

# Semantic Extensions and the Convergence of the Beneficiary Role: A Case Study of *Bun* and *Lau* in Hakka\*

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This paper investigates semantic extensions of the two most significant polysemous function words in Hakka, *bun* and *lau*. Though totally unrelated in their original senses, together they came to express the beneficiary role and exhibit a division of labor. Like many other languages, Hakka distinguishes among three kinds of beneficiaries, i.e. recipient beneficiaries, deputative beneficiaries, and plain beneficiaries. *Bun* is used primarily to express recipient beneficiaries and plain beneficiaries, whereas *lau* is used primarily to express deputative beneficiaries and plain beneficiaries. Within appropriate contexts, *lau* can also express recipient beneficiaries. However, *bun* can never express deputative beneficiaries due to the bi-event structure of the purposive *bun* constructions in Hakka. The semantic extension of *bun* is from recipient to recipient beneficiary, and then to plain beneficiary. The semantic extension of *lau* is from comitative to deputative beneficiary, and then to plain beneficiary. The semantic extensions are justified by invited inferencing (Traugott 1999, Traugott & Dasher 2002) in each stage in the process.

Key words: beneficiary, recipient, deputative, semantic extension, invited inferencing

## 1. Introduction

分 *bun*<sup>24</sup> and 摻 *lau*<sup>24</sup> in Hakka are two widely discussed function words that exhibit structural and semantic intricacies. This section provides necessary background knowledge of *bun* and *lau*, presents constructions where *bun* and *lau* co-occur, and elaborates upon the research questions explored in this paper.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 Lexical meanings and related constructions of *bun*

*Bun* is a lexical verb which means (i) “to give” as in 分佢一本書 *bun*<sup>24</sup> *gi*<sup>11</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *bun*<sup>31</sup> *su*<sup>24</sup> “to give him a book”; (ii) “to separate; to distribute” as in 分家

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<sup>1</sup> Hakka words/phrases are presented in the order of character(s), pronunciation, and (if applicable) meaning. The pronunciation, unless otherwise specified, is based on the Northern Sixian variety of Hakka spoken mainly in Miaoli County and Taoyuan County of Taiwan. This paper follows spelling conventions of Hakka regulated by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan. For brevity, the characters and the tonal marks of 分 *bun*<sup>24</sup> and 摻 *lau*<sup>24</sup> are omitted when the two function words are mentioned in the remaining of the text.

*bun*<sup>24</sup>*ga*<sup>24</sup> “to divide up family property” and 分田分地 *bun*<sup>24</sup>*tien*<sup>11</sup>*bun*<sup>24</sup>*ti*<sup>55</sup> “to split a piece of land”; (iii) “to beg” as in 分碗茶食 *bun*<sup>24</sup>*von*<sup>31</sup>*ca*<sup>11</sup>*siid*<sup>5</sup> “to beg for a bowl of tea”; (iv) “to tell apart” as in 分清楚 *bun*<sup>24</sup>*qin*<sup>24</sup>*cu*<sup>31</sup> “to tell apart” (Xu 2009:88-89).

In addition to being a lexical verb, *bun* is also a versatile function word. Lai (2001:139) observes that it can be a goal marker as in (1a), a complementizer as in (1b), a causative marker as in (1c), and an agent marker as in (1d). She also proposes two clines of grammaticalization for *bun*: one from verb-of-giving to adposition-of-goal, and to purposive subordinator, the other from verb-of-giving to verb-of-causative, and to agent marker.

- (1) a. 佢送一枝筆分俵。<sup>2</sup>

*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. 佢會分俵去台北。

*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. 佢分俵打。

*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.”

The dative constructions with *bun* as an adposition and the purposive

<sup>2</sup> Some of the Hakka examples used in this paper are constructed and some 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. A constructed example is marked by [CE], whereas the origin of each example from the NCCU Corpus of Spoken Hakka is denoted by the format [text: page number(s)] with the following abbreviations for texts: ML=苗栗縣客語故事集; ML2=苗栗縣客語故事集(二); DS5=東勢鎮客語故事集(五); HM152=客家雜誌第 152 期; HM069=客家雜誌第 069 期. For consistency, glosses (and maybe translation) in quoted Hakka data are modified to conform to the convention here. Data in languages other than Hakka are kept intact with respect to glosses and translation. 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; BUN: *bun* marker; CL: classifier; DED: potential particle; GE: possessive/genitive/adjective marker; LAU: *lau* marker; NEG: negation marker; PH: phase marker; SFP: sentence-final particle; SFX: suffix.

constructions with *bun* as a complementizer (or a purposive subordinator) are structurally similar (or overlapping), while the causative constructions with *bun* as a causative marker and the passive constructions with *bun* as an agentive marker are structurally similar (and the same in certain cases). *Bun* appears postverbally in the dative and purposive constructions (2a) and (2b) but appears preverbally in the causative and passive constructions (2c) and (2d).<sup>3</sup>

- (2) a. NP V NP *bun* NP  
 b. NP V NP *bun* NP V (NP)  
 c. NP *bun* NP V (NP)  
 d. NP *bun* NP V (NP)

We will look into dative and purposive constructions in subsequent sections, while leaving out causative and passive constructions. The following is a short discussion on causative and passive *bun* constructions and the reasons why they are irrelevant to this paper.

Causative *bun* constructions and passive *bun* constructions are exemplified by (3a) and (3b) respectively. They are superficially similar to (1c) and (1d).

- (3) a. 阿叔，阿叔，分儂踎。 [ML:24-29]  
*a*<sup>24</sup> *sug*<sup>2</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup> *sug*<sup>2</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *ngai*<sup>11</sup> *ten*<sup>11</sup>.  
 uncle uncle BUN 1SG follow  
 “Uncle, uncle, let me follow (you).”
- b. 有一儕人，看到恁多人分番仔刷忒，佢當驚。 [ML:18-23]  
*iu*<sup>24</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *sa*<sup>1</sup> *ngin*<sup>11</sup> *kon*<sup>55</sup> *do*<sup>31</sup> *an*<sup>31</sup> *do*<sup>24</sup> *ngin*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *fan*<sup>24</sup> *-e*<sup>31</sup> *cii*<sup>11</sup> *ted*<sup>2</sup>  
 have one CL person see PH so many person BUN savage-SFX kill ASP  
*gi*<sup>11</sup> *dong*<sup>11</sup> *giang*<sup>24</sup>.  
 3SG very terrified  
 “A person became terrified when he saw many people killed by savages.”

Structural similarity between causative and passive constructions suggests that they may be semantically related. Cross-linguistic studies such as Washio (1993) also lend support to the causative-passive relatedness. Chang (2006) also presents the diachronic derivation from causatives to passives in Chinese and proposes the term *unwilling permissive* (非自願允讓) in order to account for the intermediate stage of the process.

<sup>3</sup> Verbal transitivity is irrelevant in the classification of the four constructions, and therefore a general pattern V (NP) is used here.

Based on Jackendoff's (1990) framework of Semantic Structures, Washio (1993) claims that the causative/passive ambiguity is a consequence of the common property of affectedness in causative and passive constructions. While in causative constructions the direction of affectedness is from a person to an event, in passive constructions the direction of affectedness is from an event to a person.

The following examples from Li (2009) suggest that semantic information (like the animacy of NPs) is sometimes needed in disambiguating causatives and passives: (4a) can be interpreted as a causative or a passive; (4b) is a causative; (4c) is a passive. Since only an animate being can be the predicate of a psych verb, semantic incompatibility helps rule out potential but anomalous interpretations.<sup>4</sup>

(4) 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.”

“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.”

We now see that causative and passive constructions are closely related. Their structural similarity and semantic relatedness strongly imply that the sense extension of *bun* in the two constructions follows a different route from the sense extension of *bun* in dative and purposive constructions. This belief also conforms to the two clines of grammaticalization in Lai (2001). Therefore, they are irrelevant to our discussion on beneficiaries and will not appear in subsequent sections.

## 1.2 Lexical meanings and related constructions of *lau*

*Lau* is a lexical verb meaning (i) “to mix” as in 摻飯 *lau<sup>24</sup> fan<sup>55</sup>* “to mix (something) in the rice”; (ii) “to total” as in 摻等有千零儕 *lau<sup>24</sup> den<sup>31</sup> iu<sup>24</sup> qien<sup>24</sup> lang<sup>11</sup> sa<sup>11</sup>* “to total more than one thousand people” (Xu 2009:691).

<sup>4</sup> For discussion on psych predicates in Hakka, the readers are referred to Huang (2012a).

In addition to being a lexical verb, *lau* is also a versatile function word. Lai (2003b:534) lists at least five different senses that exist in Hakka *lau* constructions – the comitative as in (5a), the source as in (5b), the goal as in (5c), the benefactive as in (5d), and the patient as in (5e).

- (5) a. 阿英摠阿姨共下去街頂。  
 $a^{24}in^{24} lau^{24} a^{24}i^{11} kiung^{55}ha^{55} hi^{55} gie^{24}dang^{31}$ .  
 Ayin LAU aunt together go downtown  
 “Ayin, together with her aunt, went downtown.”
- b. 阿英摠佢借錢。  
 $a^{24}in^{24} lau^{24} gi^{11} jia^{55} qien^{11}$ .  
 Ayin LAU 3SG borrow money  
 “Ayin borrowed money from him.”
- c. 阿英摠阿明講故事。  
 $a^{24}in^{24} lau^{24} a^{24}min^{11} gong^{31} gu^{55}sii^{55}$ .  
 Ayin LAU Amin tell story  
 “Ayin told a story to Amin.”
- d. 阿英摠厥俵仔買一坵田。  
 $a^{24}in^{24} lau^{24} gia^{24} lai^{55}-e^{31} mai^{24} id^2 kiu^{24} tien^{11}$ .  
 Ayin LAU 3SG.G son-SFX buy one CL land  
 “Ayin bought a piece of land for her son.”
- e. 阿明摠杯仔打爛咧。  
 $a^{24}min^{11} lau^{24} bi^{24}-e^{31} da^{31} lan^{55} le^{11}$ .  
 Amin LAU cup-SFX hit break SFP  
 “Amin broke the cup.”

### 1.3 The *lau ... bun* construction

Lai (2004:92) observes that the dative/purposive *bun* appears postverbally and *lau* appears preverbally, as shown in (6).

- (6) a. *bun* construction: NP V NP *bun* NP  
 b. *lau* construction: NP *lau* NP V NP

Both constructions are associated with the benefactive function, as Lai (2004:88) shows in (7a) and (7b). If we ignore the “from” sense in (7b), both examples are similar in meaning. If The Principle of No Synonymy described in Goldberg (1995:67) is respected, there must be a semantic or pragmatic difference that accounts for the

structural difference here.<sup>5</sup>

(7) a. 佢買一坵田分阿英。

*gi*<sup>11</sup> *mai*<sup>24</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *kiu*<sup>24</sup> *tien*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup>.

3SG buy one CL land BUN Ayin

“He bought a piece of land for Ayin.”

b. 佢嚟阿英買一坵田。

*gi*<sup>11</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup> *mai*<sup>24</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *kiu*<sup>24</sup> *tien*<sup>11</sup>.

3SG LAU Ayin buy one CL land

“He bought a piece of land for Ayin.”

“He bought a piece of land from Ayin.”

Lai (2004) argues that the difference lies in whether successful transfer of possession of something is implied. In (7a), it is implied that Ayin has successfully become the owner of the land, whereas, in (7b), no such implication is found.

Since *bun* and *lau* appear in different syntactic positions, they can co-occur tautoclausally, as in [NP *lau* NP V NP *bun* NP]. This construction helps disambiguate the semantic role marked by *lau*. Lai (2004:94) gives the following examples to illustrate how disambiguation works. In (8a), *lau* can only mark “beneficiary” since *bun* has already marked “goal”. In (8b), *lau* can only mark “source” since *bun* has already marked “beneficiary”.

(8) a. 佢嚟阿英寫一封信仔分厥妹仔。

*gi*<sup>11</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup> *xia*<sup>31</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *fung*<sup>24</sup> *xin*<sup>55</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *gia*<sup>24</sup> *moi*<sup>55</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup>.

3SG LAU Ayin write one CL letter-SFX BUN 3SG.G daughter-SFX

“He wrote a letter to Ayin’s daughter for Ayin.”

b. 佢嚟阿英買田分厥妹仔。

*gi*<sup>11</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup> *mai*<sup>24</sup> *tien*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *gia*<sup>24</sup> *moi*<sup>55</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup>.

3SG LAU Ayin buy land BUN 3SG.G daughter-SFX

“He bought land from Ayin for his daughter.”

Although this account is plausible, we believe that something is missing in the analysis. In (8b), there is another reading “He bought land for (on behalf of) Ayin to give it to her daughter.” This reading describes a likely scenario where a man, maybe a real estate broker, buys land on behalf of his client, Ayin, in order to give the land to

<sup>5</sup> The Principle of No Synonymy states that if two constructions are syntactically distinct, they must be semantically or pragmatically distinct. Pragmatic aspects of constructions involve particulars of information structure, including topic and focus, and additionally stylistic aspects of the construction such as register. See Goldberg (1995:67).

Ayin's daughter. In this reading, both Ayin and her daughter are beneficiaries. We believe that a detailed study of this semantic role is called for in order to understand the distribution and division of labor of the two polysemous function words in Hakka.

#### 1.4 Research questions

This paper aims to answer the following research questions: (i) Are there subtypes in the semantic role "beneficiary"? What are they? (ii) How are the subtypes related to *bun* and *lau* constructions in Hakka? Is there a division of labor? (iii) How are the semantic extensions of *bun* and *lau* reasonably accounted for?

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 gives a brief introduction of the definition, syntactic marking, and semantic classification of the beneficiary role, as well as background knowledge regarding The Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change; Section 3 presents dative *bun* and purposive *bun* constructions; Section 4 presents beneficiary *lau* constructions; Section 5 discusses the division of labor between *bun* and *lau*; Section 6 concludes our findings and analyses in this paper.

## 2. Theoretical framework

In order to explain semantic extensions of the two function words in Hakka, we provide the necessary background in this section. First we present a discussion on the definition, syntactic marking, and semantic classification of the beneficiary role. Then we introduce The Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change.

### 2.1 Beneficiary: Definition, syntactic marking, and semantic classification

The concept of beneficiary can be understood in different ways. Kittilä & Zúñiga (2010:2) claim that "[t]he 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."

Although the concept of beneficiary might be universal, its manifestation is language specific. Kittilä & Zúñiga (2010:7-10) list many formal mechanisms of beneficiary/maleficiary coding in the world's languages, e.g. case in Czech (9a), adpositions in Icelandic (9b), serial verb constructions in Thai (9c), and applicativization in Southeastern Tepehuan (9d).

- (9) a. *Ludmila mu uvařila kaši.*<sup>6</sup>  
 L.NOM him.DAT cooked kasha.ACC  
 “Ludmila cooked kasha for him.”
- b. *Hann lagði bínum fyrir mig.*  
 he.NOM park.PST car.ACC for 1SG.ACC  
 “He parked the car for me.”
- c. *Deeñ jiih nóg hâj Sùdaa.*  
 D. shoot bird give S.  
 “Deng shoots a bird for Suda.”
- d. *Ma’n-ap jiih-som-dya-’ gu cutun.*  
 one-2SG 1SG-sew-APPL-FUT ART shirt  
 “Please sew a shirt for me.”

Semantically, Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:382-384) distinguish between three types of beneficiaries, i.e. *plain benefactive*, *deputative benefactive*, and *benefactive recipient*. For consistency we term them henceforth *plain beneficiary*, *deputative beneficiary*, and *recipient beneficiary*.

The three types of beneficiary are illustrated in Kittilä & Zúñiga (2010:14) and presented below. In (10a), the daughter is a *recipient beneficiary* because she received a cake that was intended for her. In (10b), the children are *plain beneficiaries* because the act of their mother’s singing was intended for them. In (10c), I am a *deputative beneficiary* because John painted the house, a job which was supposed to be done by me.

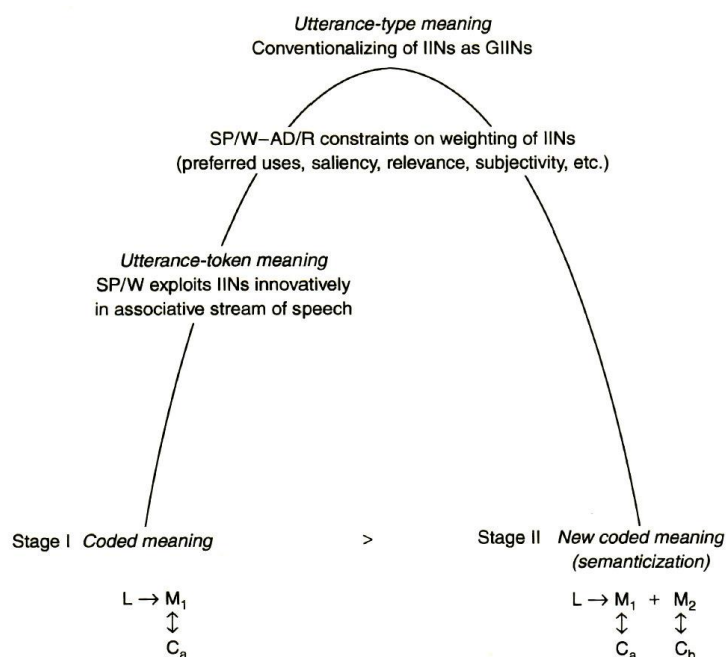
- (10) a. The father baked his daughter a cake.  
 b. The mother is singing for the children.  
 c. John painted the house instead of me.

## 2.2 The Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change

The Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change (henceforth IITSC) proposed in Traugott (1999) and Traugott & Dasher (2002) states that “[t]he prime objective of IITSC is to account for the conventionalizing of pragmatic meanings and their reanalysis as semantic meanings.” (Traugott & Dasher 2002:35). This theory can be expressed by the model in Figure 1, repeated from Traugott & Dasher (2002:38).

<sup>6</sup> Abbreviations for examples in (9): 1/2/3SG: first/second/third-person singular; ACC: accusative case; APPL: applicative case; ART: article; DAT: dative case; FUT: future tense; NOM: nominative case; PST: past tense.





**Figure 1. Model of the Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change (IITSC; Traugott 1999:96) (M=Coded meaning; C=Conceptual structure)**

In this model, the interaction of speaker/writer (SP/W) and addressee/reader (AD/R) plays an important role in semantic change. At Stage I, the meaning  $M_1$  of a lexeme,  $L$ , is linked to a conceptual structure,  $C_a$ . In certain contexts, the SP/W innovatively comes up with cases of invited inference (IIN). IINs are subject to constraints of conversation, presumably known to both the SP/W and the AD/R. Eventually, utterance-token meanings evolve into utterance-type meanings, and invited inferences (IINs) become generalized invited inferences (GIINs). With further SP/W-AD/R interaction, we arrive at Stage II eventually. At this stage, the GIINs are semanticized, and new coded meanings appear. Now the lexeme,  $L$ , has two meanings ( $M_1$  and  $M_2$ ), each linked to its conceptual structure ( $C_a$  and  $C_b$ ).

A diachronic study on *as long as* in English (Traugott & Dasher 2002:36-37) shows that the original spatial meaning was coexistent with the temporal meaning “for the same length of time as” in Old English and Middle English. At that stage, the temporal meaning invited the inference of conditional “provided that”. In Early Modern English, the IIN of conditional became more salient, whereas the temporal meaning became less predominant. Later on, the use of *as long as* extended to situations (like reasoning and cognition) where there was no change involved, and the IIN became GIIN. By the mid-nineteenth century, examples where the conditional appeared to be the only possible meaning could be found. Now the GIIN has been semanticized as a conditional polysemy of temporal *as/so long as*.

### 3. Dative and purposive *bun* constructions in Hakka

In this section, we investigate various *bun* constructions, focusing on the dative and the purposive constructions, as well as some sub-constructions. We then propose a route of sense extension for *bun* at the end of this section.

#### 3.1 Dative *bun* constructions in Hakka

“Dative” and “ditransitive/double-object” are terms used interchangeably in the literature, though at best they only partially overlap in distribution. The name “dative” suggests a semantic criterion, whereas “ditransitive/double-object” carries structural overtones. Liu (2006) is the first attempt under the constructional framework to explore the properties of the three Mandarin dative constructions and their collocations with specific classes of verbs based on centrality of “transfer” sense.

- (11) a. V NP *gei* NP (GO; *gei* object construction)  
 b. V *gei* NP NP (V *gei* DO; V *gei* double object construction)  
 c. V NP NP (DO; double object construction)

Lai (2001:139) observes three syntactic alternations of dative (or ditransitive, or double-object) constructions in Hakka:

- (12) a. 佢分一支筆俚。  
*gi<sup>11</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> id<sup>2</sup> gi<sup>24</sup> bid<sup>2</sup> ngai<sup>11</sup>.*  
 3SG BUN one CL pen 1SG  
 “He gave a pen to me.”  
 b. 佢分俚一支筆。  
*gi<sup>11</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> ngai<sup>11</sup> id<sup>2</sup> gi<sup>24</sup> bid<sup>2</sup>.*  
 3SG BUN 1SG one CL pen  
 “He gave me a pen.”  
 c. 佢送一支筆分俚。  
*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.”

In addition to Lai (2001) and Liu (2006), Huang (2012b) identifies seven dative constructions, including the three basic forms parallel to those in Mandarin Chinese, termed DO (13a), GO (13b), and V *bun* DO (13c) respectively, and four varieties with

object omission or fronting with the marker *lau*.

- (13) a. 范丹第二擺結婚該下，仙人送佢一扇屏。 [ML:54-63]

*fam*<sup>55</sup> *dan*<sup>24</sup> *ti*<sup>55</sup> *ngi*<sup>55</sup> *bai*<sup>31</sup> *gied*<sup>2</sup> *fun*<sup>24</sup> *ge*<sup>55</sup> *ha*<sup>55</sup> *xien*<sup>24</sup> *ngin*<sup>11</sup> *sung*<sup>55</sup>  
 Famdan second time marry at:the:time fairy give  
*gi*<sup>11</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *san*<sup>55</sup> *pin*<sup>11</sup>.  
 3SG one CL folding:screen

“When Famdan got married for the second time, he was given a folding screen by the fairy.”

- b. 仙人送一頭金金个樹仔分佢。 [ML2:56-61]

*xien*<sup>24</sup> *ngin*<sup>11</sup> *sung*<sup>55</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *teu*<sup>11</sup> *gim*<sup>24</sup> *gim*<sup>24</sup> *ge*<sup>55</sup> *su*<sup>55</sup> *-e*<sup>31</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *gi*<sup>11</sup>.  
 fairy give one CL gold gold GE tree-SFX BUN 3SG

“The fairy gave him a golden tree.”

- c. 縣官見識著阿四妹个聰明...送分阿四妹「真正萬事不求人」。 [ML2:36-39]

*ien*<sup>55</sup> *gon*<sup>24</sup> *gien*<sup>55</sup> *siid*<sup>2</sup> *do*<sup>31</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup> *si*<sup>55</sup> *moi*<sup>55</sup> *ge*<sup>55</sup> *cung*<sup>24</sup> *min*<sup>11</sup> ... *sung*<sup>55</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup>  
 mayor realize PH Asimoi GE clever give BUN  
*a*<sup>24</sup> *si*<sup>55</sup> *moi*<sup>55</sup> *ziin*<sup>24</sup> *ziin*<sup>55</sup> *man*<sup>55</sup> *si*<sup>55</sup> *bud*<sup>2</sup> *kiu*<sup>11</sup> *ngin*<sup>11</sup>.

Asimoi really ten:thousand thing NEG ask people

“The mayor came to realize Asimoi’s cleverness...and gave her (a board saying) ‘she truly does not ask for help from others’.”

According to Huang (2012b), verbs that go with Hakka dative constructions are: (i) ditransitive verbs of transfer such as 送 *sung*<sup>55</sup> “to send; to give as gift”, 借 *jia*<sup>55</sup> “to lend”, and 賣 *mai*<sup>55</sup> “to sell”; (ii) nonditransitive verbs of transfer such as 寄 *gi*<sup>55</sup> “to mail” and 交 *gau*<sup>24</sup> “to hand”; (iii) verbs of creation such as 寫 *xia*<sup>31</sup> “to write” and 畫 *fa*<sup>55</sup> “to draw; to paint”; (iv) verbs of acquisition such as 買 *mai*<sup>24</sup> “to buy” and 摘 *zag*<sup>2</sup> “to pluck”. Whereas (i) and (ii) express core transfer, (iii) and (iv) express preconditions of transfer. The dative constructions in Hakka all entail a sense of giving.

### 3.2 Purposive *bun* constructions in Hakka

Traditionally, purposive constructions in English are regarded as control structures (Jones 1991). (14a) is an IOC (*in order to* purpose clause), and (14b) and (14c) are PCs (infinitive *to* purpose clause). (14b) is an SPC (subject-gap purpose clause), and (14c) is an OPC (object-gap purpose clause). Williams (1980) distinguishes between two kinds of control: OC (obligatory control) and NOC (nonobligatory control).

- (14) a. Mary<sub>i</sub> brought John<sub>j</sub> along [in order e<sub>i</sub> to talk to him<sub>j</sub>].  
 b. Mary<sub>i</sub> brought John<sub>j</sub> along [e<sub>j</sub> to talk to her<sub>i</sub>].  
 c. Mary<sub>i</sub> brought John<sub>j</sub> along [e<sub>i</sub> to talk to e<sub>j</sub>].

Typologically, Schmidtke-Bode (2009) proposes that a purposive construction is a complex clause containing a main clause expressing an intended action and a purposive clause expressing a desired result. For example (ibid., p.1):

- (15) a. Maria went to the bakery [in order to get some croissants].  
 b. Brendan put the bike into the garage [so that it would not get wet in the rain].  
 c. I brought a book [for Aaron to read on the plane].

Paul (1988) provides a systematic, detailed study of dative and purposive constructions in Mandarin Chinese. Similarly, Huang (2010:141) argues that (16b) is a purposive construction in Hakka, a derivative of the dative construction (16a). We argue that the observation is correct according to Schmidtke-Bode's (2009) complex-clause, bi-event analysis: In (16b), the first event (intended action) is someone's father giving him a rice paddy and the second event (desired result) is he being able to plow the rice paddy.

- (16) a. 厥爸分一坵田分佢。  
 gia<sup>24</sup> ba<sup>24</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> id<sup>2</sup> kiu<sup>24</sup> tien<sup>11</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> gi<sup>11</sup>.  
 3SG.G dad BUN one CL field BUN 3SG  
 "His dad gave him a rice paddy."  
 b. 厥爸分一坵田分佢耕。  
 gia<sup>24</sup> ba<sup>24</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> id<sup>2</sup> kiu<sup>24</sup> tien<sup>11</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> gi<sup>11</sup> gang<sup>24</sup>.  
 3SG.G dad BUN one CL field BUN 3SG plow  
 "His dad gave him a rice paddy to plow."

According to Huang (2012b), four classes of verb can appear in Hakka dative constructions: (i) ditransitive verbs of transfer; (ii) nonditransitive verbs of transfer; (iii) verbs of creation; (iv) verbs of acquisition. For example, the pre-*bun* verbs in (17) belong to verbs of creation (煮 zu<sup>31</sup> "to cook" and 做 zo<sup>55</sup> "to make"), which are prerequisite of subsequent concrete transfer. Since the post-*bun* NPs are recipients and beneficiaries simultaneously, like the post-*bun* NP in (16b), they are *recipient beneficiaries* in the sense used by Van Valin & LaPolla (1997).

- (17) a. 有煮豬肉分阿姆(食)無? [ML:74-79]  
*iu*<sup>24</sup> *zu*<sup>31</sup> *zu*<sup>24</sup>*ngiug*<sup>2</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*me*<sup>24</sup> *siid*<sup>5</sup> *mo*<sup>11</sup>.  
 have cook pork BUN mom eat NEG  
 “Did you cook the pork for Mom (to eat)?”
- b. 天光阿母正做衫分你(著)啦! [DS5:134]  
*tien*<sup>24</sup>*gong*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*me*<sup>24</sup> *zang*<sup>55</sup> *zo*<sup>55</sup> *sam*<sup>24</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *ngi*<sup>11</sup> *zog*<sup>2</sup> *la*<sup>11</sup>.  
 dawn mother just make clothes BUN 2SG wear SFP  
 “Not until dawn will mum make clothes for you (to wear).”

### 3.3 From recipient beneficiaries to plain beneficiaries

Purposive constructions in Hakka allow verbs beyond the four classes described in Huang (2012b). Transfer of information is implied in (18a), whereas no transfer of any kind is implied in (18b). Here, the post-*bun* NPs are plain beneficiaries. Both examples do not have dative counterparts.

- (18) a. 唱條山歌分你聽。 [HM152:35]  
*cong*<sup>55</sup> *tiau*<sup>11</sup> *san*<sup>24</sup> *go*<sup>24</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *ngi*<sup>11</sup> *tang*<sup>24</sup>.  
 sing CL hill song BUN 2SG listen  
 “I’ll sing a hill song for you.”
- b. 就開門分佢入來。 [ML2: 116-126]<sup>7</sup>  
*qiu*<sup>55</sup> *koi*<sup>24</sup> *mun*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *gi*<sup>11</sup> *ngib*<sup>5</sup> *loi*<sup>11</sup>.  
 then open door BUN 3SG enter come  
 “So (she) opened the door to let him in.”

One might infer that purposive constructions with three-participant verbs of transfer all contain recipient beneficiaries. This is not true. Although the post-*bun* NP in (19a) is a recipient beneficiary, that in (19b) can only be a recipient, thus the ungrammaticality of the purposive construction in (19b). In (19c), the post-*bun* NP is a plain beneficiary rather than a recipient beneficiary, as is evident in the

<sup>7</sup> One of the anonymous reviewers indicates that the permissive sense exists in (18b). We argue that our structural distinction of purposives (with postverbal *bun*) and causatives (with preverbal *bun*) still holds. Of course, by omitting some part of (18b), one may claim that the remaining part becomes a (permissive) causative: 就分佢入來 “so she let him in”. Since we adopt the two-event scenario analysis (“intended action” plus “desired result”) from Schmidtke-Bode (2009) for purposive constructions, it is natural from the definition that the first event makes possible the occurrence of the second event. This “making possible” could be easily understood as “letting”. Therefore, we believe that the “letting” sense is inherent (if not so obvious) in all purposive constructions. Nevertheless, this observation will not affect the status of (18b) being a purposive construction, since it meets our structural and semantic criteria here. As the relation between purposive and causative constructions in Hakka is an issue beyond the scope of this paper, we will leave this topic to further studies.

ungrammaticality of the dative counterpart. In this example, the recipient role of the verb of transfer 賣 *mai*<sup>55</sup> “to sell” is not syntactically realized, being overridden by the beneficiary role of the purposive construction.

- (19) a. 僱買衫褲分吾俵仔(著)。[CE]

*ngai*<sup>11</sup> *mai*<sup>24</sup> *sam*<sup>24</sup>*fu*<sup>55</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *nga*<sup>24</sup> *lai*<sup>55</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup> *zog*<sup>2</sup>.

1SG buy clothes BUN 1SG.G son-SFX wear

“I bought clothes for my son (to wear).”

- b. 僱賣衫褲分阿英(\*著)。[CE]

*ngai*<sup>11</sup> *mai*<sup>55</sup> *sam*<sup>24</sup>*fu*<sup>55</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup> *zog*<sup>2</sup>.

1SG sell clothes BUN Ayin wear

“I sell clothes to Ayin (\*for her to wear).”

- c. 僱賣衫褲分吾妹仔\*(讀書)。[CE]

*ngai*<sup>11</sup> *mai*<sup>55</sup> *sam*<sup>24</sup>*fu*<sup>55</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *nga*<sup>24</sup> *moi*<sup>55</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup> *tug*<sup>5</sup> *su*<sup>24</sup>.

1SG sell clothes BUN 1SG.G daughter-SFX read book

“I sell clothes (in the market) so that I can pay my daughter’s tuition fee.”

### 3.4 Agentless datives and purposives

When the context permits, Hakka allows dative and purposive constructions to drop their agents and relocate the themes to pre-*bun* positions. (20a) is an example of agentless datives, and (20b) is an example of agentless purposives. As all examples presuppose the existence of objects that move, the purposives here are dative by nature, since there exist non-dative purposives like (18b) which have no agentless counterpart. Therefore, the post-*bun* NPs in agentless datives and purposives are recipient beneficiaries.

- (20) a. 這紙尿布分嬰兒仔。[CE]

*lia*<sup>31</sup> *zii*<sup>31</sup> *ngiau*<sup>55</sup>*bu*<sup>55</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *o*<sup>24</sup>*nga*<sup>55</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup>.

this paper diaper BUN infant-SFX

“The paper diapers are for the baby.”

- b. 這身衫褲分你著。[CE]

*lia*<sup>31</sup> *siin*<sup>24</sup> *sam*<sup>24</sup>*fu*<sup>55</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *ngi*<sup>11</sup> *zog*<sup>2</sup>.

this CL clothes BUN 2SG wear

“This clothing is for you (to wear).”

### 3.5 Agentless purposives with subject-predicative

Unlike an ordinary agentless purposive, the main verb phrase is not predicative of the post-*bun* NP in (21a) and (21b), though superficially they are indistinguishable from ordinary agentless purposives. Instead, the verb phrase is predicative of the subject NP. Thus the NPs at the end of the sentences (21a) and (21b) are subject-predicatives with respect to their syntactic functions. Since concrete transfer is involved in the examples, the post-*bun* NPs are recipient beneficiaries.

(21) a. 你平常盡煞猛，這隻金鴨嘛分你做嫁妝。 [ML:158-173]

*ngi*<sup>11</sup> *pin*<sup>11</sup> *song*<sup>11</sup> *qin*<sup>55</sup> *sad*<sup>2</sup> *mang*<sup>24</sup> *lia*<sup>31</sup> *zag*<sup>2</sup> *gim*<sup>24</sup> *ab*<sup>2</sup> *ma*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *ngi*<sup>11</sup> *zo*<sup>55</sup>  
 2SG usually very diligent this CL gold duck BUN 2SG make  
*ga*<sup>55</sup> *zong*<sup>24</sup>.

dowry

“You are diligent most of the time, so I’ll give you this golden duck as your dowry.”

b. 你係征得平番國，吾妹仔就分你做舖娘。 [ML:188-199]

*ngi*<sup>11</sup> *he*<sup>55</sup> *ziin*<sup>24</sup> *ded*<sup>2</sup> *piang*<sup>11</sup> *fan*<sup>24</sup> *gued*<sup>2</sup> *nga*<sup>24</sup> *moi*<sup>55</sup> *-e*<sup>31</sup> *qiu*<sup>55</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup>  
 2SG be conquer DED level savage nation 1SG.G daughter-SFX then BUN  
*ngi*<sup>11</sup> *zo*<sup>55</sup> *bu*<sup>24</sup> *ngiong*<sup>11</sup>.

2SG make wife

“If you ever conquered the savage people, I would let you marry my daughter.”

### 3.6 Invited inferencing and semantic extension of *bun* in Hakka

The morpheme *bun* in Hakka dative constructions marks the recipient role, which contextually incurs the recipient beneficiary role. In Hakka purposive constructions, this recipient beneficiary may further evolve into a plain beneficiary. We also see that agentless datives and purposives contain recipient beneficiaries. Agentless purposives with a subject predicative also contain recipient beneficiaries.

We propose that the semantic extension of *bun* in Hakka is from recipient to recipient beneficiary, and from recipient beneficiary to plain beneficiary, as shown in Figure 2:

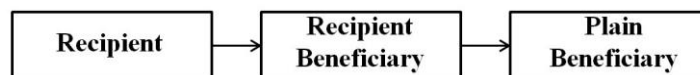


Figure 2. Semantic extension of *bun*

The original meaning of *bun* is “to separate; to give”. To illustrate the semantic extension of *bun*, the examples in (19) are repeated below for easy reference:

- (22) a. 僱買衫褲分吾俵仔(著) ◦ [CE]  
*ngai<sup>11</sup> mai<sup>24</sup> sam<sup>24</sup>fu<sup>55</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> nga<sup>24</sup> lai<sup>55</sup>-e<sup>31</sup> zog<sup>2</sup>.*  
 1SG buy clothes BUN 1SG.G son-SFX wear  
 “I bought clothes for my son (to wear).”
- b. 僱賣衫褲分阿英(\*著) ◦ [CE]  
*ngai<sup>11</sup> mai<sup>55</sup> sam<sup>24</sup>fu<sup>55</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> a<sup>24</sup>in<sup>24</sup> zog<sup>2</sup>.*  
 1SG sell clothes BUN Ayin wear  
 “I sell clothes to Ayin (\*for her to wear).”
- c. 僱賣衫褲分吾妹仔\*(讀書) ◦ [CE]  
*ngai<sup>11</sup> mai<sup>55</sup> sam<sup>24</sup>fu<sup>55</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> nga<sup>24</sup> moi<sup>55</sup>-e<sup>31</sup> tug<sup>5</sup> su<sup>24</sup>.*  
 1SG sell clothes BUN 1SG.G daughter-SFX read book  
 “I sell clothes (in the market) so that I can pay my daughter’s tuition fee.”

In a dative construction like (22b), the post-*bun* NP is a recipient (a “sellee”) but not a beneficiary, since it is the money and the goods that are exchanged in a commercial transaction. The ungrammaticality of the attempted purposive variant in (22b) confirms this observation.

In a dative construction like (22a), the post-*bun* NP is a recipient and a beneficiary at the same time, i.e. a recipient beneficiary. Unlike that in (22b), it is a recipient outside the commercial transaction, where the “buyer” is the subject NP. This observation finds support from the purposive variant of (22a), since only beneficiaries can be the post-*bun* NPs in purposive constructions.

We adopt IITSC introduced in Section 2.2 to account for the semantic extension. At first, the lexical meaning of the post-*bun* NP is a recipient in a dative construction, as in (22b). There is no way for the speaker and the hearer to come up with any invited inference related to recipient beneficiaries in this situation. In contexts like (22a), both the speaker and the hearer will infer that a recipient is usually a recipient beneficiary. The invited inferences (IINs) are then generalized. The generalized invited inferences (GIINs) then get semanticized, giving a lexical status to the recipient beneficiary. At this stage, then, both the recipient and the recipient beneficiary are the core (lexical) meanings of the post-*bun* NP.

We repeat the same process to derive plain beneficiaries. At first, the lexical meaning of the *bun*-marked NP is a beneficiary in a purposive construction, as in the purposive variant of (22a). There is no way for the speaker and the hearer to come up with any invited inference related to plain beneficiaries in this situation. In contexts



like (22c), both the speaker and the hearer infer that the post-*bun* NP may not receive the goods in a commercial transaction. The invited inferences (IINs) become generalized invited inferences (GIINS) and get semanticized, giving a lexical status to the plain beneficiary. At this stage, then, both the recipient beneficiary and the plain beneficiary are the core (lexical) meanings of the post-*bun* NP.

Therefore, the two-stage semantic extension of *bun* in Hakka is accounted for. In the next section, we turn to the discussion of *lau* in Hakka.

#### 4. Benefactive *lau* constructions in Hakka

In this section, the polysemous function word *lau* is discussed. First we review the many senses of *lau*, and present deputative and plain beneficiaries expressed by *lau*. Then we discuss lexically-induced semantic roles and beneficiaries. We propose a route of sense extension for *lau*, starting from the comitative sense to the many beneficiary senses.

##### 4.1 Deputative and plain beneficiaries marked by *lau*

The three kinds of beneficiaries are semantically delimited. Although recipient beneficiaries seem to be more clearly defined, there is a fuzziness between deputative beneficiaries and plain beneficiaries. If one does things originally supposed to be done by someone else, that someone else is a deputative beneficiary. If one does things for the delight of someone else, that someone else is a plain beneficiary. The problem is that sometimes it is not clear whether there is something that must be done. Usually, the fuzziness vanishes when proper contexts are given.

Take the following sentences for example. In (23a), there is ambiguity between the comitative sense and the deputative beneficiary sense. It is deputative beneficiary instead of plain beneficiary because asking gods for divination is something one can do independently. In the story-telling context of (23b), someone hung a mosquito net for the benefit of an ox. Since we know an ox cannot hang a mosquito net on its own, we may conclude that a deputative beneficiary sense is unlikely and thus the post-*lau* NP here is a plain beneficiary. Thus the derivation from deputative beneficiary to plain beneficiary is established.

(23) a. 無相干，僱膠你去問神。 [ML2:52-55]

*mo*<sup>11</sup>*xiong*<sup>24</sup>*gon*<sup>24</sup> *ngai*<sup>11</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *ngi*<sup>11</sup> *hi*<sup>55</sup> *mun*<sup>55</sup> *siin*<sup>11</sup>.

okay                      1SG    LAU    2SG    go    ask            god

“It’s okay. Let’s go ask the gods for divination.”

“It’s okay. Let me ask the gods for divination for you.”

- b. 驚佢分蚊仔叮，就膠佢吊眠帳。 [ML:2-17]

*giang*<sup>24</sup> *gi*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *mun*<sup>24</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup>      *diau*<sup>24</sup> *qiu*<sup>55</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *gi*<sup>11</sup> *diau*<sup>55</sup> *min*<sup>11</sup> *zong*<sup>55</sup>.

afraid 3SG BUN mosquito-SFX bite so LAU 3SG hang mosquito:net

“Worrying that it could be bitten by mosquitoes, he hung a mosquito net for it.”

There are lexically-induced semantic roles related to beneficiaries, such as recipient, source, and “helpee”. Their relations to beneficiaries are the topic in the next section.

#### 4.2 Lexically-induced semantic roles and beneficiaries

Lai (2003b:549) observes recipient-beneficiary ambiguity as in (24a). Here the post-*lau* NP is either a recipient or a deputative beneficiary, but not both. Lai (2003b:550) gives an event-frame account of this polysemy, arguing that “the event frame of a letter-writing activity involves a writer, a sender, a letter, and a receiver.” Therefore, the semantic role recipient in this example is verbally-induced, i.e. specific to a letter-writing activity. This claim receives support from (24b), which is minimally distinct from (24a) and expresses a book-writing activity involving a writer, a book, and (possibly) potential readers of the book. Thus the ambiguity observed in (24a) vanishes. In both (24a) and (24b), the post-*lau* NP can also be a comitative, like the English conjunction *and*, though it would sound more natural if an adverbial like 共下 *kiung*<sup>55</sup>*ha*<sup>55</sup> “together” were placed immediately before the verb. In (24b), the post-*lau* NP can also be a deputative beneficiary (despite moral/legal concerns) or a plain beneficiary (a “dedicatee” or reader).

- (24) a. 阿英膠佢寫信仔。

*a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *gi*<sup>11</sup> *xia*<sup>31</sup> *xin*<sup>55</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup>.

Ayin LAU 3SG write letter-SFX

“Ayin wrote a letter to him.”

“Ayin wrote a letter (to someone) for him.”

“Ayin and he wrote a letter.”

- b. 阿英膠佢寫一本書。 [CE]

*a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *gi*<sup>11</sup> *xia*<sup>31</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *bun*<sup>31</sup> *su*<sup>24</sup>.

Ayin LAU 3SG write one CL book

“Ayin wrote a book for him.”

“Ayin and he wrote a book.”

Recipient-beneficiary ambiguity is also observed in Lai (2003b:549), as exemplified in (25a). Here the post-*lau* NP is either a recipient beneficiary or a “helpee”. It is not a deputative beneficiary since a deputative beneficiary requires this NP to be excluded from the cooking event. This “helpee” sense may result from the lexical verb 搵 *ten*<sup>55</sup> “to help”. Without this lexical verb, the post-*lau* NP in this sentence can be either a recipient beneficiary or a deputative beneficiary, or both (in the case that the meal was originally meant for Amin himself), as illustrated in the minimally distinct example (25b).

Another possible sense found in both (25a) and (25b) is the comitative sense, though with this sense they require something to make them sound more natural, e.g. an adverbial immediately preceding a verb like 共下 *kiung*<sup>55</sup>*ha*<sup>55</sup> “together” or a subsequent contrasting part like 佢(搵)洗衫 *ngai*<sup>11</sup>(*ten*<sup>55</sup>)*se*<sup>31</sup>*sam*<sup>24</sup> “I helped wash / washed the clothes”.

(25) a. 阿英摻阿明搵煮飯。

*a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*min*<sup>11</sup> *ten*<sup>55</sup> *zu*<sup>31</sup> *fan*<sup>55</sup>.

Ayin LAU Amin help cook meal

“Ayin helped cook a meal for Amin (to eat).”

“Ayin helped Amin cook a meal (for someone else).”

“Ayin and Amin helped cook a meal.”

b. 阿英摻阿明煮飯。[CE]

*a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*min*<sup>11</sup> *zu*<sup>31</sup> *fan*<sup>55</sup>.

Ayin LAU Amin cook meal

“Ayin cook a meal for Amin (to eat).”

“Ayin cooked a meal instead of Amin (for someone else).”

“Ayin and Amin cooked a meal.”

We see the connection between verbally-induced sense of recipient and deputative beneficiary in (24a), and that between comitative and deputative/plain beneficiaries in (24b). We also see the connection between verbally-induced sense of “helpee” and recipient beneficiary in (25a), and that between deputative beneficiary and recipient beneficiary in (25b). Both (25a) and (25b) can also be related to the comitative sense.

Lai (2003b:551) also observes source-beneficiary ambiguity as shown in (26a) and (26b). Here the post-*lau* NPs can be sources or beneficiaries. The question is: what kind of beneficiary are they? Although the most prominent sense may imply that the post-*lau* NPs are recipient beneficiaries (being the ultimate recipient of land and money), we argue that the deputative beneficiary sense is also possible. In (26a), Amin may further give the land acquired by Ayin to someone else, making himself a

deputative beneficiary. The same reasoning applies to (26b).

(26) a. 阿英摻阿明買田。

$a^{24}in^{24} lau^{24} a^{24}min^{11} mai^{24} tien^{11}$ .

Ayin LAU Amin buy land

“Ayin bought a piece of land from Amin (for someone else).”

“Ayin bought a piece of land (from someone else) for Amin.”

“Ayin bought a piece of land (from someone else) on behalf of Amin.”

“Ayin and Amin bought a piece of land (from someone else).”

b. 阿英摻阿明借錢。

$a^{24}in^{24} lau^{24} a^{24}min^{11} jia^{55} qien^{11}$ .

Ayin LAU Amin borrow money

“Ayin borrowed money from Amin (for someone else).”

“Ayin borrowed money (from someone else) for Amin.”

“Ayin borrowed money (from someone else) on behalf of Amin.”

“Ayin and Amin borrowed money (from someone else).”

Given more contextual information, *lau* in (26a) and (26b) can also be understood as a coordinator. Therefore, the semantic role “source” is connected to “recipient beneficiary”, “deputative beneficiary”, as well as “comitative”. Like (25a) and (25b), (26a) and (26b) with the comitative sense would sound more natural if an adverbial like 共下  $kiung^{55}ha^{55}$  “together” immediately precedes the verb or a subsequent contrasting part is added.

### 4.3 The recipient beneficiary sense of *lau* in Hakka

In Section 4.2, we demonstrated recipient-beneficiary ambiguity and source-beneficiary ambiguity mainly with examples from Lai (2003b). It is ambiguity that is at play, because the same form (sentence) has the potential of having two or more different (mutually exclusive) interpretations.

In that section, (25b) exhibits ambiguity between the deputative beneficiary and the recipient beneficiary. The verb phrase 煮飯  $zu^{31}fan^{55}$  “to cook a meal” denotes the act of creation, which is a prerequisite for transfer. Based on this observation, we may want to know whether there are other verbs that can induce this kind of ambiguity.

A natural candidate is a verb of transfer in Hakka, i.e. 送  $song^{55}$  “to deliver”. With the help of directional verbs, the recipient beneficiary sense can be derived from the deputative beneficiary sense. In (27a), the post-*lau* NP is simply a deputative beneficiary, observing that the deictic term 過去  $go^{55}hi^{55}$  “to go over” denotes

delivery away from the speaker. In (27b), on the contrary, the post-*lau* NP is a deputative beneficiary and a recipient beneficiary at the same time because the deictic term 來 *loi*<sup>55</sup> “to come” denotes delivery toward the speaker.

(27) a. 汝就照這張單仔摺佢送過去。 [HM069:68]

*ngi*<sup>11</sup> *qiu*<sup>55</sup> *zeu*<sup>55</sup> *lia*<sup>31</sup> *zong*<sup>24</sup> *dan*<sup>24</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *ngai*<sup>11</sup> *song*<sup>55</sup> *go*<sup>55</sup> *hi*<sup>55</sup>.  
2SG then accord this CL checklist-SFX LAU 1SG deliver pass go  
“Deliver [the goods] for me in accord with this checklist.”

b. 等一下正摺你送來。 [CE]

*den*<sup>31</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *ha*<sup>55</sup> *zang*<sup>55</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *ngi*<sup>11</sup> *song*<sup>55</sup> *loi*<sup>11</sup>.  
later just LAU 2SG deliver come  
“Only later will I deliver [the goods] for you.”

#### 4.4 Invited inferencing and semantic extension of *lau* in Hakka

In this section, we argue that the semantic extension of *lau* in Hakka is from comitative to deputative beneficiary, and then from deputative beneficiary to plain beneficiary. The semantic extension from comitative to deputative beneficiary can be illustrated by (23a), repeated here as (28).

(28) 無相干，佢摺你去問神。 [ML2:52-55]

*mo*<sup>11</sup> *xiong*<sup>24</sup> *gon*<sup>24</sup> *ngai*<sup>11</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *ngi*<sup>11</sup> *hi*<sup>55</sup> *mun*<sup>55</sup> *siin*<sup>11</sup>.  
okay 1SG LAU 2SG go ask god  
“It’s okay. Let’s go ask the gods for divination.”  
“It’s okay. Let me ask the gods for divination for you.”

According to IITSC, we may say that the first reading of *lau* in (28) (comitative) belongs to Stage I. While the speaker may intend to mean that she will go ask the gods for divination together with the hearer, it is likely that the hearer may accidentally infer that she may be exempted from the trouble of going herself, and believes that the speaker will do it on her behalf. With mutual understanding of this invited inference (IIN) of deputative beneficiary, the speaker may begin to use *lau* in other situations where deputative beneficiary is involved. Thus a generalized invited inference (GIIN) is achieved. Later on, this generalized invited inference is semanticized and becomes a sense of *lau*. Therefore *lau* can be used in situations where only the deputative beneficiary sense is plausible. Here, we arrive at Stage II of the semantic change.

The semantic extension from deputative beneficiary to plain beneficiary can be

illustrated by (23b), repeated here as (29).

(29) 驚佢分蚊仔𠵼，就膠佢吊眠帳。 [ML:2-17]

*giang*<sup>24</sup> *gi*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *mun*<sup>24</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup>      *diau*<sup>24</sup> *qiu*<sup>55</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *gi*<sup>11</sup> *diau*<sup>55</sup> *min*<sup>11</sup> *zong*<sup>55</sup>.  
 afraid 3SG BUN mosquito-SFX bite so LAU 3SG hang mosquito:net  
 “Worrying that it could be bitten by mosquitoes, he hung a mosquito net for it.”

(29) contains a story-telling scenario in which a man hangs a mosquito net for an ox. We may imagine that an ox is capable of hanging a mosquito net for itself. If this is the case, then (29) has a deputative beneficiary sense. However, we know an ox cannot hang a mosquito net in reality, and so the invited inference (IIN) between the writer and the reader is plain beneficiary, as we know the man hangs the mosquito net for the comfort and joy of the ox. This invited inference may be generalized in other contexts, and therefore the generalized invited inference (GIIN) gets semanticized. Thus the link between the deputative beneficiary and the plain beneficiary is established.

The semantic extension from deputative beneficiary to recipient beneficiary can be illustrated by (27b), repeated here as (30).

(30) 等一下正膠你送來。 [CE]

*den*<sup>31</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *ha*<sup>55</sup>      *zang*<sup>55</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *ngi*<sup>11</sup> *song*<sup>55</sup> *loi*<sup>11</sup>.  
 later                  just LAU 2SG deliver come  
 “Only later will I deliver [the goods] for you.”

The direction of derivation is from deputative beneficiary to recipient beneficiary, rather than the other way around. The post-*lau* NP in (30) is a deputative beneficiary in the first place, and only through invited inferencing do the interlocutors realize that this post-*lau* NP is also a recipient beneficiary. This recipient beneficiary sense is verbally-induced.

The route of semantic extension for *lau* is illustrated in Figure 3. Note that senses central to the *lau* constructions are in boldface, whereas senses that are verbally-induced are italicized.

The connection between “plain beneficiary” and “recipient beneficiary” is not clear. Although in the semantic extension of *bun* shown in Figure 2 we see that “plain beneficiary” is derived from “recipient beneficiary”, we cannot apply this analogy to the semantic extension of *lau* here since their evolutions are independent of each other.

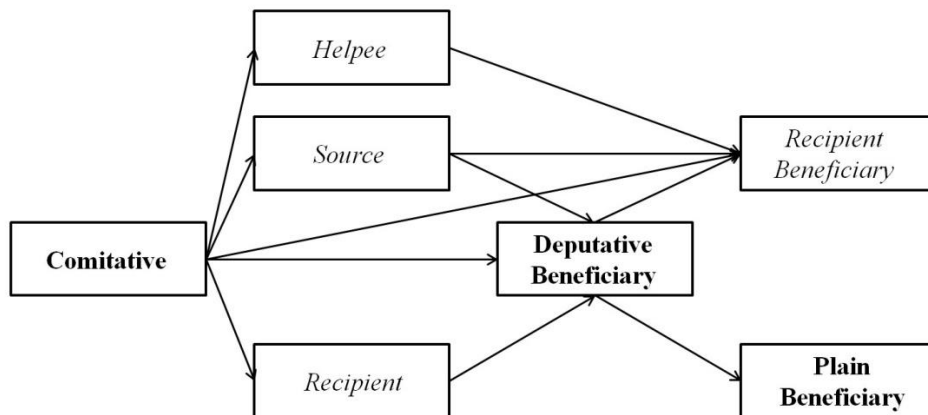


Figure 3. Semantic extension of *lau*

Based on the data in this paper, the role “helpee” is verbally-induced by 搵<sup>55</sup> *ten* “to help”. Likewise, the role “source” is verbally-induced by 買<sup>24</sup> *mai* “to buy” or 借<sup>55</sup> *jia* “to borrow” whereas the role “goal” is verbally-induced by 寫信仔<sup>31</sup> *xia<sup>31</sup> xin<sup>55</sup>-e<sup>31</sup>* “to write a letter”. Also, the role “recipient beneficiary” is verbally-induced (and thus lexically-limited) by verbs of creation like 煮飯<sup>31</sup> *zu<sup>31</sup> fan<sup>55</sup>* “to cook a meal”, or verbs of acquisition like 買<sup>24</sup> *mai* “to buy” and 借<sup>55</sup> *jia* “to borrow”, or verbs of transfer like 送<sup>55</sup> *song* “to deliver”.<sup>8</sup>

### 5. Division of labor between *bun* and *lau*

Postverbal *bun* and preverbal *lau* have a division of labor. A striking difference between *bun* and *lau* constructions is in their semantics. Lai (2004:89-91) summarizes, with the examples below, that successful transfer of possession of an object is implied in *bun* constructions but not in *lau* constructions.

(31) a. ?佢分一本書分阿英，毋過阿英無收著。<sup>9</sup>

?gi<sup>11</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> id<sup>2</sup> bun<sup>31</sup> su<sup>24</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> a<sup>24</sup>in<sup>24</sup>, m<sup>11</sup> go<sup>55</sup> a<sup>24</sup>in<sup>24</sup> mo<sup>11</sup> su<sup>24</sup> do<sup>31</sup>.

3SG give one CL book BUN Ayin but Ayin NEG receive PH

“?He gave a book to Ayin, but she didn’t receive it.”

b. 佢攞阿英寫一封信仔，毋過阿英無收著。

gi<sup>11</sup> lau<sup>24</sup> a<sup>24</sup>in<sup>24</sup> xia<sup>31</sup> id<sup>2</sup> fung<sup>24</sup> xin<sup>55</sup>-e<sup>31</sup>, m<sup>11</sup> go<sup>55</sup> a<sup>24</sup>in<sup>24</sup> mo<sup>11</sup> su<sup>24</sup> do<sup>31</sup>.

3SG LAU Ayin write one CL letter-SFX but Ayin NEG receive PH

<sup>8</sup> Lai (2003a:360-366) presents goal/source/benefactive functions of *lau*, and the predicates that go with these functions. Her observation, that verbs of illocutionary communication are related to the goal function and verbs of taking things away are related to the source function, lends support to our analysis here. However, we believe that the benefactive function (beneficiary role here) is independent of verb classes/types, since beneficiary is a semantic role external to the verbal argument structure.

<sup>9</sup> For native speakers of English, the translation here is strange: If she didn’t receive the book, then he couldn’t have given it to her. This is exactly the case in Hakka.

“He wrote a letter to Ayin, but she didn’t receive it.”

Lai (2003a:370) observes that “Hakka is a highly construction-dependent language.” Evidence from the underspecified meaning of the lexical verb 借 *jia*<sup>55</sup> “to borrow; to lend” is illustrated below.

- (32) a. 佢摻厥爸借錢。  
*gi*<sup>11</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *gia*<sup>24</sup> *ba*<sup>24</sup> *jia*<sup>55</sup> *qien*<sup>11</sup>.  
 3SG LAU 3SG.G dad borrow money  
 “He borrowed money from his father.”
- b. 佢借錢分厥爸。  
*gi*<sup>11</sup> *jia*<sup>55</sup> *qien*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *gia*<sup>24</sup> *ba*<sup>24</sup>.  
 3SG lend money BUN 3SG.G dad  
 “He lent money to his father.”

The directionality of money transfer is not clear until the lexical items are fused with the construction. Therefore, Hakka *lau* and *bun* constructions determine whether 借 *jia*<sup>55</sup> is to be interpreted as “to borrow” or “to lend”.

The difference of the two function words in linear order gives rise to the [*lau...bun*] construction. Typical examples of this construction contain transfer of ownership or transfer of information (of a potential match):

- (33) a. 佢乜共樣摻金樹仔借分壞人。 [ML2:56-61]  
*gi*<sup>11</sup> *me*<sup>55</sup> *kiung*<sup>55</sup> *iong*<sup>55</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *gim*<sup>24</sup> *su*<sup>55</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup> *jia*<sup>55</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *fai*<sup>31</sup> *ngin*<sup>11</sup>.  
 3SG also likewise LAU gold tree-SFX lend BUN bad person  
 “He likewise lent the bad guy the golden tree.”
- b. 老人家想摻自家該妹仔介紹分阿吉仔認識。 [ML2:74-85]  
*lo*<sup>31</sup> *ngin*<sup>11</sup> *ga*<sup>24</sup> *xiong*<sup>31</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *qid*<sup>2</sup> *ga*<sup>24</sup> *ge*<sup>55</sup> *moi*<sup>55</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup> *gie*<sup>55</sup> *seu*<sup>55</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup>  
 elder consider LAU self GE daughter-SFX introduce BUN  
*a*<sup>24</sup> *gid*<sup>2</sup> *e*<sup>31</sup> *ngin*<sup>55</sup> *siid*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Agide know  
 “The elder was considering introducing his own daughter to Agide.”

Lai (2004:94-95) also observes that the [*lau...bun*] construction helps disambiguate the two readings associated with the sentences below:



(34) a. 佢摻阿英寫一封信仔分厥妹仔。

*gi*<sup>11</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup> *xia*<sup>31</sup> *id*<sup>2</sup> *fung*<sup>24</sup> *xin*<sup>55-e</sup><sup>31</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *gia*<sup>24</sup> *moi*<sup>55-e</sup><sup>31</sup>.

3SG LAU Ayin write one CL letter-SFX BUN 3SG.G daughter-SFX

“He wrote a letter to Ayin’s daughter for Ayin.”

b. 佢摻阿英買田分厥妹仔。

*gi*<sup>11</sup> *lau*<sup>24</sup> *a*<sup>24</sup>*in*<sup>24</sup> *mai*<sup>24</sup> *tien*<sup>11</sup> *bun*<sup>24</sup> *gia*<sup>24</sup> *moi*<sup>55-e</sup><sup>31</sup>.

3SG LAU Ayin buy land BUN 3SG.G daughter-SFX

“He bought land from Ayin for his daughter.”

With *bun* marking a recipient, the post-*lau* NP in (34a) can only be a beneficiary. Similarly, with *bun* marking a beneficiary, the post-*lau* NP in (34b) can only be a source. Although this reasoning is basically correct, we argue that a possible reading is missing in (34b). While the post-*bun* NP is consistently a recipient beneficiary throughout, the alternative reading “he bought land on behalf of Ayin for her daughter” renders the post-*lau* NP a deputative beneficiary.<sup>10</sup>

Consequently, we must allow the potential for two kinds of beneficiaries to co-exist in the same sentence. This strongly justifies the distinction among the many kinds of beneficiaries in this paper.

We see that *lau* marks deputative beneficiaries, plain beneficiaries, and recipient beneficiaries (lexically limited), whereas *bun* marks recipient beneficiaries and plain beneficiaries.

A question naturally arises: Is it possible for *bun* to mark a deputative beneficiary? The answer is no. An event-structure analysis on why this is so follows accordingly.

A recipient beneficiary is defined as someone who benefits from receiving something, which is then at her disposal. There is either an implicit event (for *bun* datives) or an explicit event (for *bun* purposives) that describes how one can make good use of the thing received.

A plain beneficiary is defined as someone who benefits from the fulfillment of a precondition, which enables her to do something that was intended by the benefactor. Likewise, this second event can be expressed implicitly or explicitly.

A deputative beneficiary, however, is defined as someone who benefits from not having to do something on her own and someone else doing it on her behalf. Since a *bun* purposive construction always assumes another event from which someone benefits, deputative beneficiaries are not compatible with *bun* purposive constructions. Consider the following examples:

<sup>10</sup> A slightly different reading would be “he bought land for Ayin for her daughter”, making the post-*lau* NP a plain beneficiary. As shown previously, the difference between a deputative beneficiary and a plain beneficiary may be insignificant in most scenarios.

- (35) a. 佢唱一首歌仔分佢聽。 [CE]<sup>11</sup>  
*ngai<sup>11</sup> cong<sup>55</sup> id<sup>2</sup> su<sup>31</sup> go<sup>24</sup>-e<sup>31</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> gi<sup>11</sup> tang<sup>24</sup>.*  
 1SG sing one CL song-SFX BUN 3SG listen  
 “I sang a song for him.”
- b. 佢嚟佢唱一首歌仔。 [CE]  
*ngai<sup>11</sup> lau<sup>24</sup> gi<sup>11</sup> cong<sup>55</sup> id<sup>2</sup> su<sup>31</sup> go<sup>24</sup>-e<sup>31</sup>.*  
 1SG LAU 3SG sing one CL song-SFX  
 “I sang a song for him.”  
 “I sang a song on his behalf.”
- c. 佢嚟佢唱一首歌仔分人客聽。 [CE]  
*ngai<sup>11</sup> lau<sup>24</sup> gi<sup>11</sup> cong<sup>55</sup> id<sup>2</sup> su<sup>31</sup> go<sup>24</sup>-e<sup>31</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> ngin<sup>11</sup> hag<sup>2</sup> tang<sup>24</sup>.*  
 1SG LAU 3SG sing one CL song-SFX BUN guest listen  
 “I sang a song for the guests on his behalf.”

In (35a), which is a purposive *bun* construction, the post-*bun* NP can only be a plain beneficiary. The fulfillment of the first event “I sing a song” enables the explicitly expressed second event “he listens to the song”. In (35b), a *lau* construction, the post-*lau* NP can be either a plain beneficiary or a deputative beneficiary. In the plain beneficiary reading, the second event is not explicitly expressed, whereas in the deputative beneficiary reading, there is no such event at all. In (35c), there is only one possible reading, with the post-*lau* NP being a deputative beneficiary and the post-*bun* NP being a plain beneficiary.

There is an order of preference in selecting the beneficiaries: *lau* prefers deputative beneficiary to plain beneficiary, whereas *bun* prefers recipient beneficiary to plain beneficiary.

This view conforms to Schmidtke-Bode’s (2010:121) observation that “benefactive NP-arguments can substitute for entire purpose clauses and thus provide a compact, economical way of coding purposive situations in language.” Therefore, there is a metonymic relation between a beneficiary and a purpose event. A beneficiary can stand for a purpose event if need be. Since there is no such purpose event for deputative beneficiaries, they can only be expressed by *lau* constructions.

## 6. Conclusion

This paper discusses the beneficiary role in Hakka, focusing on the distinction of three kinds of beneficiaries and how *bun* and *lau* evolve and eventually merge together to express benefaction with division of labor. Unlike roles such as agent and

<sup>11</sup> Naturally, the comitative sense is also plausible in (35b) and (35c), but that is not our main concern.

patient, the beneficiary role is usually verb-external and thus appears in non-argument positions. Hakka *lau* constructions have an applicative structure which provides an extra position to foster the beneficiary role. Hakka *bun* (dative and purposive) constructions are complex sentences which also accommodate the beneficiary role.

It is clear from our discussion that the three beneficiaries, i.e. recipient beneficiary, plain beneficiary, and deputative beneficiary, are not equidistant from one another. While the recipient beneficiary and the plain beneficiary have a clear-cut distinction, the border between the deputative beneficiary and the plain beneficiary may blur.

We believe that this asymmetry may be due to the following reasons.

First, the definition of a plain beneficiary is vague. Although recipient beneficiaries and deputative beneficiaries are clearly defined, a plain beneficiary is simply understood as someone who benefits from a certain intended event, making it a “waste bin” or “escape hatch” for any beneficiaries non-recipient and non-deputative.

Second, identifying responsibility is difficult. Sometimes it is not easy or straightforward to decide whether one is doing something on behalf of another or simply doing something for that person. This blurs the distinction between a deputative beneficiary and a plain beneficiary.

In this paper, we present the routes of semantic extension for beneficiary *bun* and beneficiary *lau*. Although *bun* and *lau* are totally unrelated in their original senses, they get closer and closer as a result of their semantic change. The beneficiary role is the meeting point of their merger. The function word *lau* is used primarily for deputative beneficiaries and plain beneficiaries, with limited uses for recipient beneficiaries. The function word *bun* is used primarily for recipient beneficiaries and plain beneficiaries, and never occurs in sentences with “deputative beneficiary” sense.

The semantic extensions of the two function words *bun* and *lau* can be justified by the Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change (Traugott 1999, Traugott & Dasher 2002). Again, take for example the semantic extension of “comitative” to “deputative beneficiary”. Originally, the scenario of the “comitative” sense may be about two persons working together, with no hint of weighting and responsibility. In certain contexts, the interlocutors may come up with the idea of responsibility. If one of two people is solely responsible for a task, but it is finished by the other, then one person benefits from the other’s service. This idea may get semanticized and incorporated into the new encoded meaning. Thus the “deputative beneficiary” sense is derived.

Although the data presented here are limited to synchronic ones, we believe the findings shed light on the routes of semantic extension that account for the diachronic evolution of the two most significant function words in the Hakka language.

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## 語意延伸與受惠者角色的匯聚：以客語「分」與「摻」為例

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本文探討客語中兩個最重要的多意功能詞「分」與「摻」的語意延伸。雖然這兩個詞的原始意義毫無關聯，最終卻共同來承擔表達受惠者語意角色的任務，並展現分工合作。如同世界上許多其他語言一樣，客語也必須區分三種受惠者：即接受受惠者、代理受惠者，以及一般受惠者。「分」主要用來表達接受受惠者以及一般受惠者，而「摻」主要是用來表達代理受惠者以及一般受惠者。在特別的語境之下，「摻」亦可用來表達接受受惠者。然而，由於客語目的句式的雙事件結構的限制，「分」無法用來表達代理受惠者。「分」的語意延伸從接受者到接受受惠者，再到一般受惠者。「摻」的語意延伸從同事者到代理受惠者，再到一般受惠者。這兩個語意延伸的過程當中的階段可藉由「引發推論」(Traugott 1999, Traugott & Dasher 2002)來獲得合理的解釋。

關鍵詞：受惠者、接受者、代理、語意延伸、引發推論