

## Relating Causative and Passive *Bun* Constructions in Hakka\*

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### ABSTRACT

*Bun* 「分」 is a versatile function word in Hakka which occurs in dative, purposive, causative, and passive constructions. Both causative and passive *bun* constructions have subtypes. Causative *bun* constructions can be interpersonal causatives, unwilling permissives, or descriptive causatives. Passive *bun* constructions can be direct passives, possessive passives, or impersonal passives. Structurally, causative and passive *bun* constructions are indistinguishable, which gives rise to the potential of ambiguity, caused either by the loss of willingness on the part of the subject NPs, or the ergativity of psych verbs. When a verb with low agentivity appears after *bun*, the reading tends to be causative rather than passive, even though the grammatical subject is the semantic object of the post-*bun* transitive verb.

All the subtypes of causative and passive constructions with Hakka *bun* (except for impersonal passives) can be subsumed under an affectedness construction, with the causatives having an affector and an event and the passives having an affectee and an event. The affectedness construction leaves unspecified the semantic role (affector or affectee) of the subject NP. All the subtypes are connected via polysemy links, except for the impersonal passive construction, which is connected to the unwilling permissive via subpart links.

**Key words:** causative, passive, ambiguity, affectedness, Hakka *bun* construction

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\* This study is based on the research project *Indirect Imperatives, Causatives, Permissives, and Passives in Hakka: Interaction of Lexicon and Constructions* (NSC 99-2410-H-134-028-) funded by the Ministry of Science and Technology (formerly National Science Council) of Taiwan, whose financial support is greatly appreciated. I am grateful to the editor and the members of the editorial board. I would also like to extend my thanks to the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions. I am of course responsible for any errors.

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## 1. Introduction

It is cross-linguistically acknowledged that causatives and passives are closely related (Babby 1993; Malchukov 1993; Nedjalkov 1993; Washio 1993; Yap and Iwasaki 2003). An example from English is shown in (1), which exhibits causative-passive ambiguity and means either “John had Mary steal his watch” (causative sense) or “John’s watch was stolen by Mary” (passive sense).

- (1) *John had his watch stolen by Mary.*

In Hakka, causative-passive ambiguity can be found in the example below. In (2), dad is the causer/stimulus of mom’s annoyance (causative sense) or the patient/experiencer of mom’s annoying behavior (passive sense). This example contains the function word *bun*, and therefore we may attribute the ambiguity to this polysemous word, or the construction containing it.

- (2) 阿爸分阿姆譴死。<sup>1</sup>  
 $a^{24}ba^{24}$   $bun^{24}$   $a^{24}me^{24}$   $kien^{31}$   $xi^{31}$ .  
 dad BUN mom angry die  
 “Dad annoyed mom very much.” (causative sense)  
 “Dad got very annoyed by mom.” (passive sense)

<sup>1</sup> Part of the examples used in this paper are from the NCCU Corpus of Spoken Hakka (國立政治大學客語口語語料庫) at <http://140.119.172.200/> and Hakka data collected and transcribed by teachers and research assistants at related departments/institutes of various universities in Taiwan, whose efforts and kindness in sharing the data are heartily appreciated. Romanization and tonal marks of Hakka examples are based on Northern Sixian dialect spoken mainly in Miaoli County and Taoyuan County in Taiwan. Cited Hakka examples are adapted here for consistency. Abbreviations used here include: 1/2/3SG=first/second/third-person singular nominative (or accusative); 1/2/3SG.G=first/second/third-person singular genitive; ASP=aspect marker; CL=classifier; NEG=negation marker; PH=phase marker; PRT=particle; QM=question marker; SFX=suffix. The following are used in Hakka only: BUN=*bun* marker; DO=locative/result/extent marker; GE=possessive/genitive/adjective marker; LAU=*lau* marker. The following are used in Mandarin Chinese only: BA=*ba* marker; BEI=*bei* marker; JIANG=*jiang* marker; JIAO=*jiao* marker; RANG=*rang* marker.

The original sense of the lexical verb *bun* is “to give.” Synchronically, it is also a versatile function word: a goal marker as in (3a), a complementizer as in (3b), a causative marker as in (3c), and an agent marker as in (3d) (cf. Lai 2001: 139).

- (3) a. 佢送一枝筆分僮。  
*gi*<sup>11</sup> *sung*<sup>55</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *gi*<sup>24</sup> *bid*<sup>2</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *ngai*<sup>11</sup>.  
 3SG give one CL pen BUN 1SG  
 “He gave a pen to me.”
- b. 佢帶東西分狗仔食。  
*gi*<sup>11</sup> *dai*<sup>55</sup> *dung*<sup>24</sup> *xi*<sup>24</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *gieu*<sup>31</sup> -*e*<sup>31</sup> *siid*<sup>5</sup>.  
 3SG bring thing BUN dog-SFX eat  
 “He brought food for the dog to eat.”
- c. 佢會分僮去台北。  
*gi*<sup>11</sup> *voi*<sup>55</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *ngai*<sup>11</sup> *hi*<sup>55</sup> *toi*<sup>11</sup> *bed*<sup>2</sup>.  
 3SG would BUN 1SG go Taipei  
 “He would let me go to Taipei.”
- d. 佢分僮打。  
*gi*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *ngai*<sup>11</sup> *da*<sup>31</sup>.  
 3SG BUN 1SG beat  
 “He was beaten by me.”

(3a) is a dative construction with the verb marking a theme and *bun* marking a recipient of transfer.<sup>2</sup> (3b) is a purposive construction with *bun* marking a purpose clause.<sup>3</sup> (3a) and (3b) are structurally overlapping and can be expressed by the template

<sup>2</sup> The terms “ditransitive” and “dative” are not distinguished in many previous works. However, we believe that “ditransitive” is structurally defined (containing a transitive verb with two objects) while “dative” is semantically defined (containing a sense of transfer). Neither term can be subsumed under the other. Since it is the semantic role “goal/recipient” that concerns us, we prefer using the term “dative” in the discussion. Studies of dative constructions from constructional perspectives can be found cross-linguistically, for example English (Goldberg 1995), Mandarin Chinese (Liu 2006), and Hakka (Huang 2012a).

<sup>3</sup> A functional definition of purposive constructions is provided in Schmidtke-Bode (2009: 1): “Purpose clauses are part of complex sentence constructions which encode that one verbal situation, that of the matrix clause, is performed with the intention of bringing about another situation, that of the purpose

in (4a).

(3c) is a causative construction, where the subject of the main clause marks the causer, and *bun* marks the causee. (3d) is a passive construction, where the subject of the main clause marks the patient, and *bun* marks the agent. (3c) and (3d) are structurally identical and can be expressed by the template in (4b).

- (4) a. NP V NP *bun* NP (V (NP))  
 b. NP *bun* NP V (NP)

From (4a) and (4b), we see that *bun* appears postverbally in dative and purposive constructions, but preverbally in causative and passive constructions. Although structural differences separate causative and passive constructions from dative and purposive constructions, both syntactic alternations as well as semantic criteria play a role in further classification of causatives and passives.

This paper aims at answering the following series of questions: First, how are *bun* causatives and *bun* passives related in Hakka? Do they have subtypes? Are they mutually exclusive of one another or overlapping? Second, what are the conditions that trigger the derivation from causatives to passives in Hakka? Third, is there a core meaning that exists across the *bun* causatives and the *bun* passives?

The organization of the paper is as below: Section 2 presents the theoretical framework; Section 3 discusses causative constructions; Section 4 discusses passive constructions; Section 5 illustrates the relations between causatives and passives; Section 6 concludes our study.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

This paper follows the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar as proposed in Goldberg (1995). This section consists of a brief introduction to Construction Grammar,

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clause.” The central conceptual ingredients of purpose are intentionality, target-directedness, future orientation, and a hypothetical result state (Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 19). For a detailed study of purposive constructions in Mandarin Chinese, the reader is referred to Paul (1988).

and how constructions are related, as well as a review on the relations of ambiguity, vagueness, and polysemy.

## 2.1 Introducing Construction Grammar

Constructions are taken to be the “building blocks” of language. Refuted are the traditional views that lexicon and grammar are separated, and that idiomatic expressions are peripheral and beyond the scope of “core grammar.” A construction can be of various scales: as small as a morpheme or a word, or as large as a phrase or a sentence. Thus the clear-cut distinction between lexicon and grammar is blurred, and everything is subsumed under constructions.

Ideas in the spirit of Construction Grammar have sprouted for decades. For example, Fillmore et al. (1988) discusses the lexically-filled construction *let alone* in English, focusing on its syntactic idiosyncrasies. Partially-filled constructions are exemplified by the *V-ing NP away* construction (Jackendoff 1997) and *What’s X doing Y?* construction (Kay and Fillmore 1999).

Goldberg (1995) is the first systematic work which tackles the issues of argument structure constructions such as dative constructions, caused-motion constructions, and resultative constructions. According to Goldberg (1995: 4), “C is a CONSTRUCTION iff<sub>def</sub> C is a form-meaning pair  $\langle F_i, S_i \rangle$  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 argument-structure constructions discussed in Goldberg (1995) belong to schematic constructions, which contain no lexical items at all. Instead, they are like “skeletons” which are to be combined with “fleshes and bloods.”

To explain the interaction between lexical verbs and argument-structure constructions, two kinds of roles are distinguished: Each argument-structure construction is prefabricated with a set of *argument roles*, whereas each lexical verb has *participant roles* in the traditional sense of argument structures. The fusion of participant roles and argument roles must respect The Semantic Coherence Principle and The Correspondence Principle detailed in Goldberg (1995: 50-52).

## 2.2 Relations among Constructions

The constructions do not exist randomly and independently. They are interconnected and share properties with one another. In other words, constructions are related in the sense that other constructions may justify and motivate their own existence, and vice versa. Constructions constitute a hierarchical network via inheritance links.

Four psychological principles of language organization lend support to the existence of inheritance links (Goldberg 1995: 67-69): The Principle of Maximized Motivation, The Principle of No Synonymy, The Principle of Maximized Expressive Power, and The Principle of Maximized Economy.

The four inheritance links are the polysemy ( $I_P$ ) link, the metaphorical extension ( $I_M$ ) link, the subpart ( $I_S$ ) link, and the instance ( $I_I$ ) link. In what follows only the polysemy link and the subpart link are elaborated, since they capture the relations among various causative and passive constructions in Hakka, while the other links are irrelevant.

Polysemy links are proposed to explain constructional polysemy, a phenomenon like lexical polysemy in traditional lexical semantics. The many senses of English ditransitive construction family are captured by positing a central, prototypical sense and linking other related senses to this one via polysemy links, as illustrated in Goldberg (1995: 75) with the following examples.

- (5) a. 'X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z' (central sense)  
 Example: *Joe gave Sally the ball.*
- b. Conditions of satisfaction imply 'X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z'  
 Example: *Joe promised Bob a car.*
- c. 'X ENABLES Y to RECEIVE Z'  
 Example: *Joe permitted Chris an apple.*
- d. 'X CAUSES Y not to RECEIVE Z'  
 Example: *Joe refused Bob a cookie.*
- e. 'X INTENDS to CAUSE Y to RECEIVE Z'  
 Example: *Joe baked Bob a cake.*

f. ‘X ACTS to CAUSE Y to RECEIVE Z at some future point in time’

Example: *Joe bequeathed Bob a fortune.*

We see that there is a central sense (‘X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z’) among the various examples above. Each example, however, has its own addition or modification on this central sense. Therefore, in analogy to *lexical polysemy* found in human languages, Goldberg (1995) proposes that *constructional polysemy* is ubiquitous across-linguistically, which is captured by polysemy links.

Subpart links are illustrated by the relation between the intransitive resultative construction (6a) and the (transitive) resultative construction (6b) in English. Structurally, the former is identical to a part of the latter. Semantically, the former describes an event (a result event in particular) which is identical to the latter part of the two subevents described by the latter (a cause subevent and a result subevent).

- (6) a. *The box flipped open.*  
 b. *John flipped open the box.*

### 2.3 Ambiguity, Vagueness, and Polysemy

Traditionally, ambiguity, vagueness, and polysemy are clearly defined notions which are mutually exclusive to each other. Thus, one may infer that the polysemy links introduced previously may suggest that constructions are immune to ambiguity and vagueness. This is not true and deserves some clarification.

We follow the argumentation in Tuggy (1993) which suggests that the borderline between ambiguity and vagueness is fuzzy, and that they actually occupy opposite ends of a continuum with polysemy in the middle. Based on Langacker’s (1987) framework of Cognitive Grammar, Tuggy (1993: 279) calls what two cognitive structures have in common a “schema,” and represents its relationship to its elaborations (or subcases) by arrows from the schema to each elaboration. “Both schemas and their elaborations can coexist in a language; they exist to the degree that they are established (entrenched) in speakers’ minds through repeated usage.” (ibid.)

Tuggy (1993: 280-281) further assumes that “[t]he prototypical case of ambiguity is

where two semantic structures, associated with the same phonological structure (which is called their *phonological pole*), are both well entrenched (and therefore salient), while there is no well-entrenched and elaboratively close schema, also linked to the phonological pole, subsuming them.” and that “[p]rototypical vagueness, on the other hand, involves meanings which are not well-entrenched but which have a relatively well-entrenched, elaboratively close schema subsuming them.” They form a cline as illustrated in the figure below (redrawn from Tuggy 1993: 281), with the leftmost schema representing prototypical ambiguity and the rightmost schema representing prototypical vagueness.

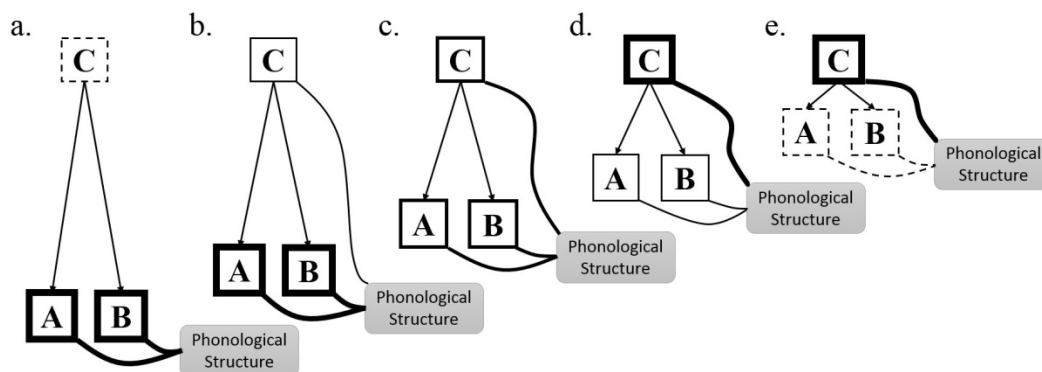


Figure 1: The ambiguity-vagueness cline

Typical examples along the ambiguity-vagueness cline are *bank*, *paint*, and *aunt*, illustrated below (redrawn from Tuggy 1993: 283). The noun *bank* is ambiguous in the traditional sense. Its poorly-entrenched schema is THING, and two well-entrenched elaborations are RIVER EDGE and FINANCIAL INSTITUTION. The noun *aunt* is vague in the traditional sense. Its well-entrenched schema is PARENT’S SISTER, and two poorly-entrenched elaborations are FATHER’S SISTER and MOTHER’S SISTER. The verb *paint* is polysemous in the traditional sense. Both its schema (APPLY PAINT TO SURFACE) and two elaborations (ARTISTIC PAINT and UTILITARIAN PAINT) are entrenched to some degree.



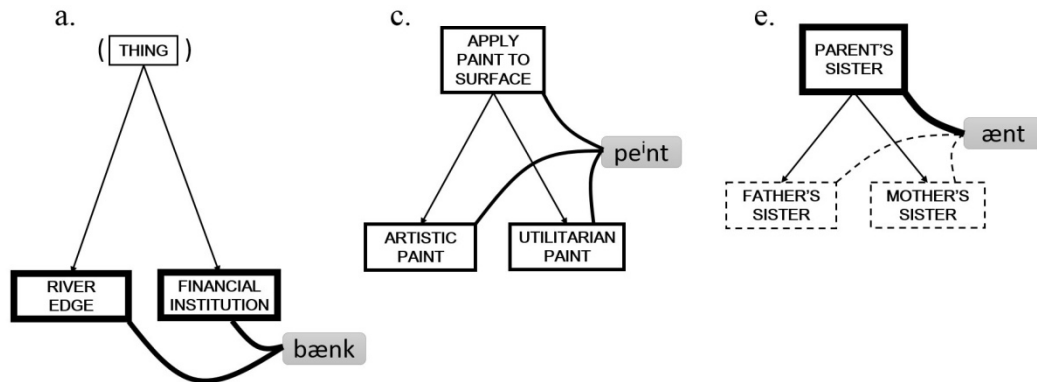


Figure 2: Typical examples along the ambiguity-vagueness cline

Since the degree of entrenchment varies from context to context, it is not easy to distinguish polysemy from either ambiguity or vagueness. We may assume that polysemy in its widest sense covers non-prototypical ambiguity and non-prototypical vagueness. Therefore, we do not have to posit something like “ambiguity link” or “vagueness link” in addition to polysemy link, as it covers many cases around the middle of the ambiguity-vagueness cline.

### 3. Causative Constructions

Causation is a fundamental notion to human beings. Disregarding its philosophical implications, we can still tackle the issue of causation from different linguistic perspectives. This section presents the classification of causative constructions (constructions where causation is involved) based on structural and semantic criteria.

#### 3.1 Structural Classifications of Causatives

Structural classifications of causatives can be tackled in terms of syntax and morphology. Dixon (2000: 33-41) suggests that causatives may have the following different types of formal markings: (i) morphological processes; (ii) two verbs in one predicate; (iii) periphrastic causatives; (iv) lexical causatives; (v) exchanging auxiliaries. However, a more popular distinction can be found in Comrie (1989), who distinguishes

among *lexical causatives*, *morphological causatives*, and *analytic causatives*. The following provides a brief introduction with examples.

Lexical causatives are lexical items encoded with causation. English verbs such as *kill* is a typical example of lexical causatives, which can be paraphrased as “cause someone to die.” Additionally, verbs traditionally said to be involved in ergative alternation are also related to lexical causatives, where a causative verb has the same form as its inchoative counterpart, e.g. *break*, *open*, and *sink*. For each inchoative verb with meaning “X,” we can find another causative verb with meaning “cause to X.” Monosyllabic lexical causatives are rare (if not non-existent) in Modern Mandarin Chinese, an example being the verb 開 *kai*<sup>1</sup> “to open” which participates in the causative-inchoative alternation as observed in Tang (2002).

Morphological causatives employ morphological operations to denote causation. An example from Comrie (1989) is the Turkish verb *öl-dür* “to kill,” which can be analyzed as two morphemes: *öl* (which means “to die”) and *-dür* (an allomorph of the Turkish causative suffix *-dir* through vowel harmony). In addition to affixation, other morphological means can be found. According to Lien (1999), tonal alternation such as 斷 *tng*<sup>7</sup> “to break” and 斷 *tng*<sup>2</sup> “to cause to break” and initial alternation such as 上 *chiunn*<sup>7</sup> “to ascend” and 上 *chhiunn*<sup>7</sup> “to cause to ascend” are not uncommon in Taiwan Southern Min.

Analytic causatives require syntactic means to express causation. English verbs such as *cause* and *have* are typical examples. Sinitic languages are analytic in nature, so analytic causatives can be found in Mandarin like 教 *jiao*<sup>4</sup>, 讓 *rang*<sup>4</sup>, and 給 *gei*<sup>3</sup> (Chang 2006), in Taiwan Southern Min like 與 *hoo*<sup>7</sup>, 拍 *phah*<sup>4</sup>, and 創 *chhong*<sup>3</sup> (Lien 1999), and in Hakka like 分 *bun*<sup>24</sup> (Lai 2001).

### 3.2 Semantic Classifications of Causatives

Semantic classifications are more controversial than structural ones since different criteria are used in different classifications. Dixon (2000: 62) provides nine parameters of causation: (i) relating to the verb: state/action and transitivity; (ii) relating to the cause: control, volition, and affectedness; (iii) relating to the causer: directness, intension, naturalness, and involvement. Talmy (2000) provides a model of Force Dynamics which

explains subtypes of causation such as helping, letting, preventing, and overcoming. It consists of the Agonist (the focal force entity) and the Antagonist (the force element that opposes it) which interact with each other. Both the Agonist and the Antagonist have their own intrinsic force tendencies of being toward action or rest. The resultant of the force interaction is either action or rest, depending on which entity is stronger. The subtypes of causation are determined by parametric variations in the model.

Although the semantic classifications presented above are fine-grained, they do not capture the basic tenets of causation. Cognitively, causation is a kind of relation between two events: the causing event and the caused event (Talmy 2000: 482). Based on this notion, we examine the semantic distinctions of causatives in Mandarin Chinese below.

S. Huang (1974) distinguishes between *event causatives* and *factive causatives*, exemplified in (7a) and (7b), respectively.

- (7) a. 張三把他踢死了。  
*zhang<sup>1</sup>san<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> si<sup>3</sup> le.*  
 Zhangsan BA 3SG kick dead PRT  
 “Zhangsan kicked him dead.”
- b. 照片把我嚇了一跳。  
*zhao<sup>4</sup>pian<sup>4</sup> ba<sup>3</sup> wo<sup>3</sup> xia<sup>4</sup> le yi<sup>2</sup>tiao<sup>4</sup>.*  
 photo BA 1SG scare PRT one:jump  
 “The photo scared me so much that I jumped up.”

In event causatives, both the causing and the caused events are ideally expressed. In (7a), the causing event is Zhangsan’s kicking someone, and the caused event is this person’s being dead. In factive causatives, no such causing events can be found. Although we can still identify the caused event in (7b): the speaker’s surprise/jumping up, it is not easy to identify the causing event. The photo is an entity that cannot perform any kind of actions upon human beings, so the only plausible causing event is the speaker’s eye contact with the photo, which is not explicitly expressed in the sentence. Therefore, the causation in this example can be analyzed as having a relation between a thing and an event rather than between two events.

Chang (2005) distinguishes between *interpersonal causatives* and *descriptive causatives*.<sup>4</sup> An interpersonal causative implies a relation between two human beings where one human being exerts authority over the other, whereas a descriptive causative implies a relation between an entity (a fact or a thing) and an event denoting a psychological state.

- (8) a. 我攔住河沿，不讓他回去，務要將他擒了。

wo<sup>3</sup> lan<sup>2</sup>zhu<sup>4</sup> he<sup>2</sup>yan<sup>2</sup>, bu<sup>2</sup> rang<sup>4</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> hui<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>4</sup>,

1SG intercept riverbank NEG RANG 3SG return

wu<sup>4</sup> yao<sup>4</sup> jiang<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> qin<sup>2</sup> le.

definitely want JIANG 3SG catch PRT

“I will intercept him at the riverbank, keep him from returning, and catch him.”

- b. 他這種情形真讓我擔心。

ta<sup>1</sup> zhe<sup>4</sup> zhong<sup>3</sup> qing<sup>2</sup>xing<sup>2</sup> zhen<sup>1</sup> rang<sup>4</sup> wo<sup>3</sup> dan<sup>1</sup>xin<sup>1</sup>.

3SG this kind situation really RANG 1SG worry

“The situation he is in really worries me.”

We may conclude that event causatives and factive causatives are expressed by the disposal marker 把 *ba*<sup>3</sup>, whereas interpersonal causatives and descriptive causatives are expressed by the causative marker 讓 *rang*<sup>4</sup>. However, this is not necessarily true. Event causatives and factive causatives (7a) and (7b) can be expressed without 把 *ba*<sup>3</sup> as in (9a) and (9b), though interpersonal causatives and descriptive causatives require the existence of 讓 *rang*<sup>4</sup>. In addition, although (7b) can also be paraphrased with 讓 *rang*<sup>4</sup> as in (9c), this may be due to the duality of the phrase 嚇一跳 *xia*<sup>4</sup>*yi*<sup>2</sup>*tiao*<sup>4</sup>, which can be interpreted as causative as in (7b) and (9b), or inchoative as in (9c). In other words, the distinction of factive causatives and descriptive causatives lies in the nature of the predicates they contain: factive causatives contain causative predicates, while descriptive causatives

<sup>4</sup> The terms *interpersonal causative* and *descriptive causative* are the current author's translation of 使役 and 描述性致使, respectively. Interpersonal causatives are identical to *indirect imperatives* in Teng (1989: 229).

contain inchoative predicates. In terms of structural criteria, factive causatives are lexical causatives, while descriptive causatives are analytic causatives. Therefore, all four types of causatives are independent of each other, none of which can be subsumed under another.

- (9) a. 張三踢死了他。  
*zhang<sup>1</sup>san<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> si<sup>3</sup> le ta<sup>1</sup>.*  
 Zhangsan kick dead PRT 3SG  
 “Zhangsan kicked him dead.”
- b. 照片嚇了我一跳。  
*zhao<sup>4</sup>pian<sup>4</sup> xia<sup>4</sup> le wo<sup>3</sup> yi<sup>2</sup>tiao<sup>4</sup>.*  
 photo scare PRT 1SG one:jump  
 “The photo scared me so much that I jumped up.”
- c. 照片讓我嚇了一跳。  
*zhao<sup>4</sup>pian<sup>4</sup> rang<sup>4</sup> wo<sup>3</sup> xia<sup>4</sup> le yi<sup>2</sup>tiao<sup>4</sup>.*  
 photo RANG 1SG scare PRT one:jump  
 “The photo made me scared so much that I jumped up.”

Event causatives can be expressed by *lau*, a multi-functional word in Hakka.<sup>5</sup> The original sense of the lexical verb *lau* is “to mix.” Synchronically, it is also a versatile function word: Lai (2003: 534) observes that it marks the comitative role in (10a), the source role in (10b), the goal role in (10c), the beneficiary role in (10d), and the patient role in (10e).

- (10) a. 阿英摻阿姨共下去街頂。  
*a<sup>24</sup>in<sup>24</sup> lau<sup>24</sup> a<sup>24</sup>i<sup>11</sup> kiung<sup>55</sup>ha<sup>55</sup> hi<sup>55</sup> gie<sup>24</sup>dang<sup>31</sup>.*  
 Ayin LAU aunt together go downtown  
 “Ayin, together with her aunt, went downtown.”

<sup>5</sup> There is a dialectal variation concerning the use of multi-functional words *lau* (摻) and *tung* (同) in Sixian Hakka of Taiwan. Northern Sixian Hakka (spoken mainly in Miaoli County and Taoyuan County) uses *lau* (摻) dominantly, whereas Southern Sixian Hakka (spoken mainly in Pingtung County and Kaohsiung City) uses *tung* (同) dominantly. The use of *tung* (同) is also dominant in Dongshi Hakka (see Chiang 2006).

- b. 阿英摻佢借錢。  
 $a^{24}in^{24}$   $lau^{24}$   $gi^{11}$   $jia^{55}$   $qien^{11}$ .  
 Ayin LAU 3SG borrow money  
 “Ayin borrowed money from him.”
- c. 阿英摻阿明講故事。  
 $a^{24}in^{24}$   $lau^{24}$   $a^{24}min^{11}$   $gong^{31}$   $gu^{55}si^{55}$ .  
 Ayin LAU Amin tell story  
 “Ayin told a story to Amin.”
- d. 阿英摻厥俵仔買一坵田。  
 $a^{24}in^{24}$   $lau^{24}$   $gia^{24}$   $lai^{55}-e^{31}$   $mai^{24}$   $id^2$   $kiu^{24}$   $tien^{11}$ .  
 Ayin LAU 3SG.G son-SFX buy one CL land  
 “Ayin bought a piece of land for her son.”
- e. 阿明摻杯仔打爛咧。  
 $a^{24}min^{11}$   $lau^{24}$   $bi^{24}-e^{31}$   $da^{31}lan^{55}$   $le^{11}$ .  
 Amin LAU cup-SFX break PRT  
 “Amin broke the cup.”

Structurally, all examples in (10) share the template in (11), with *lau* always appearing preverbally. Since the post-*lau* NP in (10e) is a patient and the verbal complex contains a part expressing the result of the action (爛  $lan^{55}$  “to break or to be broken”), it is also a causee, and thus (10e) is an instance of causative constructions.

(11) NP *lau* NP V (NP)

More examples of *lau* causatives are shown below. In (12a), Ayin’s action causes the cup to break. In (12b), Ayin’s crying causes her eyes to turn red. Both post-*lau* NPs receive the semantic role patient (or affectee), though in (12a), the post-*lau* NP is the semantic object of the verb complex, while it is not the case in (12b).

- (12) a. 阿英摻杯仔打爛咧。(Lai 2004: 96)  
 $a^{24}in^{24}$   $lau^{24}$   $bi^{24}-e^{31}$   $da^{31}lan^{55}$   $le^{11}$ .  
 Ayin LAU cup-SFX break PRT

“Ayin broke the cup.”

- b. 阿英搵目珠噉到紅紅。(Lai 2003: 554)

$a^{24}$   $in^{24}$      $lau^{24}$      $mug^{24}$   $zu^{24}$      $gieu^{55}$      $do^{55}$      $fung^{11}$  -  $fung^{11}$ .

Ayin    LAU    eyes    cry    DO    red-red

“Ayin cried so hard that her eyes turned red.”

Huang (2005) presents some causative *bun* constructions in Hakka. Based on animacy of the causer and agentivity of the causee, four types of causatives are distinguished: (13a) contains an animate causer and an agentive causee; (13b) contains an animate causer and a patientive causee; (13c) contains an inanimate causer and an agentive causee; (13d) contains an inanimate causer and a patientive causee. This classification is not well motivated: why we use animacy of the causer and agentivity of the causee as criteria, but not agentivity of the causer and animacy of the causee?

In terms of our previous classifications, (13a) and (13b) are interpersonal causatives, whereas (13c) and (13d) are descriptive causatives.

- (13) a. 阿叔，阿叔，分佢跟。

$a^{24}$   $sug^{24}$ ,  $a^{24}$   $sug^{24}$ ,  $bun^{24}$      $ngai^{11}$      $ten^{11}$ .

uncle    uncle    BUN    1SG    follow

“Uncle, uncle, let me follow (you).”

- b. 醫生為到錢，分病人死忒。

$i^{24}$   $sen^{24}$      $vi^{55}$   $do^{31}$      $qien^{11}$ ,  $bun^{24}$      $piang^{55}$   $ngin^{11}$      $xi^{31}$      $ted^2$ .

doctor    for    money    BUN    patient    die    ASP

“The doctor let the patient die in order to get money.”

- c. 這電視劇分佢看到噉。

$lia^{31}$      $tien^{55}$   $sii^{55}$   $kiag^2$      $bun^{24}$      $gi^{11}$      $kon^{55}$      $do^{55}$      $gieu^{55}$ .

this    TV:program    BUN    3SG    watch    DO    cry

“This TV program made him cry.”

- d. 這問題分佢當愁。

$lia^{31}$      $mun^{55}$   $ti^{11}$      $bun^{24}$      $gi^{11}$      $dong^{24}$      $seu^{11}$ .

this    problem    BUN    3SG    very    worried

“This problem bothers him very much.”

Examples of descriptive causatives are ubiquitous in Hakka, usually containing psych predicates. They can be lexical causatives, morphological causatives, or analytic causatives in the sense of Comrie (1989).

Huang (2012b: 324-331) presents psych predicates in Hakka and shows that besides lexical causatives like 嚇 *hag*<sup>2</sup> “to frighten” and morphological causatives like 譴死 *kien*<sup>31</sup>-*si*<sup>31</sup> “to make someone furious,” there are two constructions that exemplify analytic causatives in Hakka, i.e. [*bun*+NP+V] as in (14a) and [*ded*+*ngin*+V] as in (14b):

- (14) a. 你無一件做來分阿爸阿姆滿意个。  
*ng*<sup>11</sup> *mo*<sup>11</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *kien*<sup>55</sup> *zo*<sup>55</sup> *loi*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*ba*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*me*<sup>24</sup> *man*<sup>24;55</sup> *ge*<sup>55</sup>.  
 2SG NEG one CL do come BUN dad mom satisfied GE  
 “You haven’t done anything that satisfied your dad and mom.”
- b. 供一個俀仔又當得人惜哦。  
*giung*<sup>55</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *ge*<sup>55</sup> *lai*<sup>55</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup> *iu*<sup>55</sup> *dong*<sup>24</sup> *ded*<sup>2</sup>*ngin*<sup>11</sup> *xiag*<sup>2</sup> *o*<sup>31</sup>.  
 raise one CL son-SFX again very endearing PRT  
 “They have a son, who is very endearing.”

Although [*bun*+NP+V] and [*ded*+*ngin*+V] are superficially analytic causatives, the latter is lexicalized and loses the flexibility of lexical selection found in true analytic causatives. Therefore, they must be treated as lexical causatives after reanalysis.

To summarize, Hakka causatives employ either *lau* or *bun* as an explicit marker of causation. *Lau* causatives are event causatives like (12a) and (12b); they have no potential in incurring passive readings. *Bun* causatives, on the contrary, can be interpersonal causatives like (13a) and (13b), or descriptive causatives like (13c) and (13d). The [*bun*+NP+V] construction with V being a psych predicate is an analytic causative structurally and a descriptive causative semantically, as in (14a).

#### 4. Passive Constructions

Passive constructions can be defined either structurally or semantically. In this section, we discuss the classification of passives.



#### 4.1 Structural Classifications of Passives

Passive constructions can be found cross-linguistically, though their classification and realization differ drastically. From a structural point of view, in a passive construction a patient/theme-like argument (originally the object in active voice) is promoted to the subject position while an agent-like argument (originally the subject in active voice) is demoted to an oblique position or suppressed entirely. For example, the passive counterparts of *Ninjas killed the ant* are shown in (15). While the patient (*the ant*) is promoted, the agent (*ninjas*) is either demoted as in (15a) or suppressed as in (15b). Similarly, the passives in Mandarin Chinese exhibit a contrast between short passives (16a) and long passives (16b). This contrast, however, is not found in Hakka, since short passives are not allowed as in (17a), although we still have long passives as in (17b).

- (15) a. *The ant was killed.*  
 b. *The ant was killed by ninjas.*
- (16) a. 螞蟻被殺死了。  
*ma<sup>3</sup>i<sup>3</sup> bei<sup>4</sup> sha<sup>1</sup>si<sup>3</sup> le.*  
 ant BEI kill PRT  
 “The ant was killed.”
- b. 螞蟻被忍者殺死了。  
*ma<sup>3</sup>i<sup>3</sup> bei<sup>4</sup> ren<sup>3</sup>zhe<sup>3</sup> sha<sup>1</sup>si<sup>3</sup> le.*  
 ant BEI ninja kill PRT  
 “The ant was killed by ninjas.”
- (17) a. \*螞蟻公分刷忒咧。  
*\*ngie<sup>55</sup>gung<sup>24</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> cii<sup>11</sup>ted<sup>2</sup> le<sup>11</sup>.*  
 ant BUN kill PRT  
 Intended: “The ant was killed.”
- b. 螞蟻公分忍者刷忒咧。  
*ngie<sup>55</sup>gung<sup>24</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> ngiun<sup>24</sup>za<sup>31</sup> cii<sup>11</sup>ted<sup>2</sup> le<sup>11</sup>.*  
 ant BUN ninja kill PRT  
 “The ant was killed by ninjas.”

Since the contrast between short/long passives does not concern us here, we resort to semantic criteria in classifying passive constructions.

#### 4.2 Semantic Classifications of Passives

Prototypical passives are direct passives illustrated previously. Usually, the semantic object of the transitive verb is promoted to the subject position, while the semantic subject is demoted (as in long passives) or suppressed (as in short passives).

A distinction is made between *direct passives* and *indirect passives*. While indirect passives in English are rare, if not nonexistent, they are easily found in East Asian languages, such as Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, and Hakka.

In Japanese, at least two types of indirect passives are distinguished. In *possessive passives* as in (18a) (example from Washio 1993), the grammatical subject is not the semantic object of the transitive verb, but the “possessor” of the semantic object, usually an inalienable body part. The possessive relation is responsible for the affectedness between the event and the person in the grammatical subject position.

In *adversative passives* as in (18b) with a transitive verb and (18c) with an intransitive verb (both examples from Shibatani 1990), the grammatical subject is by no means related to the semantic object as in (18b) or there is no semantic object at all as in (18c). It seems that the grammatical subject is “detached” from the event, but contextual information ensure that the grammatical subject is “affected” (adversely for most cases) by the event, hence the term *adversative passives*.

- (18) a. 学生が先生に手を捕まれた。<sup>6</sup>  
*gakusei ga sensei ni te wo tsukam-are-ta.*  
 student SUBJ teacher LOC hand OBJ catch-PASS-PAST  
 “The student was caught on the hand by the teacher.”
- b. 太郎は花子にピアノを弾かれた。  
*taro wa hanako ni piano wo hik-are-ta.*  
 Taro TOP Hanako LOC piano OBJ play-PASS-PAST  
 “Taro was adversely affected by Hanako’s playing the piano.”

<sup>6</sup> Abbreviations for the Japanese examples here: LOC=locative marker; OBJ=object marker; PASS=passive marker; PAST=past tense marker; SUBJ=subject marker; TOP=topic marker.

- c. 太郎は友達に帰られた。  
*taro wa tomodachi ni kaer-are-ta.*  
 Taro TOP friend LOC return-PASS-PAST  
 “Taro was adversely affected by his friend’s return.”

Mandarin Chinese also has indirect passives. Following the distinction in Japanese, we see that Mandarin allows possessive passives as in (19a), as well as adversative passives with transitive verbs as in (19b) and adversative passives with intransitive verbs as in (19c) (all examples from C.-T. Huang 1999: 461-462).

- (19) a. 張三被李四打斷了一條腿。  
*zhang<sup>1</sup>san<sup>1</sup> bei<sup>4</sup> li<sup>3</sup>si<sup>4</sup> da<sup>3</sup>duan<sup>4</sup> le yi<sup>4</sup> tiao<sup>2</sup> tui<sup>3</sup>.*  
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi break PRT one CL leg  
 “Zhangsan had a leg [of his] broken by Lisi.”
- b. 李四又被王五擊出了一支全壘打。  
*li<sup>3</sup>si<sup>4</sup> you<sup>4</sup> bei<sup>4</sup> wang<sup>2</sup>wu<sup>3</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>chu<sup>1</sup> le yi<sup>4</sup> zhi<sup>1</sup> quan<sup>2</sup>lei<sup>3</sup>da<sup>3</sup>.*  
 Lisi again BEI Wangwu hit PRT one CL home:run  
 “Lisi again had Wangwu hit a home run [on him].”
- c. 我又被他自摸了。  
*wo<sup>3</sup> you<sup>4</sup> bei<sup>4</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> zi<sup>4</sup>mo<sup>1</sup> le.*  
 I again BEI 3SG self-touch PRT  
 “I again had him ‘self-draw’ [on me].” (Said of a Mahjong game where one wins by drawing the last matching tile by oneself, rather than converting on an opponent’s discarded tile.)

Huang (2005) argues that, besides direct passives, Hakka also allows indirect passives like (20a), which is a possessive passive, and (20b), which is an adversative passive. The subjects in both examples are adversely affected by the post-*bun* events: in (20a), the bird got its leg broken; in (20b), the patrol is held responsible for the thief’s escape.

- (20) a. 因為佢樣，佢分頭家拗斷忒一隻腳。  
*in<sup>24</sup>vi<sup>55</sup> an<sup>31</sup>ngiong<sup>11</sup>, gi<sup>11</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> teu<sup>11</sup>ga<sup>24</sup> au<sup>31</sup>ton<sup>24</sup>*  
 because so 3SG BUN boss break  
*ted<sup>2</sup> id<sup>2</sup> zag<sup>2</sup> giog<sup>2</sup>.*  
 ASP one CL leg  
 “Because of this, the boss broke one of its (the bird’s) leg.”
- b. 巡查分賊仔走忒咧。<sup>7</sup>  
*sun<sup>11</sup>ca<sup>11</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> ced<sup>5</sup>-e<sup>31</sup> zeu<sup>31</sup> ted<sup>2</sup> le<sup>11</sup>.*  
 patrol BUN thief-SFX run ASP PRT  
 “The patrol accidentally let the thief escape.”

As pointed out by one of the anonymous reviewers, true passives (direct or indirect) have active counterparts, with or without *lau* marking the patient/affectee role. The active counterparts (with *lau*) of (20a) and (20b) are shown in (21a) and (21b), respectively. Therefore, (20b) is not a true passive, although it parallels the Japanese adversative passive in (18c). We will return to the classification of (20b) later.

- (21) a. 因為佢樣，頭家摻佢拗斷忒一隻腳。  
*in<sup>24</sup>vi<sup>55</sup> an<sup>31</sup>ngiong<sup>11</sup>, teu<sup>11</sup>ga<sup>24</sup> lau<sup>24</sup> gi<sup>11</sup> au<sup>31</sup>ton<sup>24</sup>*  
 because so boss LAU 3SG break  
*ted<sup>2</sup> id<sup>2</sup> zag<sup>2</sup> giog<sup>2</sup>.*  
 ASP one CL leg  
 “Because of this, the boss broke one of its (the bird’s) leg.”
- b. \*賊仔摻巡查走忒咧。  
*\*ced<sup>5</sup>-e<sup>31</sup> lau<sup>24</sup> sun<sup>11</sup>ca<sup>11</sup> zeu<sup>31</sup> ted<sup>2</sup> le<sup>11</sup>.*  
 thief-SFX LAU patrol run ASP PRT  
 Intended: “The patrol accidentally let the thief escape.”

To summarize, although two types of indirect passives, i.e. possessive passives and

<sup>7</sup> For a willing subject, (20b) can also be interpreted as “the patrol deliberately let the thief escape,” which may be argued to be an interpersonal causative.

adversative passives are found across-linguistically, we believe that, in Hakka, only the possessive passives are true passives, while the so-called adversative passives are actually causatives.

## 5. Relating Causatives and Passives

This section presents the relations between causatives and passives. First we introduce unwilling permissives as a subtype of causatives based on Chang (2006). Then we review unwilling permissives in Hakka. We also show that impersonal passives exist in Hakka, which are derived from unwilling permissives.

### 5.1 Unwilling Permissives as a Subtype of Causatives

Chang (2006) provides insightful analyses of the diachronic process of passivization of causative verbs in Chinese. The term *unwilling permissive* (非自願允讓) is proposed to account for the intermediate stage of the process. Unwilling permissives are exemplified by the following sentences (from Chang 2006: 141):

- (22) a. 竟教他抱走了獎盃。  
*jing<sup>4</sup> jiao<sup>4</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> bao<sup>4</sup> zou<sup>3</sup> le jiang<sup>3</sup>bei<sup>1</sup>.*  
 unexpectedly JIAO 3SG hold away PRT trophy  
 “Unexpectedly, he won and took the trophy away.”
- b. 卻讓小偷跑了。  
*que<sup>4</sup> rang<sup>4</sup> xiao<sup>3</sup>tou<sup>1</sup> pao<sup>3</sup> le.*  
 yet RANG thief run PRT  
 “Yet the thief escaped, to our dismay.”

Chang (2006) suggests that unwilling permissives conceptually differ from interpersonal causatives in that the subject NPs in the latter are willing and volitional, whereas subject NPs in the former may be lacking or have no control whatsoever on the events expressed. Another difference is that the former may express realized events, whereas the latter may express unrealized events.

We believe that the willingness of the subject NP is the only defining property in distinguishing unwilling permissives and interpersonal causatives. The others are simply epiphenomena.

The derivation from interpersonal causatives to unwilling permissives, and from unwilling permissives to passives, can be achieved by change in agentivity of the subjects, without structural re-arrangements (or movements) of the patient NPs, as illustrated below (all examples from Chang 2006: 142):

- (23) a. 他教／讓孩子離開。  
*ta<sup>1</sup> jiao<sup>4</sup>/rang<sup>4</sup> hai<sup>2</sup>zi li<sup>2</sup>kai<sup>1</sup>.*  
 3SG JIAO/RANG child leave  
 “He asked the child to leave.” or “He let the child leave.”
- b. 他教／讓小偷跑了。  
*ta<sup>1</sup> jiao<sup>4</sup>/rang<sup>4</sup> xiao<sup>3</sup>tou<sup>1</sup> pao<sup>3</sup> le.*  
 3SG JIAO/RANG thief run PRT  
 “He let the thief escape.”
- c. 他教／讓孩子騙了。  
*ta<sup>1</sup> jiao<sup>4</sup>/rang<sup>4</sup> hai<sup>2</sup>zi pian<sup>4</sup> le.*  
 3SG JIAO/RANG child cheat PRT  
 “He was cheated by the child.”

The interpersonal causative (23a) contains a willing agent as its subject; the unwilling permissive (23b) contains an unwilling agent as its subject; the passive (23c) contains a patient as its subject. In Hakka, we observe that (20b), repeated below, is also an unwilling permissive.

- (24) 巡查分賊仔走忒咧。  
*sun<sup>11</sup>ca<sup>11</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> ced<sup>5</sup>-e<sup>31</sup> zeu<sup>31</sup> ted<sup>2</sup> le<sup>11</sup>.*  
 patrol BUN thief-SFX run ASP PRT  
 “The patrol accidentally let the thief escape.”

Chang (2006: 142) observes that “semantically, the same example is unlikely to be interpreted as both causative and passive: the ambiguity usually lies between unwilling permissive and passive” (my translation). Although (24) is unlikely to be interpreted as a true passive, it is not a typical causative either (like an interpersonal causative). It lies on the borderline between causatives and passives. Once transitive verbs are allowed in unwilling permissives, passive senses arise consequently: a direct passive if the grammatical subject is the semantic object of the verb, or a possessive passive if the grammatical object is an inalienable part of the grammatical subject.

## 5.2 From Unwilling Permissives to Impersonal Passives

Based on Chang (2004), the predecessor of Chang (2006), Chiang (2006: 350-351) presents instances of unwilling permissives in Dongshi Hakka.<sup>8</sup>

- (25) a. 我分豬油爆到手。

*ŋai<sup>2</sup> pun<sup>1</sup> tʃu<sup>1</sup> ziu<sup>2</sup> piak<sup>8</sup> to<sup>3</sup> fu<sup>3</sup>.*  
1SG BUN pig fat spray PH hand

“I was sprinkled with pork fat on the hand.”

- b. 屋竟分火燒掉了。

*vuk<sup>7</sup> sa<sup>5</sup> pun<sup>1</sup> fo<sup>3</sup> fieu<sup>1</sup> phet<sup>7</sup> le<sup>0</sup>.*  
house PRT BUN fire burn ASP PRT

“Unexpectedly, the house was burned down.”

- c. 紙炮一響〔而已〕，分番知道，番出來，總下分佢剝掉。

*tʃi<sup>3</sup> p<sup>h</sup>au<sup>5</sup> zit<sup>7</sup> hioŋ<sup>3</sup> nen<sup>1</sup>, pun<sup>1</sup> fan<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>5</sup>, fan<sup>1</sup>*  
cracker one sound ASP BUN savage know savage

*tʃiut<sup>7</sup> loi<sup>2</sup>, tsuŋ<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>5</sup> pun<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>2</sup> tok<sup>8</sup> p<sup>h</sup>et<sup>7</sup>.*

come:out all BUN 3SG kill ASP

“The savages knew as soon as the crackers were ignited, and they came out and killed all.”

<sup>8</sup> While the convention of Chinese characters and Romanization in the Dongshi Hakka examples are kept intact here, English glosses and translation are provided by the current author.

- d. 那暗晡去賭，正經分佢賭贏啊。

*kai<sup>5</sup> am<sup>5</sup> pu<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>i<sup>5</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>in<sup>5</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> pi<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>3</sup> ziaŋ<sup>2</sup> a<sup>0</sup>.*

that evening go gamble really BUN+3SG gamble win PRT

“That night he went gambling, and ended up winning the gamble.”

Although the four examples are treated equally here, we argue that they do not belong to the same category. (25a) is a possessive passive, since 手 *fu<sup>3</sup>* “hand” is an inalienable body part of the subject NP. (25b) is a direct passive, since the subject NP can be regarded as the semantic object of the verb.<sup>9</sup> (25c) is an unwilling permissive, since the pre-*bun* NP is lacking, and the post-*bun* clause (the savages became aware of the ignition of the crackers and thus the existence of the unexpressed victims) is unfavorable. (25d) is not an unwilling permissive, because we cannot find an unwilling subject NP who considers the subsequent event unfavorable.

The following examples are analogous to (25d). The post-*bun* NPs denote protagonists, who fought their way throughout and eventually made it, against all odds. As the protagonists finally fulfill whatever dream they have, the post-*bun* NPs can be regarded as beneficiaries, and also agents of the subsequent events.

- (26) a. 佢一路草撥等去，正經分佢尋著一門當大个風水。

*gi<sup>11</sup> id<sup>2</sup> lu<sup>55</sup> co<sup>31</sup> bad<sup>2</sup> den<sup>31</sup> hi<sup>55</sup>, ziin<sup>55</sup> gin<sup>24</sup>*

3SG one road grass push:aside ASP go really

*bun<sup>24</sup> gi<sup>11</sup> qim<sup>11</sup> do<sup>31</sup> id<sup>2</sup> mun<sup>11</sup> dong<sup>24</sup> tai<sup>55</sup> ge<sup>55</sup> fung<sup>24</sup> sui<sup>31</sup>.*

BUN 3SG find PH one CL very big GE grave

“He pushed his way through the grass and eventually found a large grave.”

<sup>9</sup> One of the anonymous reviewers indicated that the subject of (25b) is not an agent, and thus this example may not be appropriate to be regarded as a direct passive. We argue that the definition of a direct passive is based on the close relatedness of the grammatical subject and the verb. Moreover, the subject of (25b) is a causer, which shares with an agent the property of being an instigator of some action.



- b. 冬去春來，一年過忒，正經分佢行到大海脢咧。
- dung*<sup>24</sup> *hi*<sup>55</sup> *cun*<sup>24</sup> *loi*<sup>11</sup>, *id*<sup>2</sup> *ngien*<sup>11</sup> *go*<sup>55</sup> *ted*<sup>2</sup>,
- winter go spring come one year pass ASP
- ziin*<sup>55</sup> *gin*<sup>24</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *gi*<sup>11</sup> *hang*<sup>11</sup> *do*<sup>55</sup> *tai*<sup>55</sup> *hoi*<sup>31</sup> *sun*<sup>11</sup> *le*<sup>11</sup>.
- really BUN 3SG walk DO big seaside PRT
- “Winter goes and spring comes and one year had passed; he finally made it to the big seaside.”

We suggest that this construction is a kind of *impersonal passives*. Their counterparts in English and in German are illustrated in (27a) and (27b), respectively. The subjects of impersonal passives are non-referential and are there to meet grammatical requirements. Since Hakka does not always require overt subject NPs in sentence formation, impersonal passives in Hakka are subjectless.

- (27) a. *It is said that this band is the best in Britain.*
- b. *Es wird geschlafen.*
- it be slept
- “Someone is sleeping.”

Hakka impersonal passives may not be properly categorized under typical causatives or typical passives, though we believe a process of subjectification exists that converted the unwilling permissives into the impersonal passives under the trigger of subject-dropping. The absence of a subject might be the trigger of subjectification as observed in Traugott (2010: 58): “Shifts toward first person subjects are not necessary correlates of or indicators of subjectivity since subjectification may be most apparent precisely where there is no overt subject, first person or otherwise.”

This construction differs from unwilling permissives in having no affectee who considers the subsequent event unfavorable, although the speaker may hold certain point of view (or attitude, or belief), be it surprise, wonder, or incredibility. In Hakka impersonal passives, some hard-earned achievement is involved in the event.

The claim that impersonal passives are derived from unwilling permissives is further

supported by an inspiration from Talmy's (2000) Force Dynamics: the Agonist and the Antagonist are in a constant tension and conflict, and one of them wins out at the end. The unwilling permissives describe the prevailing post-*bun* Agonist with respect to the failing pre-*bun* Antagonist. The Hakka impersonal passives can be analyzed as the triumph of a post-*bun* Agonist without an Antagonist. We see that the achievement of the post-*bun* NPs is common to both the unwilling permissives and the impersonal passives. Therefore, the connection between them is justified. Since the impersonal passives can be regarded as the unwilling permissives without Antagonists, we claim that they are related to unwilling permissives via subpart links.

To summarize, based mainly on semantic criteria, *bun* causatives in Hakka have three subtypes: interpersonal causatives, unwilling permissives, and descriptive causatives; *bun* passives in Hakka have three subtypes: direct passives, possessive passives, and impersonal passives (which are not true passives).

### 5.3 Causative-Passive Ambiguity in Psych Predicates

Li (2009) suggests that verbal transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980) and agentivity (in the sense of the Proto-Roles in Dowty 1991) plays a role in determining whether a structure is causative or passive in Hakka. She argues that (i) the structure is considered either causative or passive if a transitive verb is not followed by its object and both NPs in the sentence are animate, as in (28a); (ii) the structure is considered causative if the VP contains an intransitive verb or a transitive verb followed by an object, as in (28b); (iii) the structure is considered passive if the VP contains a transitive verb whose semantic object is in the subject position, as in (28c).

Condition (i) of Li's analysis correctly predicts the causative-passive ambiguity found in (28a). The transitive psych verb *kien-xi*, which means "to annoy," can also be used intransitively to mean "to be angry," which can be regarded as an instance of ergative alternation.<sup>10</sup> In addition, both NPs here must be animate, since experiencers in

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<sup>10</sup> Condition (i) in Li's (2009) analyses has to be modified to apply to "transitive verbs which can also be used intransitively" instead of "transitive verbs," since the transitive psych verb *kien-xi* can also be used intransitively.

psych predicates are normally animate beings.<sup>11</sup> No such ambiguity is found in (28b) and (28c) owing to lack of animacy on the part of the subject in (28b) or the object in (28c).

- (28) a. 阿爸分阿姆譴死。  
*a<sup>24</sup>ba<sup>24</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> a<sup>24</sup>me<sup>24</sup> kien<sup>31</sup> xi<sup>31</sup>.*  
 dad BUN mom angry die  
 “Dad got very angry at mom.” or “Dad annoyed mom very much.”
- b. 這件事情分阿姆譴死。  
*lia<sup>31</sup> kien<sup>55</sup> sii<sup>55</sup>qin<sup>11</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> a<sup>24</sup>me<sup>24</sup> kien<sup>31</sup> xi<sup>31</sup>.*  
 this CL matter BUN mom angry die  
 “This matter annoyed mom very much.”
- c. 阿爸分這件事情譴死。  
*a<sup>24</sup>ba<sup>24</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> lia<sup>31</sup> kien<sup>55</sup> sii<sup>55</sup>qin<sup>11</sup> kien<sup>31</sup> xi<sup>31</sup>.*  
 dad BUN this CL matter angry die  
 “Dad got very angry at this matter.”

Condition (ii) of Li’s analysis correctly accounts for the interpersonal causative sentence of (3c), repeated here as (29).

- (29) 佢會分僱去台北。  
*gi<sup>11</sup> voi<sup>55</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> ngai<sup>11</sup> hi<sup>55</sup> toi<sup>11</sup>bed<sup>2</sup>.*  
 3SG would BUN 1SG go Taipei  
 “He would let me go to Taipei.”

Condition (iii) of Li’s analysis is challenged by the following examples. In (30a) and (30b), the grammatical subjects are the semantic objects of the main verbs. According to condition (iii), these should be classified as passives. However, observing that the subjects still have high degree of control, we argue that these examples are interpersonal causatives.

<sup>11</sup> See Huang (2012b) for issues on Hakka psych predicates and causation.

- (30) a. 身體係有麼个各樣，就愛煞煞去分先生看。  
*siin<sup>24</sup>ti<sup>31</sup> he<sup>55</sup> iu<sup>24</sup> ma<sup>31</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> gog<sup>2</sup>iong<sup>55</sup>, qiu<sup>55</sup> oi<sup>55</sup>*  
 body be have what discomfort then must  
*sad<sup>2</sup>sad<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>55</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> xin<sup>24</sup>sang<sup>24</sup> kon<sup>5</sup>.*  
 quickly go BUN doctor see  
 “If you don’t feel well, you should go see a doctor quickly.”
- b. 阿菊！好跣哩！一下阿玉仔就會來湊你去學校咧，日日分人等  
 敢毋會敗勢！  
*a<sup>24</sup>kiug<sup>2</sup>! ho<sup>3</sup> hong<sup>55</sup> li<sup>11</sup>! id<sup>2</sup>ha<sup>55</sup> a<sup>24</sup>ngiug<sup>5</sup>-e<sup>31</sup> qiu<sup>55</sup> voi<sup>55</sup> loi<sup>11</sup>*  
 Akiug good rise:up PRT soon Angiug-SFX then will come  
*ceu<sup>55</sup> ngi<sup>11</sup> hi<sup>55</sup> hog<sup>5</sup>gau<sup>31</sup> le<sup>11</sup>, ngid<sup>2</sup>ngid<sup>2</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> ngin<sup>11</sup>*  
 invite 2SG go school PRT everyday BUN people  
*den<sup>31</sup> gam<sup>31</sup> m<sup>11</sup> voi<sup>55</sup> pai<sup>11</sup>se<sup>55</sup>!*  
 wait QM NEG will embarrassed  
 “Akiug! Get up! Soon Angiug will be here to ask you to school. Don’t  
 you find it embarrassing to keep someone waiting for you every day?”

Therefore, although Li’s analysis is basically correct, factors other than argument structure and verbal transitivity must be considered, in particular the willingness of the subject and the controllability of the event.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper, we see that *bun* causative and passive constructions in Hakka are structurally similar and semantically related. We see subtypes of causatives like interpersonal causatives, unwilling permissives, descriptive causatives, and subtypes of passives like direct passives, possessive passives, and impersonal passives.

Thus, we see that *bun* causatives and *bun* passives are related both structurally and semantically, each having its own subtypes. Structural similarity leads to ambiguity or vagueness (both subsumed under polysemy in its widest sense).

The conditions that trigger derivation of passives from causatives are either the loss

of willingness on the part of the subject NPs or the ergative nature of psych predicates in Hakka.

We conclude that the subtypes of causatives and passives (except for impersonal passives) can be subsumed under a construction of “affectedness” (describing the relation between an individual and an event, with the direction of affectedness unspecified). A typical causative describes a relation between an “affecter” and an event, while an ordinary passive describes a relation between an “affectee” and an event.<sup>12</sup> Thus the only difference between causatives and passives lies in the direction of affectedness between an individual and an event.

For the impersonal passives, neither an affecter nor an affectee is involved. This construction expresses a single event, i.e. a hard-earned achievement, as well as the speaker’s implicit attitude (belief or evaluation) toward this event.

This construction of “affectedness” is common to the many subtypes of causatives and passives, related via polysemy links. The impersonal passives are related to the unwilling permissives via subpart links, although they do not belong to the categorization of the construction of “affectedness.”

(責任校對：林佩儒)

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<sup>12</sup> Washio (1993) demonstrates these relations in terms of Jackendoff’s (1990) multi-tiered analysis, which distinguishes between Thematic Tier and Action Tier in the expression of Semantic Structures. The semantic function AFF appears in the Action Tier and is crucial in the Semantic Structures of causatives and passives.

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## 客語「分」字構式中致使與被動的關聯

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### 摘 要

客語多功能詞「分」表給予、目的、致使與被動等意。「分」字致使構式可分為使役、非意願允讓以及描述性致使三類。「分」字被動構式可分為直接被動、領屬被動以及非人稱被動三類。這兩種構式在結構上無法區分，加上主語名詞詞組的意願性消失或心理動詞的作格性等因素，造成了歧意的可能。

「分」後及物動詞若具低施事性，即使語法主語恰巧為此動詞的語意賓語，人們仍然傾向於將句子解釋為致使而非被動。

除了非人稱被動構式外，「分」字致使構式與被動構式皆具有「影響」這個共同意。致使構式包含了影響者與事件，而被動構式則包含了受影響者與事件。這些次類構式都藉由多意連結相連，而非人稱被動構式則藉由次部件連結與非意願允讓構式相連。

**關鍵詞：**致使，被動，歧意，影響性，客語「分」字構式

(收稿日期：2013. 11. 15；修正稿日期：2014. 5. 4；通過刊登日期：2014. 5. 27)