

## Why some causative ‘give’ constructions develop beyond the passive to also form the unaccusative: Evidence from Southern Min dialects

Weirong CHEN<sup>1</sup>, Foong HaYAP<sup>1</sup> & Huiling XU<sup>2</sup>  
*Hong Kong Polytechnic University*<sup>1</sup>  
& *Macquarie University*<sup>2</sup>

1

## Overview

- **1. Objective of present study**
  - To examine the rise of unaccusative ‘give’ constructions in some Southern Min dialects
- **2. Previous studies on ‘give’ constructions**
  - From causative to passive
  - From passive to unaccusative
- **3. Typological observations on the development of unaccusative ‘give’ constructions**
  - Valency reduction
  - Competing syntactic constructions

2

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

# 1. Objectives of this study

3

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## 2. Previous studies on 'give' constructions

### 2.1 Functions of 'give' constructions

- Lexical 'give'
- Dative and benefactive 'give'
  - Lord (1993)
- Causative and passive 'give'
  - Nedjalkov (1993); Yap & Iwasaki (2003)
- Unaccusative 'give'
  - Matthews, Xu & Yip (2005); Chen (2011)

### 2.2 Directions of semantic extensions and syntactic reanalyses

- Causative > Passive > Unaccusative
  - Matthews, Xu & Yip (2005) ; Chen (2011)
- Valence reduction
  - 3-place > 2-place > 1-place predicate (Huang 2009)

4

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Lexical 'give'

- Mandarin

*gei ta yi ben shu*  
give 3SG one CL book  
'give him one book'

- Min (Hui'an dialect)

*kh|ʔ<sup>5-4</sup> i<sup>1</sup> tsit<sup>8-4</sup> pun<sup>3-2</sup> tshə<sup>7</sup>*  
give 3SG one CL book  
'give him one book'

- Min (Chaozhou dialect)

*k'eh i bung tser*  
give 3SG CL book  
'give him one book'

5

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Dative 'give'

- Mandarin *gei*

*liu gei ta yaoshi*  
leave give 3SG key  
'Leave the key to him.'

cf. *yaoshi liu gei ta*  
(more commonly used)

- Min (Hui'an dialect)

*so<sup>3-2</sup>si<sup>2</sup> lau<sup>2</sup> kh|ʔ<sup>5-4</sup> i<sup>1</sup>*  
key leave give 3SG  
'Leave the key to him.'

- Min (Chaozhou dialect)

*lau ki sosi k'eh i*  
leave CL key to 3SG  
'leave the key to him'

6

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Benefactive 'give'

- Mandarin

*wo gei ta fanyi*  
1SG give 3SG translate  
'I translate (it) for him.'

- Min (Hui'an dialect)

\**ua3 kh<sup>h</sup>5-4 i1 huan1-iak8*  
1SG give 3SG translate  
'I translate (it) for him.'

- Min (Chaozhou dialect)

\**ua k'eh i huang-ek*  
1SG give 3SG translate  
'I translate (it) for him'

7

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Causative 'give'

- Mandarin *gei*

*gei ta xiuxi ji tian*  
give 3SG rest several day  
'Let him rest for a couple of days.'

- Min (Hui'an dialect)

*kh<sup>h</sup>5-4 i1 hio<sup>h</sup>7 kui3-2 let8*  
give 3SG rest several day  
'Let him rest for a couple of days.'

- Min (Chaozhou dialect)

*k'eh i hiuN-sek kui zek*  
give 3SG rest several day  
'Let him rest for a few days.'

8

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Passive ‘give’

- Mandarin

*yifu bei yu lin shi le*  
clothes PM rain drip wet PFV  
‘The clothes got wet by the rain.’

- Min (Hui’ an dialect)

*sa<sup>21</sup>1-kh<sup>25</sup> kh<sup>25</sup>-4 h<sup>24</sup> pha<sup>27-8</sup> tam<sup>2</sup> kh<sup>0</sup>*  
clothes give rain hit wet go  
‘The clothes got wet by the rain.’

- Min (Chaozhou dialect)

*ko saN-k’ou k’eh hou ak tam*  
CL clothes give rain water wet  
‘The clothes got wet (lit. watered) by the rain.’

9

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Unergative ‘give’

- Mandarin *gei*

- \*Unergative  
*\*xiaotou gei ta pao le*  
thief give 3SG run PFV  
‘The thief ran away.’

- Min (Hui’ an dialect)

- Unergative example  
*tshia-a3 kh<sup>25</sup>-4 i1 tsau3*  
*kh<sup>0</sup>*  
thief –DIM give 3SG run go  
‘The thief ran away.’

10

- Min (Chaozhou dialect)

- Unergative  
*kai ts’ak k’eh i tsau k’er*  
CL thief give 3SG run go  
‘The thief ran away.’

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Unaccusative 'give'

- Mandarin *gei*
- \*Unaccusative
  - \**hua gei ta si le*  
flower give 3SG die PFV  
'The flower died.'
- Unaccusative example
  - tsang hue k'eh i si k'er*  
CL flower give 3SG die go  
'The flower died.'
- Min (Hui'an dialect)
- Unaccusative example
  - hue1 kh/ʔ5-4 i1 si3*  
*kh* 0  
flower gve 3SG die go  
'The flower died.'

11

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Directions of semantic extensions and syntactic reanalyses (1)

- **Causative > Passive**
  - Hashimoto (1988)
- **Causative > Reflexive > Passive**
  - Nedjalkov (1993); Knott (1995); Yap & Iwasaki (2003)
- **Causative > \*Reflexive > Passive > Unaccusative**
  - Matthews, Xu & Yip (2005)
- **Causative > \*Reflexive > Passive > Unergative > Unaccusative**
  - This study

12

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

### Causative > Passive

Hashimoto (1988)

- Examples from Cantonese

13

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

### Causative > Reflexive > Passive

Nedjalkov (1993); Knott (1995); Yap & Iwasaki (2003)

- Examples from Manchu-Tungusic from Nedjalkov 1993

*i bata-be va-bu-ha*

he-NOM enemy-ACC kill-CAUS-PAST

'He made (somebody) kill the enemy.'

*i (bata-de) va-bu-ha*

he-NOM (enemy-DAT) kill-PASS-PAST

'He is/was killed (by the enemy).'

14

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

Causative > Passive > Unaccusative

Matthews, Xu & Yip (2005)

- Examples from Chaozhou (Jieyang dialect) from Matthews, Xu & Yip (2005)

*i bo k'e ɹua t'o ʔi tsi pu ɹ ts* (permissive 'allow')

3sg not.have give 1sg read this CI book

'He didn't let me read this book.'

*pu ɹ ts k'e ɹ na ɹ boi k' lau* (passive)

CI book give person buy RVC Prt

'The book has been bought already.'

*ts'io ʔ k'e ɹ i to lo ɹ k'* (unaccusative)

wall Pass 3sg fall down RVC

'The wall fell down (by itself).'

- Matthews et al. (2005) examined why passive and unaccusative constructions are both marked by the morpheme *k'e* in the Jieyang dialect from syntactic and semantic perspectives.
- According to their study, morphosyntactic parallels between passive and unaccusative constructions are found in a number of languages such as Latin, Italian, Albanian, and the English interlanguage grammars across different L1 backgrounds.
- In addition, passive and unaccusative constructions in the Jieyang dialect share thematic and aspectual properties, which motivate the extension of passive morphosyntax to unaccusative predicates.



Causative > Passive > Unergative (and special disposal construction) >  
Unaccusative

This study

- Examples from Southern Min (Hui' an dialect)
- Causative  
*kh/ʔ5-4 i1 hio ʔ7 kui3-2 let8*  
 give 3SG rest several day  
 'Let him rest for a couple of days.'
- Passive  
*sa ʔ1-kh/ʔ5 kh/ʔ5-4 h/ʔ4 pha ʔ7-8 tam2*  
*kh ʔ0*  
 clothes give rain hit wet go  
 'The clothes got wet by the rain.'
- Unergative  
*tshat8-4-a3 kh/ʔ5-4 i1 tsau3 kh ʔ0*  
 thief-DIM give 3SG run go  
 'The thief ran away.'
- Unaccusative  
*hue1 kh/ʔ5-4 i1 si3 kh ʔ0*  
 flower gve 3SG die go  
 'The flower died.'

Directions of semantic extensions and syntactic reanalyses (2)

• **Valence reduction**

- 3-place > 2-place > 1-place predicate (Huang 2009)



- **Causative 'give'**
  - a 3-place predicate construction
  - Possibly a pan-Chinese phenomenon
- **Passive 'give'**
  - a 3-place predicate construction with a demoted agent (hence a '2-place-like' predicate)
  - Widely attested in Chinese dialects
- **Unergative 'give'**
  - a 1-place predicate construction
  - Attested in Wu, Hui, Min, and Hakka dialects
- **Unaccusative 'give'**
  - another 1-place predicate construction
  - Attested in Southern Min varieties such as the Quanzhou and Hui' an varieties in Fujian, and the Chaozhou, Shantou, Jieyang and Chenghai varieties in Guangdong

## Directions of semantic extensions and syntactic reanalyses (2)

### Valence reduction

3-place > 2-place > 1-place predicate  
(Huang 2009)

- Causative 'give'
  - a 3-place predicate construction
  - Possibly a pan-Chinese phenomenon
- Passive 'give'
  - a 3-place predicate construction with a demoted agent (hence a '2-place-like' predicate)
  - Widely attested in Chinese dialects
- Unergative 'give'
  - a 1-place predicate construction
  - Attested in Wu dialects, and Eastern Min such as Fuzhou variety
- Unaccusative 'give'
  - another 1-place predicate construction
  - Attested in Southern Min varieties such as the Quanzhou and Hui'an varieties in Fujian, and the Chaozhou, Shantou, Jiayang and Chenghai varieties in Guangdong

19

### Examples from Southern Min (Hui'an dialect)

- *khɛ̃5-4 i1 hiõ7 kui3-2 let8*  
give 3SG rest several day  
'Let him rest for a couple of days.'
- *sa<sup>7</sup>1-khɛ̃5 khɛ̃5-4 hɛ̃4 phã7-8 tam2 kh<sup>0</sup>*  
clothes give rain hit wet go  
'The clothes got wet by the rain.'
- *tshat8-4-a3 khɛ̃5-4 i1 tsau3 kh<sup>0</sup>*  
thief-DIM give 3SG run go  
'The thief ran away.'
- *hue1 khɛ̃5-4 i1 si3 kh<sup>0</sup>*  
flower gve 3SG die go  
'The flower died.'

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Mechanisms of syntactic reanalysis

- Causative > passive
  - Patient promotion (movement)
  - Agent demotion ('give' > adposition or case marker)
  - Via reflexive 'give' construction as intermediate stage
- Causative (not passive) > 'unergative' causative
- ? Passive > unaccusative

### Our proposal:

- Passive & 'unergative' causative & a special type of disposal construction > unaccusative 'give'

20

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Mechanisms of syntactic reanalysis (1)

- **Causative > passive**
  - Patient promotion (movement)
  - Agent demotion
  - 'give' > adposition or case marker for demoted agent
  - Perhaps via reflexive 'give' construction as intermediate stage (with optional resumptive pronoun co-referential with the patient in subject position attested in some languages, e.g. Manchu-Tungusic, and in contact languages such as Bazaar Malay and Singapore Colloquial English)
- **Causer GIVE Causee ACT-ON Patient**
  - **Someone** GIVE **police** catch **thief**
  - **Situation** GIVE **police** catch **thief**
- **Patient GIVE Causer/Causee AFFECT**
  - **Thief** GIVE **police** catch
  - **Thief** GIVE **someone** catch
  - ? **Thief** GIVE **situation** catch
  - \***Thief** GIVE catch
- Singapore Colloquial English: **The thief<sub>i</sub>** GIVE **police** catch (**him<sub>i</sub>**)

21

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Mechanisms of syntactic reanalysis (2)

- **Causative > 'unergative' causative**
  - **NO** patient promotion (movement)
  - Causee agent in topic position
  - Causer agent suppression
  - 'give' > adposition or case marker for resumptive pronoun which is co-referential with the causee agent
  - Dependent on the reflexive 'give' construction as intermediate stage (with obligatory resumptive pronoun *i* co-referential with the causee agent)
- **Causer GIVE Causee ACT-ON Patient**
  - **Someone** GIVE **police** catch **thief**
  - **Situation** GIVE **police** catch **thief**
- **Causee agent<sub>i</sub> (Elided Causer agent) GIVE Resumptive pronoun<sub>i</sub> ACT**
  - **Prisoner<sub>i</sub>** (Situation) GIVE **him<sub>i</sub>** run away
  - **Prisoner<sub>i</sub>** (Someone) GIVE **him<sub>i</sub>** run away
  - \***Prisoner** GIVE run away

22

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Mechanisms of syntactic reanalysis (3)

- ? **Passive > unaccusative**
  - NO patient promotion (movement)
  - Theme of 1-place predicate verb in topic/subject position
  - NO causee agent
  - NO causer agent
  - 'give' > adposition or case marker for resumptive pronoun which is co-referential with the theme in topic/subject position
  - Dependent on the reflexive 'give' construction as intermediate stage (with obligatory resumptive pronoun *i* co-referential with the theme)
- **Patient** GIVE **Causer/Causee** AFFECT
  - Thief GIVE police catch
  - Thief GIVE someone catch
  - ? Thief GIVE situation catch
  - \*Thief GIVE catch
  - Singapore Colloquial English: The thief<sub>i</sub> GIVE police catch (him<sub>i</sub>)
- **Theme<sub>i</sub>** (\*Causer agent) GIVE **Resumptive pronoun<sub>i</sub>** AFFECTED
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> (\*Situation) GIVE it<sub>i</sub> die
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> (\*Someone) GIVE it<sub>i</sub> die
  - \*Flower GIVE die

23

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Mechanisms of syntactic reanalysis (4)

- **OUR PROPOSAL**
- **Passive & Unergative (and special disposal construction) > unaccusative**
  - NO patient promotion
  - Theme of 1-place predicate verb in topic/subject position
  - NO causee agent
  - NO causer agent
  - 'give' > adposition or case marker for resumptive pronoun which is co-referential to the affected patient in topic position; not the case marker for the demoted agent
  - NOT dependent on the reflexive 'give' construction as intermediate stage
- **Patient** GIVE **Causer/Causee** AFFECT
  - Thief GIVE police catch
  - Thief GIVE someone catch
  - ? Thief GIVE situation catch
  - \*Thief GIVE catch
  - Singapore Colloquial English: The thief<sub>i</sub> GIVE police catch (him<sub>i</sub>)
- **Causee agent<sub>i</sub>** (Elided Causer agent) GIVE **Resumptive pronoun<sub>i</sub>** ACT
  - Prisoner<sub>i</sub> (Situation) GIVE him<sub>i</sub> run away
  - Prisoner<sub>i</sub> (Someone) GIVE him<sub>i</sub> run away
  - \*Prisoner GIVE run away
- **Theme<sub>i</sub>** (\*Causer agent) GIVE **Resumptive pronoun<sub>i</sub>** AFFECTED
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> (\*Situation) GIVE it<sub>i</sub> die
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> (\*Someone) GIVE it<sub>i</sub> die
  - \*Flower GIVE die

24

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Compare special disposal construction and unaccusative 'give' construction

- Special disposal construction with resumptive pronoun
- NP patient<sub>i</sub> + object marker + 3SG<sub>i</sub> + VP
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> (\*Situation) OM it<sub>i</sub> put on table
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> (Someone) OM it<sub>i</sub> put on table
  - \*Flower OM put on table
- 'Unergative' causative construction
- Causee agent<sub>i</sub> (Elided Causer agent) GIVE Resumptive pronoun<sub>i</sub> ACT
  - Prisoner<sub>i</sub> (Situation) GIVE him<sub>i</sub> run away
  - Prisoner<sub>i</sub> (Someone) GIVE him<sub>i</sub> run away
  - \*Prisoner GIVE run away
- Unaccusative 'give' construction
- Theme<sub>i</sub> (\*Causer agent) GIVE Resumptive pronoun<sub>i</sub> AFFECTED
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> (\*Situation) GIVE it<sub>i</sub> die
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> (\*Someone) GIVE it<sub>i</sub> die
  - \*Flower GIVE die

25

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Compare topic-prominent construction and unaccusative 'give' construction

- Topic construction (with and without resumptive pronoun)
- NP patient<sub>i</sub> + 3SG<sub>i</sub> + VP
  - Flower<sub>i</sub>, it<sub>i</sub> put on table
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> put on table
- 'Unergative' causative construction
- Causee agent<sub>i</sub> (Elided Causer agent) GIVE Resumptive pronoun<sub>i</sub> ACT
  - Prisoner<sub>i</sub> (Situation) GIVE him<sub>i</sub> run away
  - Prisoner<sub>i</sub> (Someone) GIVE him<sub>i</sub> run away
  - \*Prisoner GIVE run away
- Unaccusative 'give' construction
- Theme<sub>i</sub> (\*Causer agent) GIVE Resumptive pronoun<sub>i</sub> AFFECTED
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> (\*Situation) GIVE it<sub>i</sub> die
  - Flower<sub>i</sub> (\*Someone) GIVE it<sub>i</sub> die
  - \*Flower GIVE die

26

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Unergative ‘give’ in Hui’ an dialect

- The unergative ‘give’ construction requires a resumptive third person pronoun *i* following the ‘give’ morpheme.

(1) a. *tshat8-4-a3 khʔ5-4 i tsau3 khʔ0*

thief –DIM give 3SG run go

‘The thief ran away.’

b. *tshat8-4-a3 khʔ5-1 tsau3 khʔ0*

thief –DIM give run go

‘The thief ran away.’

• Cf. \**tshat8-4-a3 khʔ5-4 tsau3 khʔ0*

thief-DIM give run go

‘The thief ran away.’

27

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

## Unaccusative ‘give’ in Hui’ an dialect

- The unaccusative ‘give’ construction requires a resumptive third person pronoun *i* following the ‘give’ morpheme.

(2) a. *hue1 khʔ5-4 i si3 khʔ5*

flower give 3SG die go

‘The flower died.’

b. *hue1 khʔ5-1 si3 khʔ5*

flower give die go

‘The flower died.’

• Cf. \**hue1 khʔ5-4 si3 khʔ5*

flower give die go

‘The flower died.’

28

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

- Unaccusative ‘give’ in Chaozhou

The unaccusative ‘give’ construction in Chaozhou dialect also requires a resumptive third person pronoun *i* following the ‘give’ morepheme .

- (2) a. *hue k'eh i si k'er*  
 flower give 3SG die go  
 ‘The flower died.
- Cf \**hue k'eh si k'er*  
 flower give die go  
 ‘The flower died.’

29

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

### Why is the unaccusative ‘give’ construction possible in some Southern Min varieties such as the Hui’an and Chaozhou dialects?

- Availability of a special type of disposal-type construction in addition to the *ba* or *jiang* pre-transitive construction
- That is, these Southern Min varieties also make productive use of the ‘NP patient + object marker + 3SG + VP’ pre-transitive construction, as in (2) from Hui’an in which the third person pronoun (3SG) is a resumptive pronoun for the patient NP in topic position.

#### Hui’an

*b<sup>2</sup> ka5-4 i1 kuin1 khai0 mung kai i kueN k'i lai*

door OM 3SG close RVC

‘Close the door.’

#### Chaozhou

door for 3SG close up-come

‘Close the door.’

30

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

- Topic-prominence is highly productive in these Southern Min dialects.

## Summary

- This paper examines how and why some Southern Min varieties (e.g. the Jieyang and Hui'an dialects) develop the relatively rare unaccusative 'give' construction, which is not attested in many other Sinitic varieties.
- Our analysis reveals that, in addition to the *ba* or *jiang* pre-transitive constructions, some Southern Min varieties also make productive use of a special type of 'disposal' (or pre-transitive) construction.
- This pre-transitive construction has the structure '**NP patient<sub>i</sub> + object marker + 3SG<sub>i</sub> + VP**'.
- **Example from Hui'an**  
*b<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>5-4</sup> i<sup>1</sup> kuin<sup>1</sup> khai<sup>0</sup>*  
 door OM 3SG close RVC  
 'Close the door.'
- Note that the third person pronoun (3SG) is a **resumptive pronoun** that is co-referential with the patient NP in topic position.



### Structural and semantic parallels (1)

- Some structural parallel can be observed between this special type of pre-transitive construction and the passive ‘give’ construction, as highlighted in (3a) and (3b) respectively.

(3) a. *b<sup>2</sup><sub>i</sub> ka<sup>5-4</sup> i<sub>i</sub> kuin<sup>1</sup> khai<sup>0</sup>*  
door OM 3SG close RVC  
‘Close the door.’

b. *ua<sup>3</sup><sub>h</sub> kh<sup>75-4</sup> i<sub>i≠h</sub> ba<sup>5</sup>*  
1SG give 3SG scold  
‘I got scolded by him.’

33

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

### Structural and semantic parallels (2)

- More striking are the structural parallels between this special type of pre-transitive construction and the unaccusative ‘give’ construction, as highlighted in (4a) and (4b) respectively.

(4) a. *b<sup>2</sup><sub>i</sub> ka<sup>5-4</sup> i<sub>i</sub> kuin<sup>1</sup> khai<sup>0</sup>*  
door OM 3SG close RVC  
‘Close the door.’

b. *hue<sup>1</sup><sub>i</sub> kh<sup>75-4</sup> i<sub>i</sub> si<sup>3</sup> kh<sup>0</sup>*  
flower give 3SG die go  
‘The flower died.’

34

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

- We suggest that the existence of pre-transitive constructions such as (4a) paves the way for the emergence of unaccusative ‘give’ constructions such as (4b) in some Southern Min varieties such as the Jieyang and Hui’an dialects.

### Cross-dialectal differences

- Pre-transitive constructions involving **a patient NP subject with a resumptive pronoun** introduced by an object marker, as (5a), are not available in many other Sinitic languages such as Mandarin Chinese, as seen in (5b).

(5) a. *b<sup>2</sup><sub>i</sub> ka<sup>5-4</sup> i<sub>i</sub> kuin<sup>1</sup> khai<sup>0</sup>*  
 door OM 3SG close RVC  
 ‘Close the door.’

b. \**men<sub>i</sub> ba ta<sub>i</sub> guan le*  
 door OM 3SG close PRT  
 ‘Close the door.’

## Functions of ‘give’ constructions in different Southern Min dialects such as Hui’an and Chaozhou

- lexical verb ‘give’
- dative marker ‘to’
- benefactive marker ‘for’
- permissive marker ‘allow, let’
- passive marker ‘by’
- unergative marker (resumptive pronoun)
- unaccusative marker (resumptive pronoun)

37

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

**Table 1. Functions of ‘give’ constructions in different Chinese dialects**

| Functions    | Mandarin<br><i>Gei</i> 給 | Shanghai<br>Wu [pəʔ] | Tunxi Hui | Hui’an<br>Min | Chaozhou<br>Min | Taiwanese<br>e Min | Hakka<br>[pun] 分 | Cantonese<br><i>Béi</i> 界 |
|--------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Lexical      | ✓                        | ✓                    | ✓         | ✓             | ✓               | ✓                  | ✓                | ✓                         |
| Dative       | ✓                        | ✓                    | ✓         | ✓             | ✓               | ✓                  | ✓                | ✓                         |
| Benefactive  | ✓                        | ✓                    | ✓         | ✓             | ✓               | ✓                  | ✓                | ✓                         |
| Permissive   | ✓                        | ✓                    | ✓         | ✓             | ✓               | ✓                  | ✓                | ✓                         |
| Passive      | ✓                        | ✓                    | ✓         | ✓             | ✓               | ✓                  | ✓                | ✓                         |
| Unergative   |                          |                      |           | ✓             | ✓               |                    |                  |                           |
| Unaccusative |                          |                      |           | ✓             | ✓               |                    |                  |                           |
| Locative     |                          |                      | ✓         |               |                 |                    |                  |                           |
| Instrumental |                          |                      |           |               |                 |                    |                  | ✓                         |

38

YAP Foong Ha 葉鳳霞

**Table 2. Types of ‘disposal’ (or pre-transitive) constructions in different Chinese dialects**

| Type of disposal construction                           | Mandarin     | Wu | Tunxi Hui | Hui'an Min | Chaozhou Min                     | Taiwanese Min | Hakka | Cantonese    |
|---|--------------|----|-----------|------------|----------------------------------|---------------|-------|--------------|
| Topic NP, <i>BA</i> NP + VP                             | <i>pa</i>    |    |           |            | <i>pa</i>                        |               |       |              |
| Topic NP, <i>JIANG</i> NP + VP                          | ◆ <i>江</i> ◆ |    |           |            | ◆ <i>江</i> ◆                     |               |       | ◆ <i>江</i> ◆ |
|   |              |    |           |            | ◆ <i>江</i> ◆                     |               |       |              |
|   |              |    |           |            | <i>tui</i><br>(Shantou)          |               |       |              |
| Patient NP <i>KAI i</i> + VP                            |              |    |           |            | <i>kai I</i>                     |               |       |              |
| <i>JIANG</i> Obj-NP <i>KAI i</i> + VP                   |              |    |           |            | ◆ <i>江</i> ◆<br>... <i>kai i</i> |               |       |              |
| Zero-marking topic-comment construction<br>Topic NP, VP |              |    |           |            | ✓                                |               |       |              |

**Table 2. Types of ‘disposal constructions’ and ‘give’ constructions in different Chinese dialects**

A range of syntactic means to mark ‘disposal constructions in Southern Min (eg. Hui’an and Chaozhou):

- Pre-object: *tsiang*, *pa*, *pa tsiang* (in Chaozhou dialect)  
*tui* (in Shantou, a variety of Chaozhou dialect)
- Post-object marker: *kai i*
- Combining pre and post object markers  
*tsiang* + obj.NP + *kai i* + VP
- Zero marker: topic-comment type of construction:  
obj NP + VP

## Conclusion

## References

- Chen, Weirong. 2011. *The Southern Min Dialect of Hui'an: morphosyntax and grammaticalization*. PhD thesis. The University of Hong Kong.
- Hashimoto, Mantaro. 1988. The structure and typology of the Chinese passive construction, In Masayoshi Shibatani (eds.), *Passive and Voice*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Knott, Judith. 1995. The causative-passive correlation. In David C. Bennett, Theodora Bynon and B. George Hewitt (eds.), *Subject, Voice, and Ergativity: selected essays*, 53-59. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Li, Rulong 李如龍 and Zhang, Shuangqing 張雙慶 (eds.) 1997. *Dongci Weiyuju 動詞謂語句 [Verb Predicate Sentences]*. Ji'nan Daxue Chubanshe.
- Li, Rulong 李如龍 and Zhang, Shuangqing 張雙慶 (eds.) 2000. *Jieci 介詞 [Adpositions]*. Ji'nan Daxue Chubanshe.

## References—contd.

- Lin, Lunlun 林倫倫. 1996. *Chenghai Fangyan Yanjiu* 澄海方言研究 [A Study of the Chenghai Dialect]. Shantou University Press.
- Matthews, Stephen, Xu, Huiling 許惠玲 and Yip, Virginia. 2005. Passive and unaccusative in Jieyang dialect of Chaozhou. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 4.4:267-298.
- Matthews, Stephen and Yip, Virginia. 2008. Passive, unaccusative and pretransitive constructions in Chaozhou. In Redouane djamouri, Barbara Meisterernst & Rint Sybesma (eds.), *Chinese Linguistics in Leipzig*, 163-174. Paris: Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale.

## References—contd.

- Nedjalkov, Igor V. 1993. Causative-passive polysemy of the Manchu-Tungusic -bu/-v(u). *Linguistica Antverpiensa* 27: 193-202.
- Yap, Foong-Ha and Iwasaki, Shoichi. 2003. From causative to passive: a passage in some East and Southeast Asian languages. In Eugene H. Casad and Gary B. Palmer (eds.), *Cognitive Linguistics and Non-Indo-European Languages* (Cognitive Linguistics Research 18), 419-446. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.