as shown in (19).

(19)

	Transitivity	
	High	Low
A. Participants	2 or more participants	1 participant
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

By ranking the highest on the ten parameters, a semantic transitive prototype is

molded. Among the ten parameters, the first parameter, participants, defines that two or more than two participants align with high transitivity. Along this line, the word *ka* is believed to help the passive *hoo ... ka* construction attain higher transitivity, by re-duplicating the occurrence of the O argument. The function of the *ka*-pronoun is to overtly represent transitivity.

On the other hand, the *ka*-phrase in the causative *hoo ... ka* structure is not used to repeat the patient. The causative *hoo ... ka* construction is a type of periphrastic causative which expresses causal relationships with two or more predicate terms. The causative verb *hoo* takes an embedded clause as a complement while the *ka*-phrase is included in the complement clause. The matrix verb (i.e., *hoo*) expresses the notion of ENABLE or LET while the embedded verb (i.e., *ka ... V*) expresses an end-state or a result. For example, in (20) and (21), the matrix verb *hoo* expresses *permit/allow/let*. The embedded verb *tiam2* ‘light up’ and *pai3* ‘worship’ expresses the end-state of the causative structure, within which the *ka*-phrase acts as an adjunct to indicate the benefactive role *a1-peh4* ‘uncle’, and *li2* ‘2 SG’.

(20) 你敢會當予我共阿伯點一支仔香

Li2 kam2 e7-tang3 hoo7 goa2 ka7 a1-peh4 tiam2 chit8 ki1-a2 hiunn1
 2SG dare allow HOO 1SG KA uncle light up one CL-DIM incense
 ‘Will you allow me to light up a stick of incense for the uncle?’

(21) 予蜜仔用查某囡个身分來共你拜

Hoo7 Bit8-e5 eng7 cha1-boo2-kiann2 e5 sin1-hun7 lai5 ka7 li2 pai3
 HOO Bit-e use daughter MOD role come KA 2SG worship
 ‘Let Bit-e use the names of your daughter to worship you.’

The *ka*-phrase in the causative *hoo ... ka* structure does not necessarily refer to the patient; therefore, the nominal part of the *ka*-phrase is not constrained to a proform. In addition, the thematic role of the noun phrase which follows the word *ka* is not bound to the grammatical role of patient. Hence, there are at least two different constructional meanings or construals of the *hoo ... ka* structure.

Based on Dixon's (1994, 2005) "basic linguistic theory", the primitives of argument relations are S, A and O. Among the three components, the subject of a transitive verb is denoted by A, the subject of an intransitive verb by S, and the object of a transitive verb by O. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) employed the idea of the argument primitives to explain the transitivity relation between passives and causatives, as in (22).

- | | | |
|------|-----------|-------------|
| (22) | Passive | O becomes S |
| | Causative | S becomes O |

The TSM *hoo ... ka* configuration basically contains two constructions: passives and causatives. According to the corpus data, verbs in passive *hoo ... ka* sentences are always transitive. The fundamental meaning of a transitive sentence is 'A acts on O,' where the transitive subject A is not emphasized in a passive sentence. In contrast, in passive *hoo ... ka* sentences, the argument A is overtly introduced by the word *hoo*. In addition, the transitive O has become S. It has often been noted that the subject in TSM is frequently identical to the topic and is often phonetically omitted. When the passive subject is dropped, the word *ka* facilitates the emergence of the O argument. In the second construction, the causative *hoo ... ka* belongs to the periphrastic causative type which expresses causal relationships with two predicate terms. The matrix predicate (i.e., *hoo*) takes an embedded clause as a complement. Especially in the causative *hoo ... ka* sentences, the embedded subject becomes the O argument of the matrix verb *hoo*, and the embedded object is introduced by the word *ka*. Following Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000), the present study postulates the passive and causative *hoo ... ka* constructions as reassignments of the transitivity relations.

3.2 Telicity

In the TSM passive hierarchy, the last layer is assumed to be aktionsart. Lien (2008) considered the phasal marker such as *khit3* 'go', *liau3* 'finish', *tiau7* 'drop' as indicating the aktionsart. Because the passive *hoo ... ka* sentences mostly end either with a phasal marker or with a resultative complement, this paper assumes that the aktionsart of passive *hoo ... ka* sentences is not only expressed by the phasal markers, but also by the resultative complements, such as (23) and (24).

(23) 予人共我車出去

Hoo7 lang5 ka7 goa2 chhia1 chhut1 khi3
 HOO people KA 1SG car exit go
 ‘I was carried out by a cart.’

(24) 尚尾仔，in 才予我來共拆分開 (= (18))

Siong7-boe2-a2 in1 chiah1 hoo7 goa2 lai5 ka7 thiah1 hun1-khui1
 eventually 3PL then HOO 1SG come KA split separated
 ‘They were eventually separated by me.’

When compared to Mandarin, the TSM *ka* is noted to be different from the Mandarin *ba* in the requirement of the resultative complement. Li (2001) pointed out that *ba* sentences always occur in the two schematic forms which include an element X before or after the verb, as shown in (25):

- (25) a. NP₁ + *ba* + NP₂ + V + X
 b. NP₁ + *ba* + NP₂ + X + V

The postverbal X is often a resultative complement or a locative complement. Unlike the Mandarin *ba*, the TSM *ka* does not necessarily co-occur with any complements, such as (26).

(26) 伊共我拍/*他把我打/他把我打倒了

- a. I1 ka7 goa2 phah4 (TSM)
 3SG KA 1SG hit
 b. *Ta ba wo da (Mandarin)
 3SG BA 1SG hit
 ‘He hit me.’
 c. Ta ba wo da dao le (Mandarin)
 3SG BA 1SG hit fall PERF
 ‘He defeated me.’

On the other hand, the *ka* phrase in the passive *hoo ... ka* construction needs to be followed by a phasal marker or a resultative complement, such as (27).

(27) a. *予人共我車

*Hoo7 lang5 ka7 goa2 chhia1

HOO people KA 1SG car

‘I was carried out by a cart.’

b. *in 予我來共 in 拆

In1 hoo7 goa2 lai5 ka7 in1 thiah1

3PL HOO 1SG come KA 3PL split

‘They were eventually taken apart by me.’

It seems that the TSM *ka* in the passive *hoo ... ka* construction behaves very similar to the Mandarin *ba*. The *ba* construction is assumed to express some degree of “affectedness”, and the resultative complement is reduced to this notion. Along this line, *ka* in the passive *hoo ... ka* construction is used to express the notion of “affectedness.” In addition, the resultant state of the affectedness is required to be overtly present in the syntactic structure. In particular, phasal markers and resultative complements are used to provide a result state or an end point. The occurrence of the word *ka* causes the passive *hoo ... ka* sentences to be associated with bounded events. The word *ka* thus performs the function of specializing the passive *hoo ... ka* construction so that it is distinct from other passive sentences in its telicity.

Although the passive *hoo ... ka* sentences reveal bounded events, causative events with the *hoo ... ka* configuration are not essentially bounded. For example, in some causative *hoo ... ka* examples, the tentative expression *khoann3-mai7* ‘see/try’ can be added after the verb, such as (28).

(28) 佇未成親个三日前，予卜卦先生共伊卜看覓咧

Ti7 boe7 seng5-chhin1 e5 sann1 jit8 cheng5, hoo7 pok1-koa3 sian1-senn1

at NEG succeed-marry MOD three day ago HOO divine master/sir

ka7 i1 pok1 khoann3 mai7 leh4

KA 3SG divine see see PART

‘Three days before he gets married, let the fortune-teller divine for him.’

On the other hand, some causative *hoo ... ka* sentences are found to contain a result state. Example (29) illustrates this: the verb *phah4* ‘beat’ is followed by a resultative phrase *kah kui sin-khu choan siong* ‘to the degree that the whole body fills with wounds.’

(29) 不予 in 共我拍甲規身軀全傷

M7 hoo7 in1 ka7 goa2 phah4 kah4 kui1 sin1-khu1 choan5 siong1
 NEG HOO 3PL KA 1SG beat to all body all wound
 ‘I didn’t let them beat me till my whole body filled with wounds.’

It is assumed that the tendency of the causee is not always for a result, but the causer can facilitate a happening of some specific result by conducting the activity conveyed by the verb. The *hoo ... ka* construction reveals a telic property which can refer to the aspect parameter in Hopper and Thompson’s (1980) semantic transitivity parameters. The telic aspect helps the *hoo ... ka* construction to be characterized as ‘very transitive’ because it contributes to coding ‘high transitivity,’ according to Hopper and Thompson.

4. The *hoo ... kah* construction with extent complement

There is a construction in TSM easily mistaken for the *hoo ... ka* construction because it receives a very similar pronunciation to the *hoo ... ka* construction. The construction in question is the *hoo ... kah* construction. As mentioned above, the nominal phrase following *ka* tends to be a pronoun *i* ‘3SG,’ and the sequence *ka i* is frequently verbalized as a contraction *kah* when the sentence is uttered under a high-speed context. Since the *hoo ... ka* sequence can be expressed as *hoo ... kah*, the identical pronunciation causes the two constructions to be easily confused. In order to differentiate between the two constructions, this section will examine uses and examples of the *hoo ... kah* construction.

The *kah* word in the *hoo ... kah* construction is an isolated element rather than a contraction of ‘*hoo i*.’ It functions as a bridge between the verb and the following clause, indicating ‘to such an extent that.’ Chao (1968) called the *kah* phrase an ‘extent complement’, and Yue-Hashimoto (1993) also has used the term ‘extent complement’ to

denote the degree of a result or a situation. The present study, thus, adopts the position that the word *kah* is an extent marker with the *hoo ... kah* construction exemplified in (30), (31) and (32).

(30) 恁个戶櫬會媒人婆仔踏甲踈去

Lin2-e5 hoo7-teng7 e7 hoo7 mui5-lang5-po5-a2 tah8 kah4 ui1 khi3
 2PL-MOD doorstep will HOO matchmaker step to faded go
 ‘Your doorstep will be stepped on by the matchmakers to such an extent that it becomes worn away.’

(31) 嘛是予人罵甲欲臭頭去

Ma7 si7 hoo7 lang5 me7 kah4 beh chhau3-thau5 khi3
 also be HOO people scold to will smelly head go
 ‘(I) was also seriously scolded by people to such an extent that my head became muddled.’

(32) 阿美驚財產予翁婿博甲空空空

A15-bi2 kiann1 chai5-san2 hoo7 ang1-sai3 poah8 kah4 khang1 khang1 khang1
 A-bi fear property HOO husband gamble to empty empty empty
 ‘A-bi is afraid that the property has been gambled away by her husband to such an extent that it was totally empty.’

Sentences (30)-(32) specifically show passive examples with extent complements. Very similar to the *hoo ... ka* construction which has both passive and causative constructions, the *hoo ... kah* sequence can also express causatives. The causative examples are shown as in (33), (34) and (35).

(33) 破病著傷就予你疼甲欲死

Phoa3 penn7 tiah8 siong1 to7 hoo7 li2 thiann3 kah4 beh4 si2
 break sick suffer wound then HOO 2SG hurt to will dead
 ‘Being sick and wounded caused you painful to such an extent that you felt like you

were dying.’

(34) 予咱聽甲心花花

Hoo7 lan2 thiann1 kah4 sim1 hoe1 hoe1
 HOO 1PL hear to heart flower flower

‘Hearing the words caused us to deconcentrate to such an extent that our hearts became very agitated.’

(35) 予人看甲心肝撓撓

Hoo7 lang5 khoann3 kah4 sim1-koann1 ngiau1 ngiau1
 HOO people see to heart-liver itch itch

‘Seeing the thing caused people to have a desire for something to such an extent that their hearts became very itchy.’

The extent complement introduces the result clauses. For example, in (30), the doorstep is stepped on so many times to a point that it becomes worn down. In (33), the pain of being sick and wounded achieves such a high degree of pain that the result is that the person feels like he/she is dying. The result clause introduced by the word *kah* provides the end state of the event structure. The *hoo ... kah* construction, thus, corresponds to the *hoo ... ka* construction in its telicity. In addition a similar telicity and the phonetic similarity, the two constructions both tend to involve bounded events. The *hoo ... kah* construction is accordingly often mistaken for the *hoo ... ka* construction.

However, the *hoo ... ka* and the *hoo ... kah* constructions are different and even can co-occur in one sentence, as shown in (36).

(36) 且伊家已甘願去問道理，閣予你共伊講甲赫明啊

Tann1 i1 ka1-ki7 kam1-goan7 khi3 mng7 to7-li2, koh1 hoo7 li2
 now 3SG self willing go ask rule again HOO 2SG
 ka7 i1 kong2 kah4 hiah4 beng5 ah4
 KA 3SG say to that clear PART

‘Now, he is willing to ask the rules, but has been preached to by you to such an extent that the situation is so clear.’

In the *hoo ... ka ... kah* sentence, the word *hoo* serves as an agent marker in a passive sentence. The word *ka* indicates a patient which always presents as a proform referring back to the previously occurring patient subject, and the word *kah* is an extent marker acting as a connector between the verb and its extent/degree complement.

5. Closing remarks

Since the words *hoo* and *ka* are assumed to be two of the most common function words in Taiwan Southern Min, this paper focuses on constructions with the co-occurrence of these two words in a *hoo ... ka* configuration. Lien (2008) studied the TSM passive family and took the position that the *khit-hoo ... ka* construction should be included in the passive category. The *khit-hoo* utterance is sometimes simplified solely to the word *hoo*. The present study examined Lien's observation and found that, in addition to passive interpretation, some *hoo ... ka* sentences can also be construed as causatives.

It is claimed that it is the word *hoo* that contributes to the two functions of the *hoo ... ka* construction. Lee (2009) explored the *ka ... hoo* configuration and concluded that the sequence can express ditransitives and causatives. In her paper, she assumed that the two interpretations are conveyed by the word *hoo*'s semantics rather than the word *ka*. Likewise, the two renderings of the *hoo ... ka* configuration can be attributed to the multiple uses of the word *hoo*. In other words, when *hoo* and *ka* co-occur in a sentence, *hoo* will determine whether the structure is construed as a ditransitive, a causative or a passive reading, regardless of the word order of the two function words. This finding can be associated with the verbal properties of *hoo*. Although both *hoo* and *ka* have very comprehensible grammatical function words in TSM, only the word *hoo* retains verbal properties to convey ditransitives, causatives and passives; the word *ka* has lost its verbal ability to articulate 'accompany.'

The paper also studied the transitivity of the *hoo ... ka* construction. For most passive sentences, it is not necessary to reduplicate the patient role when the patient has occupied the subject position. In the TSM passive *hoo ... ka* construction, not only does the patient recur through the word *ka*, the agent is also overtly introduced by the word *hoo*. Following Lien's hypothesis, this paper believes that *ka* facilitates the expression of the transitivity of the *hoo ... ka* construction. Furthermore, this paper has discussed the aspectuality of the *hoo ... ka* construction. The aspect parameter is included in Hopper

and Thompson's (1980) transitivity parameters, which clarifies that a telic action is more effectively transferred to a patient. A telic event is, thus, characterized by belonging to the parameter of high transitivity. This paper found that the *hoo ... ka* construction tends to involve a telic event. Along this line, the telicity feature of the *hoo ... ka* construction exhibits the high transitivity property, in concord with the functions of *hoo* and *ka* serving to overtly mark arguments in order to achieve high transitivity in the participant parameter.

It is found that the *hoo ... kah* construction is also phonetically similar to the *hoo ... ka* construction. This paper argues that *kah* in the former structure introduces an extent complement, while *ka* in the latter structure introduces an object argument. Similar to *hoo ... ka* construction, the *hoo ... kah* configuration can express both passives and causatives. Indeed, the word *hoo* contributes the two functions to the both constructions. In summary, *hoo* determines whether the *hoo ... ka* sentence is to be interpreted as passive or causative, while *ka* facilitates the transitivity of the sentence.

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臺灣閩南語之特殊被動及使動句型

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摘 要

筆者從臺語語料庫中，觀察到「予……共」(*hoo ... ka*)句型在語法及語意上呈現出一些值得注意與研究的特性。「予」與「共」是多義功能詞，當這兩個字先後出現在同一個句中，形成「予……共」句型時，在語法與語意上產生多樣的互動。在此一句型的語法上，「予」字表達被動及使動的功能；而「共」字則在語意上以兩種方式提高句型的及物性：於被動句型中，重複受事主語；於使動句型中，加入結果補語。

關鍵字：「予……共」(*hoo ... ka*)句型，被動，使動，及物性，臺灣閩南語

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