

ON THE SYNTAX OF *HOO* CONSTRUCTIONS IN TAIWANESE SOUTHERN MIN*

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines diverse syntactic structures which involve the morpheme *hoo* ‘give’ in Taiwanese Southern Min and also compares the syntax of ‘giving’ in two Chinese varieties: *hoo* constructions in Taiwanese Southern Min and *gei* constructions in Mandarin. The category of *hoo* is argued to be invariably a verb instead of a preposition or a complementizer. It is proposed, in light of Lin and Huang (2015), that the derivations of diverse *hoo* patterns all involve a generalized structure in which the ditransitive verb *hoo* may select a complement of diverse syntactic categories. This ditransitive verb analysis is shown to be superior to the causative verb analysis proposed by Cheng et al. (1999). Furthermore, while the complement selected by *gei*, as pointed out by Lin and Huang, can be an NP, a VP or an IP, the complement selected by *hoo* is shown in this paper to be an NP, an IP or a CP. It is this variation in c-selection that is responsible for syntactic differences between the two Chinese verbs of ‘giving’.

Keywords: Taiwanese, category, ditransitive, variation, c-selection

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to investigate syntactic structures which involve the morpheme *hoo* in Taiwanese Southern Min, a variety of the Chinese language spoken in Taiwan. Cheng et al. (1999) illustrate six syntactic patterns of *hoo* as below.¹

- (1) DOC-1: [*hoo* NP NP]
Gua **hoo** li sann-pah khoo.
1SG give 2SG three-hundred dollar
'I gave you three hundred dollars.'
- (2) DOC-2: [V-*hoo* NP NP]
Gua sang-**hoo** i tsit-pun tshoh.
1SG give-give 3SG one-CLF book
'I gave him/her a book.'
- (3) Dative: [V NP *hoo* NP]
Gua hing sann-pah khoo **hoo** i.
1SG repay three-hundred dollar give 3SG
'I repaid three hundred dollars to him/her.'
- (4) SVC: [V (NP) *hoo* NP V]
Gua tshiunn tsit-siu kua **hoo** li thiann.
1SG sing one-CLF song give 2SG listen
'I sing a song for you to listen to.'

¹ In this paper, I transcribe all the examples in Taiwanese Southern Min based on an online dictionary compiled by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan, which is available at: https://twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict_new/default.jsp. I also use the following abbreviations, each of which is given a gloss: AFF= affective; CLF= classifier; COMP= complementizer; DAT= dative; GEN= genitive; NEG= negation; NOM= nominative; PASS= passive; PFV= perfective; PL= plural; RES= resultative; SFP= sentence-final particle; SG= singular; TOP= topic.

- (5) Passive: [*hoo* NP VP]
I **hoo** gua sian tsit-e tshui-phue.
3SG give 1SG slap one-CLF mouth-cheek
'S/he got slapped by me in the face.'
- (6) Causative: [*hoo* NP VP]
Gua **hoo** i tioh te-it-mia.
1SG give 3SG get first.place
'I caused him/her to get the first place.'

The morpheme *hoo* is typically used as a ditransitive verb in double object constructions (DOC), as in (1). The pattern in (2) is another version of DOC, in which *hoo* is attached to a verb from behind. The dative use of *hoo* is shown in (3), where *hoo* looks like a preposition corresponding to *to* in English. In (4), more than one verb occurs in the sentence, and this pattern is similar to serial verb constructions (SVC; see also Tsao 1988). *Hoo* can also be used as a passive marker. As shown in (5), the passive sentence involves a Patient subject, followed by an Agent NP introduced by *hoo*. The final usage of *hoo* has to do with its interpretation which resembles that of a causative verb, as in (6).

Given the various uses of *hoo*, one is easily tempted to propose that these diverse patterns involve different syntactic categories of *hoo* and accordingly different syntactic structures. For example, in Lee's (2009) analysis, *hoo* can be a verb, a preposition or a complementizer, depending on where it occurs. Contrary to this multi-categorial analysis, Cheng et al. (1999) argue for a unified analysis under which *hoo* is invariably a verb. Although I concur with their unified treatment of *hoo* as a verb, in this paper I argue against the syntactic structure they propose for *hoo*, and derive various patterns of *hoo* by resorting to a generalized ditransitive structure proposed by Lin and Huang (2015).

It is worth noting that another variety of the Chinese language, Mandarin, has a counterpart of *hoo*: *gei* 'give'. Just like *hoo*, *gei* is also found to occur in diverse patterns (Huang and Ahrens 1999; Ting and Chang 2004; Her 2006; Lin and Huang 2015). Her (2006) identifies five types of *gei* constructions in Mandarin based on the syntactic position of

gei, including verbal, post-verbal, post-object, purposive and preverbal.² The former four types are exemplified below in (7)-(10), which correspond to the *hoo* patterns in (1)-(4), respectively. The remaining type, preverbal, falls into a few subtypes, two of which are the passive construction as in (11) and the causative construction as in (12). These two *gei* constructions may find their *hoo* counterpart in (5) and (6), respectively.

- (7) Verbal: [*gei* NP NP]
Lisi **gei**-le ta yi-feng xin.
Lisi give-PFV 3SG one-CLF letter
'Lisi gave him/her a letter.'
- (8) Post-verbal: [V-*gei* NP NP]
Lisi xie-**gei**-le ta yi-feng xin.
Lisi write-give-PFV 3SG one-CLF letter
'Lisi wrote a letter to him/her.'
- (9) Post-object: [V NP *gei* NP]
Lisi xie-le yi-feng xin **gei** ta.
Lisi write-PFV one-CLF letter give 3SG
'Lisi wrote a letter to him/her.'
- (10) Purposive: [V NP *gei* NP VP]
Lisi na-chu-le yi-feng xin **gei** ta kan.
Lisi take-out-PFV one-CLF letter give 3SG read
'Lisi took out a letter for him/her to read.'
- (11) Passive: [*gei* NP VP]
Lisi **gei** ta pian le.
Lisi give 3SG deceive SFP
'Lisi got deceived by him/her.'

² To make the wording consistent throughout the paper, henceforth I will adopt Her's (2006) terms in the discussion on various uses of *gei* and *hoo*.

(12) Causative: [*gei* NP VP]

Zhangsan **gei** Lisi de di-yi-ming.
Zhangsan give Lisi obtain first.place
'Zhangsan caused Lisi to get the first place.'

The comparison between the *hoo* patterns in (1)-(6) and the *gei* patterns in (7)-(12) shows that Taiwanese Southern Min and Mandarin exhibit considerable parallelism in the syntax of 'giving'.

As a matter of fact, *hoo* does not always behave on a par with *gei* syntactically. Lin and Huang (2015:311) point out that the preverbal *gei* can introduce an affected theme, a goal, a source, a beneficiary or an undergoer of a transitive action, as illustrated below.

- (13) a. Introducing an affected theme
Zhangsan **gei** men shang youqi.
Zhangsan give door apply paint
'Zhangsan painted a coat of paint on the door.'
- b. Introducing a goal
Zhangsan **gei** Lisi jugong.
Zhangsan give Lisi bow.
'Zhangsan bowed to Lisi.'
- c. Introducing a source
Zhangsan **gei** Lisi fa qian.
Zhangsan give Lisi fine money
'Zhangsan fined Lisi.'
- d. Introducing a beneficiary
Zhangsan **gei** Lisi paotui.
Zhangsan give Lisi run.errands
'Zhangsan ran errands for Lisi.'
- e. Introducing an undergoer of a transitive action
Zhangsan **gei** Lisi xizao.
Zhangsan give Lisi bathe
'Zhangsan bathed Lisi.'

However, I find that none of the above preverbal uses of *gei* in Mandarin have their corresponding counterpart of *hoo* in Taiwanese Southern Min, given the following examples.

- (14) a. Introducing an affected theme
*Tiunnsam **hoo** mng buah iu-tshat.
Tiunnsam give door apply paint
Intended: ‘Tiunnsam painted a coat of paint on the door.’
- b. Introducing a goal
*Tiunnsam **hoo** Lisu kiok-kiong.
Tiunnsam give Lisu bow
Intended: ‘Tiunnsam bowed to Lisu.’
- c. Introducing a source
*Tiunnsam **hoo** Lisu huat tsinn.
Tiunnsam give Lisu fine money
Intended: ‘Tiunnsam fined Lisu.’
- d. Introducing a beneficiary
*Tiunnsam **hoo** Lisu tsau-tsong.
Tiunnsam give Lisu run.errands
Intended: ‘Tiunnsam ran errands for Lisu.’
- e. Introducing an undergoer of a transitive action
*Tiunnsam **hoo** Lisu se sin-khu.
Tiunnsam give Lisu wash body
Intended: ‘Tiunnsam bathed Lisu.’

In this study, I aim to provide an explanation, under the generative approach, for this syntactic difference as well as several more others (to be addressed in subsection 3.4) between the two Chinese varieties. My analysis will rely on Lin and Huang’s (2015) proposal of a generalized ditransitive framework, arguing that *gei* and *hoo* differ in c-selecting their complements.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews previous studies on the syntax of *hoo*. Section 3 proposes my analysis of syntactic structures of *hoo*, along with a syntactic comparison between *hoo* and *gei*. Section 4 deals with the preposing of the [*gei/hoo*+NP] sequence. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, I first review previous studies which propose the non-verbal use of *hoo*. I then review a unified analysis that takes *hoo* consistently as a causative verb in all the diverse patterns.

2.1 Multi-Categorial Analyses of *Hoo*

Hoo is generally taken as a verb in its verbal, passive and causative uses. However, in its post-verbal, post-object and purposive uses, *hoo* may alternatively be treated as a non-verbal element. In what follows, I review and argue against the non-verbal analysis of *hoo*.

2.1.1 Post-verbal *hoo* as a preposition

The post-verbal use of *hoo* concerns the *V-hoo* form which can be analyzed as a compound verb (Cheng et al. 1999). Departing from the compound analysis, Tang (2000:275-276) indicates that the post-verbal *hoo* in cases like (15a) is a preposition (see also Wang 2001).

- (15) a. I kia [PP **hoo** gua] tsit-tiunn phue.
 3SG mail give 1SG one-CLF letter
 ‘S/he mailed me a letter.’
 b. *I kia gua tsit-tiunn phue.
 3SG mail 1SG one-CLF letter
 Intended: ‘S/he mailed me a letter.’

In Tang’s analysis, verbs like *kia* ‘mail’ in Taiwanese Southern Min subcategorize for a goal PP and a theme NP. The preposition *hoo* in the goal PP is a Case assigner; without it, as shown in (15b), the goal NP *gua* ‘me’ is not Case marked, violating the Case Filter.

The prepositional analysis raises a few problems, however. First, it assumes that the sequence of the post-verbal *hoo* and its following NP forms a constituent. This assumption faces a challenge, given the following example.

- (16) Gua kia **hoo** [a-ku tsit-pau bi], [a-koo tsit-pau bah-kuann].
1SG mail give Uncle one-bag rice Aunt one-bag jerky
'I mailed Uncle a bag of rice and Aunt a bag of jerky.'

The coordinate pattern here suggests that the human goal NP forms a syntactic unit with the theme NP behind, not with *hoo* ahead. Thus, a more desirable analysis would be one which is able to deal with this constituency. I will show in subsection 3.2 that my proposed analysis is able to do so.

Second, prepositional phrases which denote goals are generally movable. The following examples in (17)-(19), which come from English, Mandarin and Taiwanese Southern Min, respectively, show that goal-denoting PPs can be moved to the sentence-initial position.

- (17) a. I sent a letter [PP to Bill].
a'. [PP To Bill] I sent a letter.
b. He brought his wife [PP to this place].
b'. [PP To this place] he brought his wife.
- (18) a. Ta [PP wang/xiang nan-bian] zou-le san gongli.
3SG towards south-side walk-PFV three kilometer
'S/he walked southward for three kilometers.'
b. [PP Wang/Xiang nan-bian] ta zou-le san gongli.
towards south-side 3SG walk-PFV three kilometer
- (19) a. Gua [PP tui li] bo ue thang kong.
1SG towards 2SG NEG speech can say
'I have nothing to say to you.'
b. [PP Tui li] gua bo ue thang kong.
towards 2SG 1SG NEG speech can say

However, the sequence of the post-verbal *hoo* and its following NP fails to be fronted, as shown below.

- (20) ***[Hoo** gua]_i i kia t_i tsit-tiunn phue.
 give 1SG 3SG mail one-CLF letter
 Intended: ‘To me, s/he mailed a letter.’

I will return to this example in subsection 3.2 and show that the ungrammaticality can be well dealt with by my proposed analysis.

Third, as we can see in (18a) and (19a), prepositional phrases in the Chinese language typically occur in the preverbal position. This is also true for the following examples in (21a) and (22a) from Taiwanese Southern Min. In these cases, if we move the preverbal goal-denoting PP to the post-verbal position, the sentences will be ill-formed, as in (21b) and (22b).

- (21) a. I m kann [PP tui gua] kong peh-tshat-ue.
 3SG NEG dare towards 1SG tell lie
 ‘S/he dare not lie to me.’
 b. *I m kann kong [PP tui gua] peh-tshat-ue.
 3SG NEG dare tell towards 1SG lie
- (22) a. Tshat-a [PP hiong lam-ping] to-tsau.
 thief towards south-side flee
 ‘The thief fled southward.’
 b. *Tshat-a to-tsao [PP hiong lam-ping].
 thief flee towards south-side

The ungrammaticality of (21b) and (22b) suggests that goal-denoting PPs in Taiwanese Southern Min cannot stay in the post-verbal position. This thus calls into question the prepositional analysis of the post-verbal *hoo* since it is not compatible with the normal distribution of Chinese PPs.

2.1.2 Post-object *hoo* as a preposition

In Cheng (1974), Tang (2000) and Lee (2009), the post-object *hoo* is taken as a preposition, on a par with the dative marker *to* in English. However, this prepositional analysis deviates from the properties of

Chinese prepositional phrases we saw in the previous subsection. One of the properties is that Chinese goal-denoting PPs can be fronted to the sentence-initial position. Now, consider the following contrast; (23a) is reproduced from (3).

- (23) a. Gua hing sann-pah khoo [_{PP} hoo i].
1SG repay three-hundred dollar give 3SG
'I repaid three hundred dollars to him/her.'
b. * [_{PP} Hoo i] gua hing sann-pah khoo.
give 3SG 1SG repay three-hundred dollar

In (23a), if we analyze the sequence of the post-object *hoo* and its following NP as a goal-denoting PP, we should predict that this PP may undergo fronting. This prediction, nevertheless, is not borne out, given the ill-formedness of (23b). Since the empirical fact does not support the prediction, this suggests that the prepositional analysis is not tenable.

Recall also that Chinese prepositional phrases typically appear in the preverbal position. To illustrate this, I reproduce the examples in (18a) and (19a) below as (24a) and (25a), respectively. While, as noted above, Chinese goal-denoting PPs can be fronted to the sentence-initial position, they cannot be moved to the sentence-final position, as evidenced in (24b) and (25b).

- (24) a. Ta [_{PP} wang/xiang nan-bian] zou-le san gongli.
3SG towards south-side walk-PFV three kilometer
'S/he walked southward for three kilometers.'
b. *Ta zou-le san gongli [_{PP} wang/xiang nan-bian].
3SG walk-PFV three kilometer towards south-side
- (25) a. Gua [_{PP} tui li] bo ue thang kong.
1SG towards 2SG NEG speech can say
'I have nothing to say to you.'
b. *Gua bo ue thang kong [_{PP} tui li].
1SG NEG speech can say towards 2SG

The failure for Chinese goal-denoting PPs to appear sentence-finally thus casts doubt on the analysis of the sentence-final sequence [*hoo*+NP] as a PP.

Another problem with the prepositional analysis of the post-object *hoo* has to do with an example like (26), which shows that the theme NP and the [*hoo*+NP] sequence should form a constituent since this constituent can be coordinated.

- (26) Gua ban [tsit-liap suainn-a **hoo** a-ku], [nng-liap puat-a **hoo**
 1SG pluck one-CLF mango give Uncle two-CLF guava give
 a-koo].
 Aunt
 ‘I plucked one mango to give it to Uncle, and two guavas to give them to Aunt.’

The above coordinate pattern is reminiscent of the following one in English, taken from Larson (1988:345).

- (27) a. John sent a letter to Mary and a book to Sue.
 b. John sent_i [_{VP} a letter [_{V'} *t*_i [_{PP} to Mary]]] and [_{VP} a book [_{V'} *t*_i [_{PP} to Sue]]]

In Larson’s analysis, a ditransitive verb like *send* subcategorizes for an object NP and a goal PP, and these two phrases may form a constituent, as represented by VP in (27b). I argue, however, that this analysis does not apply to (26) since the verb *ban* ‘pluck’ is not ditransitive but transitive. It subcategorizes for an object NP only, not for a goal PP. As demonstrated in the following English contrast, it is quite implausible that the object NP which is subcategorized for by its preceding transitive verb turns out to have a closer connection with its following non-subcategorized PP.

- (28) a. Let me [protect you] from now on.
 b. *Let me protect [you from now on].

Thus, if the non-subcategorized [*hoo*+NP] sequences in (26) are analyzed as PPs, we should predict that they cannot go together with their preceding object NP to form a constituent, just like (28b). This prediction, nevertheless, is not borne out, given the acceptability of the coordinate pattern. From this I conclude that the prepositional analysis of the post-object *hoo* in a case like (26) is not reliable.

2.1.3 Purposive *hoo* as a complementizer

The proposal that *hoo* in purposive constructions is a complementizer can be found in Lee (2009). Below I present two arguments against the complementizer analysis of the purposive *hoo*. To begin with, consider the following example in Mandarin which involves a purposive-introducing complementizer: *lai* (cf. Lin and Huang 2015:313; Liao and Lin 2019), which literally means ‘come’.

- (29) Tamen_i mai-le yi-ge dangao [_{CP} **lai** e_i qingchu wo-de
3PL buy-PFV one-CLF cake COMP celebrate 1SG-GEN
shengri].
birthday
‘They bought a cake to celebrate my birthday.’

The morpheme *lai* is also employed in Taiwanese Southern Min to head a purposive clause, as shown below in (30a). The example in (30b) is almost the same as the one in (30a) except that the complementizer *lai* is replaced by *hoo*.

- (30) a. In_i be tsit-e ke-nng-ko [**lai** e_i khing-tsiok gua-e
 3PL buy one-CLF cake COMP celebrate 1SG-GEN
 senn-jit].
 birthday
 ‘They bought a cake to celebrate my birthday.’
- b. *In_i be tsit-e ke-nng-ko [**hoo** e_i khing-tsiok gua-e
 3PL buy one-CLF cake give celebrate 1SG-GEN
 senn-jit].
 birthday
 Intended: ‘They bought a cake to celebrate my birthday.’

The above grammaticality contrast indicates that *hoo* does not behave like the purposive-introducing complementizer *lai*. Given this, I thus consider it inappropriate to analyze the purposive *hoo* as a complementizer.

The other argument against the complementizer analysis concerns the following example.

- (31) Gua tshiunn tsit-siu kua **lai hoo** li thiann.
 1SG sing one-CLF song COMP give 2SG listen
 ‘I sing a song for you to listen to.’

I assume that a CP cannot be headed by two adjacent homogenous complementizers in order to avoid repetition or competition effects.³

³ One might wonder if the example in (31) is a case of complementizer stacking. To answer this question, I would like to call readers’ attention to the following Japanese example which involves typical complementizer stacking, offered by Saito (2012).

- (i) Taroo-wa [CP kare-no imooto-ga soko-ni ita (**no**) **ka** (**to**)] minna-ni
 Taroo-TOP 3SG-GEN sister-NOM there-in was COMP COMP COMP all-DAT
 tanuneta.
 inquired
 ‘Taroo asked everyone if his sister was there.’

Though in the above example three complementizers may occur consecutively, they do not function alike. In Saito’s analysis, *no* is the complementizer for propositions, *ka* is the complementizer for questions, and *to* is the complementizer for paraphrases or

Under this assumption, if *lai* in the above example already serves as a purposive-introducing complementizer, *hoo* cannot be another one.

An alternative proposal that comes close to the complementizer analysis is brought up by Cheng (1974:282-284). He claims that in a purposive sentence like (32a), *hoo* is a conjunction whose syntactic behavior is similar to that of *yibian* ‘so that’ in Mandarin. Compare the following.

- (32) a. Li khia-khi-lai **hoo** i tshut-khi.
2SG stand.up give 3SG exit
‘You stand up so that s/he can exit.’
b. Ni zhan-qilai **yibian** ta chuqu.
2SG stand.up so.that 3SG exit
‘You stand up so that s/he can exit.’

The conjunction analysis assumes that in the above examples, *hoo* and *yibian* conjoin two full sentences. However, I find that *hoo* and *yibian* do not always behave on a par syntactically, as shown below.

- (33) a. Wo_i huilai guxiang **yibian** e_i zhaogu fumu.
1SG return hometown so.that take.care.of parents
‘I returned to the hometown so as to take care of my parents.’
b. *Gua_i tng-lai koo-hiong **hoo** e_i tsiau-koo pe-bu.
1SG return hometown give take.care.of parents
Intended: ‘I returned to the hometown so as to take care of my parents.’

The above contrast shows that while *yibian* may lead a clause with an empty subject, *hoo* in the parallel structure may not. Since *hoo* does not always pattern with *yibian* on syntactic grounds, Cheng’s (1974)

reports of direct discourse. From this we see that in typical complementizer stacking, consecutive complementizers are not homogenous in function. Returning to (31), if we regard both *lai* and *hoo* as purposive-introducing complementizers, we will have two homogenous complementizers in the sentence, contrary to what we see in (i).

conjunction analysis based on the purported syntactic parallel between *hoo* and *yibian* is thus questionable.

2.2 A Unified Verb Analysis of *Hoo*

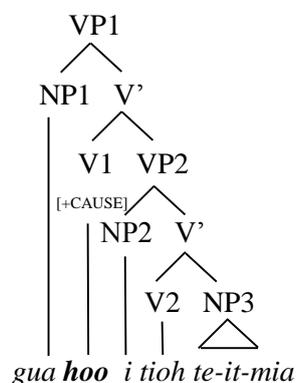
Cheng et al. (1999) propose a unified verb analysis of *hoo*, which I will review in subsection 2.2.1, followed by my critiques on their analysis in subsection 2.2.2.

2.2.1 *Hoo* as a causative verb

Assuming that *hoo* in Taiwanese Southern Min is a causative verb with the feature [+CAUSE], Cheng et al. (1999) propose a causative structure that is involved in the derivation of diverse syntactic patterns of *hoo*, as illustrated below (see also Ku 2011 for employing this structure in the analysis of causative *hoo* constructions).

- (34) a. Gua **hoo** i tloh te-it-mia.
 1SG give 3SG get first.place
 ‘I caused him/her to get the first place.’

b.



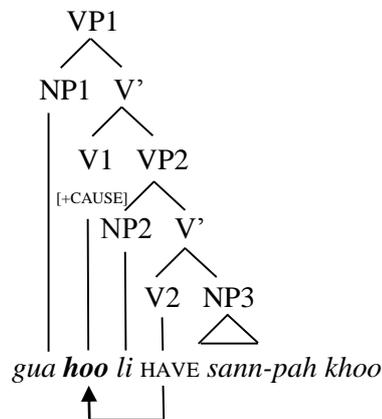
In Cheng et al.’s analysis, *hoo* is a two-place predicate. Its external argument is a Causer/Agent while its internal argument is a clausal category, namely, VP2 in (34b). This clausal category may denote an

event brought about by the matrix subject, as in a canonical causative *hoo* sentence like (34a).

The clausal category taken by *hoo* may alternatively denote a state associated with possession. A typical double object construction like (1), reproduced below as (35a), is such a case.

- (35) a. Gua **hoo** li sann-pah khoo.
 1SG give 2SG three-hundred dollar
 'I gave you three hundred dollars.'

b.



In (35b), the embedded light verb of possession HAVE is assumed to have been incorporated to the higher predicate *hoo* by means of head-to-head movement. This V-V chain can further be incorporated to an even higher verb which denotes an activity, yielding post-verbal *hoo* constructions as in (2), reproduced below as (36a). The derivation for (36a) is roughly sketched in (36b).

- (36) a. Gua sang-**hoo** i tsit-pun tshéh.
 1SG give-give 3SG one-CLF book
 'I gave him/her a book.'

- b. ... sang ... [hoo+HAVE_i] ... t_i ...
-

In brief, the V-*hoo* compound is actually a form derived by incorporation in syntax under Cheng et al.'s analysis.

To derive post-object *hoo* constructions as in (3), reproduced below as (37a), Cheng et al. propose an analysis under which a double object structure like (35b) is embedded as a secondary predicate, as illustrated in (37b).

- (37) a. Gua hing sann-pah khoo **hoo** i.
 1SG repay three-hundred dollar give 3SG
 'I repaid three hundred dollars to him/her.'
- b. [gua_j hing sann-pah khoo_i [Op_i [Pro_j hoo i HAVE t_i]]]
- ↑

Cheng et al. also point out that the dative *hoo* structure under their secondary predicate analysis is parallel to the structure of an English sentence like the following.

- (38) I brought 30 dollars to give (to) him.

The secondary predicate analysis can also be applied to purposive *hoo* constructions like (4), reproduced below as (39a).

- (39) a. Gua tshiunn tsit-siu kua **hoo** li thiann.
 1SG sing one-CLF song give 2SG listen
 'I sing a song for you to listen to.'
- b. [gua_j tshiunn tsit-siu kua_i [Op_i [Pro_j hoo li thiann t_i]]]

As shown in (39b), a canonical causative structure like (34b) is now embedded as the secondary predicate.

Passive *hoo* constructions like (40a) are also derived on the basis of a causative structure like (34b). The rough derivation for (40a) is given in (40b).

- (40) a. I **hoo** gua phah-siong ah.
 3SG give 1SG hit-injure SFP
 ‘S/he got hit and injured by me.’
 b. [_i hoo [Op_i [gua phah-siong t_i]]]

Note that the derivation in (40b) involves movement of a null operator, which is co-indexed with the matrix subject. This analysis is adopted from Chiu (1995) and Feng (1997), who analyze the structure of Chinese passives on a par with that of an English *tough* construction as below.

- (41) John_i is tough Op_i to deal with t_i.

Under the null operator movement analysis, the matrix subject in *tough* constructions is derived by base-generation rather than NP-movement. This amounts to saying that *hoo* passives in Taiwanese Southern Min are derived in a different way from *be* passives in English.

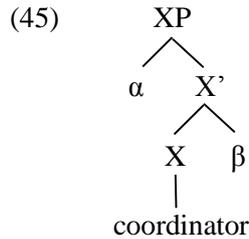
2.2.2 Critiques on the causative verb analysis

Cheng et al.’s (1999) proposal is innovative in unifying superficially diverse *hoo* patterns and reducing them to a shared causative structure that is involved in the derivation; nevertheless, their proposed structure leaves several things to be desired. First, a careful look at the causative structure in (34b) shows that the embedded predicate [V2+NP3] is a V’ node. This X’ analysis, however, is less desirable than the XP analysis, given the following data. The causative *hoo* sentence in (42), the passive *hoo* sentence in (43) and the purposive *hoo* sentence in (44) all involve a coordinate structure.

- (42) Gua **hoo** i [tioh te-it-mia], [theh kuan-kun].
 1SG give 3SG get first.place take championship
 ‘I caused him/her to get the first place and win the championship.’

- (43) Gua **hoo** i [phah kah oo-tshenn] li-tshiann [tsam kah
 1SG give 3SG hit RES bruise and kick RES
 lau-hueh].
 bleed
 ‘I got hit to be bruised and also got kicked to be bleeding by
 him/her.’
- (44) Gua kong tsit-e i-kian_i **hoo** lin [tsham-kho e_i] kah
 1SG say one-CLF opinion give 2PL consider and
 [tho-lun e_i].
 discuss
 ‘I express an opinion of mine for you to consider and discuss.’

In her analysis of coordinate complexes, Zhang (2006, 2009) argues for a complementation structure, as illustrated below.



The above coordinate structure is headed by the coordinator. The external conjunct α is merged in the Spec position, while the internal conjunct β is taken by the coordinator as its complement. Note that specifiers and complements are generally assumed to be realized only by maximal projections (Stowell 1981; Chomsky 1994). If we follow this general assumption and adopt the coordinate structure in (45), the consequence will be that the bracketed conjuncts in (42)-(44) should be maximal projections rather than intermediate projections (see also Kayne 1994), contra Cheng et al.’s V' analysis.

Second, in Cheng et al.’s analysis, causative *hoo* constructions and passive *hoo* constructions share nearly identical structures except that the

latter involve an extra VP layer which accommodates a null operator for its movement and landing. The comparison is illustrated below.

- (46) a. Causative: [_{VP1} NP1 *hoo* [_{VP2} NP2 V (NP3)]]
b. Passive: [_{VP1} NP1_i *hoo* [_{VP2} Op_i [_{VP3} NP2 V t_i]]]

Despite the structural similarity, under Cheng et al.'s analysis it remains puzzling why causative *hoo* sentences may tolerate the occurrence of a time adverb like *ting-pai* 'last time' in the embedded clause, whereas passive *hoo* sentences may not. This contrast is demonstrated below between (47a) and (48a).

- (47) a. Gua hoo i **ting-pai** theh-tioh te-it-mia.
1SG give 3SG last-time take-get first.place
'I caused him/her to get the first place last time.'
b. Gua **ting-pai** hoo i theh-tioh te-it-mia.
1SG last-time give 3SG take-get first.place
'Last time I caused him/her to get the first place.'
- (48) a. *Gua hoo i **ting-pai** phah tioh-siong.
1SG give 3SG last-time hit get-injure
Intended: 'I got hit and injured by him/her last time.'
b. Gua **ting-pai** hoo i phah tioh-siong.
1SG last-time give 3SG hit get-injure
'Last time I got hit and injured by him/her.'

Also, the following data raise another puzzle for Cheng et al. as to why causative *hoo* sentences may allow the occurrence of an epistemic modal like *kho-ling* 'likely' in the embedded clause, while passive *hoo* sentences may not. This contrast is illustrated below between (49a) and (50a).

- (49) a. Gua e hoo i bo **kho-ling** theh-tioh te-it-mia.
1SG will give 3SG NEG likely take-get first.place
'I will cause him/her to be unlikely to get the first place.'
- b. Gua bo **kho-ling** e hoo i theh-tioh te-it-mia.
1SG NEG likely will give 3SG take-get first.place
'It is unlikely for me to cause him/her to get the first place.'
- (50) a. *Gua e hoo i bo **kho-ling** pah tioh-siong.
1SG will give 3SG NEG likely hit get-injure
Intended: 'I will get hit and injured impossibly by him/her.'
- b. Gua bo **kho-ling** e hoo i pah tioh-siong.
1SG NEG likely will give 3SG hit get-injure
'I am unlikely to get hit and injured by him/her.'

In subsection 3.4, I will show that the puzzles pointed out above under Cheng et al.'s analysis do not arise under my proposed analysis.

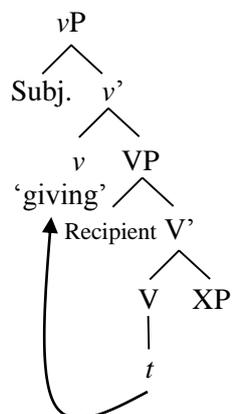
3. PROPOSAL

In this section, I propose that *hoo* in Taiwanese Southern Min is a ditransitive verb which may select its complement of diverse syntactic categories to derive various sentence patterns. Relevant details are given below.

3.1 Generalized Ditransitive Analysis

Lin and Huang (2015), following Huang (2010), propose a shared, generalized structure for the derivation of various *gei* sentences in Mandarin. The generalized structure is illustrated below.

(51)



In the above structure, the ditransitive verb denotes a transferring event (cf. Liu 2006) and takes two internal arguments. The inner internal argument can be realized by phrases of diverse syntactic categories, and the outer internal argument has the semantic role of Recipient, undergoing the property of the inner internal argument which is transferred by the action of giving. Also, in this three-place argument structure, the external argument is introduced by the light verb *v*, to which the ditransitive verb raises overtly.

Lin and Huang (2015:309-310) point out that “the different uses of *gei* arise from the interplay of several factors, including its core property as a ditransitive verb, the syntactic structure in which it occurs, the kind of complement it takes, and the semantics of the elements that occur with it”. What requires particular explanation is the type of complement which *gei* selects. In Lin and Huang’s analysis, *gei* may select an NP, a VP or an IP as its complement, as represented in (52a). Inspired by this, I propose the shared structure in (52b) for the derivation of diverse *hoo* patterns in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM). In my proposal, *hoo* may select an NP, an IP or a CP as its complement.

- (52) a. Mandarin: [_{vP} Subj. *gei*_i [_{VP} Recipient *t*_i [NP/VP/IP]]]
 b. TSM: [_{vP} Subj. *hoo*_i [_{VP} Recipient *t*_i [NP/IP/CP]]]

In what follows, I not only address the details of c-selection by *hoo* but also explain syntactic differences between *gei* and *hoo* along the lines of c-selection.

3.2 NP-taking *Hoo*

As with the NP-taking *gei* in Mandarin, syntactic structures that involve the NP-taking *hoo* in Taiwanese Southern Min may derive verbal, post-verbal and post-object uses of *hoo*. I reproduce relevant examples in (1)-(3) below as (53)-(55), respectively, and also provide my structural analysis.

- (53) a. Gua **hoo** li sann-pah khoo.
 1SG give 2SG three-hundred dollar
 ‘I gave you three hundred dollars.’
 b. [_{VP} gua hoo_i [_{VP} li t_i [_{NP} sann-pah khoo]]]
- (54) a. Gua sang-**hoo** i tsit-pun tsheh.
 1SG give-give 3SG one-CLF book
 ‘I gave him/her a book.’
 b. [_{VP} gua [sang-hoo]_i [_{VP} i [_V t_i][_{NP} tsit-pun tsheh]]]
- (55) a. Gua hing sann-pah khoo **hoo** i.
 1SG repay three-hundred dollar give 3SG
 ‘I repaid three hundred dollars to him/her.’
 b. [_{VP1} gua_k hing_m [_{VP1} sann-pah khoo_j t_m [_{VP2} Op_j [_{VP3} Pro_k hoo_i [_{VP2} i t_i [_{NP} t_j]]]]]]]

In (53), the simplex ditransitive verb *hoo* underlyingly takes an NP complement and subsequently raises to *v*. The Agent subject transfers a nominal entity (i.e., direct object) to the Recipient (i.e., indirect object). This is a typical ditransitive structure which involves double objects in nominal forms. In (54), the verbal element *sang* left-adjoins to the verb head *hoo*, serving to specify the manner or mode of giving. This complex compound verb *sang-hoo* takes an NP complement underlyingly and then raises to *v*. In (55), a double object structure is

embedded as the secondary predicate and *hoo* underlyingly takes a nominal null operator as its complement. This null operator raises and adjoins to $vP3$, building up the projection of $vP2$ predicated of the matrix object *sann-pah khoo* ‘three hundred dollars’.⁴ This structure of the post-object *hoo* can be interpreted akin to ‘I repaid three hundred dollars to give (to) him/her’.

I now argue that my proposed verb analysis of the post-verbal *hoo* and the post-object *hoo* fares better than the prepositional analysis. It was mentioned that in (16), reproduced below as (56) and slightly revised by taking *V-hoo* as a compound verb, the prepositional analysis of the post-verbal *hoo* encounters a problem regarding why the dative NP does not go together with the alleged preposition *hoo* to form a constituent, but with the object NP.

- (56) Gua kia-**hoo** [a-ku tsit-pau bi], [a-koo tsit-pau bah-kuann].
1SG mail-give Uncle one-bag rice Aunt one-bag jerky
‘I mailed Uncle a bag of rice and Aunt a bag of jerky.’

The coordinate pattern here can be perfectly accounted for by my proposed structure for the post-verbal *hoo*. As shown in (54b), the dative NP (i.e., the Recipient in SpecVP) and the object NP are actually able to form a constituent, that is, VP. Hence, a structure of VP coordination is involved in the above example.

Recall that the ungrammaticality of (20), reproduced below as (57), casts doubt on the prepositional analysis of the post-verbal *hoo* since Chinese goal-denoting PPs are generally allowed to be fronted.

- (57) *[**Hoo** gua]_i i kia *t_i* tsit-tiunn phue.
give 1SG 3SG mail one-CLF letter
Intended: ‘To me, s/he mailed a letter.’

Under my proposal, the ungrammaticality of this example naturally follows. In my analysis, the post-verbal *hoo* is taken to be part of a

⁴ The assumption of the null operator and its movement stems from the derivation of English *tough* constructions, as shown previously in (41). See also (37b) for the same null-operator analysis employed by Cheng et al. (1999).

compound verb. As we can see in (54b), the compound head *hoo* in its derived v^0 position and the dative NP (i.e., the Recipient in SpecVP) do not form a constituent, and it is only to be expected that this non-constituent fails to undergo fronting.

We have also seen that the [*hoo*+NP] sequence in the following example, reproduced from (23b), is hard to be taken as a PP which moves from the post-object position, given that normally goal-denoting PPs can be fronted, as in *To Bill I sent a letter*.

- (58) ***[Hoo** i_i gua hing sann-pah khoo t_i .
 give 3SG 1SG repay three-hundred dollar
 Intended: ‘To him/her, I repaid three hundred dollars.’

My proposed structure for the post-object *hoo* may nicely explain why the [*hoo*+NP] sequence in a case like (58) cannot be fronted. Consider the following structure of the post-object *hoo*, extracted and adapted from (55b).

- (59) [_{VP} Pro [_{v'} *hoo*_i [_{VP} NP_(Recipient) t_i [_{NP} e]]]]

As shown above, *hoo* has raised to v , and the v head takes a VP complement which contains the dative NP in SpecVP (i.e., the Recipient). If we move the [*hoo*+NP] sequence to the sentence-initial position, there are two structural possibilities. First, we may move *hoo* and only the dative NP itself. This possibility is ruled out because they do not form a constituent for movement. Second, we may alternatively move the v' node. However, this will run counter to the general assumption in generative grammar that only X^0 and XP can fall into a movement chain, whereas X' cannot (Chomsky 1994; Chomsky 1995:253).

I pointed out previously that if the non-subcategorized [*hoo*+NP] sequence in the following example, reproduced from (26), is analyzed as a PP, a question will arise as to why the object NP does not have a closer connection with its preceding verb which subcategorizes for it, but turns out to go together with the non-subcategorized PP behind it.

- (60) Gua ban [tsit-liap suainn-a **hoo** a-ku], [nng-liap puat-a **hoo**
1SG pluck one-CLF mango give Uncle two-CLF guava give
a-koo].
Aunt
'I plucked one mango to give it to Uncle, and two guavas to give
them to Aunt.'

In my analysis, the [*hoo*+NP] sequence in a case like (60) is not a PP but part of the secondary predicate. According to my proposed structure for the post-object *hoo* as shown in (55b), the object NP in the matrix clause and the [*hoo*+NP] sequence in the embedded clause may make up a constituent, as represented by VP1. It follows that the coordinate pattern above does not come as a surprise under my analysis since it is a structure of (matrix) VP coordination.

3.3 IP-taking *Hoo*

Just like the IP-taking *gei* in Mandarin, a ditransitive sentence with the IP-taking *hoo* in Taiwanese Southern Min can be a passive. I reproduce the passive *hoo* example in (5) below as (61a) and provide its structural analysis in (61b).

- (61) a. I **hoo** gua sian tsit-e tshui-phue.
3SG give 1SG slap one-CLF mouth-cheek
'S/he got slapped by me in the face.'
b. [_{VP} *i*_j *hoo*_i [_{VP1} *gua*_k *t*_i [_{IP1} Op_j [_{IP2} Pro_k [_{VP2} *sian* *t*_j tsit-e tshui-phue]]]]]]

The structure in (61b) shows that the matrix subject (i.e., the 3rd-person pronoun *i* in Spec_{VP}) transfers a propositional property represented by IP1 to the Recipient in Spec_{VP}. In this particular case, the propositional property of 'my slapping him/her in the face' is transferred to 'me'. In this analysis, the matrix subject is actually a Patient who may actively make him/herself the affected participant of the transferred event, and as a result the passive reading is yielded. This active sense of affectedness can be distinguished from the passive sense of affectedness. The

distinction is clearly captured by the following contrast in English, taken from Huang et al. (2009:115).

- (62) a. *The pedestrian deliberately **was** hit.
 b. The pedestrian deliberately **got** hit.

The above contrast shows that the *get* passive is compatible with an agentive adverb like *deliberately* and thus indicative of the active sense of affectedness, whereas the *be* passive is not compatible with *deliberately* and thus indicative of the passive sense of affectedness (see Lasnik and Fiengo 1974 for more relevant examples and discussion). Given this, we now take a look at how the following three types of Chinese passives behave: *bei* passives in Mandarin (Huang 1999:428), *gei* passives in Mandarin (Lin and Huang 2015:330) and *hoo* passives in Taiwanese Southern Min (Cheng et al. 1999:33).

- (63) a. Zhangsan guyi **bei** Lisi da le.
 Zhangsan intentionally PASS Lisi hit SFP
 ‘Zhangsan intentionally got hit by Lisi.’
 b. Zhangsan guyi **gei** Lisi pian.
 Zhangsan intentionally give Lisi deceive
 ‘Zhangsan intentionally let Lisi deceive him.’
 c. Hit-e tsa-boo-lang thiau-kang **hoo** gua pian-khi ah.
 that-CLF woman intentionally give 1SG deceive SFP
 ‘That woman intentionally got deceived by me.’

The compatibility with the agentive adverb ‘intentionally’ suggests that the three types of Chinese passives behave like English *get* passives rather than English *be* passives. Thus, an analysis that derives the matrix subject of Chinese passives by merging it as a base-generated NP should be more desirable than an analysis that appeals to NP-movement on a par with the derivation of English *be* passives (Wang 1970; Koopman 1984; Travis 1984; Li 1985, 1990).

In my analysis of *hoo* passives, the post-Recipient verbal sequence is an XP. The structure in (61b) shows that the post-Recipient verbal sequence *sian tsit-e tshui-phue* ‘slapping in the face’ is a VP within the

embedded IP. Being an XP, the post-Recipient verbal sequence thus has no problem to serve as a conjunct, as demonstrated in the following example, reproduced from (43). The requirement that conjuncts be maximal projections (recall the discussion in subsection 2.2.2) is met under my XP analysis.

- (64) Gua **hoo** i [phah kah oo-tshenn] li-tshiann [tsam kah
 1SG give 3SG hit RES bruise and kick RES
 lau-hueh].
 bleed
 ‘I got hit to be bruised and also got kicked to be bleeding by
 him/her.’

To put it in a nutshell, the above coordinate pattern favors my XP analysis over Cheng et al.’s (1999) X’ analysis.

3.4 CP-taking *Hoo*

According to Lin and Huang’s (2015) proposal, causative and purposive *gei* sentences in Mandarin involve the IP-taking *gei*. Consider the structures of the following *gei* examples, reproduced from (12) and (10), respectively.

- (65) a. Zhangsan **gei** Lisi de di-yi-ming.
 Zhangsan give Lisi obtain first.place
 ‘Zhangsan caused Lisi to get the first place.’
 b. [_{VP} Zhangsan *gei*_i [_{VP} Lisi_j *t*_i [_{IP} PRO_j de di-yi-ming]]]]⁵
- (66) a. Lisi na-chu-le yi-feng xin **gei** ta kan.
 Lisi take-out-PFV one-CLF letter give 3SG read
 ‘Lisi took out a letter for him/her to read.’
 b. [_{VP1} Lisi_m na-chu_n-le [_{VP1} yi-feng xin_j *t*_n [_{CP} Op_j [_{IP1} PRO_m [_{VP2} *t*_m
*gei*_i [_{VP2} ta_k *t*_i [_{IP2} PRO_k kan *t*_j]]]]]]]]]]

⁵ Following Bošković (1997), Lin and Huang (2015:328 fn. 12) assume that “a nonfinite complement with a PRO subject (such as the clausal complement of *want* in English) is an IP rather than a CP”.

In (65), the matrix subject transfers the property of the Recipient's getting the first place to the Recipient. Since the Recipient's getting the first place is made to be possible due to the transferring event by the matrix subject, it can be said that the matrix subject causes/permits the Recipient to get the first place. In (66), the purposive *gei* construction is composed of a matrix clause and an embedded purposive CP which contains a causative *gei* structure.

Departing from the IP analysis of the causative and purposive *gei*, I propose that causative and purposive *hoo* sentences in Taiwanese Southern Min involve the CP-taking *hoo*. Consider the structures of the following *hoo* examples, reproduced from (6) and (4), respectively.⁶

- (67) a. Gua **hoo** i tloh te-it-mia.
 1SG give 3SG get first.place
 'I caused him/her to get the first place.'
 b. [_{VP} gua hoo_i [_{VP} i_j t_i [_{CP} Pro_j tloh te-it-mia]]]

⁶ One of the anonymous reviewers raised three questions regarding the structure in (68b). First, why is an operator needed here? My reply is that as already mentioned in footnote 4, the assumption of the null operator and its movement is made based on the derivation of English *tough* constructions, as shown in (41). This assumption goes throughout the paper. Second, why is *hoo* base-generated in VP2? My answer is as follows: in my analysis, vP1 is the main predicate while CP1 is the secondary predicate. Inside vP1, the verb *tshiumn* 'sing' is base-generated in V1 and then raises to v1. Inside CP1 exists a ditransitive *gei* structure, which is vP2. In the domain of vP2, *gei* is base-generated in V2 and then raises to v2. This is a natural consequence under the secondary predicate analysis. Third, why does *hoo* move up? I suppose that this might be due to Case considerations. Consider (51), where the 'giving' verb in its base-generated position V⁰ does not c-command the outer internal object (i.e., the Recipient). If we assume that a Case assigner has to c-command its Case assignee, then the 'giving' verb in V⁰ will not be able to assign Case to the Recipient in SpecVP. A solution to this problem concerns V-to-*v* movement. Moving up to *v*, the 'giving' verb will then be able to c-command and thus assign Case to the Recipient. I leave this analysis open.

- (68) a. Gua tshiunn tsit-siu kua **hoo** li thiann.
 1SG sing one-CLF song give 2SG listen
 ‘I sing a song for you to listen to.’
 b. [_{VP1} gua_m tshiunn_n [_{VP1} tsit-siu kua_j t_n [_{CP1} Op_j [_{IP} Pro_m [_{VP2} t_m hoo_i [_{VP2} li_k t_i [_{CP2} Pro_k thiann t_j]]]]]]]]]]

In my analysis, the ditransitive verb *hoo* in both causative and purposive sentences underlyingly selects a CP as its complement. In what follows, I give supporting evidence for this CP analysis.

The first piece of evidence is associated with the following contrast in Mandarin, taken from Lin and Huang (2015:328).

- (69) a. Zhangsan shi Lisi **zuotian** de di-yi-ming.
 Zhangsan cause Lisi yesterday obtain first.place
 ‘Zhangsan caused Lisi to get the first place yesterday.’
 b. *Zhangsan gei Lisi **zuotian** de di-yi-ming.
 Zhangsan give Lisi yesterday obtain first.place
 Intended: ‘Zhangsan caused Lisi to get the first place yesterday.’

Lin and Huang point out that the causative verb *shi* ‘cause’ in (69a) takes a (finite) CP complement which is able to accommodate a time adverb like *zuotian* ‘yesterday’. In contrast, the ditransitive verb *gei* ‘give’ in (69b) takes a (nonfinite) IP complement which is not able to contain a time adverb. This analysis, in my view, can be carried over to the following contrast in Taiwanese Southern Min involving the time adverb *ting-pai* ‘last-time’. The two examples are reproduced from (47a) and (48a), respectively.

- (70) a. Gua hoo i **ting-pai** theh-tioh te-it-mia.
 1SG give 3SG last-time take-get first.place
 ‘I caused him/her to get the first place last time.’
 b. *Gua hoo i **ting-pai** phah tioh-siong.
 1SG give 3SG last-time hit get-injure
 Intended: ‘I got hit and injured by him/her last time.’

The causative *hoo* sentence in (70a) patterns with the causative *shi* sentence in (69a), suggesting that the causative *hoo* should take a (finite) CP complement as the causative *shi* does. On the other hand, the passive *hoo* sentence in (70b) is as ill-formed as the causative *gei* sentence in (69b). This parallel indicates that just like the causative *gei*, the passive *hoo* should also take a (nonfinite) IP complement. While the above contrast remains mysterious under Cheng et al.'s (1999) analysis, it is well dealt with by my analysis.

The CP analysis is also supported by the well-formedness of the following purposive *hoo* sentence.

- (71) Gua phah kuan hun hoo i **ting-pai** theh-tioh te-it-mia.
 1SG to.grade high score give 3SG last-time take-get first.place
 'I gave a high score to cause him/her to get the first place last time.'

In my analysis, purposive *hoo* constructions involve an embedded causative *hoo* structure. Thus, if the causative *hoo* takes a (finite) CP complement in which a time adverb like *ting-pai* 'last-time' may occur, we should predict that a purposive *hoo* construction may allow its embedded causative *hoo* clause to accommodate *ting-pai* 'last-time'. This prediction is borne out, given the well-formedness of (71). This suggests that the CP analysis is on the right track.

The second piece of evidence in support of the CP analysis concerns the following contrast in Mandarin, which, again, comes from Lin and Huang (2015:328).

- (72) a. Zhangsan shi Lisi **keneng** de di-yi-ming.
 Zhangsan cause Lisi likely obtain first.place
 'Zhangsan caused Lisi to be likely to get the first place.'
 b. *Zhangsan gei Lisi **keneng** de di-yi-ming.
 Zhangsan give Lisi likely obtain first.place
 Intended: 'Zhangsan caused Lisi to be likely to get the first place.'

If we follow Tasi (2010) and take Mandarin epistemic modals as located in the CP layer, the above contrast naturally follows. The causative *gei*

sentence in (72b) is ungrammatical because the causative *gei* takes a complement of IP, which is too low to accommodate a CP-level modal like *keneng* ‘likely’. In contrast, the causative verb *shi* in (72a) takes a CP complement, having no problem for a CP-level epistemic modal to stay. I now extend this analysis to the following examples in Taiwanese Southern Min involving the epistemic modal *kho-ling* ‘likely’. The two examples are reproduced from (49a) and (50a), respectively.

- (73) a. Gua e hoo i bo **kho-ling** theh-tioh te-it-mia.
1SG will give 3SG NEG likely take-get first.place
‘I will cause him/her to be unlikely to get the first place.’
b. *Gua e hoo i bo **kho-ling** pah tioh-siong.
1SG will give 3SG NEG likely hit get-injure
Intended: ‘I will get hit and injured impossibly by him/her.’

The above contrast can be satisfactorily explained by my proposal that the causative *hoo* takes a CP complement which is able to house CP-level epistemic modals, while the passive *hoo* takes an IP complement which is unable to house CP-level epistemic modals. This contrast, as pointed out in subsection 2.2.2, is a puzzle for Cheng et al.’s (1999) analysis; however, it presents no problem for my analysis.

The well-formedness of the following purposive *hoo* sentence also offers supporting evidence for the CP analysis.

- (74) Gua e phah ke hun hoo i bo **kho-ling** theh-tioh
1SG will to.grade low score give 3SG NEG likely take-get
te-it-mia.
first.place
‘I will give a low score to cause him/her to be unlikely to get the first place.’

In my analysis, the syntactic structure of purposive *hoo* constructions involves an embedded clause of the causative *hoo*. Thus, if the causative *hoo* takes a CP complement which is able to accommodate CP-level epistemic modals, we predict that an epistemic modal like *kho-ling* ‘likely’ should be able to occur in the embedded clause of a purposive

hoo sentence. The well-formedness of (74) not simply shows that the prediction is borne out, but, more significantly, suggests that the CP analysis holds.

The third piece of evidence comes from object fronting. Fu (1994) and Paul (2002) attribute the following contrast to the fact that finite clauses in Mandarin permit object shift while non-finite clauses do not.

- (75) a. Zhangsan renwei Lisi chi-le **hanbao**.
 Zhangsan think Lisi eat-PFV burger
 ‘Zhangsan thinks that Lisi ate the burger.’
 b. Zhangsan renwei Lisi **hanbao** chi-le.
 Zhangsan think Lisi burger eat-PFV
 ‘Zhangsan thinks that the burger, Lisi ate (it).’
- (76) a. Zhangsan jiao Lisi chi **hanbao**.
 Zhangsan ask Lisi eat burger
 ‘Zhangsan asked Lisi to eat the burger.’
 b. *Zhangsan jiao Lisi **hanbao** chi.
 Zhangsan ask Lisi burger eat
 Intended: ‘Zhangsan asked that the burger, Lisi (should) eat (it).’

Now I apply this test to causative and passive *hoo* sentences. The result is given below.

- (77) a. Gua e hoo i kong-ing theh-tioh **te-it-mia**.
 1SG will give 3SG honorable take-get first.place
 ‘I will cause him/her to get the first place honorably.’
 b. Gua e hoo i **te-it-mia** kong-ing theh-tioh.
 1SG will give 3SG first.place honorable take-get
 ‘I will cause this to happen: the first place, s/he will get (it) honorably.’

- (78) a. Gua bo-se-ji hoo i thiann-tioh **gua-e pi-bit**.
1SG careless give 3SG hear-get 1SG-GEN secret
'I carelessly got this to happen to me: s/he overheard my secret.'
- b. *Gua bo-se-ji hoo i **gua-e pi-bit** thiann-tioh.
1SG careless give 3SG 1SG-GEN secret hear-get
Intended: 'I carelessly got this to happen to me: my secret, s/he overheard (it).'

The result shows that the causative *hoo* sentence allows object shift and should involve a finite (CP) complement clause, whereas the passive *hoo* sentence disallows object shift and should involve a non-finite (IP) complement clause. This is a desirable result for my analysis.

As reviewed previously, the complementizer analysis of the purposive *hoo* leads to an undesirable consequence that in an example like (79), reproduced from (31), there appear two competing complementizers in the same clause.

- (79) Gua tshiunn tsit-siu kua **lai hoo** li thiann.
1SG sing one-CLF song COMP give 2SG listen
'I sing a song for you to listen to.'

This purposive *hoo* sentence, however, presents no problem for the verb analysis of *hoo* proposed in this study. That is, since *hoo* is not a complementizer, it does not conflict with the genuine complementizer *lai*.

I finally discuss coordinate patterns in causative and purposive *hoo* sentences. The following two examples are reproduced from (42) and (44), respectively.

- (80) Gua **hoo** i [tioh te-it-mia], [theh kuan-kun].
1SG give 3SG get first.place take championship
'I caused him/her to get the first place and win the championship.'

- (81) Gua kong tsit-e i-kian; **hoo** lin [tsham-kho e_i] kah
 1SG say one-CLF opinion give 2PL consider and
 [tho-lun e_i].
 discuss
 ‘I express an opinion of mine for you to consider and discuss.’

In my analysis, the causative *hoo* underlyingly takes a CP complement. In (80), the bracketed predicates which fall within the domain of CP are maximal projections (VP or *v*P) and thus have no problem to be coordinated. The same state of affairs is observed in (81), where the purposive *hoo* construction involves an embedded causative *hoo* structure with VP (or *v*P) coordination. In conclusion, my proposed XP analysis is arguably more desirable than Cheng et al.’s (1999) X’ analysis since the former meets the requirement that conjuncts be maximal projections.

3.5 Interim Summary

My analysis of *hoo* is summarized in the following table and compared with Lin and Huang’s (2015) analysis of *gei*.

Table 1. C-selection by *gei* in Mandarin and *hoo* in Taiwanese Southern Min

Patterns \ Verbs	<i>Gei</i>	<i>Hoo</i>
Verbal (DOC)	NP	NP
Post-verbal (V-V compound)	NP	NP
Post-object (dative)	NP	NP
Passive	IP	IP
Causative (or permissive)	IP	CP
Purposive	IP	CP
Preverbal	VP	

This table shows that under the generalized ditransitive analysis, *gei* and *hoo* differ in c-selecting their complements. Specifically, in causative and purposive constructions, *gei* selects an IP complement while *hoo*

selects a CP complement. Also, *gei* can select a VP complement while *hoo* cannot, and this is why *gei* has preverbal uses, but *hoo* does not.

Given that preverbal uses of *hoo* are not available, one might wonder if, in Taiwanese Southern Min, it is possible to express what is conveyed by the preverbal *gei* sentences in (13a-e). The answer is positive, as exemplified below.

- (82) a. Introducing an affected theme
Tiunnsam **ka** mng buah iu-tshat.
Tiunnsam AFF door apply paint
'Tiunnsam painted a coat of paint on the door.'
- b. Introducing a goal
Tiunnsam **ka** Lisu kiok-kiong.
Tiunnsam AFF Lisu bow
'Tiunnsam bowed to Lisu.'
- c. Introducing a source
Tiunnsam **ka** Lisu huat tsinn.
Tiunnsam AFF Lisu fine money
'Tiunnsam fined Lisu.'
- d. Introducing a beneficiary
Tiunnsam **ka** Lisu tsau-tsong.
Tiunnsam AFF Lisu run.errands
'Tiunnsam ran errands for Lisu.'
- e. Introducing an undergoer of a transitive action
Tiunnsam **ka** Lisu se sin-khu.
Tiunnsam AFF Lisu wash body
'Tiunnsam bathed Lisu.'

The function of *ka* in Taiwanese Southern Min, whose counterpart in Mandarin is *ba*, is to introduce an Affectee argument and can thus be taken as an affective marker. Tsai (2017) points out that two Chinese varieties, Taiwanese Southern Min and Sixian Hakka, are found to exhibit a split of affectivity. For example, in Taiwanese Southern Min, *ka* is grouped into the 'with' type of affectivity, while *hoo* is grouped into the 'give' type of affectivity. The former marks the usages of benefactive, goal and disposal, whereas the latter specifies permissive,

passive and dative construals. To derive certain *ka* constructions in Taiwanese Southern Min, Lin (2012) and Yang (2016) propose syntactic analyses which come close to Lin and Huang's (2015) analysis of preverbal *gei* sentences, involving c-selection of VP and V-to-*v* movement. If this line of analysis can be justified to hold for the *ka* cases in (82a-e), the split of affectivity between *hoo* and *ka* may have a desirable explanation in syntax: c-selection comes into play. That is, the affective *hoo* can select a complement of NP, IP or CP, while the affective *ka* can only select a VP complement. I do not pursue this issue further and instead leave it for future research.

4. A RESIDUAL ISSUE ON THE PREPOSING OF [GEI/HOO+NP]

In this section, I would like to answer a question raised by an anonymous reviewer. S/he asked why the [*gei*+NP] sequence can be preposed as in (83), taken from Lin and Huang (2015:316), while the [*hoo*+NP] sequence cannot, as in (84).

(83) **Gei Lisi**, Zhangsan ju-le yi-ge gong.
give Lisi Zhangsan bow-PFV one-CLF bow
'To Lisi, Zhangsan made a bow.'

(84) ***Hoo Lisu**, Tiunnsam kiok tsit-e kiong.
give Lisu Tiunnsam bow one-CLF bow
Intended: 'To Lisu, Tiunnsam made a bow.'

The ungrammaticality of (84) is due to the fact that *hoo* does not have preverbal uses. The following preverbal *hoo* sentence, reproduced from (14b), is ill-formed.

(85) *Tiunnsam **hoo Lisu** kiok-kiong.
Tiunnsam give Lisu bow
Intended: 'Tiunnsam bowed to Lisu.'

Since the preverbal *hoo* is not allowed, the preposing of it and its following NP will not be allowed either.

Regarding the acceptability of (83), Lin and Huang (2015:316) point out that the [*gei*+NP] sequence need not be a preposed PP. They alternatively argue that it is a preposed VP/clausal adverbial. Precisely, the *gei* sentence in (83) is derived via overt movement from the following source in (86) under the adjunction structure as illustrated in (87b).

(86) Zhangsan **gei** **Lisi** ju-le yi-ge gong.
Zhangsan give Lisi bow-PFV one-CLF bow
'Zhangsan made a bow to Lisi.'

(87) a. [_{VP} Zhangsan **gei**_i [_{VP} **Lisi** [_{V'} *t*_i ju-le yi-ge gong]]]
b. [_{VP} Zhangsan [_{VP} **gei** **Lisi**] [_{VP} ju-le yi-ge gong]]

Under the adverbial analysis in (87b), the [*gei*+NP] sequence is a constituent and thus has no problem to be preposed as we see in (83).

The preverbal *gei* structures in (87a-b) are similar to the following ones of the affective marker *ba* in Mandarin, taken from Huang et al. (2009:178).

(88) a. [*ba* [_{VP} NP [_{V'} V [_{VP} V XP]]]]
b. [[_{VP} *ba* NP] [_{VP}]]

Only in (88b) do *ba* and its following NP form a constituent, modifying the VP behind. The above structural ambiguity is well captured by two possible interpretations of the following example (Huang et al. 2009:179).

(89) Wo **ba** **tamen** da de shou dou zhong-le.
1SG AFF 3PL hit RES hand all swollen-PFV
i. 'I hit them such that my hands got swollen.'
ii. 'I hit them such that their hands got swollen.'

Huang et al. (2009) assume that there is an empty pronoun in the complement clause (i.e., the possessor of hands). Also, according to the GCR (Generalized Control Rule) proposed by Huang (1984), an empty pronoun should be identified with the closest c-commanding NP. In (88a), the closest c-commanding NP for the empty pronoun is the post-*ba* NP, hence yielding the reading in (89-ii). In (88b), however, the post-*ba* NP is unable to c-command the empty pronoun. Instead, it is the matrix subject that serves as the closest c-commanding NP for the empty pronoun, hence yielding the reading in (89-i). Likewise, the following preverbal *gei* sentence is also ambiguous with two possible readings.

- (90) Zhangsan **gei** Lisi jugong dao lian dou hong-le.
 Zhangsan give Lisi bow till face all red-PFV
 i. ‘Zhangsan_i bowed to Lisi such that his_i face turned red.’
 (In this case, Zhangsan got embarrassed.)
 ii. ‘Zhangsan bowed to Lisi_i such that his_i face turned red.’
 (In this case, Lisi got embarrassed.)

The ambiguity of this example lends support to the two preverbal *gei* structures in (87a-b) proposed by Lin and Huang (2015).

The above analysis should be on the right track as it makes the correct prediction that if the [*ba*+NP] sequence in (89) is preposed, the ambiguity will disappear, as shown below (Huang et al. 2009:179).

- (91) **Ba tamen**, wo da de shou dou zhong-le.
 AFF 3PL 1SG hit RES hand all swollen-PFV
 i. ‘I hit them such that my hands got swollen.’
 ii. *‘I hit them such that their hands got swollen.’

We first examine the two *ba* structures in (88a-b) with respect to the preposing. In (88a), the preposing is not possible because *ba* and its following NP are obviously not a constituent. In (88b), where the [*ba*+NP] sequence is VP, the preposing is possible. Given this, we next turn to (91), which involves a fronted VP. In this example, the closest c-commanding NP for the empty pronoun in the complement clause is the matrix subject *wo* ‘I’ rather than the post-*ba* NP; therefore, only the

reading in (91-i) is yielded. The same prediction also holds for *gei* sentences; consider the following example.

- (92) **Gei Lisi**, Zhangsan jugong dao lian dou hong-le.
give Lisi Zhangsan bow till face all red-PFV
i. ‘Zhangsan_i bowed to Lisi such that his_i face turned red.’
ii. *‘Zhangsan bowed to Lisi_i such that his_i face turned red.’

The preposing and binding phenomena here directly follow from the adverbial analysis of *gei* in (87b). The movement of the preverbal [*gei*+NP] sequence is allowed because it is an adverbial XP constituent. After this adverbial XP is moved to the sentence-initial position, the closest c-commanding NP for the empty pronoun in the complement clause will be the matrix subject *Zhangsan*; therefore, only the interpretation in (92-i) is yielded.

As a final remark, it seems to me that the adjunction structure of the preverbal *gei* in (87b) results from (87a) via structural reanalysis. It is well known that reanalysis gives rise to language change. The reanalysis of the preverbal [*gei*+NP] sequence as an XP is likely to be an ongoing change for some (but not all) native speakers of Mandarin. Note that Lin and Huang (2015:316) point out that “some Mandarin speakers” find *gei* sentences like (83) acceptable. This implies that not all Mandarin speakers share the same judgment. Regarding this variation, I speculate that for those who accept *gei* sentences like (83), reanalysis has taken place in their dialectal or idiolectal grammar; however, for those who do not, reanalysis does not occur. Note also that while reanalysis is possible for the preverbal *gei*, it is not possible for the preverbal *hoo*. This is because a structure like (87a) is not available for the preverbal *hoo*. Without such a base structure, reanalysis cannot apply and *hoo* sentences like (84) are thus unlikely to be derived via adverbial preposing.

5. CONCLUSION

I have argued in this paper that the morpheme *hoo* in Taiwanese Southern Min is neither a preposition nor a complementizer. In light of

the generalized ditransitive analysis (Lin and Huang 2015), I have proposed that *hoo* is invariably a verb which takes three arguments. The external argument is the matrix subject, the outer internal argument is the Recipient, and the inner internal argument varies in its syntactic category, including NP, IP and CP. The derivation involving the NP-taking *hoo* yields verbal, post-verbal and post-object constructions; the derivation involving the IP-taking *hoo* yields passive constructions; the derivation involving the CP-taking *hoo* yields causative and purposive constructions. This variation in c-selection plays a significant role in bringing about the syntactic diversity of *hoo*.

I have also compared *hoo* constructions in Taiwanese Southern Min with their *gei* counterparts in Mandarin and found that they do not share exactly the same syntactic patterns. For example, they differ in that *gei* may take a VP complement while *hoo* may not. Therefore, only *gei* has preverbal uses. In addition, even though both *hoo* and *gei* have causative and purposive uses, they differ in c-selecting their complement. In my analysis, the causative and purposive *hoo* takes a finite CP complement; nevertheless, the causative and purposive *gei*, according to Lin and Huang's (2015) analysis, takes a nonfinite IP complement. The CP analysis of the causative and purposive *hoo* receives supporting evidence from the empirical fact that the complement clause involved in causative and purposive *hoo* sentences may accommodate time adverbs and epistemic modals which are generally regarded as CP elements.

I end this paper by pointing out the following contributions of the present study. First, since Cheng et al. (1999), there has been a lack of systematic and comprehensive surveys for the syntactic structures of various *hoo* patterns in Taiwanese Southern Min. The research presented in this paper represents an improvement over Cheng et al.'s causative verb analysis, proposing an alternative ditransitive verb analysis with more explanatory power. Second, this study lends support to the generalized ditransitive analysis pioneered by Lin and Huang (2015). It has been shown in this paper that this generalized analysis may apply not only to the syntax of 'give' constructions in a specific variety of a language, but, more importantly, to parametric variation in the syntax of 'giving' among different varieties of a language.

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臺灣閩南語「予」字句之句法研究

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本研究目的有二：（一）探討臺灣閩南語各種「予」字句型之句法結構；（二）比較臺灣閩南語「予」字句以及華語「給」字句之句法表現。研究結果如下：首先，本研究論證「予」字應為動詞，而非介詞或補語詞。其次，本研究受 Lin and Huang (2015) 一文之啟發，提議各種「予」字句型之衍生過程，均含括一通則化雙賓結構，雙賓動詞「予」可選取多種詞類之補語。本研究亦論證，雙賓結構的分析優於 Cheng 等人 (1999) 所提之致使結構的分析。另外，Lin and Huang 指出，華語「給」字可選取名詞組、動詞組或屈折詞組作為補語，而本研究則論述，臺灣閩南語「予」字可選取名詞組、屈折詞組或補語詞組作為補語。正是這種詞類選擇之變異，才導致「給」與「予」在句法上的表現有所不同。

關鍵字：臺灣閩南語、詞類、雙賓、變異、詞類選擇