Depictives in Taiwanese Southern Min*

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ABSTRACT

The constructions with the structure Nsub-V-Nobj-ADJ in English can be construed as adjunct-predicate constructions as well as causatives, resultatives and argument small clauses. For adjunct-predicate constructions referred to as depictives the adjunct-predicate can be subject-hosted, as in *Jones fried the potatoes naked*, or object-hosted, as in *Jones fried the potatoes raw* (Rapoport 1993ab & 1999). This paper aims at first providing the corresponding constructions to express depictives in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM for short). Depictives in TSM are deployed more transparently as shown in its different sentential patterns: Subject-hosted adjunct-predicates occur in Nsub-ADJ-V-Nobj, as in A^1 Ong^7-a^2 $thiam^2$-$thiam^2$ tih^4 chu^2 mi^7 阿旺仔悿悿佇煮麵 'Mike cooked the noodle tired', or Nsub-Vadjunct-V-Nobj, as in A^1 Ong^7-a^2 $chiu^2$ $chui^3$ tih^4 $hang^1$ be^2-$ling^5$-chu^5 阿旺仔酒醉佇烘馬鈴薯 'Mike baked sweet potatoes drunk'. Object-hosted adjunct-predicates occur in Nsub-Adj-V-Nobj, as in A^1-$Bing^5$ tia^{n7}-tia^{n7} $chiah^8$ $chhi^{n1}$ o^5-a^2 阿明仔定定生食蠔仔 'Tom often eat the oyster raw' or the sui generis construction Nsub-CONJ($than^3$ 趁)-Nobj-ADJ-V, as in A^1 Ong^7-a $than^3$ $thng^1$ sio^1 sio^1 lim^1 · loh^8-khi^3 阿旺仔趁湯燒燒飲落去 'Mike drank the soup hot'. We can see that the adjunct in depictives occurs after the main verb in English, whereas it is realized preverbally, be it subject-hosted or object-oriented, in TSM.

The adjunct in a resultative rather than a depictive as shown above appears after the object both in English and TSM. Thus, resultatives in TSM also observes the post-verbal constraint in that subject-hosted adjectives emerge as Nsub-V-Nobj-

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ADJ, as in A^1 Lan^5-a lim^1 $chiu^2$ $chui^3$ a 阿蘭仔飲酒醉矣 'Lisa became drunk by drinking', and object-hosted adjectives can be manifested as Nsub-Nobj-V-ADJ, as in I^1 $thoo^5$-kha^1 sau^2 $chhing^1$-khi^3 a 伊塗骹掃清氣矣 'He swept the floor clean'.

　　In sum, despite a difference in internal semantic relation there is no difference in syntactic structure between depictives and resultatives in English. By contrast, TSM shows a parallelism between temporal order and word order, viz., the adjunct has to appear before the main verb in depictives and it occurs after the main verb in resultatives. The different semantic structure between the different sentence patterns is in a sense coded in surface word order.

Key Words: depictives, subject-hosted, object-hosted, adjunct, resultative, preverbal, Taiwanese Southern Min, English, temporal order, sequential order, iconicity

1. Introduction

　　The study presented in this paper is inspired by some aspects of syntactic syncretism in English where an ambiguous grammatical construction results from a coalescence of a group of semantically disparate templates. It aims at ferreting out how the two kinds of semantic templates, specifically depictives as opposed to resultatives, are coded in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM for short). While the interpretation of such semantically ambiguous templates hinges on semantic and pragmatic information in English, it is found that depictives and resultatives are deployed quite transparently in terms of a difference of surface order of linguistic forms reflecting the operation of the semiotic principle of iconicity.

　　Between (1) Introduction and (13) Concluding Remarks the main balk of this paper consists of eleven sections. They are organized as follows: (2) Secondary Predicates in Depictives, (3). Syntactic Syncretism in English and its Counterparts in TSM, (4) Depictives in TSM ((4.1.) Subject-hosted Depictives, & (4.2.) Object-hosted Depictives), (5) Construction Types of Depictives in TSM, (6) Parallelism of Temporal Order of Events and Sequential Order of Linguistic Forms, (7) Constraints of Special Constructions ((7.1). the Construction $Than^3$ 趁 XP_1 VP_2, & (7.2.) The Construction Na^2 若 X Na2 若 Y), (8) Semantic Co-composition of Verbs and Attributive Adjectives, (9) Interaction between Lexicon, Morphology, Syntax and Semantics, (10) Predication and Designation, (11) Temporal and Conditional Reading of Depictives, and (12) Resultatives ((12.1.) Subject-hosted Resultatives, and (12.2.) Object-hosted Resultatives), & (12.3.) Construction Types

of Resultatives in TSM).

2. Secondary Predicates in Depictives

Secondary predicates are phrases that are predicated of a constituent stand-ing in a thematic relation with the main verb of a sentence (Aarts 1995). The constituent may serve as the direct object or the subject of the verb in main clause. For example, the adjective *raw* is predicated of the NP *oyster* used as the direct object of the matrix verb *ate* in *Jane ate the oyster raw*. In contrast, the adjective *tired* is predicated of the NP *Mike* used as the subject of the matrix verb *cooked* in *Mike cooked the noodle tired*.

Whether subject-hosted or object-hosted the second predicate in depictives is an adjunct which is dispensable without affecting the grammatical status of the matrix clause. However, the secondary predicate in the resultative is a comple-ment which can not be done without.

Types of verbs in the matrix clause have to do with the selection of gram-matical categories of secondary predicates. For example, *me* in *She made me$_i$ happy$_i$* as the object of the matrix verb and *happy* constitutes a kind of predica-tion.

There are two approaches to the analysis of 'small clause' (Nakajima & Tonoika. 1991).

1. Separate constituent analysis: NP1 V NP2 [XP] where XP is an independent category.
   NP2 and XP play distinct grammatical functions.
   Jackendoff (1977), Williams (1980, 1983), Napoli (1988, 1989)
2. Single constituent analysis: NP1 V NP2 [NP2 XP] where [NP2 XP] is a sin-gle constituent.
   XP is another complement to the verb or an adjunct
   Jespersen (1983), Chomsky (1981) & Stowell (1981, 1983)

3. Syntactic Syncretism in English and its Counterparts in TSM

X-V-Y-adj is potentially five-way ambiguous: (1) causative, (2) small clause, (3) perception V, (4) depictive, and (5) resultative, as illustrated below (Rapaport 1993ab):

	X-V-Y-ADJ	Chinese characters
1	Mary made her teacher angry. A^1 Lan^5-a jia^2 in^1 lau^7-su^1 siu^7- khi$^{3\cdot1}$ PRF-NAM-SUF cause his/her teach receive anger^3	阿蘭仔惹個老師受氣[2]
2	The fisherman found the cliff quite steep. Liah^8-hi^5-e hoat^8-hien^7 khoe^1-kham^3 chin^1 kia^7 Catch fish NOM discover river-cliff very steep	掠魚的發現溪坎眞崎
3	Joan saw Mike sleepy. A^1-Hiang^1-a khoa^{n3}-ki^{n3} Ban^7-a ai^3-khun^3 PRF-NAM-SUF see NAM-SUF love sleep ai^3-khun^3 love sleep	阿香仔看見萬仔愛睏愛睏.
4	Tom often eat the oyster raw. A^1-Bing^5-a tia^{n7}-tia^{n7} chhi^{n1} chiah^8 o^5-a^2 PRF-NAM-SUF often raw eat oyster-SUF	阿明仔定定生食蠔仔[4].
5	The blacksmith hammered the hoe flat. Phah^4-thieh^4-e ka^7 ti^5-thau^5 kong^3 pi^{n2} •khi^3 Beat-iron-SUF PM hoe hammer flat PH	拍鐵的共鋤頭摃扁•去

1. The transliteration of Taiwanese Southern Min is mainly based on the Church Romanization of Douglas (1873) with some minor modifications. For example, the diacritic tone marks have been abandoned in favor of numerical superscripts. No distinction is made between *ch, chh* and *ts, tsh*, as they do not stand for phonemic contrast. The open *o* (i.e., /ɔ/) and the closed *o* are rendered as *oo* and *o*, as in *oo^1* 烏 'black' and *o^1* 鍋 'cookware'. The nasalized vowels are indicated by a raised n.
2. It is proposed in Lien (1998 & 2000) that a distinction between—*a^2* 仔 and —•*a* 仔 be made in terms of phonological, semantic and semantic factors even though the graphs involved are not etymologically viable. For example, in a minimal pair like *kim^1-a^2* 金仔 'gold' and *Kim^1-•a* 金仔 (a hypocoristic term of address) the suffix—*a* carries no inherent tone and acquires its tone from the preceding root. Constraint of space prevents me from elaborating on the differences. See Lien (1998 & 2000) for the detail.
3. Abbreviations used in this paper are listed below: PRF (=prefix), NAM (name), SUF (suffix), PM (patient marker), PH (phase marker), PG (progressive aspect), GN (genitive marker), and INCH (inchoative aspect).
4. *O^5-a^2 A1 Bing5-a tia^{n7}-tia^{n7} chiah^8 chhi^{n1}* 蠔仔阿明仔定定生食 oyster-SUF PRF-NAM-SUF often raw eat where the object *o^5-a^2* 蠔仔 is preposed is often found in the speech of old generation.

Let us focus on depictives and resultatives while ignoring other patterns as shown above.

An adjective *chhi*[n1] 生 'raw' which functions as a predictive adjective in a depictive, as in (4), differs from an attributive adjective, as in (6)

6	I^1 tian^7-tia^{n7} chiah^8 chhi^{n1} o^5-a^2 'He often eat raw oyster-SUF' 'He often eats raw oyster'	伊定定食生蠔仔

Unlike a predicative adjective an attributive adjective *chhi*[n1] 生 'raw' occurring before a noun functions in a noun phrase with a referential or identificational function. For example, it makes sense when (6) rather than (4) can be continued by (7):

7	, m^7 si^7 sik^8 o^5-a^6 , not be cooked oyster-SUF , not cooked oyster	, 勿是熟蠔仔

Likewise, an adjective like *ta*^{1} 焦 'dry' as the second predicate in resultatives, as in (8), departs from its use as an attributive adjective, as in (9):

8	A^1-Le^7-a ka^7 bin^7-kun^1 chun^7 ta^1 a PRF-NAM-SUF PM towel wring dry INC 'Lisa wrung the towel out'	阿麗仔共面巾搦焦矣
9	A^1-Le^7-a chun^7 ta^1 bin^7-kun^1. PRF-NAM-SUF wring dry towel 'Lisa wrung the dry towel'	阿麗仔搦焦面巾

Both depictives and resultatives in English are amalgams of two clauses: a main clause and a small/minor clause. The subject-oriented depictive may be realized as a simple sentence made up of a clause with a preverbal adverbial in TSM, as in

10	I^1 thiam^2-thiam^2 tih^4 chien^1 han^1-chu^5 He tired PG shallow-fry sweet potato 'He fried sweet potato tired'	伊悿悿佇煎蕃薯

It may be realized as a serial verb construction, as in

| 11 | A¹ Chiong¹-a   lim¹ chiu² chui³ tih⁴ chiet⁴
PRF-NAM-SUF drink liquor drunk PG cut
phang²
bread
'Jones cut the bread drunk' | 阿章仔飲酒醉佇切
phang² |

The same applies to object-oriented depictives.　In a sense, there is no amalgam of main and minor clauses in TSM.

4. Depictives in TSM

4.1. Subject-hosted Depictives

Subject-hosted adjunct-predicates occur in N_{sub}-ADJ-V-N_{obj}, as in *A¹ Ong⁷-a thiam²-thiam² tih⁴ chu² mi⁷* 阿旺仔愊愊佇煮麵 PRF NAM SUF somewhat tired PG cook noodle 'Mike cooked the noodle tired', or N_{sub}-$V_{adjunct}$-V-N_{obj}, as in *A¹ Ong⁷-a chiu² chui³ tih⁴ hang¹ han¹-chu⁵* 阿旺仔酒醉佇烘蕃薯 PRF NAM SUF wine drunk PG bake sweet potatoes 'Mike baked sweet potatoes drunk'.

The following two clauses seem to be exchangeable in word order depending on different ways of information packaging.

	He was frying rice **naked**.	
12	I¹ **thng³ pak⁴-theh⁴** tih⁴ chha² png⁷. He remove-peel-naked PG stir-fry rice While he was naked, he was frying rice.	伊褪剝裼佇炒飯⁵
13	I¹ tih⁴ chha² png⁷ e si⁵-chun⁷, He PG stir-fry rice GN time **thng³ pak⁴-theh⁴**. remove-peel-naked When he was frying rice, he was naked.	伊佇炒飯的時陣褪剝裼

where the boldface phrases carry new information.　Although the secondary predicate *naked* is an adjunct that can be dispensed with without damaging the grammaticality of the main clause, it constitutes the focus of information that we can identify with such diagnostic tests as question and negation.

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5. More exactly *thng³ pak⁴-theh⁴* 褪剝裼 remove-peel-naked means 'be stripped to one's waist'.

	Was he frying rice **naked**?	
14	I^1 u^7 **$thng^3$-pak^4-$theh^4$** tih^4 $chha^2$ png^7 He have remove-peel-naked PG stir-fry rice ·bo? have-not	伊有褪剝裼佇炒飯·無?
15	I^1 u^7 tih^4 $chha^2$ png^7 e si^5-$chun^7$, He have PG stir-fry rice GN time **$thng^3$-pak^4-$theh^4$** ·bo? remove-peel-naked have-not	伊有佇炒飯的時陣褪剝裼·無?

In both sentences the information focus is on the boldface elements. Apply the negation test and we can get the same result, viz., the focus of information remains unchanged, as in

	He wasn't frying rice **naked**.	
16	I^1 bo^5 **$thng^3$-pak^4-$theh^4$** tih^4 $chha^2$ png^7. He have-not remove-peel-naked PG stir-fry rice.	伊無褪剝裼佇炒飯.
17	I^1 bo^5 ti^7/ti^7 teh^4/teh^4 $chha^2$ png^7 e He have-not PG stir-fry rice GN si^5-$chun^7$, **$thng^3$-pak^4-$theh^4$**. time remove-peel-naked	伊無佇/佇著/著炒飯的時陣褪剝裼.[6]

4.2. Object-hosted Depictives

Object-hosted adjunct-predicates occur in Nsub-V-ADJ-Nobj, as in A^1 Ong^7-a boe^2 hit^4 $chah^4$ $phoa^3$ pi^{n7} e^5 $Niau^1$ 阿旺仔買許隻破病的貓 PRF-NAM-SUF buy that CL sick GN cat 'Mike bought the cat sick' or the sui generis construction Nsub-CONJ(*than³* 趁)-Nobj-ADJ-V (the *than³* 趁 structure for short), as in A^1 Ong^7-a $than^3$ $thng^1$ sio^1 lim^1 ·loh^8-khi^3 阿旺仔趁湯燒飲落去 PRF NAM SUF take-advantage-of soup drink fall go 'Mike drank the soup hot'.

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6. Actually the sentence is further subject to ambiguous interpretation depending on the aspect marker chosen. *Ti⁷* 佇 is conducive to a reading in which the main clause falls in the scope of negation, whereas *ti⁷-teh⁴* 佇著 or *teh⁴* 著 leads to the negation of the temporal expression.

5. Construction Types of Depictives in TSM

Apart from special constructions to be explored in another section the secondary predicate occurs preverbally close to the subject if it is subject-hosted:

Subject-hosted Depictives			
	Languages	Construction Types	Examples
18	TSM	NP_1-XP-V-NP_2	I^1 $sien^1$-$sien^1$ (koh^4) tih^4 $hang^1$ han^1-chu^5 伊瘖瘖（復）佇烘蕃薯 He tired (but) PG bake sweet potato
19	English	NP_1-V-NP_2-XP	He baked the sweet potatoes tired

If it is object-oriented, the secondary predicate occurs preverbally or postverbally, but it always precedes the object (NP_2), as in

Object-hosted Depictives			
	Languages	Construction Types	Examples
20	TSM1	NP_1-XP-V-NP_2	I^1 $chhi^{n1}$ $chiah^8$ o^5-a^2 伊生食蚵仔[7]
21	TSM2	NP_1-V-XP-NP_2	I^1 $chiah^8$ $chhi^{n1}$ o^5-a^2 伊食生蚵仔
22	English	NP_1-V-NP_2-XP	He eats the oyster raw.

When occurring in the postverbal position, it easily runs into conflict with the attributive adjective. Therefore, XP in the construction V-XP-NP_2 is potentially ambiguous between a predicational reading and a specificational reading.

To summarize, except for the construction type shown in 21 (in which attributive adjectives are involved), be it subject-hosted or object-hosted, the secon-

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7. It is not natural for $chhi^{n1}$ $chiah^8$ 生食 raw eat to occur before the object o^5-a^2 蚵仔 oyster-SUF in TSM. A more natural sentence would be like this: O^5-a^2 $chhi^{n1}$ $chiah^8$ $khah^4$ ho^2 $chiah^8$ 蚵仔生食較好食 oyster-SUF raw eat more good eat 'The oyster tastes better when eaten raw'. A diagnostic test of the status of compounds is to ask whether the expression can occur before an object NP. If it can, then it is a compound. The constraint on the placement of $chhi^{n1}$ $chiah^8$ 生食 with respect to the object shows that it is still at the stage of phrase and $chhi^{n1}$ 生 'raw' should be treated as a detachable and independent element. It is quite versatile and can occur with a range of predicates, as in chi^{n1} $chha^2$ koe^1-$phin^3$ 生炒雞片 raw stir-fry chicken slice 'stir-fried chicken cutlets (raw)'.

dary predicate of a depictive, XP, always precedes the main verb V in TSM. This is in sharp contrast to its counterpart in English where XP always follows V whether it is subject-hosted or object-hosted.   In terms of the meaning and form relation as captured by the theory of semiotics TSM correlates the temporal sequence of events with the precedence of linguistic forms iconically whereas English shows an arbitrary correlation.   By iconic coding is meant that the form that stands for an earlier event precedes a form that denotes a later event in sequential order.   Semantically, unlike a resultative where XP does not exist until after the operation of the event denoted by V, the depictive involves the existence of XP earlier than V.   In English, an earlier event represented by XP can occur after V as a later event.   Thus, there is no natural correlation between word order and temporal sequence of events.[8]

6. Parallelism of Temporal Order of Events and Sequential Order of Linguistic Forms

In terms of temporal relation the situation of small clause in depictives must be in existence prior to or simultaneous with that of the main clause.   Unlike the resultative where the situation denoted by the small clause cannot exit until after the activity expressed by the main clause occurs.   Structurally, there are two ways in which depictives are realized in TSM. (1) Subordination remains unchanged.   What is changed is that the adjunct nearer the object than the subject in English is realized transparently closer to the subject in TSM, as in *Chio^1-ti^7-a khi^3 phut^4-phut^4 tih^4 chha^2 mi^7* 招治仔氣噗噗佇炒麵 NAM-SUF upset RD-SUF PG fry noodle 'Teresa fried the noodle angry'. (2) It can also be realized as a coordinate construction where the adjunct in English surfaces as the first clause and the original main clause emerges as the second clause.   The coordinate clauses are often linked by discontinuous correlative conjunctions, as in *I^1 lang^5 sui^1-jien^5 sien^7-sien^7, m^7-ku^1 ma^7 koh^4 tih^4 chu^2 o^5-a^2 chien^1* 伊儂雖然癠癠, 唔過嘛復佇煮蠔仔煎 he body though tired but again PG cook oyster-SUF shallow-fry 'He cooked the omelet sick'

Note that the adjunct can be dropped without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence in question.   For example, *He cooked the noodle* with the adjunct being truncated is as good as *He cooked the noodle sick.*

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8. See Tai for his pioneering and championing the idea of iconicity in the explanation of some aspects of Chinese grammar in a series of papers (Tai 1975, 1985 & 1993).

7. Constraints of Special Constructions.

7.1. The Construction *Than3* 趁 XP_1 VP_2

The construction *than*[3] 趁 X VP 'while X VP' can serve as a diagnostic frame to identify stage-level predicate in contradistinction to individual-level predicate:[9]

	type of predicate		
23	stage-level	Te[5] tioh[8] than[3] sio[1] lim[1] Tea must while hot drink Drink the tea hot	茶著趁燒飲
24	individual-level	*Te[5] tioh[8] than[3] kau[7] lim[1] *tea must while thick drink *Drink the tea thick	*茶著趁厚飲

where *sio*[1] 燒 'hot' the state of being hot is subject to change while *kau*[7] 厚 'thick' is not easily amenable to change.   We can see that XP_1 in the construction *than*[3] 趁 XP_1 VP_2 must be realized a stage-predicate like *sio*[1] 燒 'hot' rather than *kau*[7] 厚 'thick'.

7.2. The Construction *Na*[2] 若 X *Na*[2] 若 Y

The semantic constraints imposed by the special construction *Na*[2] 若 X *Na*[2] 若 Y, viz., the simultaneous (circumfix) correlative where X and Y must be filled by predicates denoting volitional (e.g. *lim*[1] *ka*[1]-*pi*[1] 飲咖啡 'drink coffee') or non-volitional act (*tuh*[4] *ka*[1]-*che*[7] 盹交睡 'nod', but not state *phoa*[2] *pi*[n7] 破病 'be sick', as in

25	Na[2] lim[1] ka[1]-pi[1] na[2] he[7] while drink coffee while discuss 'talk over coffee'	若飲咖啡若會 While drink coffee while converse

26	Na² tuh⁴ ka¹-che⁷ na² khoaⁿ³ tien⁷-si⁷ while nod while watching T.V. 'nod while watching T.V'	若盹交睡若看電視 While nod while watch TV
27	*Na² phoa³ piⁿ⁷ na² chien¹ nng⁷ while sick while shallow-fry egg 'fry the egg sick'	*若破病若煎卵 *while sick while fry egg

8. Semantic Co-composition of Verbs and Attributive Adjectives

The attributive adjective in its predicational interpretation is on a par with secondary predicate that is predicated of the object in a depictive or a resultative. Whether it is construed as a resultative state or not is determined by the main verb. For example, *sio¹ sio¹* 燒 'hottish' in (28) and (29) denotes a state of heat as a result of heating, whereas it denotes the current transient thermal state in existence before or during the activity expressed by the verb in (30). Likewise, the thermal state denoted by *sio¹ sio¹* 燒 'hot' does not come into being prior to the activity of heating in (31). By contrast, the state of heat had been in existence before the activity of washing in (32). We can see quite clearly that the interpretation of the adjective as a resultative or non-resultative state depends on the choice of the main verb.

28	Phau³ chit⁸ koo² sio¹ te⁵ 泡蜀鈷燒茶 Make one kettle hot tea 'make a kettle of hot tea'
29	Hiaⁿ⁵ chit⁸ koo² sio¹ te⁵ 燃蜀鈷燒茶 Heat one kettle hot tea 'heat a kettle of hot tea'
30	Lim¹ chit⁸ poe¹ sio¹ te⁵ 飲蜀杯燒茶 Drink one cup hot tea 'drink a cup of tea hot'
31	Hiaⁿ⁵ chit⁸ thang² sio¹ chui² 燃蜀桶燒水 heat one bucket hot water 'heat a bucket of hot bath'
32	Than³ chui² sio¹ e si⁵-chun⁷ soe² sing¹-khu¹ Take-advantage-of water hot GN time water body 趁水燒的時陣洗身軀 'take the bath hot'

Even though the situation denoted by the attributive adjective in (28), (29) and (31) is amenable to a resultative interpretation, a non-resultative (albeit less natural) reading cannot be ruled out.   Hence it is safer to regard this as a category distinct from bona fide resultatives.

We can see from the above discussion the importance of semantic co-composition of verb and adjective.   We cannot be sure of what an adjective is in isolation until it is put in the context.[10]   When the activity takes place the state has been in existence, and the state expressed by the adjective is not durable but transient.

9. Interaction between Lexicon, Morphology, Syntax and Semantics

Quite interestingly, there is clear evidence of interface between lexicon, morphology, syntax and semantics.   Take the form $chhi^{n1}$ in TSM. $Chhi^{n1}$ in $chhi^{n1}$ hi^5 鮮/生/青魚 in Coastal TSM (< Quanzhou 泉州 Variety of Southern Min) is three-way ambiguous: (1) 'fresh' 鮮, (2) 'raw' 生, (3) 'green; blue' 青, whereas in Inland TSM (<Zhangzhou 漳州 variety) $chhi^{n1}$ hi^5 鮮魚 means 'fresh fish' and $chhe^{n1}$ hi^5 生/青魚, 'raw fish' or 'blue/green fish'.   The relation between form and meaning with respect to dialectal difference and Middle Chinese value of initial, final and tone is shown in the following table

Graph	鮮	生	青
Gloss	'fresh'	'raw'	'blue, green, unripe'
Coastal TSM	$chhi^{n1}$	$chhi^{n1}$	$chhi^{n1}$
Inland TSM	$chhi^{n1}$	$chhe^{n1}$	$chhe^{n1}$
MC value	心山開三仙平	審(生)梗開二庚平	清梗開四青平

The interpretation of $chhi^{n1}$ in Coastal TSM depends on the construction in which it occurs, as in

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10. Here is another example showing the interaction between the verb and the attributive adjective of its object NP.   When water is heated it will inevitably become hot.   Thus sio^1 燒 ' hot' in hia^{n5} sio^1 $chui^2$ 燃燒水 heat hot water 'heat water' is redundant.   That is, hia^{n5} sio^1 $chui^2$ 燃燒水 heat hot water seems to be synonymous with $hian^5$ $chui^2$ 燃水 heat water, both meaning 'heat water'.

33	hi^5 than^3 chhi^{n1} chiah^8 fish while fresh/raw eat	魚趁生/鮮食^{11}	eat fish raw; eat fish while it is fresh
34	hi^5 chhi^{n1} chiah^8 fish raw eat	魚生食	eat fish raw
35	hi^5 chin^1 chhi^{n1} fish very fresh	魚眞鮮	the fish is fresh

10. Predication and Designation

While it is indisputable that the secondary predicate or adjunct-predicate XP in the construction NP_1- V-NP_2-XP involves predication, it is arguable to pin down the attributive adjective ADJ in ADJ-NP as only a case of designation. In this connection it is instructive to be clear about a distinction between predicational and specificational statements. In the light of Akmajian (1979: 162-174) a specificational statement is used to identify an object, whereas a predicational statement is used to express the qualities an object possesses. Specification in this sense is the same as and on a par with designation.

The issue of whether to regard the attributive adjective as exclusively specificational seems to have emerged as a dispute over the restrictive and non-restrictive use of attributive adjectives. From our explorations of object-hosted depictives in TSM we find that attributive adjectives can have a predicational interpretation as well as a specificational interpretation. In other words, the construction ADJ + Nobj is ambiguous between taking ADJ as a restrictive noun phrase and taking it as a non-restrictive noun phrase. In the former case, ADJ + Nobj serves as an identifying noun phrase; in the latter case it functions as a predication denoting a transient event. For example, *Chng^1-kha^1 gin^2-a^2 joah^8-thi^{n1} si^5 ai^3 chiah^8 chhi^{n1} chhi^3 koe^1-a^2* 莊骹団仔熱天時愛食生刺瓜仔 country-side kid-SUF hot day time love eat raw cucumber 'The kids in the countryside enjoy eating cucumbers raw during the summer'. The sentence may mean 'The kids love eating the cucumbers while they are raw' or 'The kids love eating the cucumbers which are raw, not those that have been cooked.'

Disyllabic vivid reduplicate adjectives can function as stage-level predicates

11. *Chhi^{n1}* 生 'raw; unripe' is opposed to *sek^8* 熟 'ripe, well cooked' and *sek^4* 宿 'ripe'. The distinction is undergoing metaphorical extension in the contrast between *chhi^{n1} hoan^1* 生番 unripe alien 'uncivilized Formosan' and *sek^8 hoan^1* 熟番 ripe alien 'civilized/Sinicized Formosan'.

even in attributive position.[12]　　Here the stage-level predicates are coded morphologically.　　Thus, adjective *sio1-sio1 e* 燒燒的 hot hot GN 'somewhat hot' in *lim¹ chit⁸ poe¹ sio¹-sio¹ e te⁵* 飲蜀杯燒燒的茶 drink one cup hot hot GN tea 'drink the tea hot' can only be taken in its predicational sense, even though it occurs in the attributive position.　　Thus, the reduplicative form as a morphological device serves to cancel the specificational sense.

11. Temporal and Conditional Reading of Depictives

　　Just as causatives and putatives in Old Chinese can be regarded as a contrast between realis and irrealis (Lien 2003a) the depictives as amalgams of main clause and minor clause can be given a temporal reading or a conditional reading, alternatively a contrast between realis and irrealis reading.　　There are a range of semantic relation holding between minor clause and main clause in a complex sentence: (1) temporal relation, (2) spatial relation, (3) conditional relation, (4) concessive relation, etc (Quirk et al. 1972:743-752).　　Halliday (1967) observes that a sentence like *I eat them raw* can be understood as expressing a temporal relation and a conditional relation, paraphrasable as 'When I eat them, they are raw or 'I eat them, if / when they are raw' respectively.

36	I¹ chiah⁸ chhi^{n1} o⁵-a² he eat　raw　oyster-SUF	伊食生蠔仔
	'He eats the oyster raw'	He eat raw oyster

The sentence in question means that (a) he eats the oyster when it is raw or that (b) he eats the oyster only if it is raw.　　Sense (a) can also be realized as (c) or (d).

c	O⁵-a²　　　i¹ than³　　　　　chhi^{n1} chiah⁸ oyster-SUF he take-advantage-of raw　eat	蠔仔伊趁生食
	'He eats the oyster while it is raw'	
d	I¹ o⁵-a²　　　na⁷ chhi^{n1}, chiah⁴ chiah⁸ he oyster-SUF if　raw　then　eat	伊蠔仔若生即食
	'He eats the oyster only if it is raw.	

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12. See Cheng (1986) and Tang (1996) for discussion of vivid reduplication in Taiwanese.

The following sentence can also be taken in two senses: (1) I eat bananas when they are ripe, and (2) I eat bananas only if they are ripe.

| 37 | Goa² chiah⁸ kau²-hun¹ e   king¹-chio¹
I   eat   ripe   GN banana
'I eat the bananas ripe' | 我食到分的弓蕉 |

12. Resultatives

12.1. Subject-hosted Resultatives

A constraint has been proposed (Simpson 1983; Levin and Rappaport (1989) that there is no subject-hosted resultative (Simpson 1983).[13]   Examples in TSM constitute a violation of such a restriction.   That is, there are subject-related resultatives in TSM, as in

| 38 | A¹ Lan⁵-a   lim¹ chiu² chui³ a
PRF-NAM-SUF drink liquor drunk INCH
'Lisa became drunk by drinking' | 阿蘭仔飲酒醉矣 |
| 39 | Lan² chiah⁸ png⁷ pa², chiah⁴ lai⁵   khi³ san³-poo⁷
We   eat   rice full then   come go   take a stroll
'Let's finish eating and then take a walk' | 咱食飯飽則來去散步[14] |

(38), for example, can be analyzed as an amalgam of two simple clauses: (38a) *A¹ Lan⁵-a lim¹ chiu²* 阿蘭仔飲酒 NAM-SUF drink win 'Lisa drank', and (38b) *A¹ Lan⁵-a chiu³ a.* 阿蘭仔醉矣 NAM-SUF drunk INCH 'Lisa became drunk'.   We can see that *chiu³ a* 醉矣 'became drunk' is predicated of the subject *A¹ Lan⁵-a* 阿蘭仔 rather than *chiu²* 酒 'wine'.

*Phah⁴ ia*ⁿ⁵ 拍贏 beat win 'win the game' and *phah⁴ su¹* 拍輸 beat lose 'lose the game' are another pair of subject-hosted resultatives, as shown in the following

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13. However, Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2001) accommodates subject-hosted resultatives and proposes an account of English resultatives in terms of event structure.
14. At the first flush *lai⁵ khi³* 來去 come go seems to be an oxymoron as the actions in opposite directions cannot take place at once.   However, *lai⁵* 來 here is no longer a locomotive verb.   Rather it has emerged as a grammatical particle with a mild exhortative function to enhance the camaraderie between interlocutors.   See Lien (2003b) for the detail.

table.[15]

40	Chhing^1-tai^7 phah^4 ia^{n5} Kau^1-tai^7 'NTHU beat NCTU.'	清大拍贏交大 Tsing Ta beat-win Chiao Ta
41	Kau^1-tai^7 phah^4 su^1 Chhing^1-tai^7 'NCTU lost the game to NTHU.'	交大拍輸清大 Chiao Ta beat-lose Tsing Ta
40'	Chhing^1-tai^7 phah^4 ia^{n5} a 'NTHU won the game.'	清大拍贏矣＝清大贏矣 Tsing Ta beat-win INCH＝Tsing Ta win INCH
41'	Kau^1-tai^7 phah^4 su^1 Chhing^1-tai^7 'NCTU lost the game to NTHU.'	交大拍輸矣＝交大輸矣 Chiao Ta beat-lose INCH＝Chiao Ta lose INCH

The resultative state of winning or losing the game expressed by *ia^{n5}* 贏 or *su^1* 輸 is always predicated of the subject *Chhing^1-tai^7* 清大 'NTHU' or *Kau^1-tai^7* 交大 'NCTU', as shown in the synonymous relationship of 40 and 40', and that of 41 and 41'. Note that *phah^4 ia^{n5}* 拍贏 beat win 'win the game' or *phah^4 su^1* 拍輸 beat lose 'lose the game' can not be construed as a causative, even though it denotes some sorts of result, since (40) *Chhing^1-tai^7 phah^4 ian^5 Kau^1-tai^7* 清大拍贏交大 Tsing Ta beat win Chiao Ta 'NTHU beat NCTU' cannot be turned into a disposal construction, as in

42	*Chhing^1-tai^7 chiong^1 Kau^1-tai^7 phah^4 ia^{n5} a Tsing Ta PM Chiao Ta beat win INCH	*清大將交大拍贏矣

nor can (42) be changed into (43), as in

43	*Chhing^1-tai^7 chiong^1 Kau^1-tai^7 phah^4 su^1 a Tsing Ta PM Chiao Ta beat lose INCH	*清大將交大拍輸矣

An object-hosted resultative verb to be discussed below can, however, appear in a disposal construction as exemplified by da^3 bai^4 打敗 beat lose 'beat' in Manda-

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15. Although it is natural for *phah^4 ian^5* 拍贏 and *phah^4 su^1* 拍輸 to take two arguments each denoting a contestant in TSM, their counterparts *da^3 ying^2* 打贏 and *da^3 shu^1* 打輸 in Mandarin more often involve a single contestant while suppressing another contestant in surface structure, as in *da^3 ying^2 guan^1-si^1* 打贏官司 'win a lawsuit' and *da^3 shu^1 yi^1 chang^3 zhan^4-zheng^1* 打輸一場戰爭 'lose a war'.

rin, as in (44)

44	Qing¹-da² ba³ Jiao¹-da⁴ da³ bai⁴ le Tsing Ta PM Chiao Ta beat lose INCH 'NTHU beat NCTU'	清大把交大打敗了
45	Qing¹-da² da³ bai⁴ Jiao¹-da⁴ le Tsing Ta beat lose Chiao Ta INCH 'NTHU beat NCTU'	清大打敗交大了.
46	Jiao¹-da⁴ da³ bai⁴ le Chiao Ta beat lose INCH 'NCTU was beaten'.	交大打敗了.

which is perfectly okay and derived from or synonymous with (45). Both (44) and (45) where *bai⁴* 敗 is predicated of the subject *Qing¹-da²* 清大 'NTHU' entails (46). The uniform semantic role of *Jiao¹-da⁴* 交大 'NCTU' assigned by *da³ bai⁴* 打敗 beat lose 'beat' in (45) and (46) despite a difference in its grammatical function (object in (45) and subject in (46)) shows that it is an ergative verb, when it is a transitive verb in (45) and an intransitive verb in (46).[16]

12.2. Object-hosted Resultatives

Unlike Mandarin where *da³ bai⁴* 打敗 'beat' can be used as a causative compound verb, TSM does not feature *phah⁴ pai⁷* 拍敗 as a causative compound verb, as in

47	?? Chhing¹-taix⁷ phah⁴ pai⁷ Kau¹-tai⁷·. Tsing Ta beat Chiao Ta 'NTHU caused NCTU to lose the game.'	?? 清大拍敗交大 ?? NTHU beat-lose NCTU

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16. Cheng & Huang (1994:198) lumps *da³ sheng⁴* 打勝 hit-win 'win' and *da³ bai⁴* 打敗 hit-lose 'beat, defeat' together with *he¹ zui⁴* 喝醉 drink-drunk 'be drunk' in Mandarin into a group of mixed active RVC in terms of the obligatory presence of Agent and the optional presence of Theme. However, such a classification is too loose in that some verbs like *da³-bai⁴* 打敗 hit-lose 'beat, defeat' also exhibiting ergative-causative alternation steal into mixed RVCs, a distinct category showing an unergative and transitive alternation. It is to avoid such a confusion that we make a distinction between subject-hosted resultative verbs and object-hosted resultative verbs in TSM. Note that ergative verbs in the sense of Cheng & Huang (1994) are commonly referred to as unaccusative verbs, and the verbs that show an unaccusative and causative alternation is rather termed ergative verbs.

We can see TSM still retains the lexical labile causative and has yet to develop into a syntactic/analytic causative. *Pai*[7] 敗 may be an ergative verb, as shown in the following pair:

48	Hong[1]-sui[2] pai[7] liau[2] liau[2] 'The good luck of a place has been completely ruined'	風水敗了了 good-luck-of-a-place　ruin all-out
49	Pai[7] hong[1]-sui[2] 'ruin the good luck of a place'	敗風水 Ruin good-luck-of-a-place

where *pai*[7] 敗 can be used intransitively as well as transitively and the NP, be it subject or object, carries the same semantic function. On the other hand, examples such as *phah*[4] *phoa*[3] *bo*[1]*-le*[5] 拍破玻璃 beat broken glass 'broke the glass' seems to show that some verbs can function as an object-hosted resultative or rather a causative. It is plausible that there are issues of lexical diffusion involved in that application of the object-oriented resultatives appears to depend on types of lexical items (Wang 1969 , Wang & Lien 1993). Their lexical perspective in TSM is worth a deep probe.

12.3. Construction Types of Resultatives in TSM

A striking feature of resultatives in the coding of form and meaning is that unlike English TSM shows that the sequential order of linguistic forms iconically reflects the temporal order of action and result, viz., V denoting the action always precedes XP representing the result. One might want to argue, as one of the anonymous reviewers does, that if a distinction is made between adjunct and complement, the difference between depictives and resultatives can be explained solely in syntactic terms without talking about the principle of iconicity. In particular, the whole picture can boil down to a head-first configuration like [[V resultative]depictive]. But sequential ordering is one of the important means of coding meaning in modern Chinese, TSM being no exception, as an analytic language devoid of inflection. Granting the validity of such a dichotomy there is still a distinction in the positioning of depictives in syntactic realization between English and TSM. Unlike English where the depictive adjective appears postverbally, TSM features the sequential order of [depictive [V resultative]] where the depictive adjective occurs preverbally. Such an order of linguistic forms parallels the temporal relationship of the referents of the depictive adjective and the main verb.

13. Closing Remarks

Depictives and resultatives are defined in terms of semantic structures. The coding of semantic structures is interesting in typological perspective. There is syntactic syncretism in the coding of depictives and resultatives as semantically defined templates in English, whereas the two types of templates are partially coded in terms of word order in TSM. The constraint of word order seems to observe the iconicity principle proposed in Tai (Tai 1975, 1982, 1985 & 1993) that there is a parallelism of linear order of linguistic forms and temporal sequence of events or situations.

The convergent construction in English is realized in different structures in TSM showing the surface order in the coding of semantic difference. Thinking in reversed order the amalgam of syntactic structure in English is deconstructed and factored out in bi-clausal forms, be they a coordinate or subordinate construction, in TSM. Take depictives in TSM. The secondary predicate in subject-hosted depictives emerges preverbally after the subject, whereas the secondary predicate in object-hosted depictives appears preverbally or postverbally, but necessarily in front of the object (viz., NP_2). By contrast, resultatives in TSM show a strikingly different pattern in terms of word order. There are two positions in which the secondary predicate of subject-hosted resultatives occurs: (1) it follows the object (viz., NP2), and (2) occurs postverbally but before the object. For the object-hosted resultatives the situations are more complicated. Some secondary predicates like pai^7 敗 'lose, be defeated' can not occur in the postverbal and pre-object position, whereas those like $phoa^3$ 破 'break' can. It is lexically dependent and there clearly involves the operation of syntactic change through lexical diffusion worth an in-depth examination.

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台灣閩南語的描述式

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摘　　要

　　英語名詞_主語_—動詞—名詞_賓語_—形容詞的格式可以理解爲使動式、結果式、論元小句或附加語—謂語結構。附加語—謂語結構稱爲描述式，這種格式中附加語—謂語可以指向主語，也可以指向賓語（Rapoport 1993ab & 1999）。本文探討英語的這兩種描述式在台灣閩南語（簡稱台語）是怎麼表達的。台語的形義關係較透明。主語指向的描述式以名詞_主語_—形容詞_附加語_—動詞—名詞_賓語_的格式或名詞_主語_—動詞_附加語_—動詞—名詞_賓語_的格式表示。賓語指向的描述式以名詞_主語_—形容詞—動詞—名詞_賓語_的格式或特列結構名詞_主語_—連詞（趁）—名詞_賓語_—形容詞_附加語_—動詞表示。就描述式而言，不論指向主語或賓語，英語的附加語，都出現於賓語之後，但是台語的附加語一律出現動詞之前。

　　英語和台語的結果式中附加語都出現於賓語之後，這點和上述描述式的情況大異其趣。台語不論是主語指向或賓語指向都遵守附加語在賓語之後的限制。總之，描述式和結果式雖然內在語義不同，英語的表現格式疊合爲一，台語卻表現格式不同（描述式中附加語在主要動詞之前，結果式中附加語在主要動詞之後），反映時間先後順序和語詞前後順序的平行性。不同的格式所涵蓋的不同語義結構，也可以說是以不同的語序表現出來。

關鍵詞：描述式，主語指向，賓語指向，附加語，結果式，動詞前，台灣閩南語，英語，時間順序，語序，像似性