

Benefactive and malefactive constructions in Taiwan Southern Min

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This paper aims to investigate both Fagerli's (2001) proposal that in serializing languages benefactive and malefactive constructions often involve the morpheme denoting 'give', and Radetzky & Smith's (2010) proposal that East and South Asian languages often involve different morphemes or structures in expressing benefaction or malefaction. Checking the proposals against benefactive and malefactive constructions in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM) which involve optional benefactee and malefactee, this paper shows that both proposals find only partial support from TSM data. TSM uses the morpheme denoting 'give', i.e. *hoo*, in the malefactive construction involving optional malefactee, but not the benefactive construction involving optional benefactee, which involves the use of *ka*. Moreover, *ka* can also be used for introducing the malefactive. Even though the *hoo* malefactive construction and the *ka* benefactive construction have different structures, the constructions involving *ka*, no matter whether denoting benefaction or malefaction, have the same syntactic structure.

Keywords: Taiwan Southern Min, benefactive construction, malefactive construction, *ka* construction, *hoo* construction

1. Introduction

Benefactive and malefactive theta roles may be realized differently in typologically different languages (Fagerli 2001). In extensional languages, the benefactive/malefactive affix modifies the verb. For instance, in Fula, a language of West Africa, the morpheme *an* is attached to the verb to express benefactive and malefactive as shown in (1–2). The specific meaning, benefactive or malefactive, is determined by the components of the sentence. To illustrate, in (1) what Didi received is (normal) mango, and therefore, Didi is conceived as the benefactive. In contrast, in (2) Didi got a rotten mango and thus is considered a malefactive.

- (1) *Abbo teḃ-an-i Didi maṅgoro.* Fula benefactive
 Abbo pick-BEN-PERF Didi mango
 i. 'Abbo picked a mango to Didi.'
 ii. 'Abbo picked a mango for Didi.' (Fagerli 2001: 206)
- (2) *Abbo teḃ-an-i Didi maṅgoro nyolnde.* Fula malefactive
 Abbo pick-MAL-PERF Didi mango rotten
 'Abbo picked a rotten mango to Didi.' (Fagerli 2001: 207)

In serializing languages, benefactive and malefactive constructions often involve the morpheme denoting 'give' (Fagerli 2001). For instance, in Dagaare, used in Ghana, the verb *ko* 'give' is juxtaposed to the host verb to introduce the benefactive and malefactive as in (3–4).

- (3) *Ali tono koro la a naa.* Dagaare benefactive
 Ali work+IMP GIVE+IMP a.m. a.def. chief
 'Ali works for the chief.' (Fagerli 2001: 211)
- (4) *O ngma la zirii ko Ama oi*
 he cut a.m. lies GIVE Ama she
yideme yele. Dagaare malefactive
 housepeople matter
 'He lied to Ama about her family.' (Fagerli 2001: 214)

In terms of the areas where the languages are used, Radetzky & Smith (2010) argue that European languages often use the same construction to express benefaction and malefaction, and the components of the sentence determine the exact meaning (Fagerli 2001). To illustrate, German uses the same structure – dative to express benefaction and malefaction as shown in (5–6).

- (5) *Heinz repariert mir das Auto.* German benefactive
 Heinz repairs I.DAT the car
 'Heinz repairs the car for me.' (Ogawa 1997: 2)
- (6) *Man hat ihm das Haus angezündet.* German malefactive
 they have he.DAT the house set.fire.to
 'They set fire to the house on him.' (Ogawa 1997: 2)

On the other hand, East and South Asian languages often involve different morphemes or structures in expressing benefaction and malefaction (Radetzky & Smith 2010). For instance, in Lai, used in Myanmar and India, *piak* introduces the benefactive, while *sual* introduces the malefactive as shown in (7–8).

- (7) *Tsewmaṅ-ni? law ?a-ka-thlo?-piak.* Lai benefactive
 Tsewmang-ERG field 3s-1s-weed-BEN
 'Tsewmang weeded the field for me.' (Smith 2005: 77)

- (8) *Tsewmaŋ-ni? ka-ke ʔa-ka-lamʔ-sual.* Lai malefactive
 Tsewmang-ERG 1s-leg 3s-step.on-MAL
 'Tsewmang stepped on my foot (and it is too bad).' (Smith 2005: 111)

This paper aims to investigate benefactive and malefactive constructions in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM). TSM is a Chinese language spoken by more than 80% of the people in Taiwan (Cheng 1985). The beneficiary and malefatee in TSM often take the preverbal position and co-occur with *ka* or *hoo* as in (9–11).

- (9) 共 ㄟ 因 阿媽... 洗 身軀 啦。¹ TSM benefactive
*Ka in a-ma... se sin-khu lah.*²
 KA his grandmother wash body PRT
 'Wash his grandmother's body.' (Hu & Huang 1995: 130)³
- (10) 一 个 共 你 趁 財產, 一 个
Tsit e ka li than tsai-san, tsit e
 one CL KA you earn fortune one CL
 共 你 開 財產。
ka li khai tsai-san. TSM benefactive, malefactive
 KA you spend fortune
 'One made money for you; one spent your money.' (Hu & Huang 1997: 78)
- (11) 我 竟然 予 伊 走去。
Gua king-jian hoo i tsau-khi. TSM malefactive
 I unexpectedly PASS 3SG run-away
 'I unexpectedly experienced his running away.'

TSM is a serializing language spoken in Asia.⁴ These structures in TSM are investigated to check whether Fagerli's (2001) proposal on serializing languages and

1. The Taiwan Southern Min characters are according to Taiwan Southern Min Dictionary of Common Words (臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典), which was promulgated by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan in 2008.

2. The romanization used in this paper for Taiwan Southern Min examples is according to the Taiwan Southern Min Romanization Proposal (臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音符號方案), which was promulgated by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan in 2006.

3. Some of the TSM examples adopted in this paper are taken from a series of TSM story books edited by Wan-chuan Hu, such as Hu & Wang (1999) and Hu & Huang (1995; 1997).

4. A serializing language is a language that involves the use of serial verb constructions. As indicated in Yang (1991), Taiwan Southern Min is a language involving serial verb constructions as in (i).

(i) 伊 行路 去 矣。
I kiann-loo khiih ah.
 he walk-road go PRT
 'He walked to go there.'

(Yang 1991: 299)

Radetzky & Smith's (2010) proposal on languages in Asia hold in TSM data. This paper is structured as follows. § 1 introduces the background of the issues discussed in this paper. § 2 reviews the literature on the discussion topic. § 3 and § 4 introduce the benefactive and malefactive construction in TSM, respectively. The proposal for these two types of construction is presented in § 5. This paper ends with a concluding section.

2. Literature review

The literature on the meanings expressed by benefactive and malefactive and the morphemes/constructions involved is reviewed in the following. Moreover, the markers used in these two constructions in Taiwan Southern Min are *ka* and *hoo*; therefore, the literature on the properties of these two markers is reviewed to offer an overall picture of these two markers.

2.1 Semantics of benefactive/malefactive

2.1.1 Types of benefactive

According to semantics, Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) classify benefactive types into three subtypes: recipient beneficiary (RB), deputative beneficiary (DB), and plain beneficiary (PB). As shown in (12), *Andy* is the recipient beneficiary because in the event of baking, Andy is the recipient – receiving the cake. *Kim* in (13) is the deputative beneficiary because Pat performed the act of standing in line on behalf of Kim. In (14) *students* are plain beneficiary.

(12) *Robin baked Andy a cake.* (RB)

(13) *Pat stood in line for Kim.* (DB)

(14) *Rita sang for the students.* (PB)

A sentence can certainly be ambiguous. Take the language Jinghpo, used in China and Myanmar, as an example. (15) in Jinghpo is ambiguous with three readings.

- (15) *Ngai³³ shi³³ hpe²⁵⁵ lai³¹ka³³ la⁵⁵ngai³³ ma³¹ri³³ ya³³ n³³ngai³³.*
 1SG 3SG DPM book one buy give 1SGAG;IPFV
 Jinghpo benefactive
- i. 'I buy a book to give him.' (RB)
 - ii. 'I buy a book instead of him.' (DB)
 - iii. 'I buy a book for him.' (PB) (Peng & Chappell 2011: 137)

An ambiguous example can also be found in Mandarin Chinese as in (16). Zhangsan in (16) can be conceived as the recipient beneficiary (RB) or deputative beneficiary (DB).

- (16) 他 給 張三 寫了 一 封 信。 Mandarin benefactive
Ta gei Zhangsan xie-le yi feng xin.
 he give Zhangsan write-ASP one CL letter
 i. 'He wrote a letter to Zhangsan.' (RB)
 ii. 'He wrote a letter instead of Zhangsan.' (DB)

2.1.2 *Types of malefactive*

Fagerli (2001) classifies malefactive events into three types. First, in an event of giving the transferred object may be considered negative for the recipient as in (2), where the receiver of the rotten mango is the malefactive. Second, the action or state denoted by the main verb is often taken as negative as in (17), where the event of lying is often considered negative and the object of lying is certainly the malefactive.

- (17) *Buuba few-an-i Jekariaw haala mbeewa.* Fula malefactive
Buuba lie-MAL-PERF Jekariaw affair goat
 'Buuba lied to Jekariaw concerning the goat.' (Fagerli 2001: 208)

Third, the main verb has ablative characteristics, i.e. "motion away from the patient," which is the opposite of giving (Fagerli 2001: 207). To illustrate, in (18) a goat is taken away from the patient, i.e. *deerdiiko* 'his brother', and the patient undergoing the negative event is thus considered the malefactive.

- (18) *Aaman hoo'-an-i deerdiiko mbeewa.* Fula malefactive
Aaman TAKE-MAL-PERF brother-his goat
 'Aaman took a goat from his brother.' (Fagerli 2001: 208)

2.2 Benefactive/malefactive morphemes/constructions

Radetzky & Smith (2010) discuss these two constructions according to area of language use.

2.2.1 *Languages of Europe*

Indo-European languages or not, languages of Europe often use the same construction for benefaction and malefaction. For instance, as shown in (5–6), German, an Indo-European language, adopts the dative construction to express benefaction and malefaction. A non-Indo-European language like Hungarian also uses the dative construction for this purpose, as in (19–20).

- (19) *Nek-i hasznos valami.* Hungarian benefactive
 DAT-3s useful something
 ‘Something is useful to him.’ (Benkő & Imre 1972: 105)
- (20) *Nek-i rossz valami.* Hungarian malefactive
 DAT-3s bad something
 ‘Something is bad to someone.’ (Benkő & Imre 1972: 105)

2.2.2 Languages of Asia

A Sino-Tibetan language, Lai uses different morphemes, *piak* and *sual*, for benefaction and malefaction, respectively, as in (7–8). Also a Sino-Tibetan language, Mandarin Chinese often uses *gei* in benefaction construction as in (21), and *bei* is used to express the malefactive meaning as in (22).

- (21) 我 給 你 做 炒飯。 Mandarin benefactive
Wo gei ni zuo chaofan.
 I for you make fried.rice
 ‘I’ll make fried rice for you.’ (Li & Thompson 1974: 271)
- (22) 王 小二 被 鬼子 打死了。 Mandarin malefactive
Wang Xiaoer bei guizi da-si-le.
 Wang Xiaoer PASS devil strike-die-ASP
 ‘Wang Xiaoer was killed by the Japanese.’ (Chappell 1986: 1040)

Peng & Chappell (2011), however, propose that in Jinghpo the same word *ya*³³ ‘give’ is used to express benefaction and malefaction as in (23–24).⁵ Note that even though the same word *ya*³³ ‘give’ is used in benefactive and malefactive constructions in Jinghpo,

5. As one reviewer points out, *gei* ‘give’ in Mandarin Chinese can also be used in a malefactive construction as in (i).

- (i) 他 錢包 給 人 搶了。
Ta qianbao gei ren qiang-le.
 he purse give person rob-ASP
 ‘He was robbed of his purse.’

That is, the same word *gei* ‘give’ is used to express benefaction as in (21) and malefaction as in (i). This is just like the passive marker *bei*, which often denotes adversity but does not always do so as in (ii). In addition to introducing the benefactee, *gei* may be used in a malefactive construction as well.

- (ii) 他 被 好好地 讚賞了 一 番。
Ta bei haohaode zanshang-le yi fan.
 he PASS well praise-ASP one time
 ‘He was greatly praised.’

the two constructions differ in that the benefactive construction is a three-argument construction while the malefactive construction involves only two arguments.

- (23) *Ngai*³³ *Ma*³¹ *Ko*²⁵⁵ *hpe*²⁵⁵ *u*³¹ *sat*³¹
 1SG Ma Ko DPM chicken kill
*ya*³³ *sa*³³ *ngai*³³. Jinghpō benefactive
 give 1SGAG;IPFV
 ‘I killed the chicken for/instead of Ma Ko.’ (Peng & Chappell 2011: 141)
- (24) *Ka*³³ *gyin*³³ *e*³¹ *ma*³¹ *khkyu*³¹ *wa*³³ *hpe*²⁵⁵ *la*³¹ *go*³³ *ko*²⁵⁵ *ga*³¹ *wa*⁵⁵ *ton*³
 ant AG hunter man DPM foot on bite AUX
*ya*³³ *u*⁷³¹ *ai*³³. Jinghpō malefactive
 give 3SGAG;3P;IPFV
 ‘The ant bites the hunter on his foot (and the hunter is negatively affected).’
 (Peng & Chappell 2011: 139)

The above discussion shows that in languages of Asia the benefactee is often introduced by words denoting ‘give’ such as *gei* in Mandarin Chinese and *ya*³³ in Jinghpō.

In Creissels’s (2010) typological study, two characteristics are identified for benefactive constructions.⁶ First, the valency operator⁷ often expresses the meaning ‘give’ when used independently. For example, the valency operator *fún* in (25) means ‘give’. Second, the valency operator often occupies the second position in the construction; to illustrate, *fún* ‘give’ in both (25) and (26) takes the position of the second verb.

- (25) *Rà á fún mi.* Yoruba benefactive
 buy 3SG give 1SG
 ‘Buy it for me.’ (Rowlands 1969: 83)
- (26) *Ó jíṣé fún mi.* Yoruba benefactive
 3SG go_on_an_errand give 1SG
 ‘He went on an errand for me.’ (Abraham 1962: 348)

However, exceptions to the generalization can be found in Mandarin Chinese (Chappell & Peyraube 2006). As an SVO language, the second verb, the postverbal *gei* as in (27), assigns the NP the recipient theta role, while it is the first verb, the preverbal *gei* as in (28), that assigns the beneficiary theta role. Therefore, it is not always the case that the valency operator takes the second verb position.

6. They are referred to as benefactive applicative periphrases (BAPs) in Creissels (2010).

7. A valency operator is the verb (verb-operator) which licenses “the expression of an additional participant fulfilling a given semantic role in the event encoded by the lexical verb” (Creissels 2010: 30).

- (27) 我 寄 了 一 封 信 給 他。 Mandarin benefactive
Wo ji le yi feng xin gei ta.
 I mail PFV one CL letter to 3SG
 'I mailed a letter to him/her.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 388)
- (28) 我 給 他 寄 了 一 封 信。 Mandarin benefactive
Wo gei ta ji le yi feng xin.
 I for 3SG mail PFV one CL letter
 'I mailed a letter for him/her.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 388)

2.3 On *hoo*

As mentioned above, according to Creissels (2010), in a benefactive construction, the valency operator often expresses 'give' when used independently. In Taiwan Southern Min, the word denoting 'give' is *hoo*, whose origin is *yu* (與) 'give', according to Mei (2005). Cheng et al. (1999) has discussed six usages of *hoo* as in (29–34), and Mei has argued that *yu* (與) in the texts of Tang Dynasty also has these six usages, which should be the origin of the six usages of *hoo*.

- (29) 我 予 你 三 百 箍。 double object construction pattern 1
Gua hoo li sann phah khoo.
 I give you three hundred dollar
 'I gave you three hundred dollars.' (Cheng et al. 1999: 147)
- (30) 我 送 予 伊 一 本 冊。 double object construction pattern 2
Gua sang hoo i tsit pun tsheh.
 I send give 3SG one CL book
 'I sent him a book.' (Cheng et al. 1999: 147)
- (31) 我 還 三 百 箍 予 伊。 dative
Gua hing sann phah khoo hoo i.
 I return three hundred dollar give 3SG
 'I returned three hundred dollars to him.' (Cheng et al. 1999: 147)
- (32) 我 唱 一 首 歌 予 你 聽。 serial verb construction
Gua tshiunn tsit siu kua hoo li thiann.
 I sing one CL song give you listen
 'I sing a song for you to listen to.' (Cheng et al. 1999: 147)
- (33) 彼 个 查某人 予 伊 騙去 矣。 passive
Hit e tsa-boo-lang hoo i phian-khi ah.
 that CL woman PASS 3SG cheat PRT
 'That woman was cheated by him.' (Cheng et al. 1999: 147)

- (34) 我 予 伊 著 第一 名。 causative
Gua hoo i tioh te-it mia.
 I let 3SG get first prize
 'I let him get the first prize.' (Cheng et al. 1999: 147)

Among them, the double object construction and the dative construction are, indeed, benefactive constructions, where the noun phrase after *hoo* carries the recipient theta role. However, different from *gei* 'give' in Mandarin Chinese, the benefactive-introducing word in the preverbal position in Taiwan Southern Min is *ka* instead of *hoo* as in (35).

- (35) 我 共 伊 寄 批。 TSM benefactive (cf. (28))
Gua ka i kia phue.
 I KA 3SG mail letter
 'I mailed a letter for him/her.'

When taking the preverbal position, *hoo* as in (33) occurs in a passive, which often denotes adversity in both Mandarin and TSM. Therefore, the preverbal *hoo* can be considered to occur in the malefactive construction.⁸ Lin (2011) discusses one more *hoo* construction, as shown in (36), where *hoo* is not a passive marker but still denotes adversity. (36) expresses the meaning that someone was negatively affected by the event of the ink's going dry. For instance, as a result of the ink's going dry, someone was not able to write.

- (36) 墨水 予 (伊) 焦去 矣。 TSM malefactive
Bak-tsui hoo (i) ta-khi ah.
 ink ADVS 3SG dry-go PRT
 'The ink has gone dry (and this event has an adverse effect on someone).'
- (Lin 2011: 2037)

The malefactive construction discussed in this paper includes sentences involving *hoo*, such as (36) and (11) (for ease of reference, repeated here as (37)). The two types of sentences differ in that the malefactivee is not specified in (36), but is specified to be the subject in (37). Besides, *hoo (i)* in (36) is only optional as shown in (38), while *hoo (i)* is obligatory in (37). As shown in (39), after *hoo (i)* is omitted,

8. Passives do not always denote adversity. As one reviewer points out, Example (i), involving the passive marker *hoo*, is an example of benefaction.

- (i) 伊 定定 予 頭家 呵佬。
I tiann-tiann hoo thau-ke o-lo.
 he often PASS boss praise
 'He is often praised by his boss.'

the meaning of the sentence changes, which shows that *hoo* (i) is not optional in (37). That also implies that these two sentences have different structures.

- (37) 我 竟然 予 伊 走去。 TSM malefactive (same as (11))
Gua king-jian hoo i tsau-khi.
 I unexpectedly PASS 3SG run-away
 'I unexpectedly experienced his running away.'
- (38) 墨水 焦去 矣。 TSM malefactive (cf. (36))
Bak-tsui ta-khi ah.
 ink dry-go PRT
 'The ink has gone dry.'
- (39) 我 竟然 走去。 TSM malefactive (cf. (37))
Gua king-jian tsau-khi.
 I unexpectedly run-away
 'I unexpectedly ran away.'

2.4 On *ka*

Another characteristic of the benefactive construction as mentioned in Creissels (2010) is that the give-denoting verb often takes the second verb position as in (25), where *fún* 'give' is the second verb of the sentence. In Taiwan Southern Min, the give-denoting word *hoo* occurs after the main verb to assign the recipient theta role to the noun phrase as in (31). However, the word occurring before the verb is *ka*, not *hoo* as in (35). *Ka* has no fixed meaning. Even though Wei (1997) argues that the source of *ka* is unclear, Chappell (2000) proposes that *ka* originates from *cang* (共) 'with', which has weakened into *ka* in form. *Ka* may introduce the patient as in (40), benefactive as in (41), goal as in (42), and source as in (43) (Teng 1982).⁹ Tsao (2003) takes benefactive to include adversative as well as shown in (44).

- (40) 伊 共 我 拍 一 下。 TSM patient
I ka gua phah tsit e.
 3SG KA I hit one CL
 'He hit me once.'
- (41) 伊 會 共 你 洗 你 的 衫。 TSM benefactive
I e ka li se li e sann.
 3SG will KA you wash you GEN clothes
 'He will wash your clothes for you.'

9. Among the four functions of *ka*, Chappell (2000) argues that *cang* in the 17th century also can introduce benefactive, goal, and source.

- (42) 伊 共 我 問 一 個 問題。 TSM goal
I ka gua mng tsit e bunte.
 3SG KA I ask one CL question.
 'He asked me a question.'
- (43) 伊 欲 共 你 罰 錢 喔? TSM source
I beh ka li huat tsinn ooh?
 3SG want KA you fine money PRT
 'He would like to fine you?'
- (44) 伊 共 我 損破 杯仔。 TSM malefactive (adversative)
I ka gua kong-phua pue-a.
 3SG KA I hit-break cup
 'He broke my cup.'

3. Benefactive constructions in Taiwan Southern Min

According to Kittilä & Zúñiga (2010: 2),

The beneficiary is a participant that is advantageously affected by an event without being its obligatory participant (either agent or primary target, i.e. patient). Since normally only animate participants are capable of making use of the benefit bestowed upon them, beneficiaries are typically animate.

Beneficiaries thus are often optional arguments in the sense that they are not subcategorized for by the verb. Generally speaking, both beneficiaries and recipients are advantageously affected; however, they differ in that recipients are often obligatory arguments of give-denoting verbs. Therefore, among the three types of beneficiaries identified by Van Valin & LaPolla (1997), this paper only discusses optional arguments including deputative beneficiary (DB) and plain beneficiary (PB), which are introduced by *ka* as in (45) and (46).¹⁰

- (45) 我 共 你 洗 碗 啦。 TSM benefactive
Gua ka li se uann lah.
 I KA you wash dish PRT
 'I'll wash dishes for you.'
- (46) 我 共 你 揣 啦。 TSM benefactive
Gua ka li tshue lah.
 I KA you find PRT
 'I will find it for you.'

10. Chappell (2000) has noted that when *ka* introduces a benefactive, the benefactive is not subcategorized for by the verb.

Moreover, this paper does not discuss the double object construction, which is a special construction of its own, and it often demonstrates strict restrictions. For instance, Pinker (1989) and Goldberg (1995) propose the possessive relation between the indirect and direct object in the double object construction. As shown in (47) the indirect object *Mary* is the possessor of the direct object *a book*. For examples such as (48), where the possessive relation is not possible, Pinker (1989), Goldberg (1995), and Fagerli (2001) argue that the change of possession may be construed metaphorically.

(47) *John gave Mary a book.*

(48) *Good lord, it's hot in here. I'm dying. Open me a window, would you, John?*
(Takami 2003: 205)

When discussing benefactive constructions, Shibatani (1996) deals only with the double object construction. He mentions that restrictions on the double object construction do not apply to other benefactive constructions where the beneficiary is optional. Moreover, in TSM, double object constructions involving deputative beneficiary (DB) or plain beneficiary (PB) are not available, as shown in (49). Therefore, double object constructions are not discussed in this paper. This paper discusses benefactive constructions involving beneficiaries as optional arguments introduced by *ka*.

(49) *開 我 窗仔。

**Khui gua thang-a.*

open I window

Intended meaning: 'Open a window for me.'

4. Malefactive constructions in Taiwan Southern Min

Likewise, malefactive constructions discussed in this paper involve non-obligatory malefactive arguments. Therefore, examples such as (50–51) are not under discussion, where *gua* 'I' is an obligatory argument even though it is the malefactive in the sentence. Passives often denote adversity as in (52). However, they are not discussed in this paper as the malefactive in passives is an obligatory argument;¹¹ please refer to Huang (1999) for detailed discussion on passives.

11. As mentioned in Footnote 8, passives may denote benefaction as well. No matter whether they denote adversity or benefaction, passives are excluded in the discussion in this paper because the benefactive/malefactive in passives is an obligatory argument.

- (50) 伊 拍 我。
I phah gua.
 3SG hit I
 'He hit me.'
- (51) 伊 共 我 拍。
I ka gua phah.
 3SG KA I hit
 'He hit me.'
- (52) 伊 予 歹人 掠去。
I hoo phainn-lang liah-khi.
 3SG PASS bad-guy catch-go
 'He was taken away by a bad guy.'

Malefactive constructions discussed in this paper include examples introduced by *ka* as in (10) (for ease of reference, repeated here as (53)) and (54), and those involving *hoo* as in (36), (37), and (55).

- (53) 一个 共 你 趁 財產, 一个
Tsit e ka li than tsai-san, tsit e
 one CL KA you earn fortune one CL
 共 你 開 財產。 TSM benefactive, malefactive
ka li khai tsai-san.
 KA you spend fortune
 'One made money for you; one spent your money.'
 (Hu & Huang 1997: 78) (same as (10))
- (54) 差不多 共 食 有 一个 外 月 TSM malefactive
tsha-put-to ka tsiah u tsit ko gua gueh
 about KA eat have one CL more month
 'ate on him for a little more than one month' (Hu & Huang 1995: 182)
- (55) 这个 席草 ... 去 予 壞去。 TSM malefactive
Tsit e tshioh-tshau ... khi hoo phainn-khi.
 this CL rush go PASS broken-away
 'This rush got rotten.' (Hu & Wang 1999: 148)

Hoo malefactive constructions can be further divided into two subtypes. The first type as shown in (37) involves the subject as the malefactee; the second type as in (36) and (55) involves a malefactee that is not overtly specified.

5. The proposal

In benefactive and malefactive constructions, the benefactive and malefactive arguments may be either obligatory or optional. Obligatory arguments can often be accounted for by subcategorization of the main verb in the constructions and thus are not the concern of this paper. This paper discusses benefactive and malefactive constructions in Taiwan Southern Min which involve optional benefactee and malefactee. The benefactive and malefactive constructions in TSM involve the use of *ka* or *hoo*. In a *ka*-construction, the benefactee/malefactee is introduced by *ka*, while in a *hoo*-construction the malefactee occurs before *hoo*. In this section, their syntactic structures are examined to see whether benefactive and malefactive constructions in TSM involve the same syntactic structure.

5.1 Malefactive

5.1.1 Malefactive *ka*-construction

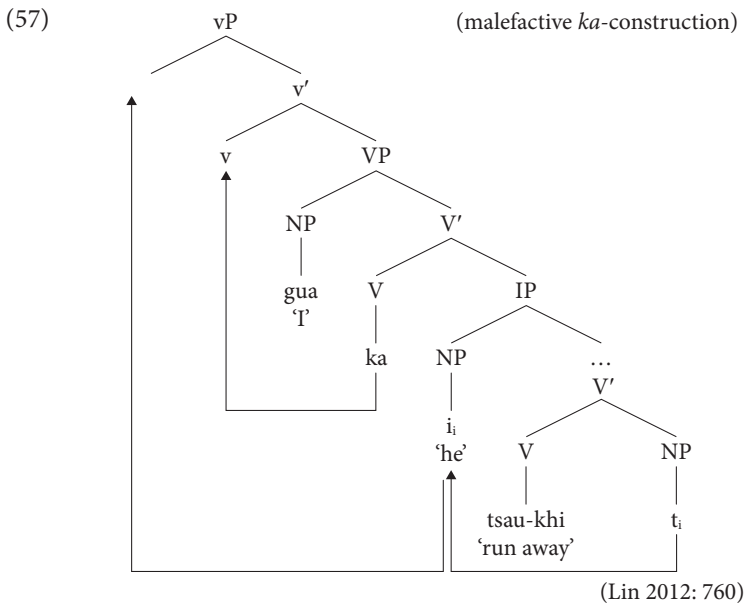
Let us first talk about the structure for a malefactive *ka*-construction such as (53), (54), and (56). Lin (2012) proposes (57) to be the structure for (56). Huang et al. (2009) has divided the complements taken by *ka* into two types: VP and IP. In (57) the malefactive/adversative marker *ka* takes an IP as its complement.¹² The malefactee *gua* 'I' is not related to any position inside the IP; rather, it is affected by the event denoted by the IP. That is, *gua* 'I' is affected by the event that he ran away. The lower VP *tsau-khi* 'run away' is predicated of *i*, which is merged to the object of *tsau-khi* and then moved up to the IP-internal subject position.¹³ Subsequently, *i* moves up to the topic position in the surface structure.¹⁴

- (56) 伊 竟然 共 我 走去。 TSM malefactive
I king-jian ka gua tsau-khi.
 3SG unexpectedly KA I run-away
 'He unexpectedly ran away on me.'

12. In a construction where *ka* introduces a patient such as (40), *ka* takes a VP as its complement.

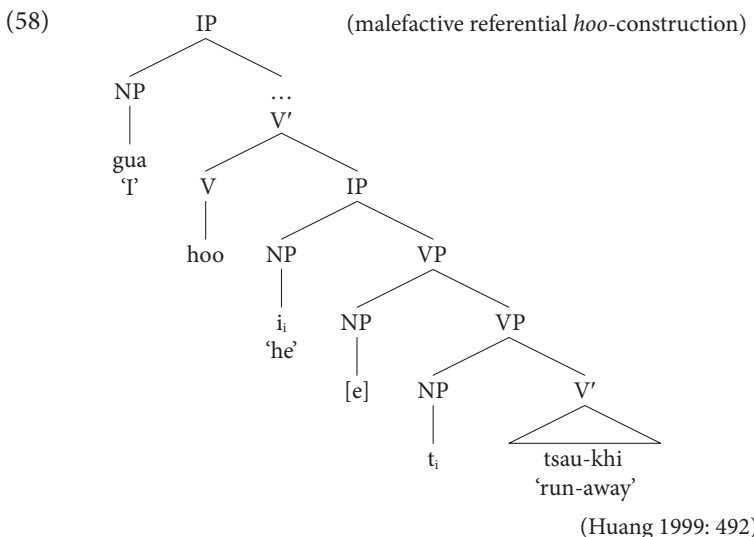
13. *I* 'he' in the postverbal position inside IP cannot receive Case because *tsau-khi* 'run away' does not assign unaccusative case; *i* thus moves to the IP-internal subject position. *I* has to further move up because all clauses have subjects, following the Extended Projection Principle (Chomsky 1981).

14. Tsai (2007) has argued that the external argument occupies a topic position rather than a subject position. That is, the subject is further moved to the topic position.



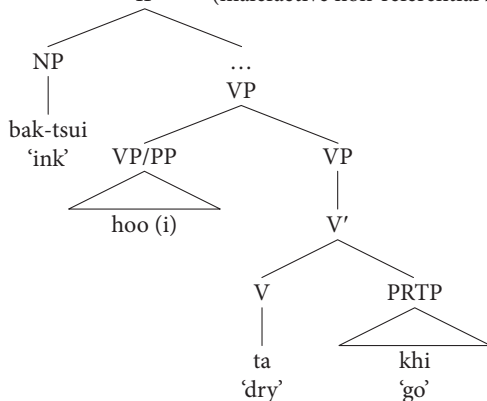
5.1.2 Malefactive *hoo*-construction

There are two types of malefactive *hoo*-construction, one with the subject as the affectee as in (37), and the other with an unspecified affectee as in (36). Huang (1999) takes (37) as adversative passive and proposes (58) to be its structure. The adversely affected object is the outermost object [e], which is the object of the VP. [e] undergoes null operator (NOP) movement and is coindexed with the subject. Thus we get the meaning that *gua* 'I' is the affectee.



Hoo i in (36) is optional as shown in (38), and Lin (2011) argues that *hoo i* is an adjunct, which only serves to add extra meaning which is the affected meaning to the original sentence. (59) is proposed to be the structure for (36). *Hoo* in (59) is not a causative marker because the subject does not serve as a causer; *hoo* cannot be a passive marker either, because if *hoo* were passive, the NP following *hoo* would be the agent. Therefore, *hoo* in (59) is neither causative nor passive. Lin (2011) proposes that it is an adversative marker, whose syntactic function is either a verb or a preposition. Because a verb or a preposition is subcategorized for an object, the expletive *i* is used, and the *i* takes the position of an object but carries no thematic role.¹⁵

(59) IP (malefactive non-referential *hoo*-construction)

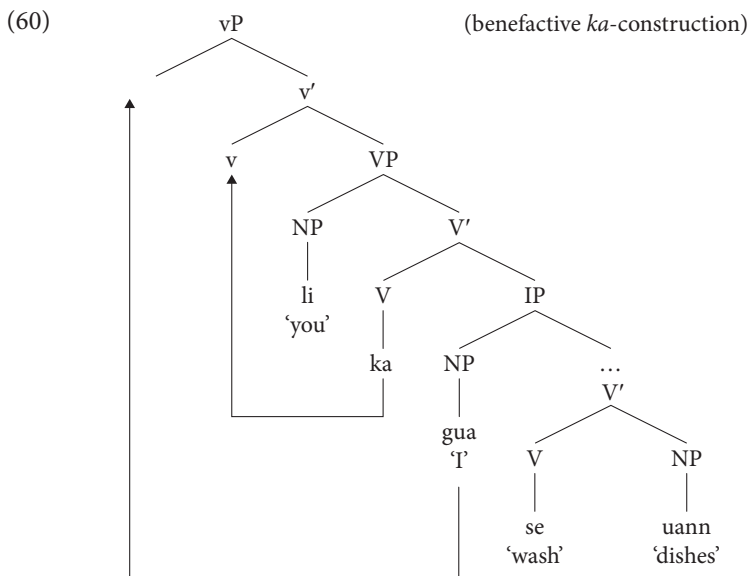


(Lin 2011: 2044)

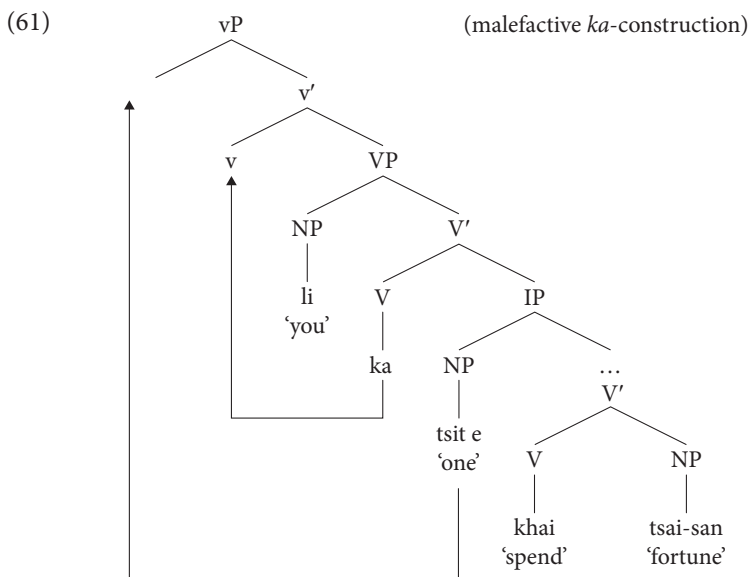
5.2 Benefactive *ka*-construction

Tsao (2003) takes benefactive to include adversative as well. Benefactive and adversative constructions only differ in the effect caused by the event; the effect, which is either positive or negative, is determined by the meaning of the predicate. Therefore, Lin (2016) argues that the two constructions have the same structure. The structure for the malefactive *ka*-construction as in (57) indeed can be applied to the benefactive *ka*-construction such as (45), as shown in (60).

15. Arguments are provided in Lin (2011) to prove that being non-referential, *i* after *hoo* in (59) is an expletive.



On the surface, (60) seems to differ from (57) in that the latter involves the preposing of the object from the postverbal position. However, the reason why object preposing takes place in (57) is that it involves an unaccusative verb which does not assign Case to the postverbal object. When the malefactive *ka*-construction involves a transitive verb such as *khai* 'spend' in (53), no object preposing takes place as shown in (61).



6. Conclusion

Four types of benefactive and malefactive constructions in Taiwan Southern Min have been discussed in this paper: benefactive *ka*-construction, malefactive *ka*-construction, and two types of malefactive *hoo*-construction, one with a specified affectee, one without. The selection of these four types is not arbitrary, but based on the criterion that the preverbal benefactee or malefactee is an optional argument of the verb. Constructions excluded from the discussion are those involving benefactee and malefactee as obligatory arguments which can be accounted for by subcategorization of the verb.

When checked against TSM data which involve optional benefactee and malefactee, Fagerli's (2001) and Radetzky & Smith's (2010) proposals are only partially supported. The findings are listed in Table 1 below. First of all, being a serializing language, TSM uses *hoo*, the morpheme denoting 'give', in the malefactive construction involving optional malefactee as Fagerli predicts, but *hoo* is not used in the benefactive construction involving optional benefactee.¹⁶ Secondly, in support of Radetzky & Smith's (2010) proposal, different morphemes are used in the benefactive and malefactive constructions in TSM. *Ka* is used to express benefaction; *hoo* is used to express malefaction. Moreover, also in support of Radetzky & Smith's (2010) proposal, the *ka*-construction and the *hoo*-construction have different structures. However, in addition to expressing benefaction, *ka* is also used in the malefactive construction. That is, the same morpheme *ka* is used in both benefactive and malefactive constructions which have the same syntactic structure.

Certainly, typological descriptions are relative, not absolute, and exceptions can always be found. The current study on TSM provides extra data to examine how general those typological tendencies are. The findings of this paper have revealed that when data from more languages are examined closely, counterexamples could easily be found. However, the findings of this paper still prove that both Fagerli's (2001) and Radetzky & Smith's (2010) proposals are mostly applicable.

16. As mentioned in Footnote 8, passive *hoo* could be benefactive as well. However, the passive construction is not under discussion in this paper because the benefactee/malefactee involved is not an optional argument. One may argue that Fagerli's (2001) proposal takes into consideration constructions involving obligatory benefactee/malefactee as well. However, as shown in (3–4), the examples Fagerli discusses also involve optional benefactee/malefactee.

Table 1. Comparison of Fagerli's (2001) and Radetzky & Smith's (2010) proposals with TSM data

	TSM data follow the proposal.	TSM data do not follow the proposal.
Fagerli's (2001) proposal: in serializing languages benefactive and malefactive constructions often involve the morpheme denoting 'give'	<i>Hoo</i> , the morpheme denoting 'give', is used in the malefactive construction.	<i>Hoo</i> is not used in the benefactive construction.
Radetzky & Smith's (2010) proposal: East and South Asian languages often involve different morphemes or structures in expressing benefaction and malefaction	Different morphemes are involved. <i>Ka</i> is used to express benefaction; <i>hoo</i> is used to express malefaction. The <i>ka</i> -construction and the <i>hoo</i> -construction have different syntactic structures.	The same morpheme <i>ka</i> is used in both benefactive and malefactive constructions. The <i>ka</i> -construction, no matter whether denoting benefaction or malefaction, has the same syntactic structure.

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Abbreviations

1	first person	IPFV	imperfective
3	third person	MAL	malefactive
ADVS	adversative	P	patient
AG	agent marker	PASS	passive
ASP	aspect	PB	plain beneficiary
AUX	auxiliary	PFV	perfective
BEN	benefactive	PERF	perfect
CL	classifier	PRT	particle
DAT	dative	PRTP	particle phrase
DB	deputative beneficiary	RB	recipient beneficiary
DPM	differential patient marker	S	singular
ERG	ergative	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	TSM	Taiwan Southern Min
IMP	imperative		

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