A Non-uniform Analysis of kaŋ Constructions in Taiwan Southern Min*

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Kaŋ construction in Taiwan Southern Min is divided into referential and non-referential, according to the referentiality of the kaŋ NP. At D-structure, the referential kaŋ construction has kaŋ as a head verb which subcategorizes for an NP and a passivized VP. In the non-referential kaŋ construction, the phrase consisting of kaŋ plus NP is an adjunct. This proposal is supported by considerable supporting evidence, i.e. the deletion of the kaŋ-phrase, the addition of an extra disposal marker, and the movement of the kaŋ NP. The referential kaŋ construction can be further divided into adversative and non-adversative, depending on whether kaŋ takes VP or IP as its complement.

Key words: Taiwan Southern Min, kaŋ construction, disposal construction, passive, adversative

1. Types of kaŋ constructions in Taiwan Southern Min

According to Wang (1947:161), “the disposal form states how a person is handled, manipulated, or dealt with; how something is disposed of, or how an affair is conducted” (translation taken from Li 1974:200). In Taiwan Southern Min (TSM), the disposal construction is represented by the kaŋ construction, as demonstrated in (1). The element (“person”, “thing”, or “affair” in Wang’s terms) of the disposal form refers to the NP introduced by kaŋ. To illustrate, in (1) the person that is hit is the kaŋ NP, gua² ‘I’.

(1) 伊 ka 我拍。
i¹ kaŋ gua² phah⁴.¹
he KA I hit
‘He hit me.’

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¹ Romanization used in this paper for Taiwan Southern Min is according to the TLPA (Taiwan
As has been well discussed in the literature (Cheng & Tsao 1995:23, Hung 1995:8-10, Teng 1982:332-334, Tsao 2003:115), unlike ba\(^3\) in Mandarin Chinese, which mainly occurs in the disposal construction, ka\(^7\) in TSM can introduce a patient as in (2), a source as in (3), a benefactive as in (4), and a goal as in (5).

(2) Patient:

一隻虎呼，欲 ka 我食啦。

`cit\(^8\) ciah\(^4\) hoo\(^2\) hoo\(^0\), beh\(^4\) ka\(^7\) gua\(^2\) ciah\(^4\) la\(^0\).`

‘A tiger would like to eat me.’ (From Hu & Wang 1998:10)

(3) Source:

我个花到底啥物人來 ka 我偷挽？

`gua\(^2\) e\(^0\) hue\(^1\) tau\(^3\) te\(^2\) sia\(^mih\(^8\) lang\(^5\) lai\(^5\) ka\(^7\) gua\(^2\) thau\(^1\) ban\(^2\)?`

‘Who on earth secretly picked my flowers?’ (From Hu 2000:78)

(4) Benefactive:

無要緊，我 ka 你報復。

`bo\(^3\) iau\(^3\) kin\(^2\), gua\(^2\) ka\(^7\) li\(^2\) po\(^3\) hok\(^8\).`

‘Never mind. I’ll revenge for you.’ (From Hu 2000:86)

(5) Goal:

我來 ka 阿姆講。

`gua\(^2\) lai\(^5\) ka\(^7\) a\(^m\(^2\) kong\(^2\).`

‘I will tell Aunt.’ (From Hu 2000:26)

The disposal construction discussed in this paper refers to that involving a patient-introducing ka\(^7\) as in (1) and (2) and excludes those involving goal-, benefactive-, or source-introducing ka\(^7\) as in (3)-(5).

As shown in the examples above, the NP introduced by ka\(^7\) is often referential, such as gua\(^2\) ‘I’ in (1)-(3), li\(^2\) ‘you’ in (4), and a\(^m\(^2\) ‘aunt’ in (5). However, ka\(^7\) is not always followed by a referential NP. As shown in (6)-(9), ka\(^7\) can be immediately

Language Phonetic Alphabet), which was promulgated by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan in 1998.

Abbreviations used in this paper are listed below:

followed by a verb, not a noun.

(6) Non-referential:
王仔去 ka 寫字佇便所。
Ong5-e0 khi3 ka7 sia2 ji7 ti7 pian7 soo73.
Ong-e go KA write word at bathroom
‘Ong-e went to write words in the bathroom.’ (Based on Hu & Chen 1999a:26)

(7) Non-referential:
王仔就去 ka 偷宓彼水缸啦！
Ong5-e0 to7 khi3 ka7 thau1 bih4 tiam3 hit4 cui2kng1 la014
Ong-e then go KA secretly hide at that water-vat PRT
‘Ong-e secretly hid in the water vat.’ (Based on Hu & Huang 1996:48)

(8) Non-referential:
王仔就 ka 跳落去。
Ong5-e0 to7 ka7 thiau3 lue3khi3.
Ong-e then KA jump down
‘Ong-e then jumped down.’

(9) Non-referential:
王仔就 ka 笑出來。
Ong5-e0 to7 ka7 chio3 chut4lai5.
Ong-e then KA laugh out
‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

Even though the pronoun i1 can be added after ka7 in (10)-(13), this added i1 is still non-referential because it does not have an antecedent either in the linguistic or situational context.

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3 The subject of (6) is omitted in the original text, and Ong5-e0 is added here to make it a complete sentence. Throughout this paper the Chinese character 共 in the examples taken from the story books has been replaced by ka7 to be consistent with the examples made by the author in this paper. The reason why ka7 is not written with any Chinese character is that its source is unknown (Wei 1997:580).

4 The original sentence as it occurs in the story book has i1 ‘he/she’ as the subject. The subject has been changed to a proper noun Ong5-e0 to ensure its referentiality.
(10) Non-referential:
王仔去 ka 伊寫字佇便所。
Ong⁵-e⁰ khi³ ka⁷ i¹ sia² ji⁷ ti⁷ pian⁷ soo⁷. (cf. (6))
Ong-e go KA 3SG write word at bathroom
‘Ong-e went to write words in the bathroom.’

(11) Non-referential:
王仔就去 ka 伊偷宓彼水缸啦！
Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ khi³ ka⁷ i¹ thau¹ bih⁴ tiam⁴ hit⁴ cui² kng¹ la⁰¹. (cf. (7))
Ong-e then go KA 3SG secretly hide at that water-vat PRT
‘Ong-e secretly hid in the water vat.’

(12) Non-referential:
王仔就 ka 伊跳落去。
Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ ka⁷ i¹ thiau³ lue⁴ khi³. (cf. (8))
Ong-e then KA 3SG jump down
‘Ong-e then jumped down.’

(13) Non-referential:
王仔就 ka 伊笑出來。
Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ ka⁷ i¹ chio³ chut⁴ lai⁵. (cf. (9))
Ong-e then KA 3SG laugh out
‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

If an antecedent can be identified in the linguistic or situational context, such a ka⁷ construction will not be considered non-referential. For instance, in (14) i¹ has Li²-e⁰ as its antecedent. Thus (14) is treated as a subtype of the referential disposal construction, i.e. adversative disposal construction, which will be further discussed in §3.

(14) 李仔講王仔竟然去 ka 伊寫字佇便所。
Li²-e⁰ kong² Ong⁵-e⁰ king³ jian⁵ khi³ ka⁷ i¹ sia² ji⁷ ti⁷ pian⁷ soo⁷.
Li-e say Ong-e unexpectedly go KA 3SG write word at bathroom
‘Li-e said that he unexpectedly experienced Ong-e’s writing words in the bathroom.’

Note that even in sentences where a potential antecedent is available as in (14), i¹ may still be non-referential. That is, (14) is ambiguous with referential and non-referential meanings. Ka⁷ constructions with referential and non-referential meanings are treated as different constructions in this paper. This paper aims to discuss the non-referential ka⁷ construction by comparing it with the typical ka⁷ construction, i.e. the disposal
construction given in (1). Even though \( ka^7 \) sentences as in (3), (4), and (5) all involve a referential \( ka^7 \) NP, source-, benefactive-, and goal-introducing \( ka^7 \) constructions display different features as discussed in Tsao (2003:115-123), and thus they may involve structures different from that of the disposal construction.

A non-referential pronominal \( i^I \) is not unique in \( ka^7 \) constructions in TSM. Matthews et al. (2005:281) argue that the pronominal \( i^I \) is non-referential in the unaccusative construction in Chaozhou dialects as demonstrated in (15), also part of the Southern Min dialect family.

\[
(15) \text{tshan hue k’e? i si k’u.}^5 \quad \text{(Chaozhou)}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{CL} \quad \text{flower} \quad \text{PASS} \quad \text{3SG} \quad \text{die} \quad \text{RVC} \\
\text{‘The flower has died.’ (Matthews et al. 2005:268, ex. (3))}
\end{array}
\]

The same type of unaccusative construction in TSM as shown in (16) is also argued to involve the use of a non-referential pronominal \( i^I \) by Lin (2011:2038).^6

\[
(16) \text{彼蕊花予伊死去矣。}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{hit}^4 \text{ lui}^2 \text{ hue}^1 \text{ hoo}^7 \text{ i}^1 \text{ si}^2\text{-khi}^3 \text{ a}^0. \quad \text{(TSM)}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{that} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{flower} \quad \text{ADV} \quad \text{3SG} \quad \text{die-go} \quad \text{PRT} \\
\text{‘The flower has died.’ (Lin 2011:2038, ex. (15))}
\end{array}
\]

Before the structures of the \( ka^7 \) constructions are discussed, further clarification regarding the definition of referential and non-referential \( ka^7 \) constructions is in order. Long and short passives have been distinguished in Chinese depending on whether the agent phrase is present or not as shown in (17) and (18) (Huang 1999:425, Ting 1998:321). Huang (1999:459) further proposes that even though there are both long and short passives in Mandarin Chinese, TSM does not have short passives. Examples like (19) may appear to be short passives as the sentence seems to be agentless. Nevertheless, (19)

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5 No tone marks are provided for the Chaozhou examples in Matthews et al. (2005).

6 Lien (2008) argues that the \( i^I \) following the passive marker \( hoo^7 \) as in (16) denotes the event expressed by the whole sentence in which it occurs. This proposal, however, is problematic. As discussed in Matthews et al. (2005:280-284) and Lin (2011:2041-2042), if \( i^I \) were referential, it should be replaceable by other pronouns. However, this possibility is ruled out as shown in (i). Please refer to Matthews et al. (2005) and Lin (2011) for detailed discussion on the non-referentiality of \( i^I \).

(i) *彼蕊花予我死去矣。
\[
* \text{hit}^4 \text{ lui}^2 \text{ hue}^1 \text{ hoo}^7 \text{ gua}^2 \text{ si}^2\text{-khi}^3 \text{ a}^0.
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{that} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{flower} \quad \text{ADV} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{die-go} \quad \text{PRT}
\end{array}
\]
Intended meaning: ‘The flower has died and this event has an adverse effect on me.’
is still understood to have a third person singular pronoun as the agent. The passive marker \textit{hoo} in passives like (19) is actually a contraction of \textit{hoo} plus \textit{i} ‘he/she’. That is, (19) is taken to be derived from (20).

(17) Long Passive:
\begin{verbatim}
張三被李四打了。
\end{verbatim}
\textit{Zhang san} be\textit{i} \textit{Li si da le}. (Mandarin Chinese)
\textit{Zhangsan PASS Lisi hit ASP}
\textit{‘Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.’}

(18) Short Passive:
\begin{verbatim}
張三被打了。
\end{verbatim}
\textit{Zhang san} be\textit{i} \textit{da le}. (Mandarin Chinese)
\textit{Zhangsan PASS hit ASP}
\textit{‘Zhangsan was hit.’}

(19) Long Passive:
\begin{verbatim}
我予拍著矣。
\end{verbatim}
\textit{gua} \textit{hoo} phah-tioh \textit{a}. (TSM)
\textit{I PASS hit-arrive ASP}
\textit{‘I was hit [by him/her].’} (Huang 1999:459, ex. (64))

(20) Long Passive:
\begin{verbatim}
我予伊拍著矣。
\end{verbatim}
\textit{gua} \textit{hoo} \textit{i} phah-tioh \textit{a}. (TSM)
\textit{I PASS 3SG hit-arrive ASP}
\textit{‘I was hit by him/her.’} (Huang 1999:459, ex. (65))

Along the same line of argument, in a disposal construction such as (21), even though \textit{ka} is not overtly followed by a patient phrase, (21) is still taken to be a referential disposal construction as it is understood to have a third person singular pronoun as the patient.

\footnote{The original sentences from Huang (1999:459) have been modified according to the TLPA, the romanization system adopted in this paper.}
On the contrary, even with an overt pronoun after $ka^7$, (10), (11), (12), and (13) are still considered non-referential $ka^7$ constructions because the $i^1$ is non-referential, unlike the $i^1$ in (20). In a sense, its presence does not play any role and it is semantically empty. In short, the referentiality of the $ka^7$ constructions as discussed in this paper is not determined by whether the patient phrase is present or not but by whether the patient phrase is referential or not.

The functions of $ka^7$ can be summarized as in Figure 1. Those functions presented in solid lines are the focus of this paper.

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The original sentence as it occurs in the story book is without a subject. The subject $gua^2$ ‘I’ is added in (21) to make it a complete sentence.

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8 The original sentence as it occurs in the story book is without a subject. The subject $gua^2$ ‘I’ is added in (21) to make it a complete sentence.
2. A non-uniform analysis of referential and non-referential ka\textsuperscript{7} constructions in TSM

2.1 Proposal

2.1.1 The structure of the referential disposal construction in TSM

The referential disposal construction in TSM such as (22) is argued to have a D-structure as in (23).\textsuperscript{9} (23) is revised from (24), which is the D-structure proposed by Huang (1999:434) for a short passive such as (18) in Mandarin Chinese. The meaning denoted by a structure such as (24) is that a person/object undergoes a certain event. The meaning denoted by a disposal construction is that someone affects a person/object in the way that person/object undergoes a certain event. Since the two constructions differ in the presence/absence of the agent, the structure for the passive, (24), is modified as (23) to account for the presence of the agent in the disposal construction in TSM.\textsuperscript{10} (23)

\textsuperscript{9} pro, instead of PRO, is proposed in the structure for the referential disposal construction because that position can be filled by a lexical word when ka\textsuperscript{7} stays in situ to assign Case to it as in (32).

\textsuperscript{10} Even though the structure for the referential disposal construction in TSM is revised from a structure for the passive construction, the referential disposal construction in TSM is not argued to contain a passive construction as shown in (i), where a disposal construction contains a passive construction.

(i) *伊 ka 我予伊拍。

\textsuperscript{3}SG KA Lisi BA Linyi hit-ASP 3SG once

Intended meaning: ‘I was hit by him.’

Disposal and passive constructions in Chinese are often discussed together as they are regarded as two closely related constructions (Huang et al. 2009:154). Despite the similarities, the two constructions still differ in several aspects as discussed in Huang et al. (2009:154-162). One of the differences lies in that the disposal construction does not involve operator movement while the passive construction does. As such, as demonstrated in (ii) the disposal construction in Mandarin Chinese does not allow a resumptive pronoun, while the passive construction in (iii) does tolerate a resumptive pronoun. On the surface, it does not seem reasonable to revise the structure of the passive construction to form the structure of the disposal construction. However, it should be noted that it is the long passive that allows a resumptive pronoun. The passive construction that the current proposal is based on is the short passive, which does not involve operator movement and thus does not tolerate a resumptive pronoun as shown in (iv).

(ii) 李四把林一打了(*他)一下。

\textsuperscript{3}SG BA Linyi hit-ASP 3SG once

‘Lisi hit Linyi once.’ (Huang et al. 2009:162, ex. (26))
differs from (24) in that an agent is projected in the former, but not in the latter.\footnote{The two structures, (23) and (24), are indeed very similar. The difference in the head, the passive $hoo^7$ or the disposal $ka^7$, determines whether an external argument is projected.}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(22)] Referential:
\begin{itemize}
\item \text{我欲 ka 伊處罰。}
gua^2 beh^4 ka^7 i^1 chu^2 hua^8.
\item \text{I want} KA 3SG \text{ punish}
\item \text{‘I would want to punish him.’}
\end{itemize}

\item[(23)] vP (Referential Disposal Construction)
\begin{itemize}
\item NP1 v
\item gua^2 v NP2 V1' i
\item NP2 V1
\item ka^7 NP3 V2' pro_i V2 NP4
\item chut^2 hua^8 t_i
\end{itemize}

(iii) 李四被林一打了(他)一下。
\begin{itemize}
\item Li^3 si^4 bei^4 Lin^2 yi^1 da^3-le^0 (ta^1) yi^1-xia^4.
\item Lisi PASS Linyi hit-ASP 3SG once
\item ‘Lisi was hit by Linyi once.’
\end{itemize}

(iv) 李四被打了一(他)一下。
\begin{itemize}
\item Li^3 si^4 bei^4 da^3-le^0 (*ta^1) yi^1-xia^4.
\item Lisi PASS hit-ASP 3SG once
\item ‘Lisi was hit once.’
\end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}
(23) involves a passivized VP,\(^{12}\) that is VP2 in this structure, and \(ka^7\) as a light verb denotes the meaning of ‘affect’ (Li 2006:412, Lin 2001:319, Yang 2006:147). Therefore, (23) semantically shows that the agent \(gua^2\) ‘I’ affects the patient \(i^1\) ‘he/she’ in a way that the patient undergoing an event is punished. The referential disposal construction such as (21) and (22) is derived from (23) via verb raising of \(ka^7\) to a higher VP shell and A-movement of pro from the object of \(chu^2\)huat\(^8\) ‘punish’ to the VP-internal subject position. \(Ka^7\) moves to assign Case to the patient \(i^1\). The pro in NP position moves because in a passivized VP, the passive verb cannot assign Case; the NP object cannot receive Case in the canonical object position and thus needs to move to the subject position. Under the assumption that Principle of Minimal Distance (Rosenbaum 1970:26, Chomsky 1980:33) should be observed, pro in (23) is controlled by the closest NP c-commanding it, that is \(i^1\) ‘he/she’.\(^{13}\) Since pro refers to \(i^1\) ‘he/she’, but not to \(gua^2\) ‘I’, the one that is punished is \(i^1\), not \(gua^2\). D-structure (23) thus correctly represents the semantic relation in a referential disposal construction such as (22).\(^{14}\)

\(^{12}\) A passivized VP is not the same as a passive construction. As discussed in fn.10, disposal constructions in TSM do not contain passive constructions.

\(^{13}\) (21) involves a covert pronoun \(i^1\) after \(ka^7\); therefore, in the D-structure for (21), the covert \(i^1\) is the closest NP c-commanding pro.

\(^{14}\) Following Li (2006:412) and Lin (2001:319), Yang (2006:147) also treats \(ka^7\) as a light verb denoting the meaning of ‘affect’ and proposes a null operator approach to account for the semantic relation in the referential disposal construction. However, his proposal is not without problems. One problem that was mentioned in Lin (2010:28-29) is that his proposal cannot account for disposal constructions involving the use of another disposal marker \(ciong^1\) as shown in (30)-(32).
2.1.2 The structure of the non-referential $ka^7$ construction in TSM

The non-referential $ka^7$ construction given in (6)-(9) does not involve any empty pronoun such as NP-trace or null operator in the verb phrase, and the one affected by the event denoted by the verb phrase is not specified. Therefore, it is proposed to have a D-structure as in (25), where $ka^7 (i^1)$ is argued to form a prepositional phrase, which functions as an adjunct. Unlike the derivation of (22) from (23), the derivation of (9) from (25) involves no movement.

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(25) IP (Non-referential)
    NP    VP
      Ong^5-e^0   PP  VP
        ka^7 (i^1)  chio^3 chut^4 lai^5
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To sum up, non-referential $ka^7$ is argued to differ from disposal $ka^7$, and referential and non-referential $ka^7$ constructions are proposed to derive from different structures. The arguments for such a non-uniform approach are presented in the following section.

2.2 Arguments for a non-uniform analysis of referential and non-referential $ka^7$ constructions in TSM

2.2.1 Deletion of the $ka^7$-phrase

$Ka^7$ plus NP is taken to be a phrasal constituent functioning as an adjunct in the non-referential $ka^7$ construction as depicted in structure (25). Being an adjunct means that it is optional. The current proposal thus predicts that $ka^7$ plus NP can be optionally omitted in the non-referential $ka^7$ construction, and this prediction is borne out as shown in (26). In the non-referential $ka^7$ construction (26) even if $ka^7 i^1$ is omitted, the sentence remains grammatical with no meaning difference.

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(26) 王仔就笑出來。
       Ong^5-e^0 to^7 chio^3 chut^4 lai^5. (cf. (9), (13))
       Ong-e then laugh out
   ‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’
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15 A preposition often subcategorizes for an object; in (25) the non-referential $i^1$ serves as an expletive, taking the position of the prepositional object and carrying no theta role.
In contrast, $ka^7$ plus NP is not a constituent in a referential disposal construction as shown in structure (23). Regarding the referential disposal construction, this proposal would predict that $ka^7$ plus NP cannot be deleted without affecting the grammaticality or meaning of the original sentence. Again, this prediction is borne out as shown in (27). In the referential disposal construction (27) the deletion of the string of $ka^7$ plus NP results in the ungrammaticality of the sentence. Even if (27) is not considered ungrammatical, (27) definitely carries a meaning different from that of (21) and (22), both of which contain $ka^7$. That is, while it is clear that in both (21) and (22) the one to be punished is he/she, the patient in (27) is not specified and its referent has to be inferred from the context.

(27) */? 我欲處罰。
   */? gua^2 beh^4 chu^2 hua^8. (cf. (21), (22))
   I want punish
   Intended meaning: ‘I would want to punish him.’

In the context specified in (28) the one that is to be punished is understood to be you in answer (a). In the same context, answer (b) would not be a possible answer to Speaker A’s question because with $ka^7$ being used, the understood patient is definitely a third person singular pronoun, but this context requires the patient to be a second person singular pronoun.

(28) Speaker A: 當人欲 ka 我處罰？
   sann^2-lang^5 beh^4 ka^7 gua^2 chu^2 hua^8?
   who want KA I punish
   ‘Who would want to punish me?’

   Speaker B: a. (是)我欲處罰。
             (si^7) gua^2 beh^4 chu^2 hua^8.
             be I want punish
             ‘I would want to punish (you).’

             b. 我欲 ka處罰。
                gua^2 beh^4 ka^7 chu^2 hua^8.
                I want KA punish
                ‘I would want to punish him.’

The fact that the $ka^7$-phrase can be deleted in the non-referential $ka^7$ construction without altering its meaning or grammaticality as in (26) while such deletion is not tolerated in the referential disposal construction as in (27) thus proves that referential and non-referential $ka^7$ constructions in TSM indeed have different structures.
2.2.2 Addition of an extra disposal marker

The referential disposal construction in TSM can occur in at least four patterns (Lin 2010:29-30). For example, (29) can have (30), (31), and (32) as its variant forms. That is, the other disposal marker ciong$^1$ can replace or co-occur with ka$^7$, even though the use of ciong$^1$ often renders a rather formal meaning (Chappell 2000:277).16

(29) 伊 ka 飯食去矣。
   i$^1$ ka$^7$ png$^7$ ciah$^8$-khi$^3$ a$^0$.
   he KA meal eat-up ASP
   ‘He ate up the meal.’

(30) 伊將飯食去矣。
   i$^1$ ciong$^1$ png$^7$ ciah$^8$-khi$^3$ a$^0$.
   he CIONG meal eat-up ASP
   ‘He ate up the meal.’

(31) 伊將飯 ka 食去矣。
   i$^1$ ciong$^1$ png$^7$ ka$^7$ ciah$^8$-khi$^3$ a$^0$.
   he CIONG meal KA eat-up ASP
   ‘He ate up the meal.’

(32) 伊將飯 ka 伊食去矣。
   i$^1$ ciong$^1$ png$^7$ ka$^7$ i$^1$ ciah$^8$-khi$^3$ a$^0$.
   he CIONG meal KA 3SG eat-up ASP
   ‘He ate up the meal.’

What is of interest here is that there can be two disposal markers in the referential

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16 Even though ciong$^1$ may replace ka$^7$ in cases such as (30), the distribution of ciong$^1$ is more restricted than that of ka$^7$. As shown in (i) and (ii), ciong$^1$ cannot be used in (ii). The speculation is that like the disposal marker ba$^3$ in Mandarin Chinese, ciong$^1$ occurs in a bounded event only (Liu 1997:64). Exactly in what context ciong$^1$ can occur still needs further investigation.

(i) 伊 ka 我拍。
   i$^1$ ka$^7$ gua$^2$ phah$^4$.
   he KA I hit
   ‘He hit me.’

(ii) *伊將我拍。
    *i$^1$ ciong$^1$ gua$^2$ phah$^4$.
    he CIONG I hit
    Intended meaning: ‘He hit me.’
disposal construction as in (32). The possibility of allowing an extra disposal marker in the referential disposal construction is well-captured in the current proposal. Take (23) to be the D-structure for (32); (32) can be derived from (23) in the following way. Instead of moving $ka^7$ up to $v$, $ciong^1$ is inserted into the position $v$.\footnote{As to the issue regarding when $ciong^1$ instead of $ka^7$ should be used, the choice is a matter of register.} Also the VP-internal subject position pro can be filled by an overt pronoun $i^1$, because staying in situ, $ka^7$ occurs right next to pro and can thus assign Case, and the pronoun $i^1$ is co-indexed with the first patient phrase $png^7$ ‘meal’.

In contrast, the non-referential $ka^7$ construction disallows the use of the other disposal marker $ciong^1$ as shown in (33) and the use of an extra patient phrase as shown in (34).

(33) *王仔就將伊笑出來。
*Ong^5-e^0 to^7 ciong^1 i^1 chio^3 chut^4 lai^5. (cf. (9), (13))
Ong-e then CIONG 3SG laugh out
Intended meaning: ‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

(34) *王仔就將伊 $ka^7$ 伊笑出來。
*Ong^5-e^0 to^7 ciong^1 i^1 $ka^7$ i^1 chio^3 chut^4 lai^5. (cf. (9), (13))
Ong-e then CIONG 3SG $ka^7$ 3SG laugh out
Intended meaning: ‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

The reason why $ciong^1$ cannot be used in the non-referential $ka^7$ construction is that $ciong^1$ is only used as a disposal marker and thus can only occur in a construction denoting disposal. The non-referential $ka^7$ construction does not involve an affected patient and thus is not compatible with $ciong^1$. On the other hand, $ka^7$ is not always a disposal marker denoting ‘affect’ as in the case of the non-referential $ka^7$ construction. The possibility of using the other disposal marker $ciong^1$ in the referential disposal construction but not in the non-referential $ka^7$ construction thus provides further evidence for the proposal that $ka^7$ in the non-referential $ka^7$ construction differs from that in the referential disposal construction and thus referential and non-referential $ka^7$ constructions in TSM have different structures.

2.2.3 Movement of the $ka^7$ NP

In addition to the four patterns shown in (29)-(32), the referential disposal construction in TSM can occur in still another variant form as shown in (35). (35) is derived from (29) after the $ka^7$ NP, $png^7$ ‘meal’, is further preposed to the topic position.
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(35) 飯，伊 ka 食去矣。
meal 3SG KA eat-up  ASP
‘He ate up the meal.’

The non-referential ka⁷ construction, however, does not allow the movement of the ka⁷ NP, since the ka⁷ NP is located in an adjunct phrase, and an NP-movement out of an adjunct island is not allowed. This prediction is again borne out as the ungrammatical sentence (36) demonstrates.

(36) *伊，王仔就 ka 笑出來。
*i 1, Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ ka⁷ chio³ chut⁴lai⁵. (cf. (9), (13))
3SG Ong-e then KA laugh out
Intended meaning: ‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

Another possible explanation for the ungrammaticality of (36) is that in the non-referential ka⁷ construction, ka⁷ is a preposition and thus it cannot be stranded.¹⁸

The above three arguments, i.e. the deletion of the ka⁷-phrase, the addition of an extra disposal marker, and the movement of the ka⁷ NP, thus offer evidence for the structural differences between referential and non-referential ka⁷ constructions in TSM. Despite these differences, the two constructions share the same ka⁷, as discussed in the following subsection.

2.3 Similarity between referential and non-referential ka⁷ constructions in TSM

The only similarity between referential and non-referential ka⁷ constructions in TSM is that ka⁷ can be followed by a covert NP i¹. The referential disposal construction (21) without an overt NP has the same meaning as (22) with an overt i¹; the non-referential

¹⁸ One reviewer suggests another possible explanation for the ungrammaticality of (36); a non-referential NP cannot be topicalized as shown in (i).

(i) a. 我們喝他三天三夜吧！
wo⁷men⁰ he¹ ta¹ san¹ tian¹ san¹ ye⁴ ba⁰!
we 3SG three day three night PRT
‘Let’s drink for three days and three nights.’

b. *他我們喝三天三夜吧！
*ta¹ wo⁷men⁰ he¹ san¹ tian¹ san¹ ye⁴ ba⁰!
3SG we 3SG three day three night PRT
Intended meaning: ‘Let’s drink for three days and three nights.’
The ka7 construction (9) without an overt NP has the same meaning as (13) with an overt i1. The fact that the ka7 construction without an overt ka7 NP as in (9) and (21) is always understood to have the same meaning as one with an overt i1 lends support to the speculation that there is always an NP following ka7, whether it is overt or not. In fact, some linguists also argue that in sentences like (9) and (21), ka7 is a fused form of ka7 + i1 (Cheng & Tsao 1995:34, Tsao 2003:127). Moreover, when ka7 is not followed by an overt NP as in (9) and (21), this ka7 is actually pronounced with a glottal stop, which may be transcribed as kah4. This is another proof that when ka7 is not followed by an overt NP, it is actually followed by an i1, which is fused with ka7 into kah4. It is just that in the referential disposal construction this i1 is referential, while in the non-referential ka7 construction it is non-referential.

Now that the ka7 which is not followed by an overt NP is taken to be a fused form of ka7 plus i1, some points need to be further clarified. That is, cases like (9) and (21), where ka7 was earlier claimed to be followed by a covert i1, should be treated as involving an overt i1, which is fused with ka7. For ease of discussion, however, when ka7 and i1 are not separately pronounced as two syllables as in (9) and (21), instead of treating this i1 as overt, this paper still refers to it as covert.

3. Adversative disposal constructions in TSM

Both passives and disposal constructions display so-called adversative forms. An adversative passive contains a subject which is not related to any position in the predicate at all, and this type of adversity is termed “adversity by exclusion” by Washio (1993:51). An instance of adversative passive in TSM is demonstrated in (37), where the subject gua2 ‘I’ cannot be related to any position internal to the predicate cau2-khi3 ‘run-away’. An active counterpart of the adversative passive in (37) would be the disposal construction as in (38), where the ka7 NP, gua2 ‘I’, is not related to any position in the predicate.

(37) 我竟然予伊走去。
gua2 king3 jian5 hoo7 i1 cau2-khi3.
‘I unexpectedly PASS 3SG run-away
‘I unexpectedly experienced his running away.’

(38) 伊竟然 ka 我走去。
i1 king3 jian5 ka7 gua2 cau2-khi3.
3SG unexpectedly KA I run-away
‘He unexpectedly ran away on me.’
A disposal construction like (38) seems to belong to the class of referential disposal construction because the $ka^7$ NP is referential and the structure for the referential disposal construction given in (23) should be able to account for the derivation of (38). However, a closer examination of the structure for the referential disposal construction in (23) yields a negative result, because $cau^2$-$khi^3$ ‘run-away’ is not a transitive verb and thus does not allow a passivized form as required in structure (23). Indeed, the adversative disposal construction differs from the referential disposal construction discussed so far in this paper.\textsuperscript{19} In an ordinary non-adversative referential disposal construction like (22), the lower passivized verb $chu^2$-$huat^3$ ‘punish’ is predicated of the $ka^7$ NP, that is, $i^1$ ‘he/she’; however, in an adversative disposal construction like (38), the lower verb $cau^2$-$khi^3$ ‘run away’ is predicated of the matrix subject $i^1$ ‘he/she’.

To accommodate the adversative disposal construction, this paper follows Huang et al. (2009:148) in proposing that there are at least two $ka^7$‘s, disposal and adversative, and the two $ka^7$‘s take different types of complements, VP and IP. The non-adversative disposal $ka^7$ as shown in (22) takes an affected NP and a VP as its complements, while the adversative $ka^7$ as shown in (38) takes an affected NP and an IP as its complements. Moreover, Tsai (2007) discusses four types of adversative forms, which he names affective constructions. Regarding the adversative disposal construction such as (39), which is the Mandarin counterpart of (38), he argues that the external argument, i.e. $ta^1$ ‘he’, occupies a topic position rather than a subject position.\textsuperscript{20} Adopting Tsai’s idea on this type of affective construction, this paper proposes (40) to be the structure for the adversative disposal construction such as (38). In (40), the lower VP $cau^2$-$khi^3$ is predicated of its subject $i^1$ ‘he/she’, which is merged to the object of $cau^2$-$khi^3$ ‘run away’ and then moved up to the IP-internal subject position because $cau^2$-$khi^3$ as

\textsuperscript{19} The adversative construction may be considered a type of benefactive construction as in (4). Whether the benefactive construction has the same features and structures as the adversative construction as discussed in this paper still needs further research.

\textsuperscript{20} Tsai (2007) provides the following test to prove that the external argument occupies a topic position rather than a subject position. In Chinese $mei^3$ $ge^6$ $ren^2$ ‘everyone’ but not $hen^3$ $shao^3$ $ren^2$ ‘few people’ can be topicalized. As shown by the contrast between (ia) and (ib), the external argument $mei^3$ $ge^6$ $ren^2$ ‘everyone’ should occupy the topic position.

(i) a. 每個人居然都給我跑了。
$mei^3$ $ge^6$ $ren^2$ $ju^1$-$ran^2$ $dou^1$ $gei^3$ $wo^3$ $pao^3$-$le^0$.
‘Every person unexpectedly all GEI I run-ASP
Every person ran away on me unexpectedly.’

b. *很少人居然給我跑了。
$*$ $hen^3$ $shao^3$ $ren^2$ $ju^1$-$ran^2$ $gei^3$ $wo^3$ $pao^3$-$le^0$.
very few person unexpectedly GEI I run-ASP
Intended meaning: ‘Few people ran away on me unexpectedly.’
an unaccusative verb does not assign Case to its object. Subsequently, \textit{i1} ‘he/she’ moves up to the topic position in the surface structure and thus results in sentence (38).

\begin{equation}
(39) \quad \text{他居然給我跑了。}
\end{equation}
\begin{equation}
\text{ta}^1 \text{ ju}^1 \text{ran}^2 \text{ gei}^3 \text{ wo}^3 \text{ pao}^3 \text{le}^0. \\
3SG unexpectedly GEI I run-ASP
\end{equation}
‘He unexpectedly ran away on me.’

(40) \hspace{1cm} \text{(Adversative Disposal Construction)}

In fact, if a referential affected NP is specified as in (41), where the affected NP is specified to be \textit{gua}^2 ‘I’, (41) is then identified as an adversative referential disposal construction. As an adversative referential disposal construction, (41) does not allow the deletion of the \textit{ka}^7-phrase because the deletion as shown in (26) results in a sentence with a meaning different from that of (41); the meaning difference is that in (26) the affectee is not specified, while in (41) the affectee is clearly specified to be \textit{gua}^2 ‘I’.

\begin{equation}
(41) \quad \text{王仔竟然就 ka 我笑出。}
\end{equation}
\begin{equation}
\text{Ong}^5 \text{e}^0 \text{ king}^3 \text{jian}^5 \text{ to}^7 \text{ ka}^7 \text{ gua}^2 \text{ chio}^3 \text{ chut}^4 \text{tai}^5. \text{ (cf. (9), (13))}
\end{equation}
\begin{equation}
\text{Ong-e unexpectedly then KA I laugh out}
\end{equation}
‘Ong-e then unexpectedly burst out laughing and this event affected me.’

Unlike the ordinary referential disposal construction as shown in (31), however, the adversative referential disposal construction does not allow the use of \textit{ciong}^1 as
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shown in (42) and (43); that is because $ciong^1$ can only be used as a disposal marker, not an adversative marker. Only the disposal $ka^7$, not the adversative $ka^7$, can co-occur with or be replaced by $ciong^1$. The movement of the $ka^7$ NP to the topic position is also not allowed in the adversative disposal construction as shown in (44) and (45), because the topic position is already occupied by the preposed NP.

(42) *伊竟然將我走去。
*i 1 king 3jian5 ciong 1 gua 2 cau2-khi3. (cf. (38))
3SG unexpectedly CIONG I run-away
Intended meaning: ‘He unexpectedly ran away on me.’

(43) *王仔竟然就將我笑出來。
*Ong 5-e0 king 3jian5 to7 ciong 1 gua2 chio3 chut4lai5. (cf. (41))
Ong-e unexpectedly then CIONG I laugh out
Intended meaning: ‘Ong-e then unexpectedly burst out laughing and this event affected me.’

(44) *我，伊竟然 $ka$ 走去。
*gua2, i 1 king 3jian5 $ka^7$ cau2-khi3. (cf. (38))
I 3SG unexpectedly KA run-away
Intended meaning: ‘He unexpectedly ran away on me.’

(45) *我，王仔竟然就 $ka$ 笑出來。
*gua2, Ong 5-e0 king 3jian5 to7 $ka^7$ chio3 chut4lai5. (cf. (41))
I Ong-e unexpectedly then KA laugh out
Intended meaning: ‘Ong-e then unexpectedly burst out laughing and this event affected me.’

To sum up, the referential disposal construction can be further divided into two types: ordinary non-adversative as in (22) and adversative as in (38). The difference between these two types lies in whether the $ka^7$ takes a VP or an IP as its complement.

4. Concluding remarks

Among various constructions involving the use of $ka^7$ in TSM, this paper mainly discusses the disposal construction involving the use of $ka^7$ as a patient marker. Three arguments have been presented to distinguish the referential disposal construction from the non-referential $ka^7$ construction. Moreover, the referential disposal construction can be further classified into two groups: non-adversative and adversative depending on whether $ka^7$ takes a VP or an IP as its complement. As for the non-referential $ka^7$ construction,
the adjunct phrase introduced by $ka^7$ does not seem to carry any meaning.

The examples of referential and non-referential $ka^7$ constructions provided in this paper as shown in (1), (6), (7), (8), and (9) seem to indicate that the difference between referential and non-referential $ka^7$ constructions lies in the transitivity of the predicate. That is, transitive predicates as in (1) involve the referential disposal construction, while intransitive predicates as in (6) to (9) occur in the non-referential $ka^7$ construction. However, as demonstrated by (38) and (41), the referential disposal construction does not always involve transitive predicates. In fact, the high correlation between the transitivity and the referentiality of the disposal construction results from the tendency of interpreting the $ka^7$ NP as the patient when a transitive verb is not followed by a patient NP. For instance, $ka^7$ in (46) is not followed by a patient NP and thus (46) involves the non-referential $ka^7$ construction. However, in (47) when the transitive verb $ciah^4$ ‘eat’ does not take a postverbal NP object, the $ka^7$ NP is more likely to be interpreted as the patient NP, and thus (47) will be taken as a referential disposal construction.

(46) Non-referential:
彼隻雞欲 $ka$ 食赫个米。
hit$^4$ ciah$^4$ ke$^1$ beh$^4$ $ka^7$ ciah$^4$ hiah$^4$ e$^0$ bi$^2$.
that CL chicken want KA eat there ASSOC rice
‘That chicken would like to eat the rice over there.’

(47) Referential:
彼隻雞欲 $ka$ 食。
hit$^4$ ciah$^4$ ke$^1$ beh$^4$ $ka^7$ ciah$^4$.
that CL chicken want KA eat
‘That chicken would like to eat it.’

As has been well discussed in the literature (Cheng & Tsao 1995:23, Hung 1995: 8-10, Teng 1982:332-334, Tsao 2003:115), the word $ka^7$ can be used to introduce patient, source, benefactive, and goal. In addition to these four usages, maybe one more can be added to the usages of $ka^7$, that is, its function in the non-referential $ka^7$ construction. Even though nothing is clear about exactly what role it plays in the non-referential $ka^7$ construction, it is certain that $ka^7$ in the non-referential $ka^7$ construction does not have any of the four usages introduced above.
References


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台灣閩南語 ka7 字句非一致性的分析

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台灣閩南語的 ka7 字句依 ka7 名詞組的可指性分為兩類：有指與無指。有指 ka7 字句的結構為以 ka7 字為主要動詞，並次類劃分名詞組與被動形式動詞組。無指 ka7 字句的結構中，ka7 字與名詞組則形成一附加語。本提案的證據來自考量是否可删除 ka7 詞組、增加額外處置標誌、及移動 ka7 名詞組。有指 ka7 字句並可依據 ka7 字後接的補語（動詞組或句子）進一步分為受害與非受害兩類。

關鍵詞：台灣閩南語，ka7 字句，處置式，被動式，受害結構