

## Families of Ditransitive Constructions in *Li Jing Ji*\*

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This is a construction-based account of families of ditransitive constructions in *Li Jing Ji*, the sixteenth century script of a play (dating back to AD 1566) written in a mixture of Quanzhou and Chaozhou dialects, two varieties of Southern Min spoken in southern Fujian (Wu 2001). I shall argue that polyfunctionality of some amphibious lexical items, be they inherent ditransitive verbs or otherwise, is amenable to a well motivated treatment in terms of the framework of construction grammar (Fillmore et al. 1988, Goldberg 1995, Jackendoff 1997, and Kay & Fillmore 1999). A ditransitive construction basically involves three semantic roles, viz., source, goal, and theme, in tandem with grammatical functions denoted by subject, direct object, and indirect object. I first examine the extended constructions featuring *khit4* 乞, *thoo7* 度, *heng5/heng7* 還, and *yu3* 與 as well as *sang3* 送, which are found to be closely related to ditransitive constructions. Then I explore two types of constructions bearing on the issue of whether the verbs in them are inherently or non-inherently ditransitive. The present paper proposes that the extended construction is a typologically unique feature in Southern Min, Mandarin included. It consists of a ditransitive construction and a pivotal construction. The *bona fide* ditransitive construction may be a result of conflating the extended construction.

Key words: *Li Jing Ji*, ditransitive constructions, extended constructions, families, semantic roles, syntactic function, construction grammar, causatives, typology, Southern Min, sixteenth century

### 1. Introduction

This is a synchronic study of *Li Jing Ji* 荔鏡記,<sup>1</sup> a sixteenth century southern Min

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play, with respect to a set of inherent and non-inherent ditransitive constructions as well as some related extended ditransitive constructions (henceforth **extended constructions**) based on the notion of construction as a pairing of form and meaning.<sup>2</sup> I shall first tackle a range of extended constructions each of which is a blend of a ditransitive construction and a purpose clause.<sup>3</sup> Next I shall look into the ditransitive use of the verb *sang3* 送 as a polyfunctional word.<sup>4</sup> And last, I shall examine inherent ditransitive verbs as well as non-inherent ditransitive verbs. Our discussion will show that types of constructions plays a very important role in the interpretation and formation of sentences not wholly deducible from the sum total of the meanings of sentential constituents. The related extended constructions as a unique constructional type are also typologically significant and have implications for the study of issues of language universals.

Southern Min by the sixteenth century had developed into an analytic language relying almost entirely upon word order in coding grammatical relationship in a sentence (Sapir 1921). The focus on surface structure as an important locus of analytic endeavor rather than the complex derivational processes of a deep structure has been the common

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<sup>1</sup> For a recently published annotated study of *Li Jing Ji* see Wu (2001) to which I owe a great deal for rich and reliable information.

<sup>2</sup> For the notion of construction see Fillmore et al. (1988), Goldberg (1995), Jackendoff (1997, 2002), and Kay & Fillmore (1999). Such a theoretical orientation has also aroused interest in Chinese linguistics yielding a range of works such as Cheng (1999), Su (2002), Lien (2002) and Biq (2004). One of the main claims of construction grammar is that a host of linguistic constructions are “non-compositional”. Such a claim is not a violation of the principle of compositionality in sentence interpretation since the whole of the construction can be constructed compositionally from putting together the pieces including the information coded in construction or word order. Compositionality encompasses both the process and the method of composition (Frege 1960).

<sup>3</sup> I refrain from calling it a causative construction in that it is a term too broad to do justice to the feature of such a unique construction. Although the extended construction is taken as consisting of ditransitive construction and pivotal (viz., causative) construction, the textual evidence to be brought up in the following discussion shows that it is a forerunner of the ditransitive construction rather than the other way round.

<sup>4</sup> As a matter of expediency all the spelling of Southern Min in this paper is indiscriminately rendered in Taiwanese Southern Min pronunciation based on Church Romanization codified in Douglas (1873). I have made some modifications, however. For example, the diacritic tone marks have been abandoned in favor of numerical superscripts. No distinction is made between *ch* and *ts* or *chh* and *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 *oo5* 湖 ‘lake’ and *o5* 蠔 ‘oyster’. Nasalization is indicated by a double *n*. Taiwanese Southern Min pronunciation as an eclectic way to approximate the original sound values of Southern Min in the middle of sixteenth century is adopted to make the examples easier to understand to the readers. Pinyin spelling is used to render Early Mandarin examples.

ground of a range of linguistic studies (Goldberg 1995, Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004, Hsieh 1999, Huang 1999, 2000, Jackendoff 1997, 2002, Lien 2003a, and Tai 1985, 2002, 2003).

## 2. Constructions featuring *khit4* 乞, *thoo7* 度, *heng5/heng7* 還, and *yu3* 與

The unique characteristic of constructions of this category is that they feature *khit4* 乞, *thoo7* 度, *heng5/heng7* 還, and *yu3* 與 to be discussed in §2.1, §2.2, §2.3 and §2.4 respectively.<sup>5</sup> The construction in question falls into two subtypes, (1) simple sentence and (2) compound sentence. The first subtype is exemplified by *tho2 iu5-he2 chinn5 thoo7 goa2* 討油火錢度我 (45.178), lit. ‘beg oil-fire money give me’ = ‘fetch me bribe’.<sup>6</sup> The second subtype is a serial construction consisting of two clauses, as shown in *tho2 gun5 khit4 il sai2* 討銀乞伊使 (26.224) ‘beg-for money let him use’, which, when expressed more literally and therefore more clumsily, would mean ‘fetch money and let him use it’, but a more idiomatic, corresponding expression in English would simply be ‘give him money’. The first clause contains a monotransitive verb, as in the example just given, or a ditransitive verb. The second clause is initiated by *khit4* 乞, *thoo7* 度 or *heng5/heng7* 還 functioning as a causative verb. The verb plays the dual function of being both a verb of giving as well as a causative verb at the same time. It is followed by a pronoun in most cases and a noun phrase occasionally. The first clause

<sup>5</sup> *Khit4* 乞 is a pan-Min function word as attested in the Quanzhou and Chaozhou variety of Southern Min (Lin 1993, Li 1996, Li 1959), Eastern Min (Chen 1998), and Puxian dialects (Nakajima 1979), but not in Northern Min. By contrast, *thoo7* 度 is a Quanzhou-unique function word (Tung 1959, Li 2000). *Khit4* 乞 and *thoo7* 度 have been superseded by a newly arisen form *hoo7* 與; *khit4* 乞 only survives in the coordinate compound *khit4 hoo7* 乞與 in Taiwanese Southern Min. Note that even though 度 is given the sound value of *thoo3* in Douglas (1873:562) and Lin (1993:243), I have changed it to *thoo7* to make it more in keeping with the pronunciation of Taiwanese Southern Min, as it developed from a word with a Middle Chinese voiced stop initial. *Heng5/heng7* 還 as a verb of giving is still used in present-day Southern Min, but it has taken on a specialized sense and imposes a restriction on the type of object it takes (Douglas 1873:126).

<sup>6</sup> If *thoo7* 度 is taken as a verb (albeit a secondary one), then the construction cannot be a simple sentence. It is a serial verb construction (viz., NP1+V1+NP2+V2+NP3) featuring a primary verb (V1) and a secondary verb (V2), rather than a ditransitive construction. The verbal status of *thoo7* 度 and *khit4* 乞 is even clearer when it is preceded by the proximal purposive marker *lai5* 來 or the distal purposive marker *khi3* 去. In this paper I adopt a more conservative approach by regarding subtype one as a ditransitive construction or at least an emergent ditransitive construction.

most often denotes the manner of an action and the second clause, the action itself. Thus, the example in question expressed in a roundabout and somewhat cumbersome way denotes fetching the money and letting him use it. If the verb following the object of *khit4* 乞, *thoo7* 度 or *heng5/heng7* 還 is transitive, the object of the verb in question will be a zero element coreferential with the object noun phrase (viz., *gun5* ‘money’) in the first clause.<sup>7</sup> Although such a serial verb construction does not qualify as a typical ditransitive construction, it is a construction intimately related to the ditransitive construction and may be counted as an elaborate or parceled-out and decompressed construction relating to the ditransitive construction.<sup>8</sup> Such a construction can be dubbed extended construction reflecting a unique constructional typology in Chinese. In neither subtype just discussed does the word in question (viz., *khit4* 乞, *thoo7* 度, or *heng5/heng7* 還) occur as a primary verb except for few very suspicious cases. Given the existence of intermediate stage in the grammaticalization of a lexeme into a grammatical function word (cf. persistence as put forth in Hopper 1991), it is not unexpected that a word may have a dual function of being verb and preposition at once. The pinning down of its grammatical categories hinges on which construction it occurs in. Thus, one is hard put to determine whether *khit4* 乞, *thoo7* 度, or *heng5/heng7* 還 is a preposition or a verb in subtype 1, whereas they are definitely causative verbs in subtype 2.

<sup>7</sup> The extended construction may also be viewed as consisting of two events linked by a causative verb in terms of event structure. Event 1 denoted by first clause and event 2 denoted by second clause minus the causative verb. Thus, the example under discussion means that event 1 (viz., getting the money) brings about event 2 (he uses it). The first clause could form a preparatory action for the purpose denoted by the second clause. In terms of information structure, both clauses are equally privileged to become the center of focus. I am indebted to Chingya Chao, Yichun Chen, Yafang Cheng and Liching Chiu for grammatical judgment on the distribution of focus in extended constructions (See, however, Cheng 1983 for detailed discussion of focus structure in Southern Min).

<sup>8</sup> As insightfully pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, there are verbs such as *chhiunn3* 唱 ‘sing’ that occur in the extended construction, as in *chhiunn3 koal hoo7 il thiann1* 唱歌與伊聽 ‘sing song let him listen’ = ‘sing him a song’, but they cannot occur in a ditransitive construction, as in *\*chhiunn3 koal hoo7 il* \*唱歌與伊. Such a phenomenon does not invalidate my claim that the extended construction shedding its last verb is a ditransitive construction. What should be stated more explicitly is that the ditransitive construction as a kind of template with special syntacto-semantic properties (see Zwicky 1994) imposes a selectional restriction on what kinds of non-inherent ditransitive verb can occur in it (See Cheng 1998 for discussion of the issue in question).

## 2.1 *Khit4* 乞

*Khit4* 乞 is a multi-functional word in that it features the following functions: goal marker, as in (1) and (2), agentive marker, as in (3), and causative verb, as in (4). Pinning down exactly what function it carries rests crucially on the construction it occurs in.

	V+NP2+乞+NP3	
(1)	phah4 chhiu2-chi2 khit4 li2 打手指乞你 make ring GM you <sup>10</sup> make a ring to be given to you	5.103 <sup>9</sup>
(2)	ma7 chit8 tng3 khit4 i1 罵一頓乞伊 scold one-CL GM him give him a scolding	21.078
	乞+NP1+VP	
(3)	khit4 lang5 liah8 tioh8 乞人力 AM someone catch PM be arrested by some one	42.064
	V1+乞+NP3+VP	
(4)	hoah4 khit4 i1 lang5 jip8 khi3 喝乞伊人入去 shout cause them enter DDC shout for them to enter	14.193

<sup>9</sup> The numericals in parentheses stand for the act and line of the play in that order. (2) is a rarely found type of ditransitive involving the transfer of theme in the abstract sense. An alternative interpretation is to take it as a monotransitive construction in that the object following *khit4* 乞 bears the semantic role of patient rather than goal with *chit4-tng3* 一頓 functioning as an event quantifier. But the presence of *khit4* 乞 would be quite weird in the alternative interpretation.

<sup>10</sup> Used throughout this paper are some abbreviations other than self-evident ones: AM (agent marker), BM (benefactive marker), CL (classifier), CM (comitative marker), DC (directional complement), DDC (distal deictic complement), DPM (distal purposive marker), DV (deictic verb), GM (goal marker), NM (numeral), NZ (nominalizer), PM (phase marker), PDC (proximal deictic complement), PPM (proximal purposive marker), QW (question word), RC (resultative complement), and TM (theme marker). If an expression is glossed twice, then it is taken as embracing the two functions at once.

Only (1) in the above sentences is a *bona fide* ditransitive construction, with (2) and (4) marginally related to it, whereas (3) as a passive construction is totally unrelated. A ditransitive construction is taken in this paper as involving a conceptual structure featuring the transfer of a theme from source to goal brought about by an agent. For example, (1) as repeated here with the subject supplied, *goa2 phah4 chhiu2-chi2 khit2 li2* 我打手指乞你 ‘I make ring GM you’ = ‘I shall have a ring made for you’, involves three semantic roles: source (*goa2* 我 ‘I’), theme (*chhiu2-chi2* 手指 ‘a ring’) and goal (*li2* 你 ‘you’). Source, theme, and goal as semantic or theta roles are encompassed in conceptual structure, whereas subject, and object (including direct object and indirect object) as expressing grammatical relation in a sentence are included in the syntactic construction. Conceptual structure is different from syntactic construction, but the relation can be established in terms of a linking convention in which each of the semantic roles can be linked to each of the grammatical functions. In the example just given, source, theme, and goal are linked to subject, direct object, and indirect object respectively. There is no fixed relation between them. For example, a different type of ditransitive verbs to be illustrated by the verb *pien3* 騙 in §5.7. may yield a reversed linking situation, viz., source, theme, and goal are linked to indirect object, direct object, and subject respectively. Owing to constraints of space, I shall not provide a detailed account of linking. As a measure of expediency, I adopt terms like goal marker, theme marker, etc., which are conflation of semantic role and grammatical function. A more level-conscious approach would be to just give the label indicating the grammatical function such as preposition and the linking device will be used to take care of the connection between them.

It is instructive to examine the constructions involving the sequence *khit4* 乞 + pronoun, where the pronoun as variable is realized as either singular or plural, as in *khit4+i1* 乞+伊 ‘give he/him/she/her’, *khit4+lang5* 乞+人 ‘give another person/others’, *khit4+li2* 乞+你 ‘give you (sg.)’. *Khit4+goa2* 乞+我 ‘give I/me’, *khit4+i1+lang5* 乞+伊人 ‘give they/them’, *khit4+lin2* 乞+恁 ‘give you (pl.)’ and *khit4+gun2* (乞+阮) ‘give we/us’.<sup>11</sup> As will become clear in the following discussion, the pronoun carries the semantic role of goal, if the construction is taken as the extended construction as defined above. All the main verbs are transitive, and due to the constraint of information structure the object need not appear immediately after the verb. But there are much rarer cases of *khit4* 乞 + pronoun where the pronoun takes on semantic roles other than goal. The construction in such cases is not an extended construction and hence not related to

<sup>11</sup> Personal pronouns show no distinction of gender and case in Southern Min, as in 伊 (he/him), 我 (I/me), and 你 (you, SINGULAR), but number does make a difference, and the semantic category of plurality is fused in the portmanteau word except the third person, as in 阮 (we/us), 恁 (you PLURAL), and 伊人 (they/them).

the ditransitive construction. The constructions featuring the post-verbal with 乞+伊 fall into two subtypes: (1) the construction with 乞+pronoun, and (2) the construction with 乞+pronoun+VP. In other words, each construction, be it type (1) and type (2), consists of two parts. The first part contains a transitive verb, and the second part embraces 乞+pronoun or 乞+pronoun+VP. A ditransitive construction involves three elements: NP1, NP2, and NP3, which are realized as subject, direct object, and indirect object respectively. Our attention is focused on the predicate which is in direct construction with NP2 and NP3, while leaving the subject aside. Due to the constraint of information structure NP2 may emerge as a zero element referring back to an antecedent or occur as a preverbal element. Thus, the transitive verb may not be immediately followed by an object (viz., NP2). In the following I shall examine the constructions featuring 乞+伊 as a representative example.

For Type 1 construction, viz., V+乞+伊, in which the second part is 乞伊, a question arises as to whether 乞 is a verb or a preposition. The occasional presence of the purposive marker *khi3* 去 between the first part and the second part, as in *sang3 oann2 png7 khi3 khi4 i1* 送碗飯去乞伊 (45.075) ‘send-bowl-rice-DPM-give-him/her’ = ‘send him a bowl of rice’ seems to show that 乞 is still a verb, albeit secondary in nature, rather than a preposition.<sup>12</sup> As indicated above, the first part may go without the direct object, as in *tan3 khi3 i1* 撚乞伊 ‘throw GM he/her’ (26.140) = ‘throw (it) to her’, which is however recoverable from the context. Type 2 construction, viz., V+NP2+乞+伊+VP embraces two parts: Part 1 denotes a particular activity, and part 2 the transfer of theme to the third person (viz., goal) so that he or she carries out something. For example, *tho2 gun5 khi4 i1 sai2* 討銀乞伊使 (26.224) ‘beg silver let him/her use’ = ‘fetch money and give him/her so that he/she can use it; give him or her money’. If the verb in 乞+伊+VP is transitive, then its hidden object is coreferential with a noun in the first part. Thus, the hidden object of *sai2* 使 ‘use’ in the second part in the example just given is *gun5* 銀 ‘money’ in the first part. A sequence like V+NP2+乞+NP3+VP as illustrated just now is not strictly speaking a ditransitive construction like V+NP2+乞+NP3, but it is a related extended construction as a blend of two parts: (1) V+NP2+乞+NP3, and (2) 乞+NP3+VP, (viz., a particular activity and a purpose mediated by an amphibious element denoting giving and causation at once). By contrast, an example that also involves two parts but no transfer of theme implied are not a related extended construction, as exemplified in *be5 khi4 i1 chau2 boe7 li7* 迷乞伊走不離 (42.063)

<sup>12</sup> The purposive marker *khi3* 去 that emerges as a result of grammaticalizing the distal deictic verb ‘go’ is not unlike ‘to’ as an infinitive marker in English except that it still retains its distal deictic function. Likewise, the proximal deictic verb *lai5* 來 ‘come’ can also function as a purposive marker while still retaining its proximal feature. See Huang (1977) and Lien (2003b) for the discussion of deictic verbs.



‘enchant cause him/her run not away’ = ‘enchant him and cause him not to be unable to get away; possess him/enchant him’, and *chiu3 khit4 i1 bing5-piek8* 咒乞伊明白 (26.528) ‘swear cause it clear’ = ‘make a clear-cut oath’.

As stated above, the construction in question is regarded as being made up of two parts: Part 1 is either V (a) or V+NP (b), and part 2 is either 乞+pronoun (c) or 乞+pronoun+VP (d). When each variety of part 1 and that of part 2 are put together, four constructions emerge: (ac), (ad), (bc), and (bd). Pronoun as a variable can be realized as first person, second person, or third person. Pronouns fall into two subcategories in terms of number: (1) singular pronouns and (2) plural pronouns. Table I below features singular pronouns and Table II plural pronouns, both tables indicating statistics for a range of patterns realized by each of possible combinations:<sup>13</sup>

Table I:	乞+pronoun				Total	乞+pronoun+VP				Total
singular	伊	人	你	我		伊	人	你	我	
V+	5	1	1	4	11	10	1	5	6	22
V+NP2	1	0	2	0	3	1	3	7	2	13
Total	6	1	3	4	14	11	4	12	8	35

Table II:	乞+pronoun			Total	乞+pronoun+VP			Total
plural	伊人	恁	阮 <sup>14</sup>		伊人	恁	阮	
V+	0	2	1	3	0	1	5	6
V+NP2	0	0	1	1	0	3	2	5
Total	0	3	2	4	0	4	7	11

Obviously enough, (ad) and (bd), viz., the construction featuring the extended construction with 乞+pronoun+VP, is higher in frequency than (ac) and (bc), viz., the construction with 乞+pronoun as the second part. This is true of the constructions irrespective of whether the pronoun is singular or plural. The variable pronoun in a range of constructions examined can be replaced by terms of address which can function as first person (speaker), second person (addressee), or third person.

<sup>13</sup> There is no occurrence of the sequence (乞+伊人), although 42 instances of 伊人 are found in *Li Jing Ji*, and wherever it occurs, 伊人 is most often interpreted as a singular (rather than plural) third plural personal pronoun. *II* 伊 ‘he/she’ and *lang5* 人 ‘another person, others’ are two third personal pronouns in a partial overlapping relationship.

<sup>14</sup> For the first person plural, there is a distinction between exclusive ‘we’ (*gun2/goan2* 阮) and inclusive ‘we’ (*lan2* 懶/咱) in Southern Min. But there is no instance of the sequence of 乞+懶/咱.



All examples of *khit4* 乞 touched upon thus far are not used as the primary verb (V1) of giving, with the exception of the two examples shown below:

(5)	chiong1 gun2 niu5-a2 chi1 thau5 siong7 kim1 chhiu2-sek4 to1 khit4 li2 將阮娘仔只頭上金首飾都乞你 TM we lady this head-on golden head ornament all give you give you all of my lady's golden head ornaments	43.063
(6)	che1 lan5-chhui3 gun5 khit4 li2 loo7-siong7 khi3 boe2 mih8 chiah8 即零碎銀乞你路上去買物食 this broken silver give road-on DPM buy thing eat give you the broken money for the journey	49.149

## 2.2 *Thoo3* 度

*Thoo3* 度 is somewhat different from *khit4* 乞 in that it does not take on the function of signaling the semantic role of agent, but *thoo3* 度 and *khit4* 乞 both share the characteristic of rarely occurring as a main ditransitive verb. Following the analysis of the construction with *khit4* 乞, I group the construction with *thoo3* 度 into two subtypes: (1) the construction with 度+NP3, and (2) the construction with 度+NP3+VP.

For Type 1, the object of the verb in the first part may or may not appear, dictated by the constraint of information structure, as shown below:

	V+NP2+	度+NP3
(7)	tho2 iu5-he2 chinn5 thoo3 goa2 討油火錢度我 beg oil-fire money give me fetch me the bribe	45.178
	V+DV+	度+NP3
(8)	sang3 khi3 thoo3 il 送去度伊 send DDC/DPM give him/her send it to him	14.028

The object of the main verb can be preposed by the theme marker *chiong1* 將 or as a result of topicalization, as in:

	TM+NP2+V+PDC+DPM	度+NP3
(9)	chiong1 chit4 ing1-liu2 theh8 lai5 khi3 thoo7 gun2 tia1-ma2 將只鶯柳提來去度阮爹媽 TM this oriole willow take PDC/DPM give our dad mom bring the gift to my dad and mom	26.290

	NP2+V	度+NP3
(10)	su1 sia2 thoo3 chui5 書寫度誰 letter write give who Who was the letter addressed to?	24.277

As with *khit4* 乞, the occurrence of a proximal or remote deictic purposive marker *lai5* 來/*khi3* 去 between the verb and 度, as in *sang3 il-chiunn5 lai5 thoo7 goa2* 送衣裳來度我 (49.125) ‘send clothes PPM give me’ = ‘send me clothes’, shows that *thoo7* 度 still retains its verbal properties and cannot be safely regarded as a full-fledged preposition.

For Type 2, the first part denotes a specific activity, whereas the second part, an associated purpose, as shown below:

	V1+NP2+	度+NP2+V2
(11)	sang3 png7 thoo3 chui5-lang5 chiah8 送飯度誰人食 send rice let who eat Who was the food brought to?	45.106

	V1+NP2+DV+	度+NP2+V2
(12)	pang5 thng1 lai5 thoo3 goa2 soe2 bin7 捧湯來度我洗面 hold hot water PPM let me wash face bring me a basin of hot water to wash my face with	22.076

In some cases the object of the verb in the first part may be preposed as it carries old information, as in:

	V+	度+NP3+VP
(13)	sang3 thoo3 Tan5 Sann1 chiah8 送度陳三食 send let Chen-san eat bring (the food) Chen San (for him) to eat	45.108

*Thoo3* 度 may occur as a single verb in a simple sentence, as in:

	NP2+度+NP3	
(14)	jip8 ming5 kun3 thoo3 li2 入門棍度你 enter door club give you the first club is given to you	45.048

Or it may occur as a main verb taking on the dual role of verb of giving as well as causative verb, as in:

	NP2+度+NP3+VP	
(15)	chit4 e5 beh4 thoo3 goa2 boe2 chiu2 chiah8 只个卜度我買酒食 this CL want give I buy wine eat this will be given me to buy wine to drink	45.153

## 2.3 *Hainn5/heng5* 還

*Hainn5/heng5* 還 means ‘return, pay back’, whereas its homograph *hainn7/heng7* 還 means ‘give’ as well as ‘cause’.<sup>15</sup> The second and third functions are quite unique in Southern Min. 還 can occur in at least three main types of constructions: (16a) TM+NP2+VP+還+NP3, (16b) VP+NP2+還+NP3, (17) TM+NP2+V+還+NP3+VP3, and (18) 還+NP2+NP3.<sup>16</sup> If NP2+NP3 in (18) are interpreted as a genitive construction, then a common feature among the three types of construction is that NP3 (viz., goal) is always preceded by 還. 還 in (17) is used a causative verb:

<sup>15</sup> According to Douglas (1873:116) 還 has two forms with a tonal difference: *hainn5* and *hainn7*. The first form means ‘to give back, to restore or pay back’, whereas the second form denotes ‘to make a present’. But its causative use attested here is not recorded.

<sup>16</sup> The variable V can be realized as *thoo2* 討 ‘ask for’, *pang3* 放 ‘let go’, *pho7* 抱 ‘carry in the arms’, *bo5* 無 ‘not have’, *sng3* 算 ‘count’, *sia2* 寫 ‘write’ as well as *theh8* 提 ‘carry/take in the hand’.

還		
(16) a.	TM+NP2+VP+	還+NP3
	liah8 chi2 le2-phing3 sang3 tng2 khi3 heng5 i1-lang 力只禮聘送轉去還伊人 TM this betrothal-gift send DC-turn DDC/DPM return they return the betrothal gift to them	14.109
b.	VP+NP2+	還+NP3
	theh8 u7 chinn5 heng7 goa2 提有錢還我 take have money give me give me money	25.210
(17)	TM+NP2+VP+	還+NP3+VP3
	chiong1 thng1 chiap4 ke3 lai5 heng7 goa2 soe2 bin7 將湯接過來還我洗面 TM hot water take DC-cross PDC/PPM let me wash face fetch me hot water (to wash my face with)	22.085
(18)	還+NP2+NP3	
	heng5 lin2 oan1-iunn1 che3 還恁鴛鴦債 return you (pl.) Mandarin duck debt pay back your love	33.007

## 2.4 Yu3 與

*Li Jing Ji* is a text mainly written in a mixture of Chaozhou and Quanzhou dialects, but there are some parts where Mandarin expressions intrude. *Yu3* 與 is a case in point, as shown in the following examples where it occur in a variety of constructions such as (19) V+與+NP3, (20) (TM)+NP2+V+與+NP3, and (21) V+NP2+與+NP3+VP. It never functions as a main ditransitive verb.

與	V+	與+NP3+DDC
(19)	jia4 yu3 bie2 ren2 qu4 嫁與別人去 marry give others DDC marry others	44.204

	(TM)+NP2+V+	與+NP3
(20)	jiang1 wu3 niang2 xu3 yu3 lin2 da4 將五娘許與林大 GM Wu Niang betroth GM Lin Da betroth Wu Niang to Lin Da	44.031
	V+NP2+	與+NP3+VP
(21)	kai1 sheng1-lu4 yu3 xiao3-de zou3 開生路與小的走 open way-out let I (humble) go give me a way out	52.054

與 is found to be a graph used almost exclusively in Mandarin sentences as a goal marker in the sixteenth century text under discussion, but the graph is used as a loan character in this paper to render *hoo7* as a goal marker in modern Southern Min.<sup>17</sup>

### 3. *Sang3* 送

The verb *sang3* 送 as a polysemous expression meaning ‘see off, deliver, send, give’ can occur in a range of constructions. This section will examine its ditransitive function. I shall first deal with the constructions featuring goal markers, and then look into the ditransitive construction featuring *sang3* 送 but not goal markers.

#### 3.1 Constructions featuring *sang3* 送 + goal marker

The goal markers used in a range of ditransitive constructions are *khit4* 乞, *thoo7* 度, and *heng5/heng7* 還.<sup>18</sup> I shall only examine the constructions with the goal marker *khit4* 乞. Here are the range of constructions involved: (22) V+乞+NP3, (23) V+NP2+乞+NP3, (24) V+NP2+乞+NP3+VP, as shown below:

<sup>17</sup> 與 bears the MC yi (以) initial, and colloquial words with such an initial in Southern Min are realized as words with modern initials like /ts-/ (*chiunn7* 養 ‘itch’) or /s-/ (*sin5* 蠅 ‘fly’), but not /h-/. Thus, one should rule out 與 as the etymologically viable lexeme for *hoo7* in Southern Min. Instead, *thoo7* 度 might be a more plausible source from which *hoo7* is derived. Of course, such a conjecture should be substantiated by well-motivated argument.

<sup>18</sup> There is an example featuring the goal marker *yu3* 與 as used in Mandarin, albeit a graph formerly found in Old Chinese, *duo1-shao3 yin2-zi song4 yu3 zhi1-zhou1* 多少銀仔送與知州 (52.037) ‘how-much silver send GM magistrate’ = ‘How much money did you bribe the magistrate?’.

送	First part	Second part
(22)	V+	乞+NP3
	sang3 khít4 boá5-kiánn3 sai1-hu7 送乞磨鏡師父 send GM polish mirror master send it to the mirror(-polishing) master	26.408
(23)	V+NP2+	乞+NP3
	sang3 oánn2 png7 khi3 khít4 i1 送碗飯去乞伊 send bowl rice DPM give he send him a bowl of rice	45.075
(24)	V+NP2+	乞+NP3+VP
	sang3 chít8 oánn2 png7 khít4 i1 chiah8 送一碗飯乞你食 send one bowl rice let you eat send you a bowl of rice	45.231

I shall skip the constructions with *thoo7* 度 and *heng5/heng7* 還 since the range of their occurrence is pretty much the same, but the latter is still narrower in its scope, as it never occurs in Type 3, viz., V+NP2+乞+NP3+VP.

### 3.2 *Sang3* 送 in ditransitive constructions with no goal marker

*Sang3* 送 as the main verb occurs in a range of constructions such as (25) NP2+V+NP3, (26) NP2+V+NP3+V, (27) V+NP2, and (28) TM+NP2+V+DC+DV as well as (29) GM+NP3+V+NP2. NP2 (theme) can occur right after the verb given its new information or before the verb if it denotes old information. NP3 can occur post-verbally. It can be preposed by GM *kang7* 共.<sup>19</sup> V+NP3+VP as a potential ambiguous construction can be disambiguated by examining the nature of VP. If VP denotes locomotive movement, then it is not a ditransitive construction, as in *sang3 lang5-kheh4 chhut4 khi3* 送人客出去 (25.192) ‘accompany guest DC-exit DDC’ = ‘see the guest off, walk the guest to the door’.

<sup>19</sup> For the graph 共 *kang7* is adopted here rather than *ka7*, a truncated form of *kang7* as a result of shedding its nasal coda probably due to its sandhi position. Whereas present-day Quanzhou variety of Southern Min still retains the full form, modern Taiwanese Southern Min uses the shortened form *ka7* exclusively (Tung 1959, Lin 1993 and Lien 2002).

送	送 as the verb in simple sentence	
(25)	NP2+V+NP3	
	chi2 chit8 tui3 chu1 sang3 lin2 a1-niu5 只一對書送恁啞娘 this one pair letter give you (pl.) mistress give your mistress the twin letters	49.144
(26)	NP2+V+NP3+V	
	kim1-chhe1 chit8 siang1 sang3 li2 choe3 te5-chinn5 金釵一雙送你做茶錢 golden hairpin one pair give you make tea-money give you a pair of hairpins	46.018
(27)	V+NP2	
	sang3 tiann7-le2 送定禮 send deposit gift present earnest-money deposits	13.100
(28)	TM+NP2+V+DC+DIC	
	chiong1 chi2 phing3 le2 chiu7 sang3 tng2 khi3 將只聘禮就送轉去 TM this betrothal gift then send DC DDC return the betrothal gifts	14.093
(29)	GM+NP3-送-NP2	
	kang7 i1-lang5 sang3 chu1 共伊人送書 GM he-person send letter send ?them/him the letter	26.227

#### 4. Inherent ditransitive verbs

Inherent ditransitive verbs such as *boe7* 賣 ‘sell’, *boe2* 買 ‘buy’, *pe5* 賠 ‘compensate (for)’, *kau1-hoo7* 交付 ‘hand over’, and *kia3* 寄 ‘send’, to be discussed below, can be defined as a three-place predicate taking two objects besides a subject. Direct object or indirect object may be preposed or hidden due to the constraint of information structure.

##### 4.1 *Boe7* 賣

The inherently ditransitive verb *boe7* 賣 ‘sell’ can occur mainly in three kinds of construction: (30) TM+NP2+DV+V+乞+NP3, (31) TM+NP2+DV+V+乞+NP3+VP,



(32) V+NP2, as shown below:

賣	First part	Second part
(30)	TM+NP2+DV+V+	乞+NP3
	ka7 lin2 cha1-boo2-kiann2 khi3 boe7 khit4 lang5 甲恁查ㄟ仔去賣乞人 TM you woman-child DPM sell others sell your daughter to some one else	14.312
(31)	TM+NP2+DV+V+	乞+NP3+VP
	ka7 goa2 lai5 boe7 khit4 lang5 chhi7 甲我來賣乞人飼 TM I PPM sell let others feed sell me to some one else	13.050
	V+NP2	
(32) a.	boe7 chiu2-chinn1 賣酒漿 sell wine-liquid sell wine	16.013
b.	boe7 ke2-chi2 jip8-thau5 賣果子入頭 <sup>20</sup> sell fruit enter head sell fruits to make a favorable beginning	18.019
c.	boe7 sin1 賣身 sell body sell oneself	19.333
d.	boe7 sin1 il chhu3 賣身伊厝 sell body he house sell himself into his house	44.149

It is shown above that *boe7* 賣 can be immediately followed by the theme (NP2), but not the goal (NP3), which is always immediately preceded by *khit4* 乞.

<sup>20</sup> *Jip8-thau5* 入頭 was still used in the second half of nineteenth century, as in *oe7 tit4 jip8-thou5* 解得入頭 ‘able to make a favorable beginning’ (Douglas 1873:184).

## 4.2 *Boe2* 買

The inherently ditransitive verb *boe2* 買 ‘buy’ is always followed by NP2 (theme), whereas NP3 (goal) is always immediately preceded by *khit4* 乞. Unlike the situation in English, as in *buy Mary a drink*, there is no case of \**boe2* 買+NP3+NP2. There are basically three types of construction in which *boe2* 買 occurs: (1) V+NP2+乞+NP3+VP, (2) V+NP2+VP, and (3) BM+NP3+V+NP2. The zero object of VP is coreferential with NP2 in both Type 1 and Type 2. However, NP3 (goal) appears right after *khit4* 乞 in Type 1, whereas the goal appears as the subject in Type 2. NP3 as a beneficiary is preceded by the benefactive marker *kang7* 共. Both Type 1 and Type 2 contain two parts of which the second part stands for the purpose of an action expressed in the first part.

買	First part	Second part
Type1	V+NP2	乞+NP3+VP
(33)	boe7 mih8 khit4 li2 chiah8 買物乞你食 buy thing give you eat buy you something	22.309

Type 2	V+NP2-V+NM+CL/V+NM+CL+NP+CM+NP	+VP
(34)	u7 chiu2 boe7 chit8 pan5 chiah8 有酒買一瓶食 have wine buy one bottle eat buy a bottle of wine	49.040
(35)	boe2 chit8 pan5 chiu2 kang7 li2 chiah8 買一瓶酒共你食 buy one bottle wine with you eat buy a bottle of wine to share with you	49.042

Type 3	共+NP3+V+NP2	
(36)	kang7 kiu2 long5 kong1 boe2 chhan5 共九郎公買田 BM NM buy field buy the (cultivated) land for Kiu-long-Kong	32.067

The construction V(買)+NP2+乞+NP3+VP may occur as a complement of another higher predicate, as in:

(37)	乞+NP1+[V+NP2	+VP]
	u7 chit8 gun5-chinn5 chi2-chhu3 khít4 li2 boe7 mih8 chiah8 有一銀錢只處乞你買物食 have a silver-money here give you buy something eat there is some money here for you to buy something	19.336-337
(38)	V1+NP3+V2+NP2	
	kah4 lang5 boe2 chist8 ti1 kha1 甲人買一豬腳 ask person buy one pig's knuckles have the pig's knuckles ordered	9.074

Or it simply appears in the form of V+NP2.

(39)	V+NP2	
	boe7 ang5 lik8 kin3-soann1 買紅綠絹線 buy red and green silk cords	22.252

In the following examples the predicate headed by *boe2* 買 functions as the embedded clause in the complex sentence where the main verb may be *khít4* 乞 or *thoo7* 度.

(40)	V+NP2+	買+NP3
	chi2 e5 beh4 thoo7 goa2 boe2 chiu2 chiah8 (此个卜)度我買酒食 (this one want) give me buy wine eat give this to me to buy wine with	45.131

#### 4.3 *Pe5* 賠

The inherent ditransitive verb *pe5* 賠 ‘pay for, compensate’ occurs in three kinds of construction: (1) V+NP3+NP2, (2) *u7/bo5* 有/無+NP2+V+NP3, (3) *chiong1* 將+NP2+V+NP3, (4) V+NP3, and (5) V+NP2. A common feature among them (except the last) is that the verb *pe5* 賠 is immediately followed by NP3 (goal) rather than NP2 (theme), which is either introduced by *u7/bo5* 有/無 ‘have/have not’ or preposed by the TM *chiong1* 將. Another common ground is that NP3 is not preceded by *khít4* 乞 or *thoo7* 度.

賠	V+NP3+NP2	
(41)	pe5 i1 lang5 sinn3-mia7 賠伊人性命 compensate he life make a reparation for her death, compensate the loss of her life	29.071
(42)	pe5 i1 phing3-le2 賠伊聘禮 compensate he/her betrothal gifts make restitutions for betrothal gifts	33.028
	有/無+NP2+V+NP3	
(43)	bo5 mih8 thang1 pe5 lin2 無物通賠恁 have-not thing can repay you (pl.) there is nothing to compensate you	19.378
	TM+NP2+V+NP3+	(VP)
(44)	chiong1 sin1 pe5 li2 khi3 su2-iong7 將身賠你去使用 TM body compensate you DPM use indenture himself as restitution	19.335
(45)	chiong1 sin1 pe5 gun2 將身賠阮 TM body pay-back we pay his body back to us	21.086

*Pe5* 賠 as a ditransitive main verb does not indicate the manner of the action involved, but it can be made explicit as shown below:

(46)	chiong1 sin1 sia2 pe5 lin2 a1-kong1 將身寫賠恁啞公 TM body write repay you grandpa indenture himself to grandpa by signing a contract	manner
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#### 4.4 *Kau1-hu3* 交付

*Kau1-hu3* 交付 ‘hand over’ as a ditransitive verb implies two objects, viz. NP2 (theme) and NP3 (goal). The construction can do without NP2, if it carries old information, as in:

交付	NP2+V+	乞+NP3
(47)	chit8 tiam2 chhun1-sim1 tann1 lai5 kau1-hu3 khit4 chui5 一點春心，今來交付乞誰 a little amorous yearning, now come hand over GM who Who is a little amorous yearning entrusted with?	3.044
(48)	V+NP3 kau1-hu3 lin2 iah4-chhun1 交付恁益春 hand over you Iah-chhun hand it over to Iah-chhun	19.284

#### 4.5 *Kia3* 寄

*Kia3* 寄 also involves two objects claimed by the semantic roles of theme and goal. As shown in (49), NP2 bearing old information has been preposed to the preverbal position.

寄	CL+NP2+V	與+NP3
(49)	feng1-shu1 ji4 yu3 huang2 wu3 niang2 封書寄與黃五娘 CL book send GM NAME the letter is sent to Lady Huang the Fifth	49.152

### 5. Non-inherent ditransitive verbs

Unlike inherent ditransitive verbs, non-inherent ditransitive verbs such as *ma7* 罵 ‘scold’, *sia2* 寫 ‘write’, *phah4* 打 ‘beat’, *seh4* 說 ‘speak’, *tan3* 揸 ‘throw’, *choe3* 做 ‘make’, *phien3* 騙 ‘cheat’, *khiam3* 欠 ‘lack’, and *ka3* 教 ‘teach’, to be examined in what follows, take on the ditransitive function only when they each enter a specific type of construction. In other words, they are amphibious verbs wavering between monotransitives and ditransitives, and the latter function is induced by a specific type of construction in which they occur.

#### 5.1 *Ma7* 罵

*Ma7* 罵 ‘scold, curse’ occurs in a range of construction: Type 1 (V+NP3+NP2 (50)), Type 2 (V+NP2+乞+NP3 (51)), and Type 3 (V+NP3 (52)). *Ma7* 罵 is an amphibious word that appears in Type 1 as a ditransitive construction as well as Type 2

and Type3 as monotransitive constructions.

罵	First part	Second part
(50)	V+NP3+NP2	
Type 1	ma7 goa2 lau7 khim5-siu3 罵我老禽獸 scold I old beast call me old scoundrel	32.057
(51)	V+NP2+	乞+NP3
Type 2	ma7 chit8 tng3 khit4 i1 罵一頓乞伊 scold one CL GM him give him a scolding	21.078
(52)	V+NP3	
Type3	ma7 goa2 罵我 scold me revile me	26.158

## 5.2 *Sia2* 寫

The verb *sia2* 寫 ‘write (a letter)’ can be used as a monotransitive verb, as in *sia2 bun5-ji7* 寫文字 (19.372) ‘write writing-character’ = ‘sign the contract’, but when it collocates with *chul* 書 ‘letter’, it takes on the ditransitive function, as shown in a range of constructions such as (53) V+NP2+還+NP3, (54) NP2+V+度+NP3, (55) V+NP2, and (56) NP2+V.

寫	First part	Second part
(53)	V+NP2+	還+NP3+QW
	sia2 chu1 heng7 a1-kong1 mih8-tai7 寫書還阿公乜事 write letter GM grandpa QW What did (he) write Grandpa for?	24.279
(54)	NP2+V+	度+NP3
	chu1 sia2 thoo7 chia5 書寫度誰 letter write GM who Who is the letter addressed to?	24.277

(55)	V+NP2	
	sia2 chit8 hong1 chu1 寫一封書 write one CL letter write a letter	25.158
(56)	NP2+VP	
	chu1 sia2 liau2 書寫了 letter write finish the letter has been finished	48.166

### 5.3 *Phah4* 打

*Phah3* 打 ‘beat, strike’ is basically a monotransitive verb, but it can co-occur with the goal marker 乞 to yield a ditransitive construction V+NP2+乞+NP3, as in:

打	V+NP2+	乞+NP3
(57)	phah4 chhiu2-chi2 khit4 li2 打手指乞你 strike ring GM you give you a ring	5.103

However, a construction like V+NP2+乞+NP3+VP, as shown below, does not produce a ditransitive reading even with the presence of 乞:

	V+	乞+NP3+VP
(58)	phah4 khit4 li2 si2 打乞你死 beat cause you die beat you to death	14.396

### 5.4 *Seh4* 說

Like verbs of commercial transaction such as *boe2* 買 ‘buy’ and *boe7* 賣 ‘sell’ involving three semantic roles (source, goal, and theme), the verb of saying *seh4* 說 in composition with the goal marker *khit4* 乞 takes on these semantic roles in an interlocutory speech event, as shown below:



說	TM+NP2+V+	乞+NP3+VP
(59)	chiong1 sit8-oe7 seh4 khit4 li2 chai1 將實話說乞你知 TM real word say let you know tell you the truth	23.069
	V+	乞+NP3+VP
(60)	seh4 khit4 koann1-lang5 thiann1 說乞官人聽 say let master listen tell the master	34.037

### 5.5 *Tan3* 揀

*Tan3* 揀 ‘throw, cast, fling’ can co-compose with 乞 or 度 to form a ditransitive construction. It can produce an elaborative construction relating to the ditransitive one, as shown below:

揀	TM+NP2+VP+	乞+NP3
(61)	chiong1 nai7-chi1 tan3 loh8 khit4 i1 將荔枝揀落乞伊 TM litchee throw down GM he throw the litchee to him	17.103
	V+	乞+NP3+VP
(62)	tan3 loh8 lai5 khit4 goa2 khioh4 lai5 揀落來乞我拾來 throw down PDC/PPM let me pick-up PDC throw it to me	18.056

*Khit4* 乞 seems to be in complementary distribution with phase marker *tioh8* 著. The latter has the function of turning activity into achievement as exemplified in the change of *tan3* 揀 ‘throw’ to *tan3 tioh8* 揀著 ‘hit’. The achievement predicate *tan3 tioh8* 揀著 is inevitably followed by NP3 whereas NP2 is either preposed or shaded.

### 5.6 *Choe3* 做

*Choe3* 做 ‘make, do’ can combine with *thoo7* 度 or *khit4* 乞 into a distinctive construction, as in:

做	V+NP2+	度+NP3
(63)	choe3 chit8 e5 kau2 chap8 sann1 he3 e5 thoo7 goa2 做一个九十三歲个度我 make one CL ninety-three year NZ give I give a ninety-three-year-old away to me	15.158

### 5.7 *Phien3* 騙

*Phien3* 騙 ‘cheat, swindle, cajole’ can occur in constructions such as (64) V+NP3+NP2, and (65) V+NP2. If it means ‘deceive’, as in *li2 phien3 goa2* 你騙我 ‘you deceived me’, a V+NP3 construction, it does not constitute a case of ditransitive construction. The act of cheating or defrauding is a transfer of theme from NP3 (source) to NP1 (agent as well as goal).

	V+NP3+NP2	
(64)	pien3 goa2 kim1-gun5 kho1 too1 騙我金銀可多 cheat me gold-silver PRT much cheat me out of much money	37.044
	V+NP2	
(65)	phien3 tit8 gun5-chinn5 chu1-pan1 to1 choe5-kau3 騙得銀錢諸般都齊到 cheat-RC silver-money every-kind all uniformly come cajole all sorts of money	45.005

### 5.8 *Khiam3* 欠

*Khiam3* 欠 ‘owe, lack’ occurs in two kinds of constructions: (66) V+NP3+NP2, and (67) V+NP2 in which the meanings of ‘owe’ and ‘lack’ are distributed respectively, as in:

	欠	
	V+NP3+NP2	
(66)	li2 khiam3 goa2 boo2 你欠我△ you owe I wife you owe me a wife	37.034

	V+NP2	
(67)	khiam3 chit8 boo2 欠一ム lack one wife lack a wife, want a wife	5.010

### 5.9 *Ka3* 教

*Ka3* 教 as a non-inherent ditransitive verb can nevertheless become a ditransitive verb in the construction V+NP2+NP3, as shown below:<sup>21</sup>

教	V+NP2+NP3	
(68)	ka3 goa2 chit8 poo7 koat4 toe7-hng1 教我一步訣地方 teach me one CL rule region teach me a rule	19.322

If we ignore the extended construction and the change of word order due to the constraint of information structure, there are basically two kinds of ditransitive construction discussed above: (1) NP1+V+NP2+*khit4/thoo7*+NP3, and (2) NP1+V+NP3+NP2. The shift of (1) and (2) is dubbed as dative alternation. Each type of construction seems to be associated with some syntactic and semantic properties. Three generalizations can be made about them. First, (1) NP3 when preceded by *khit4/thoo7* rather than *kau3* 到 ‘to’ is always a goal (viz., a recipient) rather than a location. Second, transference of theme in an abstract sense can occur in (2) rather than (1), as in the case of *pe5* 賠 ‘compensate’, *ma7* 罵 ‘scold’, *seh4* 說 ‘say’, *ka3* 教 ‘teach’. Third, when the direction of transference as expressed in (1) is reversed, viz., NP1 is the goal and NP3 is the source, (2) should be adopted, as exemplified in the case of *phien3* 騙 ‘cheat’. Note that in construction (2) we can only determine the direction of transference by examining the combined effect of semantic features of verbs and the construction in which it occurs.

## 6. Closing remarks

This paper has been concerned with families of ditransitive constructions featuring a range of inherent and non-inherent ditransitive constructions as well as extended

<sup>21</sup> There is another causative verb pronounced *kah4* ‘order’ for which the etymologically viable character is 教, but a phonetic loan character 甲 is used, instead, in the text (see Lien 2002).

constructions closely relating to them.<sup>22</sup> The latter types of construction are the constructions featuring verbs such as *khit4* 乞, *thoo7* 度 and *heng5/heng7* 還 as well as *sang3* 送. For ditransitive constructions *per se*, there are two subtypes, viz., inherent ditransitive constructions, and non-inherent ditransitive constructions. Inherent ditransitive constructions embrace ditransitive verbs, viz. verbs with a built-in feature of ditransitivity. By contrast, verbs in non-inherent ditransitive constructions are not inherent ditransitive verbs by themselves, and have to be induced by constructions to become ditransitive.

Extended constructions relating to true ditransitive constructions are a typologically unique feature in Southern Min, modern Mandarin included. Each of them consists of two events: (1) the event of transference, and (2) the follow-up action as an immediate purpose of such a transference. The event of transference is jointly and at once realized in an analytic language like Southern Min as a manner verb and a verb of transference. The conceptual structure can be specified compositionally as something like CAUSE THEME TO MOVE TO GOAL BY MEANS OF SOME KIND OF SPECIAL ACTIVITY in which theme and goal are involved in addition to the source which functions as the agent at the same time. The event of transference is a blend of the act of transference and the special manner in which the act is executed. An example like the following will make the point:

(69)	<p>chit4 chui2 phang5 beh4 khit4 gun2 a1-niu5 soe2 bin7  只水捧卜乞阮啞娘洗面  this water hold want let our lady wash face  bring a basin of water for your lady to wash her face with</p>	22.063
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The combination of the manner verb *phang5* 捧 and the verb *khit4* 乞 lead to a ditransitive construction that denotes a specific event of transference. The manner verb *phang5* 捧 in tandem with *khit4* 乞 in such a construction can be taken as a result of conflating a manner verb and a hidden locomotive causative verb that can be factored out as CAUSE TO MOVE TO. The second part of the construction, as exemplified by *gun2 a1-niu5 soe2 bin7* 阮啞娘洗面 ‘our lady wash face’ = ‘for our lady to wash (her) face’, denotes a related event functioning as the purpose of the first event, viz., the event of transference. The extended construction with an explicit purposive clause is quite unusual in comparison with a western language like English in which a ditransitive construction is not followed by an explicit purpose.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> We can set up a family or families of ditransitive constructions linked by inheritance relationship based on the notion of family resemblance (Wittgenstein 1953, Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004)

<sup>23</sup> The conclusion arrived at in this paper converges in some respects with the finding in Cheng et al. (1999), especially regarding the view of taking *khit4* 乞/*thoo7* 度 in my paper and *hoo* in

The extended construction, or rather purpose-explicit construction, consisting of a ditransitive construction (viz., V+NP2+乞+NP3) and a pivotal construction (viz., 乞+NP3+VP), may be regarded as the forerunner of the true ditransitive construction to the general-purpose ditransitive verb, rather than the other way around. *Khit4* 乞 has not developed into a general-purpose verb of giving.<sup>24</sup> A general-purpose verb of giving present in modern Southern Min such as *hoo7* 與 in *hoo7 i1 chip8 bun2 chu1* 與伊一本書 ‘give he/her a book’ = ‘give him/her a book’, is a verb that only expresses the act of transferring, but leaves the manner of action unspecified. Put differently, the causative verb as the second verb in the elaboration construction has been promoted and become the main verb of giving in the ditransitive construction, whereas the original manner verb has been suppressed or become hidden. *Khit4* 乞, as well as its congeners *thoo7* 度, and *heng5/heng7* 還 in the sixteenth century text, seems to be a main verb of giving in its embryonic and precarious stage. Typologically Chinese and English differ in the way in which the notion of giving is expressed. The manner of giving as well as the purpose of the transference tends to be expressed explicitly in Southern Min, but to remain implicit in English.<sup>25</sup> Such a typological difference can be alternatively taken as a difference of construal in the representation of the universal real world situation.

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their paper as a causative verb rather than a preposition, and of regarding the ditransitive construction as a type of causation. There are, however, two points of difference. First, my paper deals with the issue from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective, whereas Cheng et al. (1999) is almost exclusively concerned with the issue in synchronic dimensions. Second, the finding that emerges in my paper is based on the corpora, whereas theirs is gleaned from the intuition based on introspective method. The problem with the introspective method is that some patterns posited such as Pattern B (viz., NP1+V+*hoo7*+NP3+NP2) in their paper might not reflect linguistic facts. For example, no examples of pattern B are attested in the data on modern Taiwanese Southern Min in Chen’s (2005) study of ditransitive constructions in Southern Min.

<sup>24</sup> Such a preliminary assumption based on compelling evidence seems to be counterintuitive to a commonly held theoretical stand that the goal marker is a result of grammaticalization of a verb of giving (Beiluobei 1986, Xu 1999, Lien 2002, and Chappell 2004 among others). Further studies will help resolve such a thorny issue.

<sup>25</sup> The manner-explicit way of coding has been discussed before (Tai 2003), while the explicit expression of purpose of action has not been brought up to my knowledge. It is known (Lien 1999) that the history of Old Chinese through Middle Chinese to Modern Chinese is a typological shift of syntheticity to analyticity. But there is a typological cycle. Analytic types which evolve from synthetic types may change back to synthetic types. The development of extended constructions to ditransitive constructions is a case in point. As argued in this paper, the ditransitive construction is a result of conflating the two verbs in the extended construction.

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## 《荔鏡記》中的雙賓式家族

連金發

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本文從格式語法入手，探討《荔鏡記》中的雙賓式家族。《荔鏡記》是明代嘉靖年間（西元 1556 年）刊行的潮泉腔閩南戲文（吳 2001）。戲文中有些兩可的詞項的多重功能，不論是否為固有雙賓動詞，用格式語法的理論模式 (Fillmore et al. 1988, Goldberg 1995, Jackendoff 1997, and Kay & Fillmore 1999) 都可以得到合理的解析。雙賓式基本上涉及三個語義角色（即起點、終點、客體），並和句法功能（即主語、直接賓語、間接賓語）有對應關係。論文先討論帶“乞”、“度”、“還”、“與”和“送”的雙賓擴展式；這種擴展式和雙賓式有密切的關係。雙賓式可按動詞是否作固有雙賓動詞使用分成兩次類。本文所討論的雙賓擴展式是閩南語（現代漢語亦復如此）相當獨特的類型特徵。這類擴展式是雙賓式和使動的兼語式組成的。真正的雙賓式可能是這種擴展式融合的結果。

關鍵詞：荔鏡記，雙賓式，擴展式，家族，語義角色，句法功能，格式語法，使動式，類型學，閩南語，十六世紀

