INVESTIGATING THE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE OF HAKKA DISPOSAL CONSTRUCTIONS: A CASE STUDY OF DISPOSAL-AFFECTIVE JIONG IN SIXIAN HAKKA[*]

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines a syntactic account for the noncanonical disposal *jiong*-constructions in Sixian Hakka, expressing a remarkable disposal-affective alternation representing two types of argument-introducing strategies. A topography of Sixian Hakka *jiong* is articulated to empirically account for the semantic interpretation and syntactic distribution of the disposal-affective alternation. Theoretically, two argument licensers are concerned, namely the light verb (v^0, Huang 1997; Lin 2001) and the head of an applicative phrase (Appl^0; Pylkkänen 2002; McGinnis 2005). *Jiong* serves as a v^0 in the disposal constructions, while *jiong* functions as an Appl^0 to license an extra argument in the affective constructions. This analysis presents an interesting implication from the multiple *jiong* constructions in favor of a close mapping between the linear order and the syntactic hierarchy. Important to the cross-linguistic comparison, *jiong* constructions provide a reliable testing ground to explore the argument-introducing strategies manipulated in Mandarin, Hakka, and Taiwan Southern Min*, reflecting a consistent syntactic-semantic correspondence.

Key words: disposal, affective, argument structure, comparative syntax, Hakka cartographic approach

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1. INTRODUCTION

Hakka, one of the seven major dialects of Chinese, is widely spoken in Taiwan and has four sub-dialects, Sixian (四縣), Hailu (海陸), Dapu (大埔) and Shaoan (紹安) (Hashimoto 1973; Wu 1995; Luo 1998). According to a survey conducted by the Council for Hakka Affairs, Sixian Hakka is the largest sub-dialect of Hakka in Taiwan and it is spoken in several places, mainly in Miaoli (苗栗) and Liudui(六堆), also known as northern Sixian and southern Sixian, respectively. Hailu Hakka is the second largest sub-dialect in Hakka and the biggest concentrations are in Taoyuan County (桃園縣) and Hsinchu County (桃園縣). This paper explores the syntax of disposal constructions in Hakka, especially in Sixian Hakka. Before we discuss the disposal constructions in Hakka, let us consider Mandarin disposal constructions first. In Mandarin Chinese, the *ba* construction is an issue of considerable discussion in linguistics, and can be tracked back to Chao (1968), Li and Thompson (1981), Tang (1977), and among later researchers. Descriptively speaking, the object of *ba* is the object of a verb which is "disposed" in a certain event, such as *yanjing* 'eye' in the crying event and *Zhangsan* in the event of getting drunk, shown in (1a) and (1b):

(1) a.　張三把眼睛哭腫了。
　　　Zhangsan **ba** yanjing　ku　　zhong　　le.
　　　Zhangsan BA eye　　　cry　　inflamed　LE
　　　'Zhangsan cried so much that his eyes got inflamed.'
　　b.　這瓶酒把張三醉倒了。
　　　zhe-ping　jiu　**ba** Zhangsan　zui-dao　　le.
　　　this-bottle wine　BA Zgangsan　drink-fall　LE
　　　'This bottle of wine made Zhangsan very drunk.'

The disposal construction in Sixian Hakka has two alternative expressions, *ba* construal and *jiong* construal, as illustrated in (2a) and (2b), respectively. As Chinese *ba* in (1), the object *didi* 'brother' can be introduced either by *jiong* or by *ba* and receive its thematic interpretation

as the Patient or the Experiencer being disposed in the event described by the predicate.[1]

(2) a.　阿明把弟弟罵噭矣。
Amin **ba didi** ma-gieu wei.
Amin BA brother scold-cry ASP
'Amin scolded his brother and made his brother cry.'

　　b.　阿明將弟弟罵噭矣。
Amin **jiong didi** ma-gieu wei.
Amin JIONG brother scold-cry ASP
'Amin scolded his brother and made his brother cry.' [2]

Why Hakka disposal constructions attract our attention is their object selection, which is one of the crucial questions dealing with disposal constructions even in Mandarin *ba* constructions. In addition to canonical objects as in (1), Mandarin *ba* is claimed to accommodate the outer object *juzi* 'tangerine' as in (3), which is banned by the Phrase Structure Condition (PSC, Huang 1982) in (4). This contrast is schematized in (5), showing that the outer object *juzi* 'tangerine' excluded by the PSC in the standard SVO sentence is rescued by *ba*.

(3)　　我把橘子剝了皮。
wo ba juzi bo-le pi
I BA tangerine peel-LE skin
'I peeled the skin off the tangerine.'

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[1] An interesting issue raised by a reviewer on the acceptability of the *ba* construal. The *ba* constructions are generally accepted by the younger generation; however, it is *jiong* rather than *ba* that is used to express the disposal meaning, especially for (elder) native speakers who mostly speak Hakka in daily life. This contrast could be considered as the influence of Mandarin Chinese on the younger generation (by the Mandarin *ba* construction). In this paper, *ba* is used as a counter example for clarifying the affective function of *jiong*.

[2] The abbreviations used in this paper are as follows:
ASP: Aspect marker; RES: Resultative marker; CL: Classifier marker; PART: Particle, REL relativizer marker; DOC: double object construction; DO: direct object; AO: Applied object; IO: Indirect object; APPL: Applicative; DISP: Disposal marker; '-' indicates that the following is an affix.

(4) a. **The Phrase Structure Condition (PSC, Huang 1982)**
    "With a given sentence in Chinese, the head (the verb or VP) may branch to the left only once, and only on the lowest level of expansion."
  b. *我剝皮橘子。

wo	bo	pi	juzi
I	peel	skin	tangerine

    Intended meaning: 'I peeled the skin off the tangerine.'

(5) a.* [I   [$_{VP}$ peel [$_{V'}$ skin] **tangerine**]
  b. [I   [$_{vP}$ ***ba***   **tangerine** [$_{VP}$ peel skin]]]

Comparing with Mandarin, (6) shows that the outer object in Hakka is admitted to occur in a *jiong* sentence, but unexpectedly becomes illicit in the case of *ba*. Hakka disposal constructions, *ba*-construal and *jiong*-construal, exhibit partial parallelism to Mandarin *ba*-constructions in that they pattern together in expressing disposal interpretation, but differ from their repairing of the PSC violation with Hakka depending on a *jiong*-construal rather than a *ba*-construal.

(6) a. 阿明將柑子剝掉皮。

Amin	**jiong**	gam-e	bog-hed	pi.
Amin	JIONG	tangerine	peel-ASP	skin

    'Amin peeled the skin off the tangerine.'
  b. *阿明把柑子剝掉皮。

*Amin	**ba**	gam-e	bog-hed	pi.
Amin	BA	tangerine	peel-ASP	skin

    Intended meaning: 'Amin peeled the skin off the tangerine.'

Mandarin *ba* as shown in (7) follows the analysis that *ba* can take a V-object (inner object) or a V'-object (outer object), but not a VP-object (outermost object), meaning that the *ba*-object is restricted to a canonical argument either a V-object or a V'-object (Huang, Li, Li 2009). Thus, the ungrammaticality of (7c) is due to the fact that the outermost object

Linyi appears as the *ba*-object[3]. Despite the similarity with Mandarin *ba* in PSC repairing, the *jiong* construction unexpectedly not only can take the outer object as we see in (6), but also can accommodate the outermost object *Ahin* as shown in (8c).

(7) a. 張三把橘子吃了。   ***Inner object***
      Zhangsan ba **juzi**   chi-le.
      Zhangsan BA orange   eat-LE
      'Zhangsan ate the orange.'
  b. 張三把橘子剝了皮。   ***Outer object***
      Zhangsan ba **juzi** bo-le   pi.
      Zhangsan BA orange peel-LE   skin
      'Zhangsan peeled the skin off the orange.'
  c.??王五又把林一擊出了一支全壘打。   ***Outermost object***
      Wangwu   you   ba **Linyi** jichu-le   yi-zhi quanleida.
      Wangwu   again BA Linyi hit- LE   one-CL homerun
      'Wangwu again hit a home run on Linyi.'
                                                (Huang, Li, Li 2009: 37)

(8) a. 阿明將桌子擦淨矣。   ***Inner object***
      Amin **jiong** **zog-ge**   cud   qiang   e.
      Amin JIONG table   wipe   clean PART
      'Amin wiped the table clean.'
  b. 阿明將柑子剝掉皮。   ***Outer object***
      Amin **jiong** **gam-e** bog-hed   pi.
      Amin JIONG tangerine peel-ASP   skill
      'Amin peeled the skin off the tangerine.'

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[3] In Huang et al. (1999), the 'outermost object' is an adversely affected object in the exclusive passive and is assumed to bear the theta role Indirect Affectee as an object of the VP.

c. 阿明將阿興飲掉三罐酒。 ***Outermost object***
    Amin **jiong Ahin** lim-hed   sam -gon   jiu.
    Amin JIONG Ahin   drink-ASP   three-bottle wine
    'Amin drank three bottles of wine on Ahin.'
    阿明將日本隊才百出一支全壘打。
    Amin jiong ngidbuncui   mag-cud   id-gi qion-lui-da.
    Amin JIONG Japanese team hit- LE   one-CL homerun
    'Amin hit a home run on the Japanese team.'

More specifically, since the argument structure of this two-place predicate *lim* 'drink' is saturated by the Agent, *Amin*, as well as the Theme, *sam -gon jiu* 'three bottles of wine', *jiong* in (8c) further functions as an argument introducer. With this perspective, this outermost object *Ahin* behaves as an extra argument being affected by the event, namely an *Affectee* (Tsai 2007a), and as a result, the sentence in (8c) expresses an Affective interpretation rather than a Disposal interpretation in (8a) and (8b) above.

Drawing on the (a)symmetries between Mandarin and Hakka pointed out above, this paper explores the syntax of disposal-affective Hakka *jiong* construction to discuss the issue of two types of *jiong*, the disposal *jiong* and the affective *jiong*, with respect to their syntactic distribution and semantic interpretation. To capture the systematic contrast between the disposal *jiong* and the affective *jiong*, we propose that *jiong* represents two argument introducers, namely a light verb (Huang 1997; Lin 2001) in disposal construals and an applicative head (Pylkkänen 2002; McGinnis 2005) in affective constructions, associated with different grammatical functions and different syntactic height as well. Upon the consideration of syntax, this paper follows the cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999) and draws down a topography of *jiong* for a clearer picture of the disposal-affective alternative, which is evidenced by the multiple *jiong* constructions, closely mapping the syntactic hierarchy to the linear order. Furthermore, *jiong* constructions provide a reliable testing ground from the comparative perspective to explore the argument-strategies manipulated in Mandarin, Hakka, and

Taiwan Southern Min*, consistently corresponding between syntax and semantics.

This paper is organized as follows: section 2 briefly reviews previous studies about disposal constructions in Hakka and the *ba* construals in Mandarin Chinese. In section 3 after surveying the basic distribution of *jiong*, we will articulate the syntax of Sixian Hakka *jiong*; (i) In the disposal sentences, *jiong* akin to Chinese *ba* can take the inner or the outer object, interpreted as Theme or Patient/Experiencer; (ii) In the affective sentences, *jiong* as an applicative head can introduce the outermost object, Affectee, which is prohibited in a Chinese *ba* construal. The apparent complexity of the syntactic behaviors and semantic interpretations in *jiong*-sentences, however, is predictable with respect to their syntactic positions in the proposed topography. Section 4 from a broader perspective will present a welcome consequence, multiple *jiong* constructions, and then deal with a cross-linguistic comparison, leading to a better understanding of argument-introducing strategies. Section 5 concludes this paper.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Hakka Disposal Constructions

As shown in previous research, Hakka disposal constructions can be realized in several ways with different markers such as *lau/tung, bun* (Lai 2003a, 2003b; Lin1990) and *jiong, ba* (Lin1990; Tsai and Chung 2010).The semantic and syntactic intricacy of the two polysemous morphemes *lau* and *bun* in Hakka are scrutinized by Lai (2001, 2003a, 2003b). *Lau,* exemplified by (9) as 'to mix, to blend, to put together', has its grammatical development with various semantic representations and is decategorized into a preposition with the meaning of 'together with' and then into a conjunction meaning 'and' as in (10). Lai further argues that the commutative use of *lau* undergoes metonymic processes and produces other uses, such as Goal, Source, Beneficiary, and Patient, as in (11a) to (11d), respectively.

(9)　　食鹽扌老粥。
　　　　Sit　　yam　　lau　　　zuk.
　　　　Eat　　salt　　mix　　porridge
　　　　'To eat the porridge that has been mixed with salt.'

(10)　　阿英扌老阿姨共下去街頂。
　　　　Ayin　　lau　　ayi　　kiungha　　hi　giedang.
　　　　Ayin　　LAU　　aunt　　together　　　go　downtown
　　　　'Ayin, together with her aunt, went downtown.' (Lai 2003:534)

(11) a. 阿英扌老阿明講故事。　　　　　　　***Goal***
　　　　Ayin　　lau　　　Amin　　gong　　gusi.
　　　　Ayin　　LAU　　Amin　　tell　　　story
　　　　'Ayin told a story to Amin.'
　　b. 阿英扌老佢借錢。　　　　　　　　　***Source***
　　　　Ayin　　lau　　　gi　　jia　　qien.
　　　　Ayin　　LAU　　him　　borrow　money
　　　　'Ayin borrowed money from him.'
　　c. 阿英扌老厥孲仔買ー坵田。　　　　　***Benefactive***
　　　　Ayin　　lau　　　gia　　lai-e　　mai　　yit-kiu　tien.
　　　　Ayin　　LAU　　her　　son　　　buy　　one-CL　land
　　　　'Ayin bought a piece of land for her son.'
　　d. 阿明扌老杯仔打爛哩。　　　　　　　***Patient***
　　　　Amin　　**lau**　　bui-er　da-lan　　le.
　　　　Amin　　LAU　　cup-SF　hit-break　　PART
　　　　'Amin has broken the cup.' (Lai 2003:534)

　　　The proposed grammaticalization process is demonstrated in (12) that *lau* undergoes a two-step grammaticalization from a verb to a preposition and then to a conjunction. According to this process, the meaning of *lau* changes from 'to mix' to 'together-with' and then to 'and' through the metaphorical. The other senses of *lau* are further developed from its comitative preposition by virtue of the mechanism of metonymic strengthening and underspecification of participant roles in event frames. If the predicate is a verb of communication, the goal sense is strengthened, while the opposite direction of the goal sense, namely

the source sense, is delivered in the event of a taking-away predicate. The benefactive sense emerges from either the goal sense or the source sense and then together with the source sense produces the patient sense:[4]

(12) **the structural and semantic development of Lᴀᴜ**
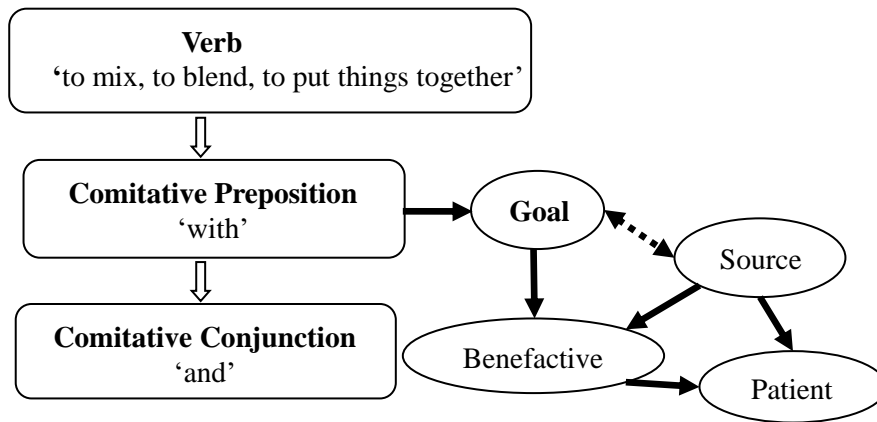
Compared with *lau* used in Northern Hakka, Lai (2003) observes that *lau* has its cognate in Dongshi Hakka, as *tung*. *Tung* from the basic verbal meaning 'to share with, to accompany', develops its adjective meaning of 'same' and adverbial meaning of 'together'. Subsequently, *tung* is grammaticalized into a comitative conjunction and further yields markers of several functions, such as Goal, Source, Benefactive, and Patient, as shown in (13). The proposed grammaticalization process of *tung* is demonstrated in (14), nicely corresponding to what happens in Hailu *lau* in (12).

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[4] The review of Lai's studies tends to illustrate the multiple function of a single morpheme, *lau*, which is similar to what will be observed in *jiong*. In fact this approach still has some problems as pointed out by a reviewer. That is one of the factors that motivates our investigation from the syntactic perspective.

(13) a. 阿英儘同佢老公相罵。　　　　　　　　***Goal***
　　　Ayin　gin　**tung**　<u>gia</u> logung　　xiongma.
　　　Ayin　often　TUNG　her husband　　argue
　　　'Ayin often argues with her husband.'
　 b. 佢倈子賭博儘同佢拿錢。　　　　　　　***Source***
　　　gia lai-e　dugeu gin　**tung**　<u>gi</u>　　na　　qien.
　　　his son　gamble often　TUNG　him　take　money
　　　'His son often asked him for money because he went gambling.'
　 c. 佢買金角同佢爸作生日。　　　　　　　***Beneficiary***
　　　gi　mai gimgok　**tung**　<u>gia ba</u>　　zo shangngit.
　　　he　buy gold　　TUNG　his dad　　do birthday
　　　'He bought gold for the celebration of his dad's birthday.'
　 d. 山賊同佢搶淨淨。　　　　　　***Patient***
　　　sancet　**tung**　<u>gi</u>　　ciong　ciangciang.
　　　robber TUNG　him　　rob　　emptily
　　　'He was robbed of everything by a band of robbers.'

(14) **the structural and semantic development of T**UNG
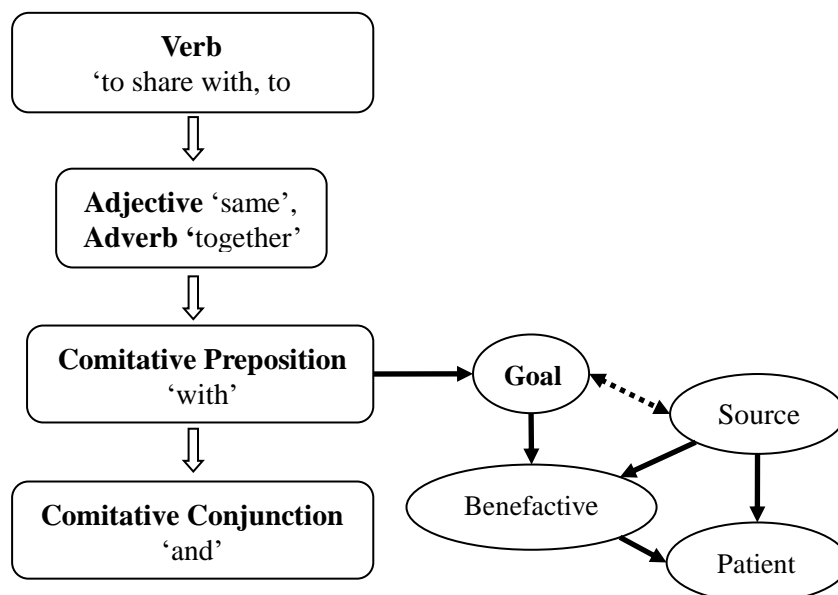
The discussion above suggests that *lau* and *tung* are rich in grammatical functions, and the interpretations of their object vary from each other. The focus relies on the interpretations of the objects, which all belong to the canonical arguments of the predicate. In contrast, Hakka *jiong* construction introduced in section 1 can accommodate not only the canonical arguments but also the non-canonical ones, leading to a considerable question about the argument structure.[5]

From the typological perspective, Tsao and Chang (2010) investigate the expression of disposal constructions cross-linguistically. Mandarin Chinese passed on the *jiang* and *ba* constructions to Hakka *jiong* and *ba*, but only *jiang* to *tsiong* in Southern Min. The patterns are summarized in (15):

(15) a. **Mandarin Chinese**
  the *jiang* (將) construction and the *ba(把)* construction
  b. **Southern Min**: *ka(共)* construction and *tsiong(將)* construction
  c. **Hakka**: *ba(把), jiong(將), deu loi(兜來), na loi(拿來), dab(搭), zog(捉), lau* constructions

At first glance, Hakka disposal construction is problematic due to the complexity of different disposal markers, *ba* 把, *jiong* 將,*deu loi* 兜來, *na loi* 拿來, *dab* 搭, *zog* 捉, *lau*才老, *tung* 同. However, Tsao and Chang claim that all the variants together form three classes: (i) 'hold' verb type: *Na loi* 拿來, *dab* 搭, *zog* 捉; (ii) 'comitative' category *lau*才老, *tung* 同; and (iii) *ba* 把, *jiong* 將.[6] Interestingly, we will find in

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[5] For the discussion in the following sections, the disposal construction is restricted to the object as a canonical argument, which is interpreted as the patient/experiencer or theme. The affective constructions are those involving a non-canonical argument, namely an extra-argument, and pose a challenge to the argument structure. Thematically, the extra-argument is interpreted as the Affectee, being affected by the event.

[6] In their paper, they survey the relationships of disposal constructions between Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin as vestiges to retrieve and rebuild the processes of language interaction. According to their analysis, Hakka has more variants than Mandarin and Southern Min, giving eight different disposal markers. Among those markers, *jiong* and *ba* are put into a separate group, since they are relexified from Mandarin Chinese. However, our exploration shows a sharp distinction between Hakka and Mandarin. It is

section 3 that Sixian Hakka *ba* seems more like a canonical disposal marker, while *jiong* has further developed as a multi-functional element similar to its counterpart in Hailu Hakka, *lau*.

In previous studies, the *lau/tung* sentences which represent the affective constructions in our terms are regarded as sub-types of disposal constructions. However, in this line of thinking, it is hard to explain the following contrasts between *lau/tung* and *jiong*, on their syntactic behaviors as well as their semantic interpretations. First, considering the predicate selection, *jiong* is incompatible with the unergative predicate as illustrated in (16a), while *lau/ tung* in (16b) is fine.

(16) a. *阿明竟然將吾走掉矣。
　　　*Amin ginien　　**jiong ngai**　zeu-hed　　ted.
　　　　Amin unexpectedly　JIONG　I　　run-ASP　　PART
　　　　Intended meaning: 'Amin unexpectedly ran away on me.'
　　b. 阿明竟然同/才老吾走掉矣。
　　　　Amin　ginien　　**tung/lau　ngai**　zeu-hed　　ted.
　　　　Amin　unexpectedly　TUNG/LAU　I　　run-ASP　　PART
　　　　'Amin unexpectedly ran away on me.'

Second, the disposal *jiong* constructions mainly convey negative meanings, and the object introduced by the disposal marker is interpreted as the patient negatively influenced in the event.[7] However, the *tung/lau*

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reasonable to divide *jiong* and *ba* from other disposals, though the reason can be challenged.

[7] The negative influence on the object is one property of Mandarin *ba* sentence, while it does not preclude other possibilities such as emotional or simply imaginary as in (i) (Li 2006), which cannot be expressed by Hakka *jiong* sentences. It seems unable to be deducible from its diachronic source:

(i)　a.　他把你想得飯都不肯吃。
　　　　ta　ba　ni　xiang-de fan　　dou　　bu-ken　chi.
　　　　he　BA　him miss-DE food　　even　　not-will　eat
　　　　'He misses you so much that he won't even eat his meals.'
　　b.　李四把小貓愛得要死。
　　　　Lisi ba　xiao-mao ai-de　　yao si.
　　　　Lisi BA　small-cat love-DE　want die
　　　　'He loves the kitten so much even more than his life.'

constructions such as (17a), in addition to the malefactive meaning, can have a benefactive interpretation and introduce a beneficiary, if the predicate expresses a positive event such as *se samfu* 'washing clothes (for someone)'. This is prohibited by *jiong,* leading to the illicit sentence in (17b).

(17) a. 阿明同/才老吾洗衫褲。　　　　　　　　　 ***Benefactive***
　　　　Amin　　**tung/lau**　ngai　　se　　　samfu.
　　　　Aming　　TUNG/LAU　I　　　wash　　clothes
　　　　'Amin washes clothes **for** me.'
　　b. *阿明將吾洗衫褲。　　　　　　　　　　　 ***Benefactive***
　　　　*Amin　　**jiong**　ngai　　se　　　samfu.
　　　　 Aming　　JIONG　I　　　wash　　clothes
　　　　'Amin washes clothes **for** me.'

　　　Furthermore, the contrast in (18) and (19) indicates the third difference on their object selection, showing that the object introduced by *tung* tends to be [+animate] as in (18), while the object introduced by *jiong/ba* is free from this restriction, so as to mark to 'pane' *plate*, the Theme, in (19):

(18) a. 阿明同秀妹飲矣三罐酒。
　　　　Amin　**tung** *Xiumoi*　lim-me　　sam-gon　　　jiu.
　　　　Amin　TUNG　Xiumoi　lim-ASP　three-bottle　　jiu.
　　　　'Amin drank three bottles of wine on Xiumoi.'
　　b. 阿明將/把秀妹飲矣三罐酒。
　　　　Amin　**jiong/ba** *Xiumoi*　lim-me　　sam-gon　　　jiu.
　　　　Amin　JIONG/BA　Xiumoi　lim-ASP　three-bottle　　jiu.
　　　　'Amin drank three bottles of wine on Xiumoi.'

(19) a.*阿明同盤子打爛矣。
　　　　*Amin　**tung** *pane*　da lan-ne.
　　　　Amin　TUNG　plate　hit break-ASP
　　　　Intended: 'Amin has broken the plate.'

b.　阿明將/把瓶子打爛矣。
　　Amin **jiong/ba** *pane* da lan-ne.
　　Amin　JIONG/BA　plate　hit　break- ASP
　　'Amin has broken the plate.'

If this were the case that *jiong* patterns with *lau/tung*, we would incorrectly expect that they show the same behaviors which contradict the fact demonstrated above, including predicate selection, object selection, and sentence interpretation. In other words, it is necessary to distinguish the disposal constrictions on the one hand, and the affective constructions on the other. In this paper, we focus on the disposal sentences constructed by *ba* and *jiong* and leave *lau/tung* for further research. The syntactic properties above are associated with the constructions of *jiong* sentences, which we will explore in section 3.

2.2　Chinese BA -construction

In the past decades, a number of different approaches have been proposed for Chinese *ba*-construction. The questions are mainly about the following: (i) What is the category of *ba*? Is it as a preposition (e.g., Chao 1968; Li and Thompson 1976) or a light verb (Gu 1992; Li 2006)? (ii) How is the *ba*-NP derived? *Ba* is base generated or in terms of movements; (iii) the interpretation of *ba*-NP is questionable, since it can be interpreted as the Patient/Theme, Goal and even Source.[8] Both

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[8] The flexible interpretation of *ba*-object is given as below, including the patient/theme, goal and source.

(ii)　a.　他把杯子打破了。
　　　　ta　ba　beizi　da-bou　　　le.
　　　　he　BA　cup　　hit-break　　PART
　　　　'He has broken the cup.'
　　b.　他把銀行洗劫一空。
　　　　ta　ba　yinghang　　xijie　　yi-kong.
　　　　he　BA　bank　　　　rob　　　empty
　　　　'He has robbed the bank empty.'
　　c.　他向來把張三當作榜樣。
　　　　ta　xinaglai　ba　Zhangsan　　dangzuo　　bangyang.
　　　　he　always　　BA　Zhangsan　　take as　　　model

functional field and formal field pose reliable accounts for disposal constructions. The description and approaches to *ba*-constructions I will review below are the light verb analysis (Huang 1997; Li 2006), and the applicative analysis (Kuo 2009, 2010), which are the accounts I will expand in Section 3 for the *jiong* construals in Sixian Hakka.

The light verb approach links the properties of *ba*-construction to its syntactic configuration (Huang 1982; Gu 1992; Li 2006). In this analysis, *ba* is taken as the spell-out of a small v in Chomsky's sense (or a higher V in Larsonian VP shell structures) and selects a V-object (inner object) or a V'-object (outer object, object of a complex predicate). To see how *ba*-construction is derived, consider the syntactic structure in (20), in which *Ba* sits higher than the landing site of the raised main verb, the *v*P.[9] Compared with a non-*ba* sentence, [V NP XP], derived from a V-to-*v*-raising, the *v* in(20) is spelled out as *ba* and V-to-*v*-raising does not apply, giving [*ba* NP V XP].

(20) [$_{v}$P [$_{NP1}$ *I*] [$_{v'}$ **BA**   [$_{v}$P [$_{NP2}$ *cup*] [$_{v'}$ *v*   [$_{VP}$ [$_{NP3}$ *him*] [$_{V'}$ V3 XP]]]]]]
(Li 2006)

This structure in (20) is what accounts for the contrast in (21) and (22) below. In (21b), the *ba* sentence, it is a natural consequence that *ba* can precede the adverb *xiaoxin-de* 'carefully' which is adjoined to the *v*P, while in a non-*ba* sentence as (22) shows, the adverb must precede the main verb since the main verb is raised from V to *v*.

(21) a. 我小心地把杯子拿給他。
     wo **xiaoxin-de**   *ba beizi*   na-gei-ta.
     I   carefully   BA cup   take-to-him
     'I gave the cup to him carefully.'

'He always models himself on Zhangsan.'

[9] The label of the projection of a *ba* phrase should be as vP, giving a recursive *v*P, since *ba* is taken as a small v in this approach. In fact, the status of *ba* has been debated for a long time, even if *ba* in Mandarin is restricted to the disposal interpretation. Along this line of thinking, the categorical status of Hakka *jiong* with multiple functions is more able to be considered. The aim of this paper aims to build up a one-to-one correspondence between the grammatical functions and the categorical status.

b. 我把杯子小心地拿給他。

    wo *ba*   *beizi*   **xiaoxin-de**   na-gei-ta.

    I   BA   cup   carefully   take-to-him

    'I gave the cup to him carefully.'

a.   [$_{TP}$ I$_k$ [$_{v*P}$ [$_{v'}$ **BA**$_i$-*v*   [$_{vP}$ t_i [$_{vP1}$ cup   [$_{v'}$ *carefully*   [$_{v'}$ take$_j$ [$_{VP}$ t_j]]]]]]]

b.   [$_{TP}$ I$_k$ [$_{v*P}$ t_k [$_{v'}$ *carefully* [$_{v'}$ **BA**$_i$-*v* [$_{vP}$ t_i [$_{vP1}$ cup   [$_{v'}$ take$_j$ [$_{VP}$ t_j]]]]]]]]

(22) a.   我小心地拿杯子給他。

    wo **xiaoxin-de**   *na*   *beizi*   gei-ta.

    I   carefully   take   cup   to-him

    'I gave the cup to him carefully.'

b.*我拿杯子小心地給他。

   *wo *na*   *beizi*   **xiaoxin-de**   gei-ta.

    I   take   cup   carefully   to-him

    Intended meaning: 'I gave the cup to him carefully.'

a'.   [$_{TP}$ I$_k$ [$_{v*P}$ t_k [$_{v'}$ *carefully* [$_{v'}$ **take**$_j$-*v* [$_{vP1}$ cup   [$_{v'}$ t_j [$_{VP}$ t_j]]]]]]]

b'.* [$_{TP}$ I$_k$ [$_{v*P}$ t_k [$_{v'}$ **take**$_j$-*v* [$_{vP1}$ cup   [$_{v'}$ *carefully* [$_{v'}$ t_j [$_{VP}$ t_j]]]]]]]

Concerning these functional heads, Sybesma (1992, 1999) proposes more specifically as in tree diagram (23) that *ba* stands for the head of CAUSEP, and post-*ba* NP base-generated in a small clause undergoes movement to NP2, giving rise to the surface order, NP3:

(23)
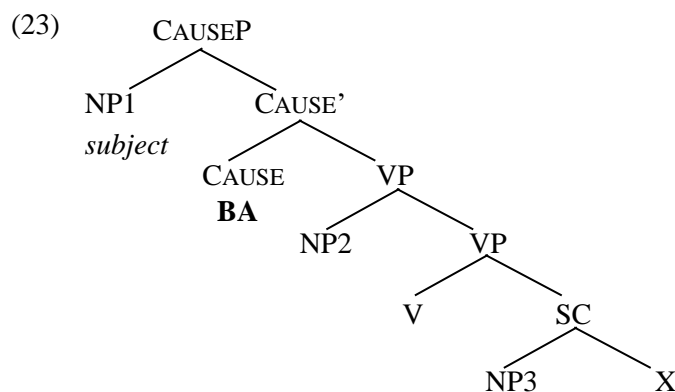
With respect to the *ba*-object, Kuo (2010) further proposes a possessor-raising to account for the multiple possessor example as shown in (24) and (25):

(24)   Geruisen   ba [NP Nike]   [NP taitai] da-shang-le [NP shou].
        Grissom   BA   Nick   wife   hit-hurt-ASP   hand
        'Grissom hurt Nick's wife's hand.'   (Kuo 2010: 293)

(25) a. Geruisen   he-le   Sala   san-ping   jiu.
        Grissom   drink-ASP Sara   three-CL   wine
        'Grissom drank three bottles of wine on Sara.'
     b. Geruisen   **ba**   Sala   da-shang-le shou.
        Grissom   BA   Sara   hit-hurt-ASP hand
        'Grissom hit Sara on her hand.'   (Kuo 2010: 291-292)

She argues that if the *ba* construction in (25b) shares the same structure as the pseudo Double Object Construction (pseudo-DOC, hereafter) in (25a), we would wrongly predict the obligatory possessive reading in the *ba*-construction to be optional depending on the context, as that in pseudo-DOC. Comparing (25a) and (25b), (25a) represents interesting types of double object constructions in which an extra-argument appears as an indirect object in disguise. This kind of DOC denoting the affective meaning is called 'pseudo-DOC' by Tsai (2007), exhibiting different syntactic behavior from the canonical DOC.[10] More importantly, the possessive relation is optional in the pseudo-DOC as can be seen in (25b).

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[10] The most remarkable distinction between the pseudo-DOC and canonical DOC is their extraction ability, as exemplified by (iii) and (iv). The direct object (DO), the Theme, in the canonical DOC can be passivized, while the pseudo-DOC in (iv) gives the opposite pattern by passivized the indirect object (IO), Affectee.
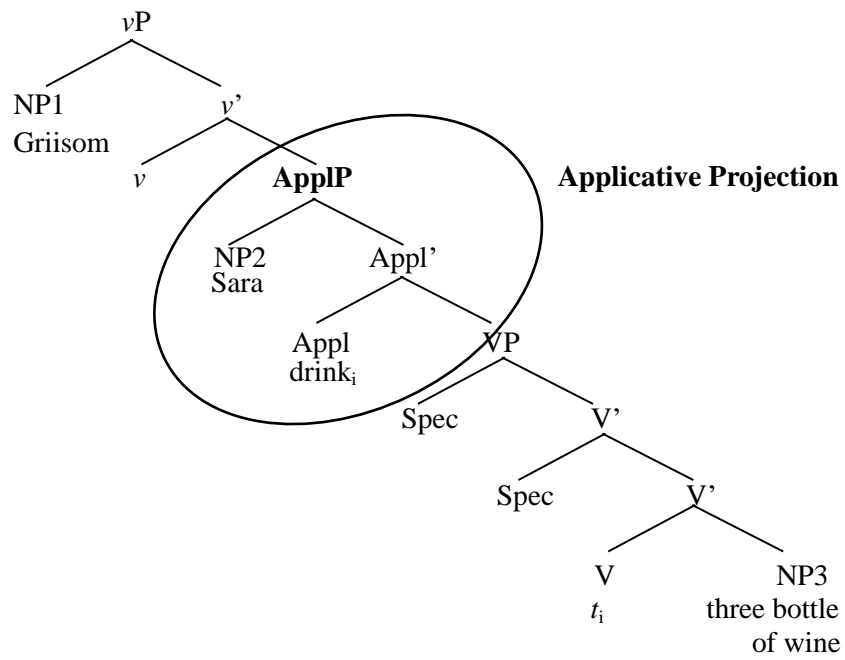
(iii) 阿 Q 送了小 D 三瓶酒。   [Canonical DOC]
      Akiu   song-le Xiaodi   san-ping   jiu.
      Akiu   give-LE Xiaodi   three-CL   wine
      'Akiu gave Xiaodi three bottles of wine.'
a. * 小 D 被阿 Q 送了三瓶酒。   [IO-passivization]
   * Xiaodi   bei Akiu   song-le   san-ping jiu.
     Xiaodi   BEI Akiu   give-LE   three-CL wine

To account for this contrast, as the structure in (26) demonstrates, the NP2 in the pseudo-DOC is base-generated, but undergoes a possessor-raising in ba-constructions. The NP2 of the *ba* construction first merges with NP3 and gets its possessor theta-role from NP3. Then NP2 moves to [Spec, ApplP] and gets Case from *v*.[11]

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b. 三瓶酒被阿 Q 送了小 D。   [DO-passivization]
 san-ping jiu   bei Akiu   song-le   Xiaodi.
 three-CL   wine   BEI Akiu   give-LE   Xiaodi
 'These three bottles of wine were given to Xiaodi by Akiu.'

(iv) 阿 Q 喝了小 D 三瓶酒。   [Pseudo- DOC]
 Akiu   he-le   Xiaodi   san-ping   jiu.
 Akiu   drink-LE Xiaodi   three-CL   wine
 'Akiu drank three bottles of wine on Xiaodi.'

a.   小 D 被阿 Q 喝了三瓶酒。   [IO-passivization]
 Xiaodi   bei Akiu   he-le   san-ping jiu.
 Xiaodi   BEI Akiu   drink-LE   three-CL wine
 'Xiaodi was drunk on three bottles of wine by Akiu .'

b. * 三瓶酒被阿 Q 喝了小 D。   [DO-passivization]
 * san-ping jiu   bei Akiu   he-le   Xiaodi.
  three-CL   wine   BEI Akiu   drink-LE Xiaodi

[11] Kuo's approach points a new way for the categorical status of *ba* to explain the argument structure of *ba* construction which is also the main concern of our search for Hakka *jiong* sentences. While, we do not follow Kuo's syntactic hierarchy of applicatives but adopt the more well-articulated system proposed by Tsai (2009) which helps explain the properties of Hakka *jiong* sentences. Tsai's system will be introduced later in this section.

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(26) a. pseudo-DOC

```
                    vP
                   /  \
               NP1     v'
              Griisom  / \
                      v   ApplP          Applicative Projection
                          /   \
                       NP2     Appl'
                       Sara    /   \
                           Appl     VP
                           drink_i  / \
                               Spec    V'
                                      /  \
                                  Spec    V'
                                         /  \
                                        V    NP3
                                       t_i   three bottle
                                             of wine
```

b. *ba* construction

Given the structure above, the multiple possessor sentence in (24) represents a case of recursive *v*Ps as demonstrated in (27) that *Nick* being in the lack of an Affectee interpretation gets the possessor theta-role from *wife* instead, and it raises to the Spec of the recursive *v*P to check its case.

(27) **Recursive *v*P**
    $[_{vP}$ Grissom$_i$ $[_{v'}$ *Ba*$_j$ $[_{vP}$Nick $[_{v'}$ t_j $[_{ApplP}$ $[$ t_i wife$]$ $[_{Appl'}$ t_j
    $[_{VP}$ hit-hurt-ASP $[t_i$ hand$]$ $]]]]]]$

To sum up, in the spirit of Kuo's applicative analysis, Sixian Hakka *jiong* taking the outermost object might be treated along with the affective constructions, in which the outermost object (Affectee) is introduced by the Appl^0. What differs from Kuo's approach is that no possessor-raising is involved in our analysis, for both empirical and theoretical concerns. Empirically, our analysis should account for the

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optional possessive relation in Hakka as exemplified by (28), that the possessor of the wine can be someone else than the Affectee. [12]

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[12] Mandarin shows this obligatory-optional possession distinction between the pseudo-DOC and the *ba*-construal. However, this contrast might not exist in Hakka *jiong*-contruals. The possession relation is consistently optional whether the Affectee, Ahin, is introduce by *jiong* or appears as IO in the pseudo-DOC as in (v), (vi). Therefore, the possessor of the wine could be a person other than Ahin, as the example in (28).

(v) a.　阿明將阿興飲掉三罐酒。

　　　　Amin　　jiong　　Ahin　　lim-hed　　　sam -gon　　jiu.
　　　　Amin　　JIONG　　Ahin　　drink-ASP　　three-bottle　wine

　　b.　阿明飲掉阿興三罐酒。

　　　　Amin　　lim-hed　　　Ahin　　sam -gon　　jiu.
　　　　Amin　　drink-ASP　　Ahin　　three-bottle　wine
　　　　'Amin drank three bottles of wine on Ahin.'

(vi) a.　阿明將日本隊才百出一支全壘打。

　　　　Amin　　jiong　　ngidbun-cui　　　mag-cud　id-gi　qion-lui-da.
　　　　Amin　　JIONG　　Japanese team　　hit-LE　　one-CL　homerun

　　b.　阿明才百出日本隊一支全壘打。

　　　　Amin　　mag-cud　　　ngidbun-cui　　　id-gi　　qion-lui-da.
　　　　Amin　　hit- LE　　　Japanese team　　one-CL　　homerun
　　　　'Amin hit a home run on the Japanese team.'

(vii) Korean ditransitive constructions

a.　Hana-ka　　haksayngtul-eykey　pwule-lul　　kaluchi-ess-ta. [PDA: Dat-Acc]
　　Hana-NOM　　students-DAT　　　French-ACC　　teach-PST-DEc
　　'Hana taught French to the students.'

b.　Hana-ka　　haksayngtul-ul　　pwule-lul kaluchi-ess-ta.　　[DOC: Acc-Acc]
　　Hana-NOM　　students-ACC　　　French-ACC　　teach-PST-DEC
　　'Hana taught the students French.'

Cross-linguistically, the contrast in the possessive relationship occurs in the two di-transitive constructions in Korean, the postpositional dative construction (PDA) and the double object construction (DOC), as shown in (vii) above. Kim (2015) claims an asymmetric theory that the IO (Goal) and the DO (Theme) in the PDC are the arguments of the ditransitive verb within the VP, while the IO (Goal, the first accusative object) is introduced by an applicative head and the DO (Theme, the second accusative object) is the argument of the ditransitive verb. Comparing with its dative counterpart, the DOC constructed by the applicative head, does not necessarily require a possessive relation between two objects. Drawing together the discussion about Hakka and Korean, the

(28)　阿明將阿興飲掉吾爸爸个三罐酒。
Amin　jiong　Ahin　lim-hed　ngai baba　sam-gon　jiu.
Amin　JIONG　Ahin　drink-ASP　my father　three-bottle wine
'Amin drank three bottles of my father's wine on Ahin.'

On theoretical concerns, our analysis tends to hold a consistent definition of ApplP (Pylkkänen 2002; McGinnis 2005; Tsai 2007, 2011), which is designed to introduce an extra-argument rather than offer a landing site for later movements. Meanwhile, given the ApplP analysis, the intuition of Li (2001, 2006) can be maintained in that the disposal-NP can be the inner or the outer object, but not the outermost. Notably, the adversity passive in Korean lends further support to our analysis. Kim (2011) proposes an applicative analysis for the adversity passive in Korean as shown by the contrast in (29). In this paper, Kim also argues against the possessor movement (Park 2005), since the possession relationship within the adversity passive in (29a) is not an absolute requirement as in (29b). The core property of the Korean adversity passive, parallel to the Hakka *jiong* affective, is not a possessive relation but the adversity effect.

(29) a. Minswu-ka　　kay-eykey　　tali-lul　　mul-li-ess-ta.
　　　　Minsu-NOM　　dog-DAT　　　leg-ACC　　bite-I-PAST-DEC
　　　　'Minsu$_1$ got bitten his$_1$ leg by a dog.'
　　b. Mia1-ka　　　Minswu-eykey ccoch-ki-ess-ta
　　　　Mia- NOM　　Minsu-DAT　　chase-I-PAST-DEC
　　　　'Mia$_1$ had$_{exp}$ Minsu chase her$_1$.'

Before leaving this section, an introduction of applicatives proposed by (Tsai 2009, 2011) is required, since we will extend this theory to account for the noncanonical *jiong* constructions. Tsai (2009, 2011) poses a tripartite applicative construction to capture the affective constructions in Mandarin Chinese: Mandarin allows its applicative constructions in three types, as exemplified by (30), in which the extra-argument is introduced by *gei* in a high applicative or appears at the pseudo-DOC in a middle or a low applicative. The syntactic structure

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optional possessive relationship seems to be a characteristic of the applicative construal, in particular the non-low applicative.

is proposed as in (31) in which the applicatives are in a fine-grained structure, High-Middle-Low, which corresponds to the complementary layer, the inflectional layer and the lexical layer, respectively, according to Rizzi's (1997) terms. Meanwhile, the contrast between the *gei*-construal and the pseudo-DOC as in (30) is determined by whether the head of an applicative is overtly realized as *gei* or stays in null form as AFF.

(30) a. 阿 Q 居然給我跑了。   ***High Applicatives***
   Akiu   juran   **gei wo**   pao-le.
   Akiu   unexpectedly   GEI I   run-PART
   'He unexpectedly ran away on me.'
   b. 他居然喝了我三瓶酒。   ***Mid Applicatives***
   ta   juran   he-le   **wo**   san-ping   jiu.
   he   unexpectedly   drink-PART I   three-CL   wine
   'He drank two bottles of wine (of mine) on me unexpectedly.'
   c. 阿 Q 修了趙家三扇門。   ***Low Applicatives***
   Akiu   xiu-le   Zhao-jia   san-shan   men.
   Akiu   fix-LE   Zhao-family   three-CL   door
   'Akiu repaired three pieces of doors for the Zhao family.'
                  (Tsai 2007b)

(31)   **Tripartite Applicatives (Tsai 2011)**
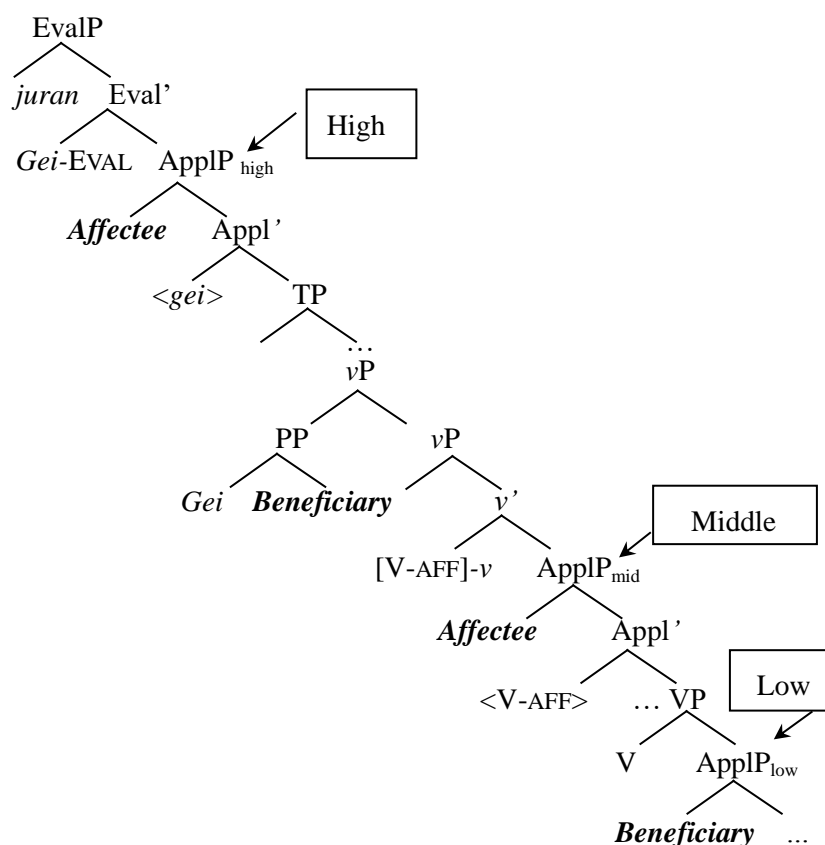
To sum up, in the spirit of Kuo's applicative analysis, Sixian Hakka *jiong* taking the *outermost* object might be treated along with the affective constructions in which the outermost object (Affectee) is introduced by the Appl^0. What differs from Kao's approach is that no possessor-raising is involved in our analysis, so as to hold a consistent definition of ApplP (Pylkkänen 2002; McGinnis 2005; Tsai 2007, 2011), which is designed to introduce an extra argument rather than offer a landing site for later movements. Meanwhile, given the ApplP analysis, the intuition of Li (2001, 2006) can be maintained in that the

disposal-NP of Mandarin can be an inner or outer object, but not the outermost one.[13]

3. TWO TYPES OF *JIONG*: DISPOSAL CONSTRUAL AND AFFECTIVE CONSTRUAL

3.1 Basic facts

This section is set up to divide Hakka *jiong* into two types, disposal *jiong* and affective *jiong*, the former exhibiting on a par with Mandarin *ba*, but the latter behaving quite differently in its object selection as illustrated in section 1. Additionally, concerning Hakka *ba*, the restricted distribution leads us to take it as a diagnostic for encoding the property of strict-defined disposals, in contrast to the multiple functional *jiong*. What will be illustrated below is a series of asymmetries detected within disposal *jiong*, affective *jiong* and highly restricted Hakka *ba* to capture their distinctions both in syntactic distributions and in semantic interpretations.

The first piece of evidence to distinguish these two types of *jiong*, disposal *jiong* and affective *jiong,* comes from the formulation of A-not-A questions (Huang 1991; Ernst 1994; Wu 1997 for Mandarin), which is another morph-syntax test for the categorical status of Mandarin *ba*. The contrast in (32) shows that Mandarin *ba* undergoes grammaticalization and hence becomes restricted in A-not-A questions in comparing a lexical verb in (33).

(32) a.　你把不把功課做完？
　　　　ni　　ba-bu-ba　　gongke　　zuo-wan?
　　　　you　BA-NEG-BA　　homework　finish
　　　　'Will you finish the homework or not?'

---

[13] The selection restriction of disposal object here is for Mandarin, which is plausible to be extended to Hakka. Disposal is restricted to inner and outer objects and a disposal marker functions as a light verb/a small v; the outer light verb stands for another construction—ApplP.

b. */^{??} 你把不把桌子擦乾淨？

   */^{??} ni   ba-bu-ba   zuozi   ca   ganjing?

       you   BA-NEG-BA   table   wipe   clean

       Intended: 'Will you clean the table?'

(33) a.   你做不做功課？

        ni   zuo-bu-zuo   gongke?

        you   do-NEG-do   homework

        'Will you do the homework?'

    b.   你擦不擦桌子？

        ni   ca-bu-ca   zuozi?

        you   wipe- NEG -wipe   table

        'Will you clean the table?"

Such contrast is observed in Hakka *jiong* sentences as exemplified by (35) and (36) in that the reduplication of *jiong* in A-not-A questions depends on whether it is used in disposals or affectives.[14] The A-not-A question is grammatical if *jiong* is used in the inner disposals as shown in (34), similar to what happens in *ba*. Under what circumstances will *jiong* take the outer object in an outer disposal? Fortunately, the grammaticality is maintained as expected as illustrated in (35):

(34) **Inner Disposals in A-not-A questions**

    a. 阿明把不把桌子擦淨？

      Amin **ba-m-ba**   zog-ge cud   qiang?

      Amin   BA-NEG-BA   table   wipe   clean

      'Did Amin wipe the table clean?'

    b. 阿明將不將桌子擦淨？

      Amin **jiong-m-jiong**   zog-ge   cud   qiang?

      Amin   JIONG-NEG-JIONG table   wipe   clean

      'Did Amin wipe the table clean?'

---

[14] In Huang's (1991) approach, Mandarin A-not-A questions involve three separate constructions: true disjunction questions, A-not-A questions derived by reduplication, and A-not-A questions as instances of anaphoric ellipsis. To test the verbal features of Hakka *jiong*, we take the A-not-A questions derived by reduplication triggered by the [Q] on INFL.

(35)   **Outer Disposals in A-not-A questions**
阿明將不將柑子剝掉皮？
Amin **jiong-m-jiong**   gam-e   bog-hed   pi?
Amin JIONG-NEG-JIONG tangerine peel-ASP   skin
'Did Amin peel the skin of the tangerine? '

If *jiong* in the affectives really patterns with that in the disposals, it will predict a parallel behavior, which unexpectedly contradicts the fact. As (36) shows, an auxiliary or a copular is required but not just *jiong* only to build up a grammatical A-not-A question.

(36)   **Affectives in A-not-A questions**
a.* 阿明將不將阿興喝掉三罐酒？
 * Amin **jiong-m-jiong**   Ahin   lim-hed   sam-gon   jiu?
   Amin JIONG-NEG-JIONG   Ahin   drink-ASP   three-CL   wine
   Intended meaning: 'Did Amin drink three bottles of wine on Ahin? '
b. 阿明會不會將阿興喝掉三罐酒？   *Auxiliary support*
    Amin **voi-m-voi**   jiong Ahin lim-hed   sam-gon   jiu?
    Amin would-NEG-would JIONG Ahin drink-ASP   three-bottle wine
    'Would Amin drink three bottles of wine on Ahin? '
c. 阿明係不係將阿興喝掉三罐酒？   *Copular support*
    Amin **he-m-he**   jiong Ahin   lim-hed   sam-gon   jiu?
    Amin be-NEG-be JIONG Ahin   drink-ASP   three-bottle wine
    'Would Amin drink three bottles of wine on Ahin? '

To account for the reason why the affective *jiong* cannot build up an A-not-A question by itself, we suggest that it might be attributed to the conflict of the speech act within the affective construction and the A-not-A question, the latter as interrogative force and the former as the exclamatory force.[15] Another possible answer is to assume that in Hakka

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[15] A similar contrast appears in Mandarin, showing a clear distinction between disposals and affectives.
(viii)a. 他居然給我又哭了。   *Declarative*
       ta   juran   gei wo you   ku le.
       He unexpectedly   AFF I again   cry LE
       'He started cry on me once again. '

A-not-A questions, the one to apply the reduplication driven by [Q] on INFL^0 must be a verbal element. [16]Consequently, a potential candidate is disposal *jiong* or *ba* due to its verbal property of being a light verb. The affective *jiong* proposed to be the Applicative head cannot satisfy this requirement, and as a result, the A-not-A question is resorted to auxiliary or copular instead as in (36b) and (36c). In other words, the asymmetries in A-not-A questions offer a clear contrast between the dual status of *jiong*, namely the disposal *jiong* and the affective *jiong*.

Second, things become more interesting when a scopal bearing element, such as a manner adverb, occurs in the *jiong* sentences. Compared with the disposal construals in (37), the disposal *jiong*, either the inner disposal or the outer disposal, behaves similarly to the typical *ba* in (37) that must stay inside the scope of the manner adverb *manman-ne* 'slowly';[17] while, (39) exemplifies the opposite pattern in the affective *jiong* construal which always scopes over the adverb *teuteu-we* 'stealthily':

---

b. * 他居然給不給我又哭了？ 　　***A-not-A questions***
 * ta juran 　　　gei-bu-gei wo you 　ku le?
 He unexpectedly 　AFF-NEG-AFF I again 　cry LE
 Intended:'Did he start cry on me once again? '

---

[16] A reviewer observed an example as in (ix), which the verb 'come' is disallowed in the A-not-A question.

(ix) ＊李四常常來不來？
 *Lisi 　changchang 　　lai-not-lai?
 Lisi 　often 　　　　come-NEG-come
 Intended: 'Did Lisi often come ?'

The question here is not the verbal element in reduplication, but the interrogative force on [Q] is blocked by the Adverb, if we follow Rizzi (2004) that an adverbial element projects a modifier Phrase. Thus, the intervened modifier phrase induces a blocking effect between the verb and the [Q] on INFL, resulting in the failure of clause typing (Cheng 1997). And we assume 'the verbal element' as V and *v,* those carrying a verbal feature.

[17] As noted by a reviewer, (37b) and (38b) are acceptable for most native speakers, especially when they are in the imperative mood. In other words, those sentences require discourse context, such as an imperative context or directive context.

(37)   ***Disposal***

    a.   阿明慢慢地把地泥擦淨矣。   **Adv** > ***ba*** ^{Inner Disp}

        Amin   <u>*manman-ne*</u>   ba   **ti-nai**   cud   qiang   e.

        Amin   slowly   BA floor   wipe   clean   PART

        'Amin slowly wiped the floor clean.'

    b. * 阿明把地泥慢慢地擦淨矣。   ***Ba*** ^{Inner Disp} > **Adv**

       *Amin   **ba ti-nai**   <u>*manman-ne*</u>   cud   qiang   e.

        Amin   BA floor   slowly   wipe   clean   PART
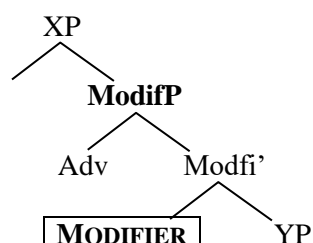
        Intended: 'Amin slowly wiped the floor clean.'

(38)   ***Disposal***

    a.   阿明慢慢地將桌子擦淨矣。   **Adv** > ***Jiong*** ^{Inner Disp}

        Amin   <u>*manman-ne*</u> jiong   **zog-ge** cud   qiang   e.

        Amin   slowly   JIONG table   wipe   clean   PART

        'Amin slowly wiped the table clean.'

    b. * 阿明將桌子慢慢地擦淨矣。   ***Jiong*** ^{Inner Disp} > **Adv**

       *Amin   **jiong zog-ge**   <u>*manman-ne*</u>   cud   qiang   e.

        Amin   JIONG table   slowly   wipe   clean   PART

        Intended: 'Amin slowly wiped the table clean.'

    c.   阿明慢慢地將柑子剝掉皮   **Adv** > ***Jiong*** ^{Outer Disp}

        Amin   <u>*manman-ne*</u>   **jiong   gam-e**   bog-hed   pi.

        Amin   slowly   JIONG tangerine   peel-ASP   skill

        'Amin slowly peeled the skin of the tangerine.'

    d. * 阿明將柑子慢慢地剝掉皮。   ***Jiong*** ^{Outer Disp} > **Adv**

       *Amin   **jiong gam-e**   <u>*manman-ne*</u>   bog-hed   pi.

        Amin   JIONG tangerine   slowly   peel-ASP   skill

        Intended meaning: 'Amin slowly peeled the skin of the tangerine.'

(39)   ***Affectives***

    a. * 阿明偷偷地將阿興飲掉三罐酒。   **Adv** > ***Jiong*** ^{Aff}

     *   Amin   <u>*teuteu-we*</u>   **jiong Ahin**   lim-hed   sam-gon   jiu.

        Amin   stealthily   JIONG Ahin   drink-ASP   three-bottle wine

    b.   阿明將阿興偷偷地飲掉三罐酒。   ***Jiong*** ^{Aff} > **Adv**

        Amin   **jiong Ahin**   <u>*teuteu-we*</u>   lim-hed   sam-gon   jiu.

        Amin   JIONG Ahin   stealthily   drink-ASP   three-bottle wine

        'Amin stealthily drank three bottles of wine on Ahin.'

We follow the Functional Specifier approach (Cinque 1999, 2006; Rizzi 2006) which claims that the relative ordering of adverbs corresponds to the *Universal Hypothesis* proposed by Cinque (1999) in (40), syntactically merged in the specifier position of a functional head (Rizzi 2006 labels as '*Modifier Phrase*'), as shown by (41).

(40)   Epistemic adverbs > Tense-related adverbs> ….>Manner adverbs
     >   ….>Habitual adverbs ….   >   VP

(Simplified version)

(41)   ***Modifier Phrase*** (Rizzi 2006)

XP

ModifP

Adv   Modfi'

| MODIFIER | YP

The grammaticality of the scopal interaction shown by the contrast in (37) and (39) leads to the hierarchy as demonstrated in (42) that the adverb is a landmark to pin down the syntactic height, the affective *jiong* stands hierarchically higher than disposal *jiong*, as more syntactic evidence to divide these two types of *jiong*.[18]

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[18] This structure is articulated to capture the syntactic hierarchy of *jiong*, which serves as a different grammatical category and expresses a different interpretation. Concerning the co-occurring as the concern of one viewer, the co-occurrence is possible as Affective with disposal and double disposals as discussed in section 4.1. However, it is disallowed for a sentence to contain these three types as in (x), which might be attributed to the burden of processing.
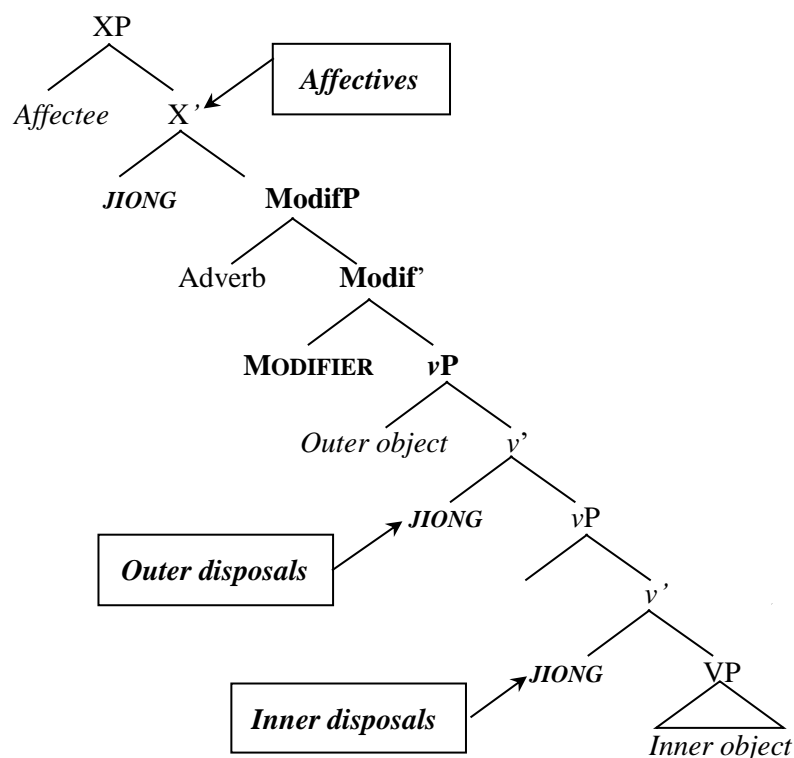
(x)   a.*阿明將阿興將桔子將皮剝矣。

* Amin   jiong   Ahin   jiong   gam-e   jiong   pi   bog-hed.
  Amin   JIONG   Ahin   JIONG   tangerine   JIONG   skin peel-ASP
  Intended: 'Amin peeled the skin off the tangerine on Ahin.'

b. [TP Amin_l [vP [v' *JIONG*_k-v^0 [ApplP Ahin [Appl' <*JIONG*>_k   [vP <Amin> [v' *JIONG*_j-v [vP
   tangerine[v' <*JIONG*>_j   [vP   [v' *JIONG*_i-v [vP skin_j [v' <*JIONG*>_i [VP peel <skin>]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

(42)   ApplP   >   ModifierP   >   vP[19]
        Jiong*^Aff   Manner adverb   ***Jiong*^Disp**

XP
├─ *Affectee*
└─ X' ← **Affectives**
    ├─ *JIONG*
    └─ **ModifP**
        ├─ Adverb
        └─ **Modif'**
            ├─ **MODIFIER**
            └─ *v*P
                ├─ *Outer object*
                └─ *v'*
                    ├─ *JIONG* ← **Outer disposals**
                    └─ *v*P
                        └─ *v'*
                            ├─ *JIONG* ← **Inner disposals**
                            └─ VP
                                └─ *Inner object*

One question that arises about the location of the modifier phrase is if it can sit above the lower *v*P, namely the inner disposals, since (42) has recursive *v*P. This possibility is testified in Mandarin as shown in (43), the adverbial element preceding or following the *ba* phrase. Comparing Mandarin and Hakka, the higher *v*P and the lower *v*P are possible candidates for Mandarin modifier phrases, giving a more flexible ordering. A Hakka modifier phrase, on the other hand, illustrates a strict ordering, and refuses to be dominated by a *v*P.

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[19]   >: higher in the syntactic hierarchy

(43) a. 他狠狠地把弟弟罵哭了。 Adv > *Ba*^{Disp}

      ta **henhende** ba didi   ma-ku   le.

      ta cruelly   BA brother scold-cry   LE

      'He cruelly scolded his brother and made his brother cry.'

    b. 他把弟弟狠狠地罵哭了。 *Ba*^{Disp} > Adv

      ta ba didi   **henhende** ma-ku   le.

      ta BA brother   cruelly   scold-cry   LE

      'He cruelly scolded his brother and made his brother cry.'

    Third, despite the sharp distinctions above, we find that disposal *jiong* and affective *jiong* pattern with each other in certain aspects, such as the subject selection. Comparing examples (44) and (45), for affective meaning to be available, the subject of a *jiong*-sentence must be agentive as *Amin* but not *toifung* 'typhoon', surprisingly on a par with its disposal alternate. However, it is not saying that the non-agent subject is totally excluded, but it requires other licensing contruals, the *tung*-construals as in (46), which are proposed to be the typical affective constructions in Sixian Hakka (Chiang 2006; Tsai and Chung 2010).

(44)   ***Agent Subject***

    a. 阿明把阿興才百噭矣。 Disposal *jiong*

      __Amin__ **ba** Ahin   mag-gieu   wei.

      Amin BA Ahin   beat-cry   PART

      'Amin beat Ahin and made Ahin cry.'

    b. 阿明將阿興食掉一大鑊飯。 Affective *jiong*

      __Amin__ **jiong** Ahin   siid-hed   id dai-vog   fan.

      Amin JIONG Ahin   eat-ASP   one big- CL   rice

      'Amin ate a whole pot of rice on Ahin.'

(45)   ***Causer Subject***

    a. * 颱風將阿興嚇噭矣。 Disposal ***jiong***

      __toifung__*   **jiong Ahin   hag -gieu   wei.

      typhoon   JIONG Ahin   scare-cry   PART

      Intended: 'Typhoon scared Ahin cry.'

b. *颱風竟然將我泊矣五擺。*   Affective *jiong*

  * *__toifung__*   ginien   **jiong**   ngai   pong-e   ng-bai.
      typhoon   unexpectedly   JIONG   I   stop-ASP   five-CL
      Intended: 'Typhoon unexpectedly came five times on me.'

(46) a. 阿明同阿興食掉一大鑊飯。
      __Amin__ **tung** Ahin   siid-hed   id dai-vog   fan.
      Amin   TUNG   Ahin   eat-ASP   one big-CL   rice
      'Amin ate a whole pot of rice on Ahin.'

b. 颱風竟然同我泊矣五擺。
      __toifung__   ginien   **tung**   ngai   pong-e   ng-bai.
      typhoon   unexpectedly   TUNG   I   stop-ASP   five-CL
      'Typhoon unexpectedly came five times on me.'

Upon the consideration of syntax, what accounts for this agentivity restriction is that Hakka *jiong*, either in affective use or in disposal use, stands around the *v*P to make sure the agentivity dependency can be established. By contrast, *tung*-affectives in (46) are free from this restriction, since *tung* can function as a High applicative head under the tripartite applicative approach proposed by Tsai (2009a), parallel to Mandarin *gei* 'give'. Take (47) and (48) for example, Mandarin *gei* 'give' standing at the high applicative head is high enough to take TP as its complement, resulting in a broader subject selection that the agentive subject, *Akiu*, in (47) and non-agentive subject, *tushiliu* 'debris flow', in (48) are both acceptable in *gei*-sentences. In this sense, Hakka under similar consideration resorts to *tung* rather than *jiong* to introduce the cause subject, *toifung* 'typhoon' as in (49).[20]

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[20] A reviewer notes that Mandarin *ba* construction in (xi) is not restricted to this agentivity restriction. First, this agentivity is associated with the height of ApplP. Causer Subject is introduced higher than the Agent subject, and *jiong* is not that high.

(xi) a.   颱風把李四嚇哭了。
       taifeng   ba   Lisi   xia   ku   le.
       typhoon   BA   Lisi   scare   cry   LE
   b.   颱風嚇哭李四了。
       taifeng   xia   ku   Lisi   le.
       typhoon   scare   cry   Lisi   LE

(47) a. 阿 Q*(居然)給我跑了。

    Akiu   *(juran)   gei **wo**   pao-le.

    Akiu   unexpectedly GEI I   run-LE

    'Akiu unexpectedly ran away on me.'

    b. [$_{CP}$ Akiu   [$_{EvaP}$ unexpectedly [$_{Eva'}$ ***gei*** + **Eva** [$_{ApplPHigh}$ I

    [$_{Appl'}$ ***gei***… [$_{TP}$ ~~Akiu~~…]]]]]

(48) a. 土石流*(居然)今年給我發生了五次。

    tushiliu   *(juran)   gei **wo** jin-nian fashen-le wu-ci.

    debris flow unexpectedly GEI I   this-year happen-LE five-CL

    'Debris flow unexpectedly happened five times on me this year.'

    b. [$_{CP}$ debris flow   [$_{EvaP}$ unexpectedly [$_{Eva'}$ ***gei*** + **Eva** [$_{ApplPHigh}$ I

    [$_{Appl'}$***gei***…[$_{TP}$ ~~Typhoon~~…]]]]]

(49) a. 颱風竟然同我泊矣五擺。

    toifung   ginien   **tung**   ngai   pong-e   ng-bai.

    typhoon   unexpectedly TUNG I   stop-ASP   five-CL

    'Typhoon unexpectedly came five times on me.'

    b. [$_{CP}$ typhoon [$_{EvaP}$ unexpectedly [$_{Eva'}$ ***tung*** + **Eva** [$_{ApplPHigh}$ I

    [$_{Appl'}$ ***tung***…[$_{TP}$ ~~Typhoon~~…]]]]]

Along with the formulation of A-not-A questions and scopal interaction, the syntactic behavior of these two types of *jiong* is summarized in Table 2, showing the clear distinction between the affective *jiong* and the disposal *jiong,* the former patterning with the typical affective *tung* (Chung 2007), and the latter with the disposal *ba.*[21]

'Typhoon scared Ahin cry.'

The example above has a SVO counterpart meaning it is a disposal construal, *v*P, not the ApplP discussed here. Mandarin being free from this agentivity restriction may rely on the metaphoric or pro-drop. A high ApplP by definition has a broader subject but the most significant property is the predicate selection, unergative verb, and the obligatory occurrence of evaluative Adv. Those are not observed in *jiong* affective sentences.

[21] The distribution of Hakka *ba* is more restricted than Mandarin, as (xii) shows that Hakka *ba* is permitted in the inner disposal, excluded from the outer disposal and the affective.

(xii) a.   阿明把阿興才百了一頓。   ***Inner Disposals***

Table 2 . Two types of Hakka *jiong*: disposal and affective

	Disposal *ba*	**Disposal** *jiong*	**Affective** *jiong*	**Affective** *tung*
Agentivity	v	v	v	not restricted
A-not-A questions	v	v	*	*
the placemen of Adv^{Manner}	Adv > *ba*-NP *ba*-NP > Adv	Adv > *jiong*-NP *jiong*-NP > Adv	*Adv > *jiong*-NP *jiong*-NP > Adv	*Adv > *tung*-NP *tung*-NP > Adv

3.2 The Locus and the Structure

Previous sections offer a comparative perspective to Hakka disposal contruals on their selectional restriction and interpretation. More importantly, as manifested in the introduction, the Mandarin *ba* has no help to secure the extra argument, while a Hakka *jiong*-sentence can accommodate an extra argument. In other words, *jiong* in Hakka serves as a licenser of an extra argument, in sharp contrast to Mandarin *ba*. All the properties illustrated in the above discussion bring an account that *jiong* in (50) represents two types of argument-licensers, namely the light verb (v^0, Huang 1997; Lin 2001) and the head of an applicative phrase (Appl^0; Pylkkänen 2002; McGinnis 2005).

<div>

Amin	ba	Ahin	mag-wet	iddun.
Amin	BA	Ahin	beat-ASP	once

'Amin gave Ahin a beating.'

b. * 阿明把柑子剥掉皮。 *Outer Disposals*

* Amin	ba	gam-e	bog-hed	pi.
Amin	BA	tangerine	peel-ASP	skin

Intended: 'Amin peel the skin of the tangerine. '

c. * 阿明把阿興食掉一大鑊飯。 *Affectives*

* Amin	ba	Ahin	siid-hed	id	dai-vog fan.
Amin	BA	Ahin	eat-ASP	one	big-CL rice

Intended: 'Amin ate a whole pot of rice on Ahin.'

</div>

(50) a. 阿明將阿興才百了一頓。　　　　　　　***Inner Disposals***
　　　Amin **jiong** Ahin mag-wet iddun.
　　　Amin JIONG Ahin beat-ASP once
　　　'Amin gave Ahin a beating.'
　　b. 阿明將柑子剝掉皮。　　　　　　　　***Outer Disposals***
　　　Amin **jiong** gam-e bog-hed pi.
　　　Amin JIONG tangerine peel-ASP skin
　　　'Amin peel the skin of the tangerine. '
　　c. 阿明將阿興食掉一大鑊飯。　　　　　　***Affectives***
　　　Amin **jiong** Ahin siid-hed id dai-vog fan.
　　　Amin JIONG Ahin eat-ASP one big-CL rice
　　　'Amin ate a whole pot of rice on Ahin.'

The derivation of *jiong* constructions are demonstrated in (51): if *jiong* serves as a light verb in the *v*P domain, it denotes the disposal interpretation and takes a canonical argument as its complement either an inner object (V-object) in (51a) or an outer object (V'-object) in (51b):[22]

(51) **Full picture of disposal-affective *jiong*-construction**
a. Inner Disposals *(jiong)*: inner object (V-object)
　$[_{vP}$ Amin $[_{v'}$ *JIONG*$_i$-*v* $[_{vP}$ Ahin$_j$ $[_{v'}$ <*JIONG*>$_i$ $[_{VP}$ $[_{V'}$ <Ahin>$_j$…]]]]
b. Outer Disposals (*jiong*): outer object (V'-object)
　$[_{vP}$ Amin $[_{v'}$ *JIONG*$_i$-*v* $[_{v}$P tangerine $[_{v'}$ <*JIONG*>$_i$ $[_{VP}$ …]]]]
c. Affectives (*jiong*): outermost object (VP-object)
　$[_{TP}$ Amin$_k$ $[_{vP}$ $[_{v'}$ *JIONG*$_i$-*v* $[_{ApplP}$ Ahin $[_{Appl'}$ <*JIONG*>$_I$ $[_{vP}$ <Amin>$_k$ $[_{v'}$ *v* $[_{VP}$ V…]]]]

(51c) represents the other status of *jiong*, the head of ApplP or more specifically, as the head of the Middle ApplP under Tsai (2009a) tripartite applicatives, with respect to its syntactic hierarchy evidenced by the Agentivity restriction. Meanwhile given the basic grammatical

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[22] Another remarkable property of the outer object (V'-object) is the inalienable possession with the V-object, showing a closing relation to the core arguments. Thus, the outer object is considered as a canonical argument, even if it has no SVO counterpart as that for the inner object. The outermost object (VP-object) stands outside the VP and has no particular relation with core arguments, being taken as an extra argument.

function of an applicative projection, *jiong* can license the extra argument (VP object) and delivers the affective interpretation between an individual, the Affectee, and an event instead. One might wonder why affective *jiong* cannot be considered as the light verb as that in the disposal. For one thing, the proposed structure tends to capture the distinction in syntax as well as that in semantics between the disposals and the affectives demonstrated in the last section. For another, the more crucial concern is that if both affective *jiong* and disposal *jiong* are light verbs, it seems, by analogy, Mandarin *ba* is expected to have affective usage, which is in serious contradiction to the fact. Therefore, *jiong* in (51) is proposed to serve as v^0 and Appl^0, giving rise to the disposal-affective alternation in Hakka *jiong*-contruals and a sharp contrast to Mandarin *ba* exclusively as v^0.

If this analysis is on the right track, the asymmetries occurring in the island violation can be explained straightforwardly. Taking (52a) for example, the ungrammaticality in an inner disposal is due to the raising of the *ba/jiong*-NP (i.e., *brother*) from the complex NP island. This contrasts with the grammatical examples in the outer disposal construal in (52b) and the affective one in (52c), distinguishing the objects in these two cases from that in the inner disposal. The latter two types are introduced directly by *jiong*, no further movement is involved; hence, they are not subject to island effect.[23]

(52) a. ***Inner disposals***
*阿明把/將弟弟罵嗷矣[DP [CP e_j 欺負 t_i]个人 $_j$]
*Amin **ba/jiong   didi**$_j$ ma-gieu   wei [DP[CP e_j kifu t_i]   ge   ngin$_j$].
 Amin BA/JIONG   brother scold-cry   ASP   tease   REL person
 Intended meaning: 'Amin beat the person who scolded his brother.'

_____

[23] The island effect shows that the retained object in these three types of *jiong* sentences re basically generated at different positions. That is one of the initial questions of this paper about the retained objects in disposal constructions, including their syntactic distribution and the syntactic operation applied on them.

b. ***Outer disposals***

阿明將阿興ᵢ才百斷矣 [DP OPᵢ[CP *proᵢ* 受傷 *eⱼ*] 个 腿ⱼ]

Amin *jiong* Ahinᵢ mag-ton [DP OPᵢ [CP *eⱼ* susong *eⱼ*] ge giogⱼ]

Amin JIONG Ahin beat-ASP hurt REL leg

'Amin beat Ahin's injured leg broken.'

c. ***Affectives***

阿明將阿興ᵢ飲矣 [DP 三罐 OPᵢ [CP 阿福 送 *proᵢ* *eⱼ*] 个 酒ⱼ]。

Amin *jiong* Ahinᵢ lim-me

Amin JIONG Ahin drink-ASP

[DP sam-gon OPᵢ [CP Afug song *proᵢ* *eⱼ*] ge jiuⱼ]].

three-bottle Afug give REL wine

'Amin drank Ahin three bottles of wine which Afug gave him.'

(53) a. [DP [CP OPᵢ [...*eᵢ*...]] *de* NP]

    b. [DP[CP OPᵢ[IP[DP[CP *eᵢ* 寫] 得那些 書] 都 很好]]] 的 那-個 人ᵢ]

      [DP[CP OPᵢ[IP[DP[CP *eᵢ* xie] de naxie shu] douhenhao]]] de na-ge renᵢ]

                   wirte DE those book all very good DE that-CL person

      'the person who the books which he wrote are very good'

   (Tsai 1997:14)

Compared with (52a), island effects in (52b) and (52c) are avoided, as there is no movement, either in overt syntax or in LF. More specifically, Tsai (1997) argues that the absence of island effects in relatives (as well as the topic-in-situ constructions) relates to a base-generated null operator construction, as shown by (53). Along this line of thinking, the felicitous result in (52b) and (52c) is a natural consequence, since both cases contain an operator to license the subject variable and an antecedent to bind the object variable.[24]

From the cartographic perspective (Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999), the syntactic structure of the affective-disposal *jiong* can be visualized by the topography in (54), addressing the close correspondence between

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[24] As noted by a reviewer, the island effect in (52) examines an interesting issue. The contrast above offers dialectical evidence for the typological distinction between Chinese and Romance languages (Huang 1989). Empty pronouns are identified by INFT or AGR in Romance languages, and by D-linking in Chinese-type languages.

syntactic distribution and semantic interpretation.[25] Such structure combines the insight of the light verb approach and the applicative approach reviewed in Section 2.2. *Jiong* can merge either high at the applicative head introducing the Affectee (i.e., the outermost object), resulting in the affective meaning on the one hand, and it can occur lower inside the *v*P domain as the one in the disposal sentences on the other.

(54) The topography of disposal-affective *jiong*-constructions

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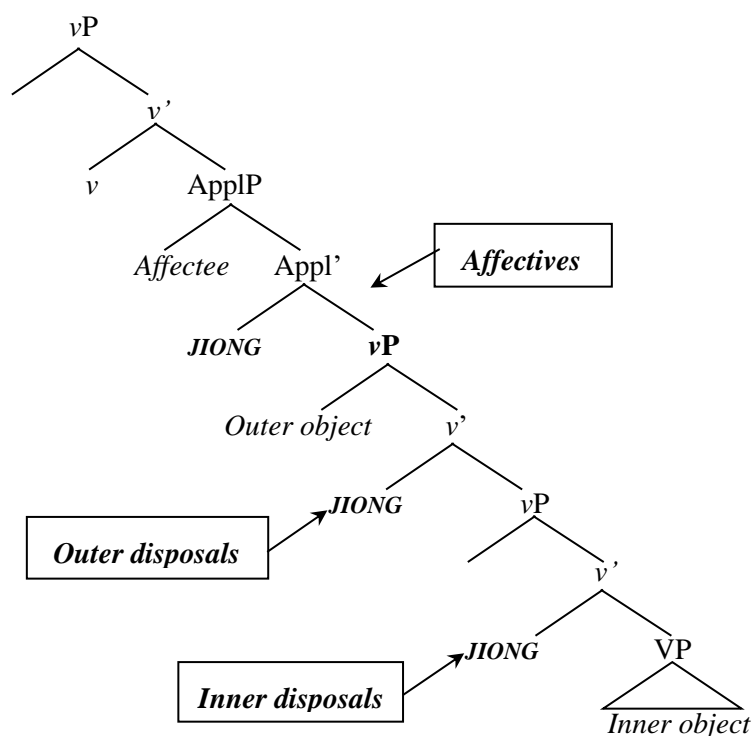
[25] The hierarchical design of applicatives follows the tripartite applicatives (Tsai 2009, 2011), giving a more fine grained picture than Kuo (2009, 2010). Kuo's applicative approach suggests another possible resolution for *ba*, but this study has little to say about the type of ApplP, which we are elaborating in this paper. The basic idea of adopting the tripartite applicatives (Tsai 2009, 2011) is summarized in section 2.

This topography can account for the (a)symmetries between *jiong* and *ba* in Sixian Hakka and the disposal-affective *jiong*, associated with their categorical status. In addition, the contrast detected in subject selection and predicate selection can be captured by the type of applicatives that *jiong* is limited to the middle ApplP precluded from the Causer subject and unergative predicate as well, which is permitted in *tung* construction representing the high ApplP. [26] Interestingly, a co-occurrence of *jiong* and *ba* can be predicted by this topography, as we will explore for a broad perspective of *jiong*-constructions in the next section as a diagnostic for evaluating the proposed structure.

4. *JIONG*-CONSTRUCTION IN A BROAD PERSPECTIVE

We have demonstrated that the *jiong* in Sixian Hakka can serve as a light verb in a disposal sentence or as an applicative head in an affective sentence. This section from a broader perspective examines an interesting implication, multiple *jiong* construction, and then ends up with a cross-linguistic comparison, leading to a better understanding about how argument-introducing strategies are manipulated in languages.

4.1 Multiple *jiong*-Construction:
supporting evidence for distinct syntactic position

Given this topography proposed for the disposal-affective *jiong* in section 3, the disposal *jiong* phrase should be allowed to co-occur with the affective *jiong* phrase, since they stand at different syntactic heights. Before going into detail, let us consider the case in Taiwan southern Min

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[26] The relevant examples are repeated in (xiii) for convenience:
(xiii) a. 佢竟然同吾走掉矣。
    gi   ginien   tung   ngai   zeu-hed ted.
    he   unexpectedly   TUNG   I   run- ASP PART
    'He unpectedly ran away on me. '
  b.* 佢竟然將吾走掉矣。
   * gi   ginien   jiong   ngai   zeu-hed ted.
    he   unexpectedly   JIONG   I   run- ASP PART
    Intended: He unpectedly ran away on me. '

(TSM hereafter). (55) suggests the Hakka *jiong* has a cross dialectal correlate in TSM, *ka*: *ka* in TSM as is well known in the literature is used to mark the Patient as shown in (55a), expressing the disposal interpretation; meanwhile the extra argument in the Affective construction, the Affectee *in* 'they', is introduced by *ka* as exemplified by (55b). In other words, *ka* can serve as a light verb in the disposal construal and as applicative head in affective construction (Mai 2007; Yang 2010). The syntactic structure is sketched as in (56) respectively:

(55) a. 共杯仔拍破。   ***Disposal* KA**

    ka   **poe-a**   phah   phoa

    KA   cup   break   broken

    'Break the cup.'

   b. 阿明共伊食一塊雞卵糕。   ***Affective* KA**

    A-ming   **ka in**   tsiah   tsit-tet ke-nng-ko.

    A-ming   KA them   eat   one-CL cake

    'A-ming ate a cake on them.'

(56) a. **Disposal *ka*-construal**

    [$_{vP}$ A-ming [$_{v'}$ KA-v [$_{vP}$ cup$_j$ [$_{v'}$ <**KA**>$_i$[$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ <cup>$_j$…]]]]]

   b. **Affective *ka*-construal**

    [$_{TP}$ A-ming$_k$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{v'}$ KA$_i$-v^0 [$_{ApplP}$ them [$_{Appl}$<**KA**>$_i$ [$_{vP}$ <A-ming>$_k$

    [$_{v'}$ eat$_j$-v [$_{VP}$ <eat>$_j$ a cake]]]]

    The possibility of multiple *ka* construction is justified by (57), in which the first *ka* in the affective takes the responsibility to license the extra-argument, Affectee 'I', adversely being affected in the cup-breaking event, and the second *ka* is treated as a disposal marker to mark *poe-a* 'cup' as the Theme in the breaking event. The second *ka* phrase is taken as an inner disposal, a *v*P, since it has a SVO counterpart, while the first *ka* phrase represents an affective (ApplP), because it has no SVO counterpart and no inalienable possessive relationship. Therefore, (57) is received as an affective-disposal configuration.[27]

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[27] The second *ka* phrase has a SVO counterpart as in (xiv, a), representing the inner disposal. In contrast, the first *ka* phrase represents an affective, ApplP, because *goa* "I" must be licensed by *ka* and has no inalienable possessive relation with other arguments.

More importantly, as pointed out in Yang (2010), two *ka,* both functioning as applicative heads, are also permitted to appear in the same sentence to form a multiple applicative construction, as (58) shows. The first part of which is always *ka*-marked, while the second part can be an overt *ka* in (58a), or a covert AFF realized as a pseudo-DOC, illustrated by (58b):

(57) A-ming   ginglien   **ka** goa   **ka** poe-a phah phoa.
    A-ming   unexpectedly KA I   KA cup   break broken
    'A-ming unexpectedly broke the cup on me.'

(58) a. A-ming   ginglien   **ka** goa   **ka** A-ing tsiah tau-hu.
      A-ming   unexpectedly KA I   KA A-ing eat   tofu
      'A-ming unexpectedly took advantage of A-ing on me.'[28]
    b. A-ming   ginglien   **ka** goa   tsiah A-ing tau-hu.
      A-ming   unexpectedly KA I   eat   A-ing tofu
      'A-ming unexpectedly took advantage of A-ing on me.'

    Hakka on a par with TSM allows *jiong* to build up the multiple constructions in two types, which are doubling disposals and affectives plus disposals. The distribution and interpretation of the co-occurrence as a welcome consequence can be correctly predicted by this topography proposed for the disposal-affective *jiong*, reflecting their syntactic height.

As a result, the sentence is regarded as an affective plus a disposal, rather than as double disposals.
(xiv) a. phah   phoa   poe-a   .
      break   broken   cup   'break the cup on me.'
    b.   A-ming ginglien   *(ka)   goa **ka** poe-a   phahp hoa.
      A-ming unexpectedly KA   I   KA cup   break   broken
      'A-ming unexpectedly broke the cup on me.'

[28] This example seems to be not totally acceptable for some native speakers, but it is generally fine for the younger generation. It might be due to the language contact with Mandarin.

I.   DISPOSAL + DISPOSAL

Given this topography in (54) in the last section, the co-occurrence of these two disposal markers, namely *jiong* and *ba,* is confirmed by the grammaticality in (59). The contrast in (59a) and (59b) also provides evidence in favor of the correspondence between the linear order and the syntactic hierarchy, resulting in the rigid ordering that the outer object, *Ahin*, introduced by *jiong* must precede the inner object *lai-e* 'son' marked by *ba*.

(59) a. 阿明將阿興把倈仔打矣一頓。***Disposal (jiong) + Disposal (ba)***
      Amin   **jiong   Ahin   *ba* lai-e**   da-wet   iddun.
      Amin   JIONG   Ahin   BA son   beat-ASP   once
      'Amin gave Ahin's son a beating on Ahin.'
    b.*阿明把阿興將倈子打矣一頓。***Disposal (ba) + Disposal (jiong)***
     *Amin   *ba* Ahin   **jiong   lai-e**   da-wet   iddun.
      Amin   BA Ahin   JIONG   son   beat-ASP   once
      Intended meaning: 'Amin gave Ahin's son a beating on Ahin.'

The syntactic structures are given in (60a) and (60b), showing that the outer disposal marked by *jiong* must precede the inner disposal marked by *ba*, but not vice versa, truly corresponding to their syntactic height.

(60) a. [$_{vP}$ **subject** [$_{v'}$ *v* [$_{vP}$ *JIONG*$^{\text{OuterDisp}}$ [$_{vP}$ *BA*$^{\text{InnerDisp}}$ [$_{VP}$]]]]
      [$_{vP}$ Amin [$_{v'}$ *JIONG*$_i$-*v* [$_{vP}$ Ahin   [$_{v'}$ <*JIONG*>$_i$ [$_{v'}$ *BA*$_i$-*v*   [$_{vP}$ son$_j$
      [$_{v'}$ <*BA*>$_i$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ <son>   beat once]]]]
    b. * [$_{vP}$ **subject** [$_{v'}$ *v*   [$_{vP}$ *BA*$^{\text{InnerDisp}}$ [$_{vP}$ *JIONG*$^{\text{OuterDisp}}$ [$_{VP}$]]]]
      [$_{vP}$ Amin   [$_{v'}$ *BA*$_i$-*v*   [$_{vP}$ Ahin   [$_{v'}$ <*BA*>$_i$ [$_{v'}$ *JIONG*$_i$-*v*
      [$_{vP}$ son$_j$ [$_{v'}$ <*JIONG*>$_i$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ <son>   beat once]]]]

II. AFFECTIVE+ DISPOSAL

By analogy, the second possible combination, the affective *jiong* appearing with the disposal *ba/jiong*, should be allowed*,* since affective *jiong* is located even higher. Interestingly, comparing the examples in (61), the affective *jiong* works better with the disposal *ba* than with disposal *jiong,* whereas the typical affective *tung* phrase is perfectly

compatible with disposal *jiong* and the disposal *ba*, giving two grammatical examples, (62a) and (62b).

(61) a. 阿明將阿興把長工才百斷腿。*Affective (jiong)+ Disposal (ba)*
Amin **jiong Ahin** <u>*ba* chonggung</u> mag   ton   tui.
Amin JIONG Ahin BA worker   beat   broken leg
'Amin beat worker's leg broken on Ahin.'

 b. ?阿明將阿興將長工才百斷腿。*Affective(jiong) +Disposal (jiong)*
?Amin **jiong Ahin** <u>*jiong* chonggung</u> mag   ton   tui.
Amin JIONG Ahin JIONG worker   beat   broken leg
'Amin beat worker's leg broken on Ahin.'

(62) a. 阿明同阿興將長工才百斷腿。*Affective(tung)+ Disposal (jiong)*
Amin **tung Ahin** <u>*jiong* chonggung</u> mag   ton   tui.
Amin TUNG Ahin JIONG worker   beat   broken leg
'Amin beat worker's leg broken on Ahin.'

 b. 阿明同阿興把長工才百斷腿。 *Affective (tung)+ Disposal (ba)*
Amin **tung Ahin** <u>*ba* chonggung</u> mag   ton   tui.
Amin TUNG Ahin BA worker   beat   broken leg
'Amin beat worker's leg broken on Ahin.'

(63) demonstrates the syntactic structures of the second combination of multiple *jiong*-constructions, in which the affective *jiong* at a higher syntactic position precedes the disposal *jiong* after linearization.

(63) a. [$_{TP}$Amin$_k$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{v'}$ *JIONG*$_i$-v^0 [$_{ApplP}$ Ahin [$_{Appl'}$ <*JIONG*>$_i$ [$_{vP}$ <Amin>$_k$
[$_{v'}$ *BA*$_i$-v [$_{vP}$ worker$_j$ [$_{v'}$ <*BA*>$_i$ [$_{VP}$[$_{V'}$ <worker>$_j$ beat broken leg]]]]
= (61a)

 b. [$_{TP}$ Amin$_k$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{v'}$ *TUNG*$_i$-v^0 [$_{ApplP}$ Ahin   [$_{Appl'}$ <*TUNG*>$_i$ [$_{vP}$ <Amin>$_k$
[$_{v'}$*JIONG*$_i$-v[$_{vP}$ worker$_j$[$_{v'}$<*JIONG*>$_i$[$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$<worker>$_j$beat broken leg]]]]
= (62a)

To sum up, the resulting linearization evidenced by the doubling disposals and affectives-disposals is given in (64). Such fixed ordering can be viewed as a natural consequence of our analysis, illustrating a mapping between the syntactic hierarchy and the surface linearization.

The multiple *jiong*-constructions offer an empirical argument for the topography illustrated in (54), which is proposed to account for the disposal-affective *jiong* and to investigate the *v*P periphery in Sixian Hakka .

(64) Force…ToP ...TP Affective [*v*P Outer Disposal [VP Inner Disposal
                tung > jiong   *jiong*   *jiong > ba*

4.2 Cross-linguistic Comparison on Argument Introducing

This section will deal with the cross-linguistic comparison, which will lead us to a better understanding of the argument-introducing strategies. The focus will be addressed on Sixian Hakka and Mandarin Chinese, Taiwan Southern Min (henceforth TSM) on the one hand, and English and Polish on the other. By drawing the evidence from previous sections, Sixian Hakka resorts to *jiong*-construal or the *tung*-construal to accommodate the extra-arguments, as exemplified in (65), in which the latter is treated as the canonical affective construction (Chung 2007; Tsai and Chung 2010), and the former is characterized by the disposal-affective alternative. The extra-arguments in both cases are represented explicitly in marked forms.

(65) a. 阿明將阿興食掉一大鑊飯。   Affective *Jiong*
    Amin **jiong** Ahin siid-hed   id dai-vog   fan.
    Amin JIONG Ahin eat-ASP   one big-CL   rice
    'Amin ate a whole pot of rice on Ahin.'
   b. 阿明同阿興食掉一大鑊飯。   Affective *Tung*
    Amin **tung** Ahin siid-hed   id dai-vog   fan.
    Amin TUNG Ahin eat-ASP   one big-CL   rice
    'Amin ate a whole pot of rice on Ahin.'

More interestingly, languages vary on the flexibility of argument structure and manipulate different strategies to license the extra-arguments. English and Mandarin represent two opposite patterns in their argument structures, showing that the extra-arguments or unselective subjects/objects, which are allowed in Mandarin Chinese, are

relatively rare in English (Huang 1997; Lin 2001, and Tsai 2007b). Concerning the affective constructions as illustrated by the contrast in (66) and (67), the pseudo-DOC in English is more restricted, whereas the Affectee behaving as an argument is realized as a PP adjunct instead. As for Mandarin, the pseudo-DOC in (68) is more productive than the marked *gei*-construction in (69), which is highly sensitive in a speech act and *φ*-features of the Affectee (Tsai 2007a, 2009).

(66) a. John baked **Bill** a cake.
    b. *John ran me.
    c. *John held Mary the door

(67) a. John unexpectedly ran away **on me**.
    b. John held the door for Mary.   (Citko 2011: 133)

(68) a. 張三喝了李四三罐酒。
      Zhansan he-le   Lisi   san-ping   jiu.
      Zhansan drink-LE Lisi   three-CL   wine
      'Zhansan drank three bottles of wine on Lisi.'
    b. 張三修了王家三扇門。
      Zhansan xiu-le Zhao-jia   san-shan   men.
      Zhansan fix-LE Zhao-family   three-CL   door
      'Zhangsan fixed three doors for the Zhao family.'

(69) a. 阿 Q 居然給我/*你/*他跑了。
      Akiu juran   gei **wo/***ni/*ta pao-le.
      Akiu unexpectedly   GEI I/*you/*he run-LE
      'Akiu unexpectedly ran away on me/*you//*him.'
    b. 颱風居然給我/*你/*他來了五次。
      taifun   juran   gei **wo/***ni/*ta lai-le   wu-ci.
      typhoon unexpectedly GEI I/*you/*he come-LE five-CL
      'Typhoon unexpectedly came five times on me/*you/*him.'

However, it seems too early to conclude that Indo-European languages lack productive affective constructions, since it is found that the Affectee can be marked with the dative case, such as in German,

Spanish, and Polish (Cuervo 2003; Dziwirek 1994). More interestingly, Polish seems to have the disposal-affective alternative, similar to the *jiong* construal in Sixian Hakka. Take (70) for example, the Polish dative subject can appear in the sentence of the psych verb and modals. What is relevant to our issue is in (71) that the argument augmentation, the characteristic property of affective constructions, occurs in the dative sentences. The dative nominal might have a possessive relation with the canonical argument as *Poitr* and *arm* in (71a), or perform as the Affectee in the latter two sentences, being affected by the sleeping event in (71b) or by the poem-writing event in (71c):

(70) a. ***Basu***   podobaja   sie   te   kwiaty.   ***Psych verb***
          Bsasia.DAT   like   REFL   these   flowers.NOM
          'Basia likes these followers.'

      b. Potrzeba   ***nam***   wiecej   kwiatow   ***Modal verb***
          need   we. DAT   more   flowers.NOM
          'We need more flowers.'   (Dziwirek1994: 57)

(71) a. Jan   zlamal   ***Piotrowi***   reke.   ***Possessor   raising***
          Jan.NOM break   Poitr.DAT   arm.ACC
          'Jan broke Piotr's arm.'

      b. Dziecko   ***Basi***   zasnele.   ***Ethical dative***
          child.NOM   Basia.DAT   fell asleep
          'The child fell asleep on Basia'

      c. ***Basi***   latwo sie   pisze   wiesze.   ***Involuntary state***
          Basia.DAT   easily REFL   write   poems.ACC ***construction***
          'Writing poems comes easily to Basia.'
                                                            (Dziwirek1994: 57)

More specifically, comparing the dative nominals in (71), Proti in (71a) is the canonical argument of the predicate *zlamal* 'break', while *Basi* in (71b) and (71c) behave as extra-arguments, since the predicate is an intransitive verb taking one argument by definition, i.e., the nominative nominal in (71b) and the accusative one in (71c). Furthermore, considering their interpretation, the dative nominal in (71a) is interpreted as a Patient, involved a possessive relation with the object

just like the possession requirement in Mandarin disposal *ba*-construal (Li 2006; Kuo 2009). On the other hand, such dative constructions in (71b) and (71c) express the degree of affectedness as directly affected in the ethical dative or a certain state in the involuntary construction, resulting in an affective interpretation instead. All these are marked as dative subjects, despite the causative-affective alternation. With this perspective, English relies on the pseudo-DOC or PP-adjunct to accommodate extra arguments, and Polish resorts to another strategy, the dative construction, showing a disposal-affective alternative which is quite similar to Hakka *jiong*-construction.

Turning back to Mandarin Chinese, the *ba* is exclusively used in the disposal constructions, taking inner or outer object as exemplified by (72). Therefore, the licensing of the outermost object, the Affectee, depends on the pseudo-DOC, in which the Affectee appears as an indirect object as *Linyi* in (73a) or *wo* 'I' in (73b).

(72)   **Disposal: *ba*-Construction**
    a. 張三把橘子吃了。   *Inner object*
        Zhangsan ba **juzi**   chi-le.
        Zhangsan BA orange eat- LE
        'Zhangsan ate the orange. '
    b. 張三把橘子剝了皮。   *Outer object*
        Zhangsan ba **juzi**   bo-le   pi.
        Zhangsan BA orange   peel-LE   skin
        'Zhangsan peeled the skin off the orange. '
    c.??王五又把林一打出了一支全壘打。 *Outermost object*
        Wangwu   you   ba **Linyi** jichu-le yi-zhi quanleida.
        Wangwu   again BA Linyi   hit-LE   one-CL homerun
        'Wangwu again hit a home run on Linyi.'
                                             (Huang, Li, Li 2009: 37)

(73)   a.王五又打出了林一一支全壘。
        Wangwu   you   jichu-le   **Linyi** yi-zhi quanleida.
        Wangwu   again hit-LE   Linyi   one-CL homerun
        'Wangwu again hit a home run on Linyi. '

b.他居然喝了我三瓶酒。

ta	juran	he-le	**wo**	san-ping	jiu.
he	unexpectedly	drink-PRF	I	three-CL	wine

'He drank two bottles of wine (of mine) on me unexpectedly.'

(Tsai 2007a)

As discussed in the last section, TSM *ka* in (74) is the most used element in the disposal sentence (Lien 2002) to mark the following nominal as Theme/Patient in the described event. However, the disposal use is not the only function of *ka* (i.e., Tsao and Lu 1990; Huang 1995; Tsao 2005, among others) and important to our discussion, *ka* can select the outermost object as in (75) to covey the sense of affectedness (Mai 2007; Yang 2010). *A-ing*, the Affectee in the event of taking advantage, can be introduced by *ka* as in (75a) or sit in the indirect object position of the pseudo-DOC as in (75b)[29]. In this respect, TSM on the one hand patterns with Mandarin in licensing Affectee implicitly by the pseudo-DOC, and on the other, a disposal marker in TSM akin to Hakka *jiong* has developed as an explicit argument-introducer to introduce Affectee.

(74)　　共杯仔拍破。　　　　　　　　　*Disposal* KA
　　　ka^7　**poe^1-a^2**　phah^4　phoa^5
　　　KA　cup　break　broken
　　　'Break the cup.'

(75)a.　阿明共阿英吃豆腐。　　　　　*Affective* KA
　　　A-ming　**ka A-ing**　tsiah　tau-hu.
　　　A-ming　KA A-ing　eat　tofu
　　　'A-ming took advantage of A-ing. '
　　b.　阿明吃阿英豆腐。　　　　　　　*pseudo*-DOC
　　　A-ming　tsiah　**A-ing**　tau-hu.
　　　A-ming　eat　A-ing　tofu
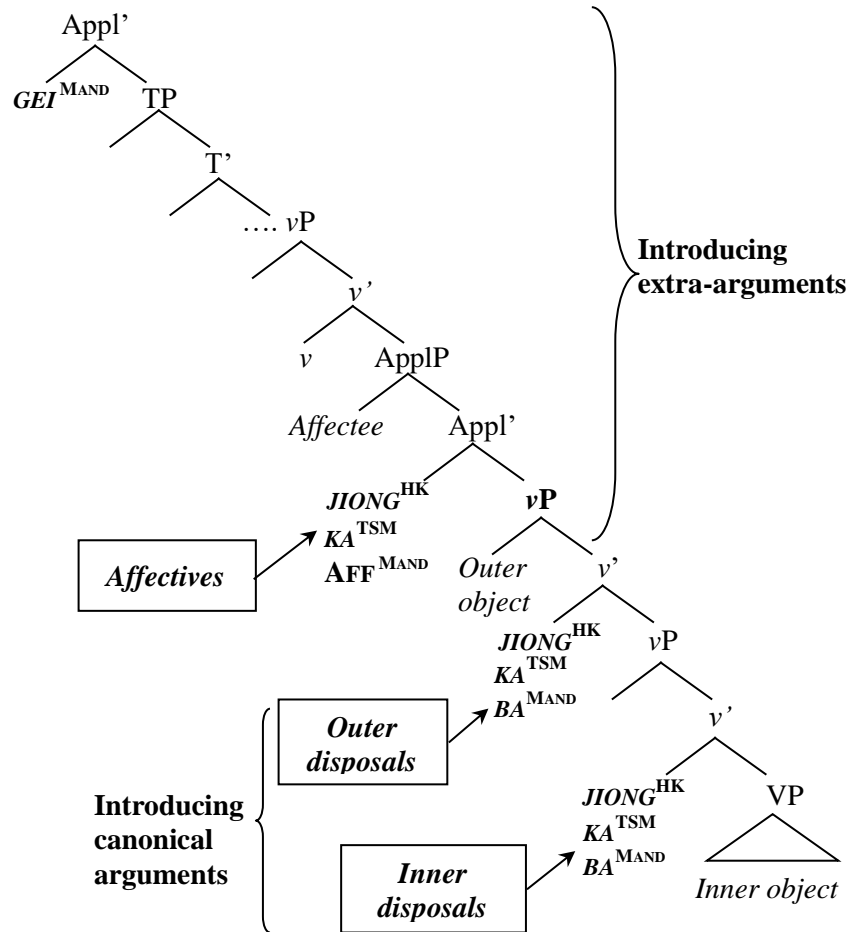　　　'A-ming took advantage of A-ing.'　(Yang 2011)

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[29] The idiomatic context is the most accepted environment but the implicit-explicit alternative is not restricted to idiomatic sentences according to my consultants.

All cross-linguistic variations discussed above can be mapped as fine grained topography as in (76) on the next page, and thus provide an interesting typological perspective to the argument-introducing strategies.[30] Comparing Mandarin, TSM, and Hakka, under a closer examination, (a)symmetries appear between Mandarin on the one hand and TSM and Hakka on the other. The first comes from the way to construct disposals and affectives. Hakka and TSM use the same lexicon to construct disposals and affectives, while Mandarin manipulates two distinctive functional words, *gei* and *ba*, to articulate affective construals and disposal construals, respectively. Second, extra-arguments are allowed in Mandarin and these two dialects, if they are properly introduced. Third, the most inspiring one is that this topography well mapping each function to a specific hierarchical height shows the close and transparent correspondence between syntax and semantics, which is the main claim of the cartographic approach.

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[30]The abbreviations for languages in this topography are as follows: MAND: Mandarin, HK: Hakka; TSM: Taiwan Southern Min. The abbreviations are used as superscripts to indicate which functional word is manipulated in which languages/dialects.

(76)

Appl'
 GEI^{MAND} TP
              T'
                .... *v*P
                     v'
                  v   ApplP
                    Affectee   Appl'
                          JIONG^{HK}
                          KA^{TSM}   *v*P
              Affectives   AFF^{MAND} *Outer object*   *v'*
                                         JIONG^{HK}
                                         KA^{TSM}   *v*P
                                         BA^{MAND}   *v'*

Introducing extra-arguments

Outer disposals

Introducing canonical arguments

                                              JIONG^{HK}
                                              KA^{TSM}   VP
              Inner disposals   BA^{MAND}
                                          Inner object

5. CONCLUSION

The discussion in the last section draws the conclusion about the syntax of disposal-affective *jiong* constructions in Sixian Hakka. Under

the cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999), a topography of Sixian Hakka *jiong* is proposed to empirically capture the interpretation and distribution of the disposal-affective *jiong* alternatives, and theoretically to explore argument-introducing strategies from a comparative perspective.

Hakka *jiong* can take the inner, outer, and even the outermost objects due to its dual status: *jiong* serves as a light verb in the disposal constructions and *jiong* functions as an applicative head licensing an extra argument, Affectee, in the affective constructions. Such analysis can explain the asymmetries between disposal *jiong* and affective *jiong* in the formulation of A-not-A questions and the scopal interaction with adverbials. Furthermore, the co-occurrence of *jiong* as another desirable consequence confirms the proposed topography of *jiong*-constructions. We offer a comparative perspective to a broad picture of affective constructions and thus have a better understanding of argument-introducing, showing a close and transparent correspondence between syntax and semantics, as supporting evidence for the main claim of cartographic approach. In short, Hakka *jiong* construal as a reliable testing ground demonstrates how the argument-licensing strategies are manipulated in a language presenting a flexibility of the argument structure. Meanwhile, the cross-linguistic comparison highlights the conclusion received from recent cartographic works that is a consistently syntactic-semantic correspondence illustrated by a fine-grained clausal architecture.

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論客語處置式論元結構

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本文探討非典處置「將」字句，展示處置-蒙受變換式中的論元引介策略。以製圖理論(cartographic approach)為本，繪製一幅地貌圖，一來捕捉其句法分佈和語義詮釋；二則清楚呈現「將」運用了兩類論元引介策略，輕動詞(light verb，Huang 1997；Lin 2001)以及施用中心語(applicative head，Pylkkänen 2002；McGinnis 2005)。前者運用於處置句式，後者構成蒙受句式，引介非典論元。本分析得以解釋「將」字句一系列的語法現象，反映了句法、語義之間緊密的對應性。更重要的提供跨語言比較平臺，觀察國語、客語以及台灣閩南語中論元引介策略，呈現高度句法語義相應關係。

關鍵字：處置、蒙受、論元結構、比較語法、客語、製圖理論