Causative and Interpersonal Constructions: Manifestations of *Kang⁷* in Modern Taiwanese Southern Min

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From a diachronic perspective, the word *kang⁷* 共 is a versatile function word in Southern Min. It has two equivalents in modern Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM), *ka⁷* 共 and *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合. *Ka⁷* 共 is etymologically related to *kang⁷* 共, while *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 is historically unrelated to *kang⁷* 共.

This paper investigate distribution of *ka⁷* 共 (a marker of source, goal, patient, theme, and beneficiary) and *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 (a conjunction and a comitative marker) in modern Taiwanese Southern Min with data from the scripts of the TV drama *The Sun Shines First in Back Mountain* of Public Television Service (Taiwan).

Two categories of construction, i.e. causative constructions and interpersonal constructions, are examined in this paper. The causative category includes three constructions which are related via metaphorical extension links (Goldberg 1995: 88-90). The interpersonal category encompasses versatile semantic roles (usually human) that interact with other human roles. It is also argued that the criterion in division of labor of *ka⁷* 共 and *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 in modern TSM lies in symmetry.

Key words: Construction Grammar, semantic role, causative, interpersonal, Taiwanese Southern Min

1. Introduction

From a diachronic perspective, the word *kang⁷* 共 is a versatile marker in Southern Min. It has two equivalents, *ka⁷* 共 and *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合, in modern Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM). *Ka⁷* 共 is etymologically related to *kang⁷* 共 and inherits most of its functions, whereas *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 is unrelated to *kang⁷* 共 and replaces part of its functions, specifically in symmetrical constructions.

The most intriguing question concerning $kang^7$ 共 and kap^4/kah^4 合 is: how are the superficially diverse, unrelated, and even conflicting semantic roles marked by $kang^7$ 共 and kap^4/kah^4 合 (such as theme, patient, goal, source, beneficiary, maleficiary, and comitative) unified? A less intriguing yet still important question is: what is the division of labor between ka^7 共 and kap^4/kah^4 合 in modern TSM?

We adopt the framework of Construction Grammar, arguing that a constructional approach sheds light on our corpus-based observations of $kang^7$ 共. The modern TSM data below, if not otherwise mentioned, were retrieved from the scripts of the TV drama *The Sun Shines First in Back Mountain* 後山日先照 of Public Television Service (Taiwan).

Two types of constructions, causative and interpersonal, are proposed to account for the many faces of $kang^7$ 共. It is also claimed that symmetry plays a role in determining whether ka^7 共 or kap^4/kah^4 合 is used in modern TSM.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews previous works on $kang^7$ 共; Section 3 introduces the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar; Section 4 presents $kang^7$ 共 in causative constructions; Section 5 presents $kang^7$ 共 in interpersonal constructions; Section 6 investigates properties of kap^4/kah^4 合; Section 7 concludes this paper with our proposal of connection among the semantic roles.

2. Literature Review

Lien (2002) presents the historical appearance of the grammatical function word $kang^7$ 共 in the Southern Min play scripts $Li^4 Jing^4 Ji^4$ 荔鏡記 during Ming and Qing dynasties, where it was used as a conjunction as well as a versatile case marker. As a conjunction, it can conjoin two noun phrases, two predicates, or two clauses. As a case marker, it marks semantic roles such as goal, source, benefactive, and patient, as well as comitative. The distinction between the use of comitative on the one hand, and that of the rest on the other, is directionality and reciprocality. The comitative marker appears in bidirectional and reciprocal situations, while the rest appears in unidirectional and nonreciprocal ones.

Lien (2015) discusses dialectal variations of the distribution of $kang^7$ 共 and its modern equivalents from a diachronic perspective. In modern TSM, the use of ka^7 共, a reflex of $kang^7$ 共, is limited to nonreciprocal constructions. In reciprocal constructions and coordination, instead, the word kap^4/kah^4 合 as well as its dialectal variants such as $cham^1$ 摻, ham^7 含 and $kiau^1$ 交 are used. In contrast, Southern Min dialects in the coastal regions (such as Quanzhou

and Leizhou) are more conservative regarding the use of *kang*[7]共. The modern use of *ka*[7]共 is etymologically related to *kang*[7]共, while that of *kap*[4]/*kah*[4]合 is not.

Tsao and Lü (1990) and Tsao (1994) suggest that *ka*[7]共 as a patient marker is originally derived from its use as a source marker. To account for the versatile behavior of *ka*[7]共, Jackendoff's (1987) idea of Thematic Tier and Action Tier is adopted in dealing with thematic relations. Roles related to spatial movement such as Goal, Source, and Theme, belongs to Thematic Tier. Roles related to affectedness such as Agent (or Actor in Jackendoff's term) and Patient belongs to Action Tier. The following example shows a plausible channel of change from source to patient (Tsao 1994: 408):

(1) 警察共我罰六百元。[1]

king²-chat⁴ka⁷ gua² huat⁸ lak⁸-pah⁴ khoo¹.

police   KA 1SG fine 600   dollar

'I was fined 600 dollars by the police.'

Based on Tsao (1994), Hung (1995) subsumes the many uses of *ka*[7]共 under the term "object". It covers source, goal, and patient (without complements), but not benefactive and disposal (patient with complements). Likewise, a plausible channel of change from goal to patient is illustrated below (Tsao 2005: 28):

(2) 阿明共 in 某打。

a¹-bing⁵ ka⁷ in¹   boo² phah⁴.

NAME   KA 3SG.GEN   wife beat

'Abing beat his wife.'

Hung (1995) claims that disposal and benefactive are derived from the object (i.e. source, goal, and patient without complements) marker. The disposal use (with a postverbal result complement) of (3b) shares structural and pragmatic similarities with the patient use of (3a). In (4a)-(4c), the benefactive use also shares the same structures with the goal, source, and patient

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[1] The Chinese characters used here may not be standardized. The orthography used here is Taiwan Language Phonetic Alphabet (TLPA). The following abbreviations are used throughout: 1/2/3SG=first/second/third person singular; 1/2/3PL=first/second/third person plural; CLF=classifier; GEN=genitive case (for personal pronouns); INC=inclusive (for first person plural); NAME=proper name; NEG=negative marker; NMZ=nominalizer; PH=phase marker; POSS=possessive marker; PRT=particle; SFP=sentence-final particle; SFX=suffix. The following symbols retain their phonetic form: HOO, KA, and KAP.

uses, respectively. (Tsao 2005: 29)

(3) a. 阿三共阿明打。

a^1-sam^1 ka^7 a^1-bing^5 phah^4.

NAME   KA NAME   beat

'Asam beat Abing.'

b. 阿三共阿明打死啊。

a^1-sam^1 ka^7 a^1-bing^5 phah^4 si^2 ah^4.

NAME   KA NAME   beat   dead SFP

'Asam beat Abing to death.'

(4) a. 你愛會記得共頭家送禮喔。

li^2 ai^3 e^7-ki^3-lit^4 ka^7 thau^5-ke^1 sang^3 le^2 ooh^4.

2SG love remember KA boss   send gift SFP

'Remember to send a gift to your boss.'

b. 阿明共阿美偷提一千元去。

a^1-bing^5 ka^7 a^1-bi^2 thau^1-theh^8 cit^8-ching^1 khoo^1 khi^3.

NAME   KA NAME steal   1000   dollar go

'Abing stole 1000 dollars from Abi.'

c. 阿明共阿三摃斷一支腳骨啊。

a^1-bing^5 ka^7 a^1-sam^1 kong^3 tng^7 cit^8 ki^1 kha^1-kut^4 ah^4.

NAME   KA NAME   hit   broken one CLF foot-bone SFP

'Abing hit Asam and broke one of his foot bones.'

Tsao (2005) unifies the uses of *ka^7* 共 and, following the concept of Actor/Undergoer hierarchy in (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 57-63), suggests that *ka^7* 共 marks Undergoer (which subsumes source, goal, and patient) in the Action Tier.

In Chappell *et al.* (2011), a hypothesis of the development of Southern Min *kang^7* 共 is proposed, starting from the verbal use of "to gather; to share" to comitative "with". From here there are three clines. The first is NP conjunction "and", the second benefactive "for"/dative "to", and the third ablative "from". The accusative (or object) marker is derived from the benefactive "for"/dative "to".

The proposals in Tsao (1994), Hung (1995), and Tsao (2005) seem contradictory to Chappell *et al.* (2011) when the directionality of the benefactive and the object markers are

concerned. It is not clear which argument is more convincing. In this paper, we are not going to deal with the issue of directionality, as the data used here is synchronic. The focus is on the connection among the various semantic roles. We will try to find out possible bridging contexts via which two apparently unrelated roles can be linked.

Lee's (2009) investigation shows that there are two major constructions that employ the *ka…hoo* structure: one is the ditransitive construction, which can be subdivided into dative construction [*ka…hoo* + NP] as in (5a) and purposive construction [*ka…hoo* + NP VP] as in (5b); the other is the resultative construction [*ka…hoo* + RC] as in (5c). Examples below are from Lee (2009: 27-28).

(5) a. 我共 in 三兄弟交予你。

gua^2 ka^7 in^1 $sann^1$ $hiann^1$-ti^7 kau^1 hoo^7 li^2.

1SG KA 3PL three brother give HOO 2SG

'I give the three brothers to you.'

b. 我共缺點講予伊聽。

gua^2 ka^7 $khuat^4$-$tiam^2$ $kong^2$ hoo^7 i^1 $thiann^1$.

1SG KA drawback say HOO 3SG listen

'I talked to him about the drawbacks.'

c. 我先共話講予清楚喔。

gua^2 $sing^1$ ka^7 ue^7 $kong^2$ hoo^7 $ching^1$-cho^2 ooh^4.

1SG first KA words say HOO clear SFP

'I say the words first and make them clear.'

Lee (2009: 43) suggests that ditransitive and resultative constructions can be semantically decomposed as in (6). She argues that *ka…hoo* constructions can be generalized as variants of causative constructions (Lee 2009: 44).

(6) a. Ditransitive: [CAUSE (x, (RECEIVE y, z))]

    b. Resultative: [CAUSE (x, (BECOME y, z))]

The findings of *ka…hoo* structure in Lee (2009) support our idea of incorporating causative constructions in our study of *ka*[7] 共, but the scope of the causative constructions in this paper is much wider, as not all causative constructions containing *ka*[7] 共 are followed by hoo7 予. More on causative constructions will be presented later.

3. Theoretical Framework

In this paper, we adopt the theory of Construction Grammar. This theory is non-derivational and monostratal, like Lexical Functional Grammar (Bresnan 2001), Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984), GPSG (Gazdar *et al.* 1985), HPSG (Pollard and Sag 1994), and Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987).

As defined in Goldberg (1995: 4), "C is a construction iff$_{def}$ C is a form-meaning pair <F_i, S_i> such that some aspect of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions." The basic idea that sets Construction Grammar apart from other theories is that, rather than stipulating a clear-cut distinction between grammar and lexicon, Construction Grammar claims that constructions (form-meaning pairings), which can be as small as a morpheme (e.g. the prefix *anti-* in English) and as large as a sentential construction (e.g. the double object construction [NP V NP NP] in English), are the building blocks of language. Therefore, the dilemma of the traditional lexicon-grammar dichotomy usually faced by the Chomskyan approach resolves automatically. One of the advantages of Construction Grammar is that implausible verb senses are avoided: (Goldberg 1995: 9)

(7) a. He sneezed the napkin off the table.

   b. She baked him a cake.

   c. Dan talked himself blue in the face.

The verbs above appear in sentence patterns that are otherwise incompatible: in (7a), *sneeze* appears in a sentence where verbs of movement (e.g. *take*) normally appears; in (7b), *bake* appears in a sentence where verbs of giving (e.g. *send*) normally appears; in (7c), *talk* appears in a sentence where causative verbs (e.g. *make*) normally appears.

One can propose that there are two argument structures out there for each of the verb above, but the cost is proliferation of argument structures, and maybe word senses. Although the verbs above appear in non-typical sentence patterns, it is not implausible to assume that the argument structures and word senses remain the same.

Construction Grammar has the advantage of avoiding this proliferation by attributing the senses to the sentential constructions per se. Sentences are constructions which provide meanings, as well as contribute to argument structures. (7a) is a caused-motion construction; (7b) is a ditransitive construction; (7c) is a resultative construction. Different constructions

have different constructional arguments. The integration of semantically compatible verbal and constructional arguments determines the meaning of the whole sentence.

Constructions are related via inheritance links. Goldberg (1995: 74-81) describes four kinds of inheritance links: polysemy (IP) links, subpart (IS) links, instance (II) links, and metaphorical extension (IM) links.

Three constructions discussed in Goldberg (1995) belong to causative constructions in a wide sense: Caused-Motion Construction (CMC), Transfer-Caused-Motion Construction (TCMC), and Resultative Construction (RC). In terms of semantic decomposition, we have the following expressions for the three constructions.

(8) a. CMC: X CAUSES Y to BE at Z(LOCATION)

b. TCMC: X CAUSES Y to BE at Z(HUMAN)

c. RC: X CAUSES Y to BE at Z(STATE)

Structurally, CMC contains a subject NP followed by a verb, an object NP, and a preposition followed by a locative NP as in (9a). TCMC contains a subject NP followed by a verb, an object NP, and a preposition followed by a human NP, as in (9b). RC contains a subject NP followed by a verb, an object NP, and a resultant state expressed usually by an AP, though sometimes by a PP or an NP, as in (9c).

(9) a. CMC: [NP V NP P NP(loc)]

b. TCMC: [NP V NP P NP(human)]

c. RC: [NP V NP AP/PP/NP(state)]

Goldberg (1995: 76) lists a paradigm of sentences exhibiting polysemy of CMC based on verb types.[2] It is argued that the senses are related, with (10a) expressing the central sense. Other senses are related to the central sense via polysemy (IP) links, as illustrated in Goldberg (1995: 163).

(10) a. 'X CAUSES Y to MOVE TO Z' (central sense)

Pat pushed the piano into the room.

b. Conditions of satisfaction imply 'X CAUSES Y to MOVE TO Z

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[2] One anonymous reviewer pointed out that examples (10a-c, e) lack the preposition TO. In light of the preposition FROM in (10d), the preposition TO is added for (10a-c, e) for symmetry, even though it does not appear in Goldberg (1995: 76).

　　　　Pat ordered him into the room.

　　c. 'X ENABLES Y to MOVE TO Z'

　　　　Pat allowed Chris into the room.

　　d. 'X CAUSES Y not to MOVE FROM Z'

　　　　Pat locked Chris into the room.

　　e. 'X HELPS Y to MOVE TO Z'

　　　　Pat assisted Chris into the room.

TCMC differs from CMC in that Z is a human being instead of a location. Thus a transfer of ownership is involved. Likewise, RC differs from CMC in that Z is a state instead of a location. Thus a change of state is involved. (11a), (11b), and (11c) are examples of CMC, TCMC, and RC, respectively from Goldberg (1995: 88, 90).

　　(11) a. Joe kicked the bottle into the yard.

　　　　 b. Joe gave his house to the Moonies.

　　　　 c. Joe kicked Bob black and blue.

TCMC inherits properties from CMC via a metaphorical extension (IM) link. The source domain of the metaphor is "physical transfer" and the target domain of the metaphor is "transfer of ownership" (Goldberg 1995: 90). Similarly, RC inherits properties from CMC via a metaphorical extension (IM) link. The source domain of the metaphor is "change of location" and the target domain of the metaphor is "change of state" (Goldberg 1995: 88).

4. *Ka⁷* 共 in Causative Constructions

The three constructions CMC, TCMC, and RC in Goldberg (1995) can be readily applied to data in TSM. Each construction has some variants differing in some minor details. The following subsections discuss the three constructions one by one.

4.1 The Caused-Motion Construction

The first variant of CMC, called CMC1, contains prepositions like *ti⁷* 佇/*tiam³* 踮 (equivalent to English *in/on/at*) and *kau³* 到 (equivalent to English *to*). The form and meaning of CMC1 are shown in (12), and the examples are given in (13).

　　(12) a. Form: NP₁ *ka* NP₂ V *ti/tiam/kau* NP₃

      b. Meaning: X_1 CAUSES Y_2 to MOVE TO Z_3(LOCATION)

(13) a. 你 e 衫阿嬤共尹园在 ni 桑尹房間。[3]

      li^2 e^5 sann^1 a^1-ma^2 ka^7 i^1 khng^3 ti^7 ni^2-sang^3 i^1 pang^5-king^1.

      2SG POSS clothes granny KA 3SG put in brother 3SG room

      'Granny put your clothes in your brother's room.'

      b. 先共物件寄 tiam 伊兜。[4]

      sin^1 ka^7 mih^8-kiann^7 kia^3 tiam^3 i^1 cia^1.

      first KA thing leave:with in 3SG here

      'First, leave the stuff in his place.'

The second variant of CMC, called CMC2, contains postverbal directional complements composed of one optional morpheme *khi² 起* "rise", *loh⁸ 落* "fall", *chut⁴ 出* "exit", *jip⁸ 入* "enter", or *tng² 轉* "return" followed by either *lai⁵ 來* "come" or *khi³ 去* "go". The form and meaning of CMC2 are shown in (14), and the examples are given in (15).[5]

(14) a. Form: NP₁ *ka* NP₂ V-DirComp₃

      b. Meaning: X_1 CAUSES Y_2 to MOVE THROUGH Z_3(PATH)

(15) a. 來來來…大家共杯仔捧起來。

      lai^5 lai^5 lai^5… ta^1-ke^1 ka^7 pue^1-a^2 phang^5 khi^2-lai^5.

      come come come everyone KA cup-SFX hold rise-come

      'Come on, everyone! Raise your cup.'

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[3] Object-fronting is ubiquitous in TSM. In (13a), the object is fronted, but there is still a vestigial pronoun in the post-*ka* position. In other cases, there is no pronoun at all in the post-*ka* position. The reference is usually known contextually (third person). For simplicity we only consider the basic forms in this paper.

[4] One of the anonymous reviewers pointed out that the choice of the preposition affects the meaning: If the preposition is *kau* instead of *tiam* as in (13b), the meaning becomes "send the stuff to his place". Although the difference of *kau* and *tiam* contributes to the difference in interpretation, we also observe that the verb *kia³* is polysemous in having two related senses: "leave (something)" and "send (something)". Moreover, the "caused-motion" sense exists across the different prepositions, which supports our idea of a single caused-motion construction. Despite this observation, we believe that different sub-constructions may exist when different prepositions are used.

[5] One of the anonymous reviewers pointed out that the directional complements have the "motion" sense, thus weakening the legitimacy of this construction. We argue that directional complements are in the lexical/phrasal level, whereas this construction is in the sentential level. It is reasonable to assume that this construction inherits the "motion" sense in the directional complements. The constructionhood would not be undermined even if the "motion" sense does not reside in the schematic construction.

b. 共衫脫落來。

ka^7 sann^1 thng^3 loh^8-lai^5.

KA clothes take:off fall-come

'Take off the clothes.'

c. 咱是毋是應該共 in 送轉去？

lan^2 si^7 m^7 si^7 ing^1-kai^{1}ka^7 in^1 sang^3 tng^2-khi^3?

1PL.INC be NEG be should KA 3PL escort return-go

'Shouldn't we escort them back home?'

d. 就早有一群兵仔共 in 三个攏抓去啊。

to^7 ca^2 u^7 cit^8 kun^5 ping^1-a^2 ka^7 in^1 sann^1 e^5 long^2 liah^8 khi^3 ah^4.

PRT   early have one CLF soldier-SFX KA 3PL three CLF all   arrest go SFP

'The three people were all arrested by a group of soldiers earlier on.'

4.2 The Resultative Construction

The first variant of RC, called RC1, resembles CMC2 in having the same form, but differs in that it does not contain apparent movement, but implies some state change on the part of the object. It contains a postverbal directional complement. Its form and meaning are shown in (16), with examples in (17).

(16) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V-DirComp$_3$

b. Meaning: X$_1$ CAUSES Y$_2$ to BECOME Z$_3$(STATE)

(17) a. 你共神明佮神主牌仔蓋起來。

li^2 ka^7 sin^5-bing^5 kah^4 sin^5-cu^2-pai^5-a^2 kham^3 khi^2-lai^5.

2SG KA god   and ancestral:tablet-SFX cover rise-come

'(You) cover the gods and ancestral tablets (with cloth).'

b. 你若卜出去共門鎖起來喔。

li^2 na^7 beh^4 chut^4-khi^3 ka^7 mng^5 so^2 khi^2-lai^5 ooh^4.

2SG if   want go:out   KA door lock rise-come SFP

'If you want to go out, please lock the door.'

The second variant of RC, called RC2, differs from RC1 in having a postverbal phase complement *tioh^8*著 instead of a directional complement. Its form and meaning are shown in (18), with examples in (19).

(18) a. Form: NP_1 *ka* NP_2 V-PhaseComp$_3$

    b. Meaning: X_1 CAUSES Y_2 to BECOME Z_3(STATE)

(19) a. 若有郎有法度共掠著。

    na^7 u^7 lang^5 u^7 huat^4-too^{7}ka^7 liah^8 tioh^8.

    if   have person have way   KA seize PH

    'If anyone should be able to catch it…'

    b. 我看伊捧杯仔手會 chhoah…毋才會共燙著。

    gua^2 khuann^3 i^1 phang^5 pue^1-a^2 chiu^2 e^7 chuah^4… m^7 ciah^4 e^7 ka^7 thng^3

    1SG see   3SG hold   cup-SFX hand able shiver   NEG PRT   able KA burn

    tioh^8.

    PH

    'As I saw that his hands were shivering holding the cup…that is why he got burned.'

The third variant of RC, called RC3, differs from RC2 in having a postverbal result complement instead of a phase complement. Its form and meaning are shown in (20), with examples in (21).

(20) a. Form: NP_1 *ka* NP_2 V-ResultComp$_3$ (NP_3)

    b. Meaning: X_1 CAUSES Y_2 to BECOME Z_3(RESULT)

(21) a. 就卜共我 choa 死阿。

    to^7 beh^4 ka^7 gua^2 chua^7 si^2 ah^4.

    PRT want KA 1SG scare dead SFP

    '(You) almost scared me to death.'

    b. 我若共伊講，伊一定共 in 大伯拍壞感情。[6]

    gua^2 na^7 ka^7 i^1 kong^2, i^1 it^4-ting^7 ka^7 in^1 tua^7-peh^4 phah^4 phainn^2

    1SG if KA 3SG tell   3SG definitely KA 3SG.GEN uncle   hit   bad

    kam^2-cing^5.

    feeling

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[6] One of the anonymous reviewers indicated that there is dialectal variation in this sentence where *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 is used instead of *ka⁷* 共. I believe that a possible reason for this variation lies in reciprocality (or symmetry). As argued in this paper, *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 appears in reciprocal (or symmetrical) constructions. In this case, the English translation would become "If I told him, the relationship would suffer between him and his eldest paternal uncle."

'If I told him, it would hurt his feelings toward his eldest paternal uncle.'

The fourth variant of RC, called RC4, differs from RC1, RC2, and RC3 in having the multi-functional word *hoo^7* 予 between the verb and the result. Its form and meaning are shown in (22), with examples in (23).

(22) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V *hoo* AP$_3$

b. Meaning: X$_1$ CAUSES Y$_2$ to BECOME Z$_3$(RESULT)

(23) a. 我共妳个被焐乎燒。

gua^2 ka^7 li^2 e^5 phue^7 u^3 hoo^7 sio^1.

1SG   KA 2SG POSS bedquilt   warm HOO hot

'Let me warm your bedquilt.'

b. 共這的代誌講予清楚。

ka^7 cit^4 e^5 tai^7-ci^3 kong^2 hoo^7 ching^1-cho^2.

KA this CLF matter talk   HOO clear

'Discuss this matter and clarify misunderstandings.'

4.3 The Transferred-Caused-Motion Construction

The TCMC, or more widely known as the dative (and sometimes mistakenly, ditransitive) construction, has only one variant, called TCMC1.[7] Its form and meaning are shown in (24) and exemplified in (25).

(24) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V *hoo* NP$_3$

b. Meaning: X$_1$ CAUSES Y$_2$ to BE OWNED BY Z$_3$(HUMAN)

(25) 好,我去共衫送予人。

ho^2, gua^2 khi^3 ka^7 sann^1 sang^3 hoo^7 lang^5.

okay 1SG go   KA clothes give   HOO person

'Okay, I'll give the clothes to somebody.'

4.4 Mapping of Structure and Meaning

It is evident that the distinction of CMC, RC, and TCMC is semantics-based, allowing structural variations within each construction. Below is a summary of the constructions

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[7] In Goldberg (1995: 91), TCMC and the ditransitive construction are viewed as structurally unrelated but semantically synonymous. Following Corollary A of the Principle of No Synoymy, the two constructions are not pragmatically synonymous. The ditransitive construction will not be discussed in this paper.

discussed above.

Table 1: Structures and Meanings of CMC, RC, and TCMC

Construction		Meaning		
		CMC	**RC**	**TCMC**
Structure	NP₁ *ka* NP₂ V *ti/tiam/kau* NP₃	CMC1		
	NP₁ *ka* NP₂ V-DirComp₃	CMC2	RC1	
	NP₁ *ka* NP₂ V-PhaseComp₃		RC2	
	NP₁ *ka* NP₂ V-ResultComp₃ (NP₃)		RC3	
	NP₁ *ka* NP₂ V *hoo* AP₃		RC4	
	NP₁ *ka* NP₂ V *hoo* NP₃			TCMC1

5. *Ka⁷* 共 in Interpersonal Constructions

Interpersonal constructions are novel to the Construction Grammar literature, but from an anthropocentric view of language, interaction among people is essential in human cognition. Interpersonal constructions concern two human (or at least animate) participants engaging in interaction with each other. The relation between two participants can be either symmetrical (including reciprocal) or asymmetrical. The interpersonal constructions discussed in this section are asymmetrical.

Two types of interpersonal constructions are distinguished based on grammatical criteria. In a selected interpersonal construction, the post-*ka* NP is the object of the verb. Therefore, a process of object-fronting by *ka* can be observed. In an unselected interpersonal construction, the post-*ka* NP is not the object of the verb. Therefore, a process of applicativization by *ka* can be observed. There are sub-constructions for each of the interpersonal constructions. After we discuss selected and unselected interpersonal constructions, we explain why interpersonal constructions are incorporated in our research and compare them with causative constructions.

5.1 Selected Interpersonal Construction

Hung (1995) makes a distinction between a *disposal structure* (處置結構) and a *patient structure* (受事者結構). Disposal structures have verbal complements and express telicity whereas patient structures do not. The three causative constructions, i.e. CMC, RC, and TCMC,

belong to disposal structures.

A disposal structure usually has no related patient structure when the post-*ka* NP is inanimate (Tsao 2005: 29). The disposal structure (26a) has a related patient structure (26b) since it contains a post-*ka* human NP. The disposal structure (26c), on the contrary, does not have a related patient structure (26d).

(26) a. 阿三共阿明打死。

a^1-sam^1 ka^7 a^1-bing^5 phah^4 si^2.

NAME   KA NAME   hit   dead

'Asam hit Abing to death.'

b. 阿三共阿明打。[8]

a^1-sam^1 ka^7 a^1-bing^5 phah^4.

NAME   KA NAME   hit

'Asam hit Abing.'

c. 阿明共電視搬走。

a^1-bing^5 ka^7 tian^7-si^7 puann^1 cau^2.

NAME   KA TV   move   away

'Abing moved the TV set away.'

d. *阿明共電視搬。

*a^1-bing^5 ka^7 tian^7-si^7 puann^1.

NAME   KA TV   move

'Abing moved the TV set.' (Intended)

We call this object-fronting construction (which is an instance of patient structures) *selected interpersonal construction* since the post-*ka* NP can be said to be "selected" by the verb. This construction does not always imply affectedness. Its form and meaning are shown in (27), with an example as in (28).

(27) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V

b. Meaning: X$_1$ INTERACTS WITH Y$_2$ BY V-ing Y$_2$

(28) 阿就有郎喔鋤頭鋤著腳啦，我卜緊來共(伊)看。[9]

---

[8] In this paper, this example is classified as a Selected Malefactive Construction, to be discussed later.

[9] The word in the parentheses is not present in the original drama script. It is added here to demonstrate that the post-*ka* third-person pronoun ellipsis is in effect here.

a[1] to[7] u[7] lang[5] ooh[4] ti[5]thau[5] ti[5] tioh[8] kha[1] lah[4], gua[2] beh[4] kin[2] lai[5]

PRT PRT have person SFP hoe dig PH foot SFP 1SG want quick come

ka[7] (i[1]) khuann[3].

KA 3SG look

'Someone got hurt on the foot by digging with a hoe, so I'll go quickly and take a look [at him].'

Objects must be distinguished from patients. Objects are grammatical concepts, whereas patients are semantic concepts. While patients are affected in the sense of the Proto-Patient in Dowty (1991), objects allow a variety of semantic roles and thus are not always affected.

5.1.1 Selected Beneficiary Construction

In most cases, a patient is affected either in a positive way or in a negative way. Kittilä and Zúñiga (2010: 2) give a plausible definition of the beneficiary: "The beneficiary is a participant that is advantageously affected by an event without being its obligatory participant (either agent or primary target, i.e. patient). Since normally only animate participants are capable of making use of the benefit bestowed upon them, beneficiaries are typically animate."

Therefore, in typical cases, beneficiaries are not patients (semantically) or direct objects (grammatically).[10] The definition above, however, does not exclude the possibility of a beneficiary being a direct object at the same time. The semantic role beneficiary can be said to be lexically induced. Therefore, we use the term *selected beneficiary* to denote a beneficiary which happens to be the grammatical object of the verb. The Selected Beneficiary Construction (SBC) can be expressed by the form and meaning in (29), with two examples as in (30).

(29) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V

b. Meaning: X$_1$ INTERACTS WITH Y$_2$(BENEFICIARY) BY V-ing Y$_2$

(30) a. 阮小弟就拜託你好好共伊照顧囉。

gun[2] sio[2]-ti[7] to[7] pai[3]-thok[4] li[2] ho[2]-ho[2] ka[7] i[1] ciau[3]-koo[3] loh[4].

1SG.GEN little:brother PRT entrust 2SG well KA 3SG take:care:of SFP

'I entrust you to take care of my little brother.'

---

[10] Patients are typical internal arguments and rarely omitted. Beneficiaries, on the other hand, can often be omitted. An English counterexample (where the object denotes a beneficiary) is *He avenged his brother*.

b. 有一个少年人跋入去海，咱緊去共救。

u^7 cit^8 e^5 $siau^3$-$lian^5$ $lang^5$ $puah^8$ jip^8-khi^3 hai^2, lan^2 kin^2 khi^3

have one CLF young   person fall:down enter-go sea 1PL.INC quick go

ka^7 kiu^3.

KA rescue

'A young man has fallen into the sea. Let's hurry to save him.'

In (30a), gun^2 sio^2-ti^7 "my little brother" is both the object of the verb $ciau^3$-koo^3 "take care of" and the beneficiary of the caring event. In (30b), cit^8 e^5 $siau^3$-$lian^5$ $lang^5$ "a young man" is both the object of the verb kiu^3 "rescue" and the beneficiary of the rescuing event. Therefore, both objects are beneficiaries.

5.1.2 Selected Maleficiary Construction

Maleficiary is the antonym of beneficiary, though the former is usually classified as a subtype of the latter. The semantic role maleficiary can also be said to be lexically induced. Therefore, we use the term *selected maleficiary* to denote a maleficiary which happens to be the grammatical object of the verb. The Selected Maleficiary Construction (SMC) can be expressed by the form and meaning in (31), with two examples as in (32).

(31) a. Form: NP_1 *ka* NP_2 V

b. Meaning: X_1 INTERACTS WITH Y_2(MALEFICIARY) BY V-ing Y_2

(32) a. 莫共我抓啦。

mai^3 ka^7 gua^2 $liah^8$ lah^4.

NEG KA 1SG arrest SFP

'Please do not arrest me.'

b. 後擺若是有人敢共你欺負，你共我講。，

au^7-pai^2 na^7-si^7 u^7 $lang^5$ $kann^2$ ka^7 li^2 khi^1-hu^7, li^2 ka^7 gua^2 $kong^2$.

next:time if   have person dare KA 2SG bully   2SG KA 1SG tell

'Let me know if you should be bullied by someone next time.'

In (32a), gua^2 "I" is both the object of the verb $liah^8$ "arrest" and the maleficiary of the arrest event. In (32b), li^2 "you" is both the object of the verb khi^1-hu^7 "bully" and the maleficiary of the bullying event. Therefore, both objects are maleficiaries.

5.1.3 Selected Theme-Beneficiary Construction

The Selected Theme-Beneficiary Construction (STBC) can be expressed by the form and meaning in (33), and exemplified by (34). The moved theme in a CMC, a subtype of the causative constructions, can also be human (or at least animate). Therefore, we argue that this construction exhibits multiple inheritance (from both the causative construction and the interpersonal construction).

(33) a. Form: NP_1 *ka* NP_2 V P NP_3

　　 b. Meaning: X_1 INTERACTS WITH Y_2(THEME-BENEFICIARY) BY MOVING Y_2 TO Z_3

(34) 緊共阿母扶在樹仔腳。

　　 kin^2　$ka^7 a^1$-bu^2　hu^5　　　　　　　$ti^7 chiu^7$-a^2 kha^1.

　　 quick KA mom　support:with:hand at tree-SFX foot

　　 'Help move mom (to the shade) under the tree.'

5.2 Unselected Interpersonal Constructions

Semantic roles such as source, goal, and beneficiary are rarely internal arguments of verbs. They are realized in syntactic positions other than the direct objects. In an unselected interpersonal construction, the post-*ka* NP is not "selected" by the verb. It is like an applicative construction where an extra syntactic position is provided to accommodate an external argument.

5.2.1 Unselected Beneficiary Construction

Typically, a beneficiary is not a patient or direct object of the verb. It is not part of the verbal event, but it is affected by the verbal event. The Unselected Beneficiary Construction (UBC) can be expressed by the form and meaning in (35), and exemplified by (36). In (36), a^1-ma^2 "granny" is a potential beneficiary and unrelated to the verbal event $tau^3 ka^1$-$chiu^2$ "help".

(35) a. Form: NP_1 *ka* NP_2 V NP_3

　　 b. Meaning: X_1 INTERACTS WITH Y_2(BENEFICIARY) BY V-ing Z_3

(36) 轉來共阿嬤湊跤手。

　　 tng^2-lai^5　　　$ka^7 a^1$-ma^2 tau^3 ka^1-$chiu^2$.

　　 return-come　KA granny help foot-hand (=chores)

　　 'When you return, help granny with the chores.'

5.2.2 Unselected Maleficiary Construction

A maleficiary is like a beneficiary. It is not a patient or direct object of the verb either. It is not part of the verbal event, but it is affected by the verbal event. The Unselected Maleficiary Construction (UMC) can be expressed by the form and meaning in (37), and exemplified by (38). In (38), lin^2 "you (plural)" is a potential maleficiary and unrelated to the verbal event jia^2 ma^5-$huan^5$ "cause trouble".

(37) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V NP$_3$

   b. Meaning: X$_1$ INTERACTS WITH Y$_2$(MALEFICIARY) BY V-ing Z$_3$

(38) 我毋著愛離開這間厝，才袂共恁惹麻煩？

   gua^2 m^7 tioh^8 ai^3 li^7-khui^1 cit^4 king^1 chu^3, ciah^4 be^7 ka^7 lin^2 jia^2 ma^5-huan^5?

   1SG NEG must love leave thisCLF house PRT NEG KA 2PL cause trouble

   'Shouldn't I leave the house, lest (=in case) I cause any inconvenience?'

5.2.3 Unselected Source Construction

For verbs expressing acquisition of goods or money, either commercially or non-commercially, the second prominent role is source. The Unselected Source Construction (USC) can be expressed by the form and meaning in (39), with examples as in (40a) and (40b).

(39) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V (NP$_3$)

   b. Meaning: X$_1$ INTERACTS WITH Y$_2$ (SOURCE) BY V-ing (Z$_3$)

(40) a. 你愛錢，共恁阿嬤討就有啊。

   li^2 ai^3 cinn^5, ka^7 lin^2 a^1-ma^2 tho^2 to^7 u^7 ah^4.

   2SG love money KA 2SG.GEN granny beg PRT have SFP

   'If you need money, just ask your granny.'

   b. 明仔早起我想卜共你借三輪車。

   mia^5-a^2 ca^2-khi^2 gua^2 siunn^7 beh^4 ka^7 li^2 cioh^4 sann^1-lian^2-chia^1.

   tomorrow morning 1SG think   want KA 2SG borrow tricycle

   'I would like to borrow your tricycle tomorrow morning.'

5.2.4 Unselected Goal Construction

For verbs expressing verbal communication, the second prominent role is goal. The Unselected Goal Construction (UGC) can be expressed by the form and meaning in (41), with examples as in (42a) and (42b).

(41) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V (NP$_3$)

b. Meaning: X$_1$ INTERACTS WITH Y$_2$ (GOAL) BY V-ing (Z$_3$)

(42) a. 我來去共阿嬤投。

gua^2 lai^5 khi^3 ka^7 a^1-ma^2 tau^5.

1SG come go   KA granny inform:against

'I will go tell granny.'

b. 轉去共你阿母講多謝。

tng^2-khi^3 ka^7 lin^2 a^1-bu^2 kong^2 to^1-sia^7.

return‑go   KA 2SG.GEN mom   say   thank:you

'Say "thank you" to your mom for me when you go home.'

5.2.5 Unselected Goal-Beneficiary Construction

The role goal is closely related to beneficiary, as giving someone something usually implies benefits on the part of the recipient. The Unselected Goal-Beneficiary Construction (UGBC) can be expressed by the form and meaning in (43), and exemplified by (44).

(43) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V (NP$_3$)

b. Meaning: X$_1$ INTERACTS WITH Y$_2$ (GOAL-BENEFICIARY) BY V-ing (Z$_3$)

(44) 春生仔，好去共送衫喔。

chun^1-sing^1-a^2, ho^2 khi^3 ka^7 sang^3 sann^1 ooh^4.

NAME-SFX   good go   KA deliver clothes SFP

'Chunsing, it's time to deliver the clothes (to/for someone).'

5.2.6 Unselected Source-Maleficiary Construction

The role source is closely related to maleficiary, as depriving someone of something usually implies adversity on the part of the source. The Unselected Source-Maleficiary Construction (USMC) can be expressed by the form and meaning in (45), and exemplified by (46).

(45) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V (NP$_3$)

b. Meaning: X$_1$ INTERACTS WITH Y$_2$ (SOURCE-MALEFICIARY) BY V-ing (Z$_3$)

(46) 咱的宿舍政府卜共咱收去啊。

lan^2 e^5 sok^4-sia^3 cing^3-hu^2 beh^4 ka^7 lan^2 siu^1 khi^3 ah^4.

1PL.INC POSS dormitory government want KA 1PL.INC retrieve go   SFP

'The government will retrieve our dormitory (from us).'

5.2.7 Unselected Warning Construction

The use of *ka^7* 共 as a warning expression is limited to first person pronouns such as *gua^2* "I" and *lin^2-pe^7* "I (lit. your dad)". The term *lin^2-pe^7* is considered rude and must be avoided in formal contexts. The Unselected Warning Construction (UWC) can be expressed by the form and meaning in (47), and exemplified by (48).

(47) a. Form: NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V

b. Meaning: Y$_2$ WARNS X$_1$

(48) a. 你共我卡細膩 le。

li^2 ka^7 gua^2 khah^4 se^3-ji^7 leh^4.

2SG KA 1SG more careful SFP

'(I warn you.) You be careful.'

b. 你若敢共恁父按怎，我就予你一世人賠袜了。

li^2 na^7 kann^2 ka^7 lin^2 pe^7 an^2-cuann^2, gua^2 to^7 hoo^7 li^2 cit^8-si^3-lang^5

2SG if   dare KA 2SG.GEN dad how   1SG PRT HOO 2SG all:one's:life

pue^5 be^7 liau^2.

compensate NEG end

'If you dare do something (bad), I bet you'll pay for it throughout your life.'

It is not easy to explain how the marker *ka^7* 共 ends up with this usage, but both examples in (48) express negative emotion on the part of the speaker towards the listener. The UWC is usually an imperative sentence. I believe this usage is motivated by the roles beneficiary and maleficiary of *ka^7* 共. The rationale is that the listener's behavior is closely related to the welfare of the speaker, affected either positively or negatively. Because of this affectedness between the two interlocutors, the speaker warns the listener against doing something bad or not doing something good.

5.3 The Motivation behind Interpersonal Constructions

Although the causative constructions are well-motivated and discussed in previous literature, there are doubts on the legitimacy of interpersonal constructions. This subsection aims to justify interpersonal constructions proposed in this paper.

The examples in (26), repeated here as (49), show that, unlike causative constructions,

which impose no semantic constraint on the NPs involved, interpersonal constructions require that all NPs be human (or at least animate). Therefore, the term *interpersonal construction* lives up to its semantic constraint. Moreover, both causative constructions and interpersonal constructions are defined by semantic criteria, and both causation and human interaction are primitive but essential concepts. Furthermore, they share the same structure [NP$_1$ *ka* NP$_2$ V…].

(49) a. 阿三共阿明打死。

   a^1-sam^1 ka^7 a^1-bing^5 phah^4 si^2.

   NAME   KA NAME   hit   dead

   'Asam hit Abing to death.'

 b. 阿三共阿明打。

   a^1-sam^1 ka^7 a^1-bing^5 phah^4.

   NAME   KA NAME   hit

   'Asam hit Abing.'

 c. 阿明共電視搬走。

   a^1-bing^5 ka^7 tian^7-si^7 puann^1 cau^2.

   NAME   KA TV   move   away

   'Abing moved the TV set away.'

 d. *阿明共電視搬。

   *a^1-bing^5 ka^7 tian^7-si^7 puann^1.

   NAME   KA TV   move

   'Abing moved the TV set.' (Intended)

Causative constructions differ from interpersonal constructions in telicity. In (49a), a result complement appears after the verb, rendering the sentence telic. In (49b), the bare activity verb makes the sentence atelic.

The concepts "causation" and "human interaction" can overlap. Loosely speaking, (49a) can be regarded as either causative or interpersonal. The result complement helps in the classification dilemma. As a consequence, the term *interpersonal construction* is reserved to atelic events.

6. *Kap⁴/Kah⁴* 合 in Interpersonal Constructions

The word *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 can be used as a conjunction in a coordinative structure. It conjoins two constituents of the same scale. The resultant constituent occurs in subject and predicate positions as in (50a) or in object position as in (50b).

(50) a. 其實台灣人合外省人啦，總是有好合歹的啦！

ki⁵-sit⁸ tai⁷-uan⁷ lang⁵   kap⁴ gua⁷   sing²   lang⁵ lah⁴ cong²-si⁷ u⁷   ho²

in:fact Taiwan   person KAP foreign province person SFP   no:matter have good

kap⁴ phainn² e⁵   lah⁴!

KAP   bad   NMZ SFP

'In fact, there are always good guys and bad guys, whether they are Taiwanese or those from foreign provinces.'

b. 切一寡豆干合海帶。

chiat⁴ cit⁸-kua² tau⁷-kuann¹ kap⁴ hai²-tua³.

slice some   dried:tofu   KAP kombu (=a type of seaweed)

'Slice some dried tofu and kombu.'

For non-reciprocal predicates, *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 functions as a comitative marker with a sense of "doing something together". This is the first variant of the comitative construction. It can be expressed by the form and meaning in (51), and exemplified by (52). A non-reciprocal predicate does not require its subject to be two persons or more. Verbs of movement such as *khi³* 去 "go" and *tng²-lai⁵* 轉來 "return" can be preceded by a singular subject such as *li²* 你 "you".

(51) a. Form: NP₁ *kap* NP₂ V(NON-RECIPROCAL)

b. Meaning: X₁ AND Y₂ V(NON-RECIPROCAL)

(52) a. 你合雅惠去學校，嘛就愛較注意一下。

li²   kap⁴ nga²-hui⁷ khi³ hak⁸-hau⁷, ma⁷ to⁷   ai³   khah⁴ cu³-i³   cit⁸-e⁷.

2SG KAP NAME   go   school   also PRT love more careful a:little

'When you and Ngahui are at school, you should be more careful.'

b. 你合我轉來。

li²   kap⁴ gua² tng²-lai⁵.

2SG KAP 1SG return-come

'You come home with me.'

For reciprocal predicates, *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 functions as a comitative marker with a sense of "doing something together and to each other", the "to each other" part being contributed by the reciprocal predicates. This is the second variant of the comitative construction. It can be expressed by the form and meaning in (53), and exemplified by (54). A reciprocal predicate requires that at least two participants are involved in the event expressed by the predicate, and there is reciprocality between the participants. Verbs like *cham¹-siong⁵* "discuss" and *kiat⁴-hun¹* "marry" require at least two participants.

This is a bridging context where the comitative marker can also be regarded as a goal marker: Not only do the two participants do something together but they also interact with each other. Therefore, it is an instance of the interpersonal construction.

(53) a. Form: NP₁ … *kap* NP₂ V(RECIPROCAL)

    b. Meaning: X₁ AND Y₂ V(RECIPROCAL) / X₁ V(RECIPROCAL) WITH Y₂

(54) a. 大嫂講有代誌卜合我參詳。

    tua⁷-so²   kong² u⁷   tai⁷-ci³ beh⁴   kap⁴ gua² cham¹-siong⁵.

    sister:in:law say   have matter want KAP 1SG discuss

    'My sister-in-law said she'd like to discuss some matter with me.'

    b. 台灣人合外省人哪有可能會當結婚啦！

    tai⁷-uan⁷lang⁵ kap⁴ gua⁷   sing²   lang⁵   na² u⁷   kho²-ling⁵ e⁷-tang³

    Taiwan person KAP foreign province person how have possible   can

    kiat⁴-hun¹ lah⁴!

    marry   SFP

    'How come a Taiwanese can get married with someone from a foreign province?'

The non-reciprocal and reciprocal predicates discussed above denote activities rather than states. The third variant of the comitative construction combines with a stative predicate. It can be expressed by the form and meaning in (55), and exemplified by (56). There is a sense of symmetry in that exchanging the syntactic positions of the two participants yields a sentence with virtually the same (though maybe pragmatically different) meaning as the original sentence.

(55) a. Form: NP₁ … *kap* NP₂ AP₃(STATIVE)

    b. Meaning: X₁ AND Y₂ BE AT Z₃(STATIVE)

(56) 我的作法嘛是合你共款呢。

gua^2 e^5 co^3-huat^4 ma^7 si^7 kap^4 li^2 kang^7-khuan^2 neh^4.

1SG POSS method:of:work also be KAP 2SG the:same   SFP

'My method of work is the same as yours.'

7. Conclusion

The connection among the various semantic roles discussed here can be summarized below. The directions of the links are not shown, as this synchronic study does not attempt to sort out the clines of grammaticalization, but aims to find out as many links as possible.
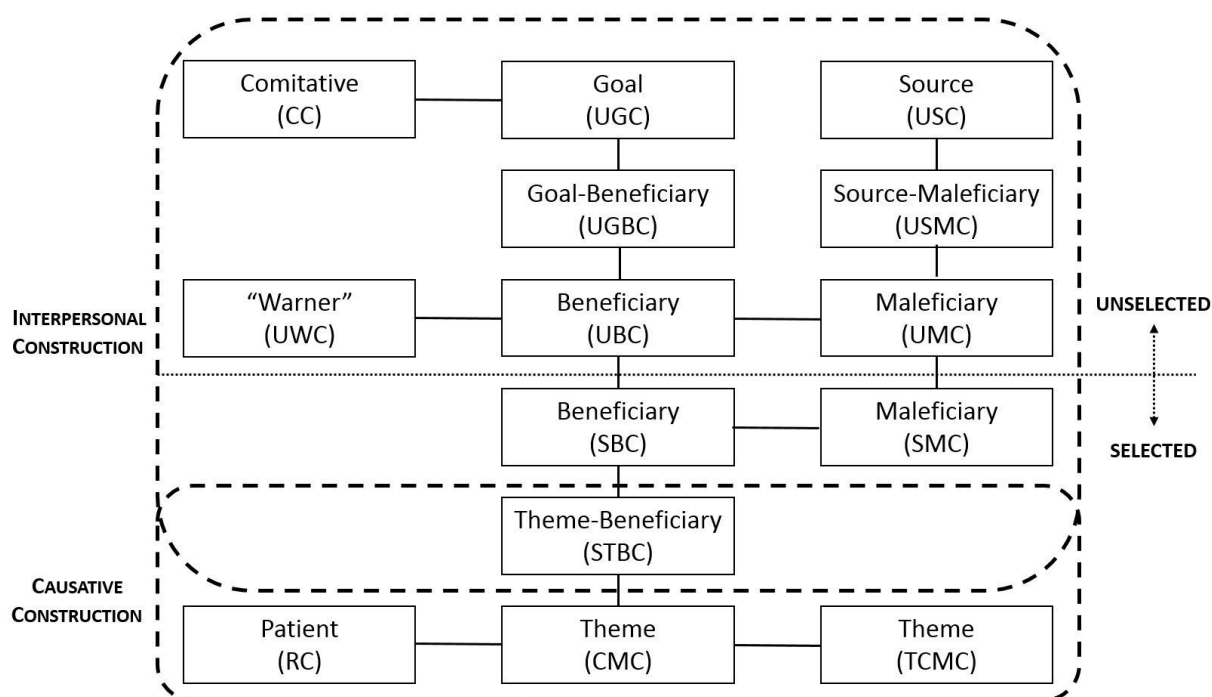

Figure 1: Connection among Semantic Roles of *ka^7* 共 and *kap^4/kah^4* 合

The upper part of the diagram shows the interpersonal construction. The semantic roles comitative, goal, source, beneficiary, and maleficiary are usually external arguments of verbs.

The role goal co-occurs with verbs expressing verbal communication, whereas the role source co-occurs with verbs of acquisition during commercial transaction or noncommercial transfer. The act of taking away is pragmatically related to maleficiary, thus providing a context for the roles source and maleficiary to co-exist. The act of giving is pragmatically related to beneficiary, thus providing a context for the roles goal and beneficiary to co-exist.

The "hybrid" roles goal-beneficiary and source-maleficiary can be regarded as the "bridging" roles between goal and beneficiary, and between source and maleficiary.

The role comitative is related to the role goal. For verbs expressing verbal communication, the "talk-with" sense (a reciprocal point of view) is sometimes interchangeable with the "talk-to" sense (a non-reciprocal point of view).

The "warner" role is not a traditional semantic role. It is semantically vague, yet its relation with beneficiary is obvious.

It is worth noting that the roles beneficiary and maleficiary occur across the unselected interpersonal construction and the selected interpersonal construction. The hybrid role theme-beneficiary provides a condition where the causative construction is connected with the interpersonal construction.

The lower part of the diagram shows the causative construction. RC and TCMC inherit properties from CMC via metaphorical extension links (IM) in the sense of Goldberg (1995). While things moved or transferred belongs to the semantic role theme (for CMC and TCMC), things changed can be more properly categorized as instances of patients.

From our data, there is a bridging context in which the role theme (in CMC) and the role beneficiary co-exist. This context is triggered when the theme, which is typically inanimate, becomes animate (human in this case), thus acquiring the status of beneficiary.

The key to the lexical replacement of historical *kang⁷* 共 by *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 is symmetry. All semantic roles in the interpersonal constructions are asymmetrical, except for comitative. Therefore, we see that only the comitative construction is expressed by *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合, whereas other interpersonal constructions are expressed by the modern successor of *kang⁷* 共, i.e. *ka⁷* 共.

The function of conjunction/coordination does not create a new semantic role, but the idea of symmetry is the same. Thus the division of labor between *ka⁷* 共 on one hand and *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合 on the other hand, lies in the idea of symmetry. The proposal of the causative and interpersonal constructions accommodate the versatile uses of the enigmatic distribution of *ka⁷* 共 and *kap⁴/kah⁴* 合, two modern equivalents of *kang⁵* 共 in TSM.

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使動與人際構式:「共」在現代台灣閩南語的表現

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　　從歷時的觀點來看,閩南語「共」(kang7)可以標記多種功能。對應到現代台灣閩南語,相對應的各種功能由「共」(ka7)與「合」(kap4/kah4)分工取代。「共」(ka7)源自於「共」(kang7),「合」(kap4/kah4)則與「共」(kang7)無歷史淵源。

　　本文探討現代台灣閩南語「共」(ka7)與「合」(kap4/kah4)的分布,前者為來源標記、目標標記、受事標記、客體標記、受惠者標記,後者為連接詞,也是同事者標記。語料取材來自於台灣公共電視台戲劇《後山日先照》劇本台詞。

　　我們討論兩類構式。使動類構式包含了三個次構式,它們之間藉由 Goldberg (1995: 88-90)所提到的比喻延伸連結產生關聯。人際類構式則包含了豐富多樣的各種語意角色(大多表示人),與其他表示人的語意角色產生互動。我們也主張現代台灣閩南語的「共」與「合」的分工原則在於對稱性。

關鍵詞:構式語法、語意角色、使動、人際、台灣閩南語