CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

Based on the previous studies and the theoretical background laid in sections II and III, this section provides a preliminary analysis, using a small set of data. Three issues are to be addressed here. To start with, in section 4.1, we will identify the semantic primitives of *piong3* and present the frames it invokes. Next, in section 4.2, we will probe into the syntactic realization of participant roles denoted by *piong3*. Further, we will explicate the multiple yet interrelated senses of *piong3* by scrutinizing the interaction between participant roles and two constructions, i.e. [VN] and [VC] constructions, respectively. Next, in section 4.3, we will move to the interplay between participant roles and more complicated syntactic structure (i.e. TUNG construction, locative inversion, and deprofiled theme construction) so as to provide a fine-grained analysis of *piong3* in Hakka. Finally, in section 4.4, we will scrutinize other congeneres of *piong3* in Hakka and explicate the shades of meaning rooted in the set of verbs with different degrees of family resemblance.
4.1 The Conceptual Structure of *piong3* in Hakka

As mentioned earlier, *piong3* in Hakka can co-occur with various noun phrases and demonstrate several distinct but related senses. The meaning relatedness of *piong3* may be attributed to two cognitive mechanisms: metaphor and metonymy. The single word *piong3* is rich in semantics as noted in the preceding. The basic meaning rooted in various *piong3* frames designate a common pattern of human experience: An animate entity exerts manual force upon an inanimate entity and causes the inanimate entity to move from source to goal along a path (typically in company with the agent). The general conceptual structure of *piong3*, realized in figure 2, can be decomposed into a couple of semantic primitives, as shown in (1).

![Figure 2 Semantic primitives in the conceptual structure of *piong3* (放)‘to put’ in Hakka.](image)
(1) Semantic primitives in the conceptual structure of piong3 (放) ‘to put’ in Hakka

a. Agent: an animate entity exerts manual force upon another entity, which
undergoes a change of location or a change of state

b. Theme/ Patient: an inanimate entity undergoes a change of location (as a
Theme) or a change of state (as a Patient) within the caused-motion activity

c. Location: the place to which the theme goes

d. Means: the instrument by which the agent performs the action

e. Manner: the way that the agent takes the action

f. Path: the direction that the theme is moving

g. Source: the place from which the theme moves

h. Result: the final state caused by the motion event

It is cognitively noteworthy that limits to the amount of information on which we
can focus the mental resources at a given time allow us to use our limited mental
resources judiciously. With respect to the association between such cognitive attention

7 The vexing questions of the inventory of possible thematic roles, and the status of these roles, in
particular, THEME/PATIENT, have been hotly debated. Dowty (1991) proposes that two
cluster-concepts called PROTO-AGENT, and PROTO-PATIENT can be used to describe the inventory of
possible roles and help differentiate the differences between THEME and PATIENT. According to Dowty,
the Patient Proto-Role can be characterized with the following features: undergoing a change of state,
being an incremental theme, being causally affected by another participant, and being stationary
relative to movement of another participant. He indicates that arguments can differ in degree, hinging
upon how many defining features a verb entails for the argument. In this study, I used the terms THEME
to represent the participant role which undergoes a change of location and PATIENT to indicate the role
which undergoes a change of state. However, Prof. Chinfa Lien suggests that the participant roles in this
study can be best described by THEME because they do not meet all requirements a PROTO-PATIENT
should have. I am grateful to Prof. Lien, whose comments capture the insight advocated by Dowty and
help clarify the distinction between THEME and PATIENT.
and language windowing, the most salient portions at a given event are conceptualized as foreground information and are made explicitly. In complementary fashion, the less relevant, more obvious, or more redundant information at a given moment is reduced to the background level, amplifying the efficiency of communication. Linked with a presumed kind of experience recurrent from early ages, this selective distribution of attention with respect to a conceptual complex, increases the likelihood of speed and accurate verbal interaction. In the same way, a complex event frame (i.e. a caused-motion event frame) highlights the most salient participants and realizes them in language. Since a caused-motion event frame involves a volitional animate entity that causes another inanimate entity to change its location, the participant roles, agent, theme, and location, are taken to be the most relevant information with respect to the caused-motion event frame.

Specially speaking, the possible participant roles within the PUT frame are maximally listed above. Evidently, the former three, agent, theme, and location are deemed as focal elements whereas the others are regarded as non-focal atoms in forging the PUT frame. A set of verbs including song5 (上) ‘to put upwards’, cit2 (漆) ‘to put with layers of paint’, bai3 (擺) ‘to put in order’, yam3 (掞) ‘to put a sprinkle of powder on surfaces or to cover surfaces with sprinkles’, mat2 (抹) ‘to put powder or liquids on surfaces’, go5 (膏) ‘to cover the surfaces with ointment’, lim5 (淋) ‘to
cover surfaces from higher level to lower level by putting on liquids’, *sol* (挲) ‘to put with one’s fingers moving back and forth’, *pat*2 (潑) ‘to move through fluid by scattering’, have been claimed to show a degree of family resemblance.

Specifically, *song*5 (上) conflates the path element into the verb; *cit*2 (漆), the means; *bai*3 (擺), the manner; *yam*3 (扌) the manner (or the selection of the theme: finely dispersed solid particles) and the resultant state of the location, *mat*2 (抺) the means; *go*5 (膏), the resultant state of the location; *lim*5 (淋), the means, the direction and the resultant state of the location; *sol* (挲) the means (i.e. fingers) and the direction; and *pat*2 (潑), the manner and the resultant state of the location. In what follows we concentrate our study first on the syntax-semantics mapping of *piong*3. Two constructions, namely, [VN] and [VC] constructions, are introduced to account for the multitude senses denoted by *piong*3.

### 4.2 Syntactic Realizations of Participant Roles in *Piong3* Constructions

It marks no sense to talk about event frames in the absence of semantic-syntactic relations among argument, complement, and adjunct. Talmy (2000) differentiates complements and adjuncts so as to explicate why some participant roles of a single event are profiled, taking different syntactic slots while the others are cast in shadow. Specifically speaking, participant roles assigned as complements are mandatory
elements in forging the frames: they are directly or indirectly (fully or partially) affected by the activity. On the other hand, those assigned as adjuncts are optional elements which simply modify the main predicate. The degree of affectedness thus reflects the distance between the verb and the participant role and further determines the syntactic slot with which the participant role can occur.

To start with the syntactic distance, the higher the degree of affectedness, the more proximal the distance between the participant role and the main predicate: The participant role with the highest degree of affectedness is in close proximity to the main predicate; the participant role with the lowest degree of affectedness is far distant from the main predicate; and the participant role with a slight degree of affectedness falls in between.

There seems to be an association of direct object status with a higher degree of affectedness. The completely affected participant role is fairly likely to take the (direct) object position; the lesser affected may be placed in an (indirect) object slot or a complement; the least affected may be realized as an oblique such as adverbials or prepositions. Therefore, Talmy has further classified the notion of complements into tripartite ways: obligatory, optional, and blocked complements. While the first must co-occur with the main predicate; the second may or may not do so. It is worthy of note that the third type of complement, a blocked complement is proposed as an
associated argument which may be expressed in particular conceptual construction rather than any particular lexical item.

Illuminated by event frames and windowing of attention proposed by Talmy (2000), Croft (2001) marks the distinction between arguments and adjuncts and suggests that there is a continuum of semantic relations from argument-like to adjunct-like. Roughly speaking, arguments are syntactically and semantically required while adjuncts are not. Since they specify the salience of substructure framed by a word (i.e. one of the participant roles), demonstrate collocational relations with the main predicate, and allow ellipsis in an accessible discourse context, arguments are considered more necessary part of an event and are obligatorily expressed in the syntactic slots. Conversely, adjuncts elaborate much less salient substructure in the characterization of the same giving event, and may lack presence of collocational relations. Due to their less semantic saliency and valency, adjuncts are regarded as optional elements of an event where their presence or absence will not affect the identity of the rest of the construction.

To sum up, the term argument is essentially the same as Talmy’s obligatory complement; complement is evidently the optional complement; and adjunct is identical with optional adjunct. Complements can be represented in various ways. What syntactic slots can these complements take greatly hinges upon their degree of
affectedness and their syntactic distance associated with the main predicate. Croft, (1998) states explicitly as follows:

In fact, there is such a correlation, namely control for subjects and affectedness for objects…. In other words, the participant assigned to direct object position can be inferred to be fully affected by the action, whereas one cannot make the same inference for the participant assigned to the oblique position. (Croft, 1998:88)

Specifically put, the closer the distance between the complement and the main predicate, the higher degree of affectedness it has. In other words, object position is assigned to a fully affected participant; complement is to a slightly affected participant; oblique position is to the least affected participant as demonstrated in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fully affected</th>
<th>Least affected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sem.)

(Syn.)

Figure 3 The correspondence between affectedness and syntactic manifestation

The Hakka data at hand reveal that although the semantic components of the PUT frame total eight participant roles, not all of these semantic primitives can be expressed simultaneously. Constrained by the information structure and limited in syntactic slots, some semantic components are syntactically profiled while others
remain unexpressed, serving as background. Typically, the general putting verb *piong3* describes a scene where an agent exerts manual force upon a theme and causes the theme to move from an implicit source to a location. Lexically speaking, only three participants, namely, agent, theme, and location, are conflated into the lexical meaning of *piong3* while the remaining participants are shaded. In the case of *piong3* (放), putter, puttee, and put.place are felt to be intrinsic parts of the caused-motion event frame, so they are considered arguments, which must be syntactically profiled. Other participants (i.e. path, manner, means, result, and time) are deemed as complements that might not manifest themselves on the surface.

4.2.1 The [VN] Constructions

A brief introduction to the conflation patterns of *piong3* and its congeners is given beforehand. Now, we will direct our attention to the general putting verb *piong3*. To start with, we are drawn in on the characterization of the verbal polysemies of *piong3*. Admittedly, a syntactic form may correspond to more than one interpretation since different frames are said to be primed. In the case of *piong3*, the interaction between the semantic role of theme/location/temporal expression and the [VN] construction yields to a multitude of senses. Let us take the following example as a point of departure to illustrate our point.
4.2.1.1 The Semantic Role of Theme in the [VN] Constructions

4.2.1.1.1 X Causes Y to be Relocated to Z

(X stands for agent, Y for theme, and Z for location)

The object noun in the [VN] constructions denotes the semantic role of theme, typically an inanimate concrete entity that is relocated to a different place within a caused-motion activity. In a prototypical sense, there is physical contact between the agent (though it is temporarily omitted) and the theme as shown in the following examples.

(2) 放酒。
    piong3 ziu2
    put wine
    ‘To put (a bottle of) wine’

(3) 放龍銀。
    piong3 liung5 ngiun5
    put dragon silver
    ‘To put silver coins’

(4) 放紙筆。
    piong3 zii2 pit2
    put pen pencil
    ‘To put pencils and paper’
The activity exemplified in (2) evokes a scene where an inanimate concrete theme transfers to a new location in the grasp of the agent. In other words, the agent first grasps the bottle of wine and then jointly moves to a new location. As is the case with piong3 ziu2 (放酒) ‘to put (a bottle of) wine’, the act describes in (3) involves agentive manual force upon the silver coins. The silver coins are first in the grasp of a volitional entity, and then are relocated to a new location with agentive forces acting upon them. Likewise, the event of placing stationery on a location involves similar physical transfer as shown in (4).

4.2.1.1.2 X Causes Y to Move to Z, Implying Certain Effects on Z

The object denoting the participant roles of theme in the [VN] construction has not only undergone a change of location, but also brought positive/negative effects on Z or an implicit beneficiary/a victim, as in

(5) 放烏糖。
    piong3 vul-tong5
    put brown-sugar
    ‘To add brown sugar’

(6) 放毒藥。
    piong3 tuk5- iok5
    put poison
    ‘To put poison into food or drink’
Example (5) describes a scene where an unexpressed agent causes the physical transfer of brown sugar from a teaspoon or one’s fingers into a cooker. It is interesting to note that the relocation of theme simultaneously brings about certain effect on the new location. Now imagine a cooking frame where a cook is making a sweet pastry. When the cook puts brown sugar into dough, the brown sugar dissolves in the plain pastry and has the plain pastry become richer.

The frame evoked by piong3 tuk5 iok5 (放毒藥) ‘put poison into food or drink’ is identical with that by piong3 vul tong5 (放烏糖) ‘add brown sugar’. As exemplified in (6), the putting of poisons into food or drink not merely shows the movement of the poisons but also signifies the effect of the poisons upon the food or drink. That is, the food or drink combined with the poisons undergoes a chemical changes and turns out to be poisonous.

As is the case with sentence (5), the episode of (7) involves a metaphorical relocation of the theme from agent to goal: A metaphorical transfer of possession takes place from agent to another beneficiary. In other words, once the transfer is
performed, on the one hand, the property is no more in the possession of the agent. On the other hand, the beneficiary party takes the possession of this property and s/he may grow rich overnight. This metaphorical usage of the caused-motion construction can be applied to the ditransitive construction\(^8\) as a productive form of extension because the particular extension involves the type of family of related senses latent in the central caused-motion construction.

4.2.1.3 X Causes Y to Changes its State Immediately Followed by Y’s Relocation

The semantic role of theme denoted by object noun in [VN] construction is more conceptually complicated. The overall interpretation of the [VN] construction is arrived at by the mechanism of metaphor, as shown in the following examples:

(8) 放牛
\begin{align*}
\text{piön} & \quad \text{ngiu}^5 \\
\text{put} & \quad \text{cow} \\
\text{‘To release cow (to pasture)’}
\end{align*}

\(^8\) Lien (2004 :403) argues at length that the caused-motion construction in Taiwanese Southern Min has developed into the ditransitive, sometimes called the “benefactive” construction in that ditransitive expressions are syntactically unique in allowing two noun phrases to occur after the verb: the agent role must be fused with the subject; the patient role with the indirect object position; and the recipient role, contributed by the construction, is linked to direct object position.
Example (8) describes a scene where the cows are put out to pasture. Metaphorically speaking, the change of location from a bounded area (i.e. fence) to an unbounded one (i.e. pasture land) implies a change of state from being in captivity to being in freedom. Note further that although the cows are released from the enclosure, they are not totally set free: the owner(s) may have been carefully monitoring the cattle or the shepherd boy may hold the cow by a long string.
The cases where some entity are released but kept under surveillance can be exemplified in (9). The meaning of *piong3 zi2-ieu3* (放紙鷂) ‘to fly the kite’ can be explained by CHANGE OF STATE AS CHANGE OF LOCATION metaphor. At first, the kite is spatially located at a certain location, and remains motionless. Once a volitional entity flew the kite, it changed its location (from a bounded area such as a drawer to a three-dimension space such as the sky), and turned to be active. Demonstrated in the preceding, little surprise should be caused by the interpretation of *piong3* in (9). That is, although it has been released and become dynamic in the wake of its relocation, the kite is still kept under control. What is more interesting here is that the composite meaning is accessed by one more cognitive mechanism: metonymy. The initial releasing of the kite from one’s palm stands for the whole event: the kite flies in the air while one holds it by a long string.

In the case of (10), a scenario must be given beforehand. In early periods of Taiwan agricultural society, there is no lighter to set on fire. People use dried straw to ignite. Provided that someone aims to start fire, he has to grasp the straw on fire first and then moves it to the target. Dried straw is inactive and harmless. However, given that people move it to fire, it turns to be flammable and dangerous. The meaning of this construction can be better explicated through metaphorical mapping. Specifically, it involves metaphor of CHANGE OF STATE AS CHANGE OF LOCATION where a change
of state is understood in terms of movement to a new location.

Aside from physical concrete themes denoted by the nouns (whether they are solid, liquid or gas), the nouns that refer to human body parts can also be associated with .picong3, as exemplified in (11) and (12). The semantic role of theme denoted by the nouns, namely, ．sim1 (心) ‘heart’ as in (11) and ．su2 (手) ‘hand’ in (12), lose their referential properties in the [VN] construction; instead, the interplay between the sense of ．piong3 and that of ．sim1 (心) ‘heart’ or ．su2 (手) ‘hand’ determines the composite meaning. While the former expresses a mental change from an uneasy state to a greater relief, the latter identifies a shift in human mentality from keeping thinking about something upsetting to stop thinking of it.

4.2.1.2 The Semantic Role of Location in the [VN] Constructions

In addition to the semantic role of theme, which can take up the object position in the [VN] constructions, the object noun in the [VN] construction can designate the semantic role of location, indicating the final destination of the caused-motion activity. Three types of location can be construed in the [VN] construction denoted by ．piong3: location as a flat surface, as a container, and as the space immediate next to something else. The most representative choice of location is a flat surface based on human experience. Another source of evidence for this idea comes from sign languages
where the notion of piong3 ‘to put’ is expressed by putting one’s right palm on his left
one rather than beneath his left palm. Hence, a flat surface (usually marked with the
localizer, kong3 亢, indicating ‘position above’) frequently co-occurs with piong3 as
shown in (13) to (16).

(13) 放灶頭
  piong3 zo3- teu5
  put kitchen-range
  ‘To put around the kitchen range’

(14) 放頂亢
  piong3 dang2 kong3
  put top above
  ‘To put on top of’

(15) 放地泥亢
  piong3 ti3-nai5 kong3
  put floor above
  ‘To put on the floor’

(16) 放案桌亢
  piong3 on3- zok2 kong3
  put table above
  ‘To put on the table’

The second type of location refers to location as a container. In addition to flat
surface, the extension of three dimensional regions in which all things can exist suits to the location. It is interesting that the three dimensional regions can refer to either a concrete physical container as in (17) or an abstract mental container as in (18).

(17) 放屋家
   piong3 vuk2- ka1
   put    house
   ‘To put in the house’

(18) 放(佇)心肚
   piong3    (du)    sim1    tu2
   put   (DU) heart   belly
   ‘To put in heart/ keep in mind’

Example (17) has a concrete building, i.e. vuk2 ka1 (屋家) ‘a house’, as the location of the putting event. On the other hand, abstract mentality, i.e., sim1 du2 (心肚) ‘heart/ mind’ is metaphorically construed as a location of the movement as exemplified in (18).

The more peripheral cases of location, the space immediate next to something, have been found with the [VN] construction. They can also serve as the destination of the moving activity as in (19) and (20).
Examples (19) and (20) share the same background frame, but they differ in the characterization of location. In example (19), the location to which a theme moves is depicted as lineal locus located in another two-dimensional or three-dimensional space, i.e. the space between two plowed grounds. Likewise, the location in (20) refers to an enclosed or a bounded area at which two lines, surfaces, or edges meet and form an angle. That is, location in (19) or (20) can be formed by the intersection between two lines, or surfaces rather than the intrinsic frame of an object.

To sum up, the diversity of spatial representation together with piong3 primes different frames and so complements the semantics of piong3 in the [VN] construction. The semantic frame with a flat surface location simply represents a change of location from one surface to another; no inference of the goal place needs to be drawn. Conversely, the semantic frame with an enclosed location denotes a
transfer to a bounded area, implying that the moving entity bears certain degrees of significance. Therefore, the transfer, to some extent, is meant to protect the moving entity. In the last case, the restriction to the shape of location is no more frame of reference of an object; instead, any bounded area formed by two lines or two sides are candidate for the choice of location.

4.2.1.3 The Semantic Role of Temporal Expressions in the [VN] Constructions

Our metaphorical understanding of time in terms of space has often been noted. The conceptual richness inherent in the spatial domain as a whole maps its structural elements onto time and imparts new meanings onto temporal notions. Motivated by such a metaphor (i.e. TIME-AS-SPACE metaphor) and ACTION-FOR-RESULT metonymy, the object noun indicating the time length of the resultant state can be found in the [VN] construction. See the following examples.

(21) 放得多日
    piong3 tet2 to1 ngit2
   put CP many day
   ‘To be able to put for several days’

(22) 放幾個月
    piong3 ki5 chat2 ngiet5
   put several CL month
   ‘To put for several months’
This usage of *piong3* constructions extends to mean ‘to put for a prolonged time’. Such an interpretation mainly comes from the ACTION-FOR-RESULT metonymy. Provided that an object is being put onto a location, it stays there until being moved otherwise. That is, without a motion force exerted upon it, the state of the moved object presumably stays. Hence, *piong3* can co-occur with a time phrase to specify the time length of the state as shown in (21) through (23).

4.2.2 The [VC] Constructions

Aside from the semantic diversity demonstrated in the [VN] construction, the putting verb *piong3* in the [VC] construction also receives multiple yet interrelated senses which seem to be contributed to the kinds of the following element it is associated with. Unlike object nouns, complements are optional but predicative. The small set of data in Hakka examples overwhelmingly indicate that the complements are predicated of the inanimate object.

The lexical item *piong3* inherently profiles three participant roles, namely agent,
theme, and location. Prototypically, the three participant roles are rendered in subject, object, and oblique. Other participants involved in the caused-motion activity are not made explicit unless complements are attached to the verb. Two types of complements designating path or result of a caused-motion event can be combined with the verb piong3 in the [VC] construction. Let’s begin with the first type, complement denoting path.

### 4.2.2.1 Complement Denoting a Path

To begin with, the main predicate piong3 can be concurrent with directional complements, specifying the path of the motion, as exemplified in the following.

(24) 放上天

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>piong3</th>
<th>song2</th>
<th>tien1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>sky</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘To put upwards’

(25) 放落(去)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>piong3</th>
<th>lok5- (hi3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
<td>fall- (go)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘To put downwards’

(26) 放下(來)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>piong3</th>
<th>ha5 (loi5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
<td>down (come)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘To put downwards’
Example (24) specifies an upward direction of the motion; examples (25) and (26) indicate a downward movement. In example (27), the path of the motion is from the outside to the inside. It is worthy of note that different portion of the path is windowed in these examples. In example (24), a movement from a lower level to a higher level is windowed. By contrast, examples (25) and (26) indicate a movement from a higher position to a lower position. Unlike the former two cases, example (27) just profiles the terminal point of the path.

4.2.2.2 Complement Denoting a Result

Resultative complement indicates the outcome of the whole event. It has been claimed to be predicated of the following, indicating a completive effect of the theme posited on the location. Noticeably, not only physical concrete entities but also abstract ones can be predicated by the resultative complement. Familiar complements associated with piong3 can be shown as follows.
Generally speaking, the kinds of resultative complements associated with piong3 in the [VC] construction are responsible for the composite meaning. That is, to pick up the most appropriate sense from the polysemy of piong3, speakers have to count on the semantics of the following resultative complements. A range of resultative complements are found in the [VC] form. Some complement specifies the holistic effect on the location such as the resultative complement nem5 in (28). Some complement highlights a resultant state of changing from tenseness to looseness such
as ko1 in (29) and nung5 in (30). Still some marks the momentary manual movement of leaving things behind such as phet4 in piong3 phet4 (放 phet4), as exemplified in (31). Note that the resultative complements as shown in (28)-(30) not only denote a change of state but also encode a causative meaning. In example (28), there exists a durative relation between the complement and the main predicate.

In other words, the result and the action do not occur at the same time. Instead, the completive result will only come into being after the action of putting is accomplished. Conversely, the phase\(^9\) complement phet4 ‘away’ in (31) merely signifies a change of state. Unlike the complements in (28) to (30), the phase complement in (31) designates a scene where the performance of the action immediately brings about the result of a stage change.

### 4.2.3 Lexicalization of Piong3 Constructions

So far, two types of piong3 constructions have been discussed. While the [VN] construction of piong3 bears the meaning of causing the object to undergo a change of location or a change of state, the [VC] construction of piong3 is used to be predicated of the following object. Another finding reveals that there seems to be a marked

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\(^9\)Originally acting as a verb, denoting ‘to get rid of’, the resultative complement phet4 in Hakka has developed into a phase marker, used to indicate situation in time relation as in piong3 phet4 (放 phet4) ‘to let go’ or sit phet4 (吃 phet4) ‘to eat up’. However, a wealth of Hakka data have shown that the phase marker phet4 starts to evolve into an aspect marker as in soi3 phet (睡 phet4) ‘to fall asleep’. The amount of the syntactic and semantic development of phet4 will however left for another context.
divergence of the meanings of *piong3*: ‘putting’ and ‘releasing’. In a sense, due to the underspecification of its meanings, *piong3* can co-occur with a range of arguments/complements in some fixed collocations. Grammatical decline in concurrence with frequency in particular context contributes to the process of lexicalization. As time goes by, they evolve into assorted compounds (Dong 2002, Wang 2005).

As demonstrated by Talmy (1985), every language appears to have distinctive ways to represent its semantic structure in lexical forms. A set of meaning-bearing components is in association with a particular form. In his discussion of a motion event, Talmy declares that Mandarin Chinese is the same type of language as English, in that the verb root and its immediate constituents are collocated to form a verb complex, making up the whole meaning. Although revealing, Talmy’s approach does not touch upon the issues for the influence of the frequency of occurrence in particular contexts on lexicalization patterns or exhibit different degrees of lexicalization.

Consider, for example, the development of the phrase *wu4 se4* (物色) ‘to search; to look for’ from the denotation of *wu4* (物) ‘the cattle with a mottled coat of hair’ and that of *se4* (色) ‘silk’, respectively. Wang (2005) illustrates that the nominal collocation of *wu4 se4* indicating pure Chinese silk has developed into the verbal compound designating ‘to search; to look for’. He claims that in ancient Chinese texts between 265 and 1160 A. D. (Jing Dynasty to North Sung Dynasty) the collocation of
wu4 se4 as an adverbial was used exclusively to indicate a means as in di4 sih1 ci2 sian2, nai3 wu4 se4 ciou2 jhih1 (帝思其賢，乃物色求之) ‘Gong1 wu3 di4 (Liou2 Siou4) thinks that he (Yan2 Gong1) is a person of high caliber and moral excellence, so he uses pieces of pure Chinese silk as a price for recruiting Yan2 Gong2 to render his service’.

Strengthened by high frequency in most contexts, the adverbial wu4 se4 is sufficiently informative to convey a relation between the action and the means used to perform that action, as exemplified in yi4-rih4, wu4 se4 jhih1, guo3 de2 ci2 ren2 (翌日，物色之，果得其人) ‘Next day, he pays the competent person a visit and manages to recruit the person’. Such a development accords with what has been claimed by Sweetser (1998) and Epstein (1994: 77-78): In cases of grammaticalization, we lose some; and we win some. In other words, it seems that some facets of words get dormant; however, other new facets come to be activated.

Similar phenomena can be observed in a wealth of Hakka data. However, unlike the case of wu4 se4, Hakka compounds even display different degree of lexicalization. Let’s start with the verb-noun compounds of piong3 constructions.

Syntactically, most VN compounds fall into the category of verb while some of them concurrently convert into event nouns. The VN compounds can be succinctly classified into three types in terms of their degree of idiomaticity and that of syntactic
flexibility. Elaboration and relevant examples will be provided in the following sections.

4.2.3.1 Type 1—Restricted Syntax, Idiosyncratic Semantics

The first type of VN compounds schematically rendered as \([\text{piong}3 \ \text{NP}]\) is not lexically open. In other words, it is fixed in words and its semantic interpretation is unique to that schematic construction. Typical examples are given below.

(32) 放人
\[\text{piong}3 \quad \text{ngin}5\]
put person
‘To put a spell on somebody’

(33) 放符筶
\[\text{piong}3 \quad \text{phu5- kau3}\]
put spell
‘To put a spell on somebody’

(34) 放話
\[\text{piong}3 \quad \text{fa3}\]
put words
‘To utter a threat ’

Examples (32) to (34) demonstrate a V-N compound with higher degree of idiomaticity but with lower degree of syntactic flexibility. Prototypically, the meaning
of a V-N compound is different from the meaning of the individual words. Speakers find it difficult to predict some aspect of their form, function, or use from the general rules of the grammatical components and their interfaces. As an alternative, the semantic interpretation of these V-N compounds should be restricted to the lexicon.

With regard to syntactic flexibility of the V-N compound, the higher their degree of idiomaticity, the lower their degree of syntactic flexibility. Specifically speaking, the compounds in (32) have lower degree of syntactic flexibility. Any separation between V and N will lead to the collapse of its idiomatic meaning. Evidence for this line of argument can be provided from some syntactic tests such as (a), (b), and (c).

(a) Complement or aspectual marker
(b) Classifiers or modifiers
(c) TUNG construction

The first test comes from the insertion of a phase complement (i.e. *phet4* ‘away’) or an aspectual marker (i.e. *ko1*) between the verb and the noun. For syntactic constructions which are regulated by a set of general rules, the introduction of a phase complement or an aspectual marker to the structure does not distort its meaning, but marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb. By sharp contrast, the introduction of a complement or an aspectual marker to idiomatic-like expressions will distort its semantic particularity. Consider the following examples.
The phrase piong3 ngin5 (放人) is ambiguous\(^\text{11}\): It may designate a releasing event (literal meaning) or a spell-casting event (figurative meaning). The insertion of the complement taking on the phasal function, i.e. phet4 ‘away’, only makes sense in its literal usage but sounds odd in its figurative use. Since the idiomatic use of piong3 ngin5 (放人) has been lexicalized into a single word, denoting ‘to cast a spell on somebody’, any interruption between piong3 and ngin5 leads to meaning decay.

Classifiers and modifiers provide another useful tool for testing idiomaticity.

When the V-N compound piong3 ngin5 (放人) expresses its idiomatic meaning, the referential property of ngin5 (人) is missing. The loss of referential property thus prevents classifiers from denoting quantity of the object ngin5 (人), as shown in the following.

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\(^\text{10}\) The following abbreviations are used for their corresponding grammatical functions; CP, a complement; SFP, a sentence final particle; ASP, an aspect marker; GE, de; TUNG, a patient marker; NEG, a negative marker; CL, a classifier; DET, a determiner; KIN, a durative marker; DU, a marker of the end of location of the motion; and AUX, an auxiliary verb.

\(^\text{11}\) The ambiguous phrase piong3 ngin5 (放人) has different stress. When it is used literally, the stress falls upon the noun, i.e. ngin5 (人). On the contrary, when it takes on the idiomatic reading, the stress moves to the verb, i.e. piong3 (放).
(36) a.  *有放過一個人
   *iu5  piong3  ko3  it2  ge3  ngin5  have  put  ASP  one  GE  person
   ‘*A spell was put on somebody.’ (Idiomatic meaning)
   ‘One released someone else.’ (Literal meaning)

cf.  b.  有放人過一擺
   iu5  piong3-ngin5  ko1  it2-pai2  have  put  -people  ASP  once
   ‘(The witch) has put a spell on a person once.’

The classifier denoting quantity it2 ge3 (一個) as in (36a) cannot generate its
idiomatic reading in the form of a V-N compound. On the contrary, the classifier
indicating frequency it2-pai31 (一擺) as in (36b) renders the idiomatic meaning.

Another source of evidence for fixed syntax of idiomatic V-N compound comes
from the word formation of piong3 ngin5 su1 (放人書) where piong3 ngin5 (放人)
has to be coined as a unit, acting as a modifier, and then combines with the following
element su1 (書) ‘a curse book’, as exemplified in (37).

(37) 放人書
   piong3  ngin5  su1  put  people  book
   ‘A curse book’

The last but not the least test comes to the affixation of the patient marker, TUNG
(同) to an object noun. Owing to a loss of expressivity in this frequently used
collocation, the object of a V-N compound denoting idiomatic interpretation cannot be marked by the patient marker TUNG (同); otherwise, its idiomatic interpretation cannot be captured. See the following examples.

(38)*人就同佢放 phet4 le。
  *ngin5 ciu3 tung5 –ki5 piong3 phet4 le
  person then TUNG put CP SFP
  ‘*That person, just cast a spell on him.’ (Idiomatic meaning)
  ‘That person, just let him go.’ (Literal meaning)

The idiomatic interpretation of piong3 ngin5 (放人) ‘to cast a spell on somebody’ deters the object noun from being moved to the left of the verb while the literal use does not. That is, the idiomatic interpretation of piong3 ngin5 (放人) seems inaccessible when the patient marker TUNG (同) is added to the object noun. By contrast, when the patient marker TUNG (同) is concurrent with literal use of piong3 ngin5 (放人), its semantics remains the same except for a shift of emphasis on the object noun.

In sum, V-N compounds of type 1 appear to be a kind of frozen expressions whose semantics hinges upon the learned form-function pairings. Any disjuncture between V and N, such as the insertion of aspectual markers, the modification of the quantitative classifier or the presence of the patient marker TUNG (同), often brings about the distortion of idiomaticity.
4.2.3.2 Type2— More Flexible in Syntax, Less Idiosyncrasy in Semantics

Unlike examples in (32) through (34), the overall interpretation of a type 2 V-N compound can be accessed partially by its components and partially by the mechanisms of metaphor or metonymy. Examples need not be particularly novel to make this point. Consider the three examples, piong3 sim1 (放心), piong3 su2 (放手), and piong3 sui2 (放水).

(39) 放心

\[
\text{piong3 sim1} \quad \text{put heart}
\]

‘To rest assured; to relieve’

(40) 放手

\[
\text{piong3 su2} \quad \text{put hand}
\]

‘To let go’
放水

\( piong3 \)  sui2

put water

‘To turn on the faucet to let the flow of water out’
‘To float paper-made ship’
‘To bend the rules to accommodate’

For the majority of native speakers of Hakka, the interpretation of the three examples is taken to mean metaphorically. For instance, the idiomatic sense of (39) hinges upon a good grasp of individual words and clever use of spatio-physical metaphors including HEART-IS-A-CONTAINER, REVEALING-IS-OPENING, and CONTAINER-FOR-CONTAINED. In the first glance, the physical body part \( sim1 \) (心) is conceptualized as a container filled with feelings. Next, the opening of the physical container is mapped onto the revealing of the abstract feelings through the metaphors of REVEALING-IS-OPENING, and CONTAINER-FOR-CONTAINED. In this case, language users must first catch on the meaning of moving a heart from the thoracic cavity to certain place lower than the cavity so as to make out the extended meaning of \( piong3 \) \( sim1 \) (放心) ‘to rest assured; to relieve’.

With respect to the syntactic elasticity, VN compounds of type 2 are more flexible than those of type 1. Evidence for this line of argument can be provided from some syntactic tests such as (a), (b), and (c).
(a) Insertion of a negative-V complement
(b) Classifier or Modifier
(c) Object fronting

Let us see how the syntactic tests can help illustrate the relation between syntactic flexibility and semantic idiomaticity exhibited by the data. Examine the following examples:

(42) 放毋落心
   piong3  m5  lok5  sim1
   put   NEG  down  heart
   ‘To have hard time resting assured’

(43) 放毋落這ge心
   piong3  m5  lok5  lia2  ge3  sim1
   put   NEG  down  DET  DE  heart
   ‘It is hard to relieve one’s heart.’

(44) 毋放心厥老弟
   m5   piong3-sim1  kia2  lo2  ti3
   NEG  put-heart  his  younger  brother
   ‘(He) cannot stop worrying about his younger brother.’

(45) 心，愛放開兜
   sim5,  oi3  piong3  koi5  teu1
   heart  need  put  open  a little
   ‘Your heart, let go a little bit’

Example (42) illustrates the use of a negative complement (consisting of a
negative marker m5 (毋) and a complement lok5 (落) ‘down’) between the verb piong3 (放) and the noun sim1 (心). Although the negative complement tears apart the V and the N, its idiomatic meaning remains the same except for expressing a negative sense. In addition to inserting a negative complement between V and N, the introduction of a nominal classifier ge between V and N is also quite pervasive as shown in example (43). Example (44) depicts a situation where the speaker cannot help worrying about his brother. The whole sentence provides evidence for this line of argument that piong3 sim1 (放心) has been lexicalized into a verb and denotes a particular meaning of ‘to relieve’. Specially put, because the referring function of the noun sim1 (心) has been gradually declined, the argument structure of the noun sim1 (心) ‘heart’ is interpreted as the direct internal argument of piong3 (放). As a result, the noun sim1 (心) has further developed into a lexicalized item, syntactically behaving like a transitive verb, sanctioning an object slot for the following noun lo2 ti3 (老弟) as shown in (44). In example (45), the object noun sim1 (心) is topicalized; however, its idiomatic interpretation remains intact, denoting ‘to let go something’.

In addition to the metaphorical interpretation of a VN compound, metonymic construal of a VN compound has been demonstrated to be pervasively found in a wealth of Hakka data. Consider the following examples.
As is the case with the aforementioned V-N compounds, the idiomatic interpretation of the four V-N compounds is arrived at by the interplay of the sense of the verb and that of the noun plus the mechanism of metonymy. For example, the idiomatic interpretation of (46) is calculated by an event chain where the initial act of lowering down the bamboo pole stands for the whole event: Resting from work temporarily. With the metonymic strengthening, the sequential relations between \( piong3 \) and \( kong3 \) (放槓) comes to express the idiomatic reading ‘to take a rest’. In
the same manner, example (47) comes to denote ‘to take a rest’.

Unlike those metaphor-motivated V-N compounds, these V-N compounds attained by metonymic extension can also fall into the syntactic category of an event noun. Example (48) shows that the introduction of genitive marker ge before the object noun as in piong3 it2 ngit2 coi3 ien5 ge ka2 (難得)放一日菜園 ge 假 ‘a day-off from vegetable farm’ is syntactically and semantically acceptable.

Summarizing the discussion so far, the idiomatic interpretation of the V-N compounds can be understood from the individual meanings of their elements. Besides the grasp of the composite meanings from individual words, mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy are particularly crucial to the semantics of the V-N compounding. In contrast to V-N compounds of type 1, the composite meaning of type 2 compound is partially determined by its semantic components. The semantic componentiality is thus associated with higher degree of syntactic elasticity.

Next we will move to type 3 where the idiomatic interpretation completely hinges upon the interaction between the individual components without further operation of metaphor or metonymy.
4.2.3.3 Type 3—Lexically Open and Fully Compositional

VN compounds of type 3 display the highest degree of syntactic elasticity and the lowest degree of semantic idiomaticity. That is, the overall interpretation of a VN compound is the composite meaning of its parts.

(50) 放烏糖
      piong3  vul- tong5
      put       brown-sugar
      ‘To add brown sugar’

(51) 放牛
      piong3  ngiu5
      put       cow
      ‘To release cow (to pasture)’

(52) 放紙鷂
      piong3  zii2- ieu3
      put       kite
      ‘To fly the kite’

(53) 放火
      piong3  fo2
      put       fire
      ‘To set on fire’
These examples demonstrate a multitude of senses latent in the verb *piong3* when it occurs in the V-N compounding. To pick up an appropriate sense of *piong3*, speakers have to understand the sense of the following noun it is associated with. In example (50), the combination of the verb *piong3* ([放]) and the noun *vu1 tong5* ([烏糖]) evokes a cooking frame which also contributes to the composite meaning of this V-N compound. Likewise, the releasing sense latent in *piong3* ([放]) is picked up by the following noun *ngiu5* ([牛]) as shown in (51). Other senses including flying the kite as in (52), setting on fire as in (53), and leaking of air as in (54) are activated both by the semantics of *piong3* and by that of the following noun phrases.

Regarding to the syntactic flexibility, a V-N compound of type 3 is harmonious with a range of syntactic structure. The syntactic tests utilized above can be applied to V-N compounds of type 3 without any loss of expressivity. For instance, the nouns in these examples can be modified by quantitative classifiers/ modifiers as shown in (55) through (58).
(55) 放一匙/兜烏糖

\[ \text{put one spoon/ a little bit brown-sugar} \]

‘To add a spoonful of brown sugar’

(56) 放一隻牛

\[ \text{put one CL cow} \]

‘To release one cow’

(57) 放一陣火

\[ \text{put one CL fire} \]

‘To set on fire’

(58) 放一ge紙鷂

\[ \text{put one CL kite} \]

‘To fly a kite’

In addition to classifiers, nouns in V-N compounds of type 3 can receive the patient marker TUNG (同) and/or move to the left side of the verb. The insertion of a patient marker TUNG (同) in concurrent with object noun fronting do not alter the central idea of the V-N compound but furnish other linguistic information such as foreground-background distinction in pragmatics. See the following examples.
(59) 烏糖同佢放兜落去。
     vul-tong5 tung5-ki5 piong3 teu5 lok5 hi3
     brown sugar TUNG put bit down go
     ‘Brown sugar, add some.’

(60) 牛同佢放出去。
     ngiu5 tung-ki5 piong3 cut2 hi3
     cow TUNG put out go
     ‘Cows, release them to pasture’

(61) 火駛得放咧嘸。
     fo2 sii2-tet2 piong3 le1 mo5
     fire AUX put PART NEG
     ‘Fire, can we set it?’

(62) 紙鷂同佢放上天。
     zii2-ieu3 tung5-ki5 piong3 song3 tien1
     kite TUNG put up sky
     ‘Kite, fly it above the sky’

To summarize, the overall interpretation denoted by a V-N compound of type 3 does not come from a fixed co-occurrence of individual lexical items. That is, the semantics of a V-N compound need not be restricted to lexicon because the form and meaning is in conformity with general rules. Semantic componentiality and syntactic predictability of the V-N compound thus guarantees higher degree of syntactic flexibility. Figure 4 summarizes the negative correlation between syntactic flexibility and degrees of idiomaticity.
Figure 4 The interplay between syntactic flexibility and degree of idiomaticity

The shape of the curves reveals the negative correlation between syntactic flexibility and degree of idiomaticity: The more elastic the syntax, the less the degree of idiomaticity, and vice versa.

4.3 Sentential Structure of piong3

4.3.1 Canonical Constructions

Constructions, varying in size and complexity, can be applied to the interpretation of basic sentence patterns. Canonical representations of piong3 constructions profile the most three salient participants and assign them to subject, (direct) object, and oblique, respectively. In spite of slight differences in oblique position (i.e. preverbal or postverbal), canonical piong3 constructions capture the
insight that the meaning of “an agent causes a theme to move to a location” comes to be associated with the Subj V Obj Oblpath,Loc syntactic pattern. Below are two prototypical constructions which represent the mapping between semantics and syntax.

At the semantic level, the meanings in (63) and (64) are relativized to the same scenes, denoting an agent’s successful transfer of a theme to a location. At the syntactic level, the two alternative syntactic patterns can be fused with the general putting verb piong3. Both constructions have identical syntactic categories, but rendered in different ways. In pattern (63), the oblique denoting a path or a location occurs before the verb whereas that in (64) takes up a postverbal position. For example, both sentence (65) and sentence (66) describe the same scene where the agent puts the bottle of wine on the table.
Both sentences involve a caused-to-move event; however, they differ in their placement of location and their choice of locative markers. Specifically speaking, in sentence (65), the locative phrase occurs before the main predicate while in sentence (66), the same location takes up a postverbal position. With respect to the choice of locative markers, a preverbal locative phrase has been pervasively found in line with the locative marker $dai3$ (待), designating the location where an action takes place. On the other hand, a sentence with a postverbal locative phrase appears to be introduced by the locative marker $du3$ (到) / $do3$\textsuperscript{13} (到), specifying the terminative location of the motion.

As noted above, the two constructions are identical in meaning. However, there

\textsuperscript{12} The following abbreviations are used for their corresponding grammatical functions: DU, a marker of the end of location of the motion; KIN, a durative marker; DET, a determiner; AUX, an auxiliary.

\textsuperscript{13} The locative marker $do3$ (到) has been widely used in Hakka. The choice of $do3$ (到) or $du3$ (到) is a matter of dialectal variations.
seems to be no reason for a language to have two distinct syntactic forms denoting exactly the same meaning. The two canonical constructions denoted by piong3, in fact, represent shades of meaning. More specifically, although the two constructions share the same event frame, they differ in their perspectives. That is, both sentences (65) and (66) denote a terminative reading, indicating the completion of an activity: the bottle of wine eventually comes to be put on the table. While speakers of sentence (65) focus on the starting point of the putting event, speakers of sentence (66) perspectivize the endpoint of the same event. The difference is illustrated in the following figures.

![Figure 5 Time axis indicating the starting point of the event](image)

**Figure 5 Time axis indicating the starting point of the event**
Figure 6 Time axis highlighting the end result of the event

The two figures each represent the progression of an event over a certain time span from its beginning at $t_0$ over a subsequent series of time intervals $t_c$ and $t_{c-1}$ to its end-result state at $t_r$ (Boas, 2003). Two specific perfectives are indicated by the boxes containing the bombing star. Whereas the event depicted in example (65) places an emphasis on the starting point of the event, that in example (66) highlights the endpoint of the event although both examples contain the information about the final stage of the event, namely, the result state of the patient participant (i.e. the bottle of wine is now on the table). In other words, the choice of the locative marker $dai3$ (待) in example (65) serve to convey a specific perspective of the event, namely the starting point of a putting activity initiated by the agent participant. Alternatively, the use of $du3$ (伫) or $do3$ (到) to introduce a postverbal locative phrase as in (66) expresses a specific concern about the end point of the putting activity although both events entail the completion of the putting activity.
To sum up, investigation into the canonical constructions uncovers the following generalizations. To begin with, there are two formal representations of ping3 constructions: one has a preverbal locative phrase while the other has a postverbal one. Second, both constructions indicate the completion of an action, i.e. the completion of a caused-to-move activity; nevertheless, they differ in conveying perspectives of the event depending on what locative markers are added. That is, when introduced by the locative marker dai3 (待), the sentence with a preverbal locative phrase specifies the importance of the starting point; on the other hand, when marked by du3 (伫) or do3 (到), the perspective shifts to the very moment at which an action is accomplished.

4.3.2 Non-Canonical Constructions

As noted above, the canonical constructions of ping3, i.e. agent as subject, theme as direct object, and locative phrase as oblique, can be represented in two different ways: one has preverbal locative phrase introduced by dai (待); the other has postverbal locative phrase introduced by du3 (伫) or do3 (到). However, examples profiling the overall participant roles are rare in the collected data. The phenomena can be resorted to pragmatic factors such as Grice’s maxim of Quantity14 and

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14 Grice’s maxim of quantity refers to one of the cooperative principles in that speakers are assumed to make their contribution as informative as is required.
Goldberg’s pragmatic mapping generalizations\textsuperscript{15} (2006). Under certain contexts, the agent argument is only realized implicitly by an inference such as the TUNG construction in Hakka. Likewise, the Deprofiled Object Construction (Goldberg, 2005) captures the insight that non-focal and non-relevant arguments can be optionally expressed. In other words, the unexpressed participants are present semantically, but are treated as off-stage information, being cast in the shadow.

The constructions with argument omission are grouped into non-canonical representation of \textit{pi\textong3} constructions. Compared with the canonical one, the instances of argument omission under certain pragmatic factors have been pervasively found in a range of Hakka \textit{pi\textong3} constructions. In what follows we concentrate on the extent to which these non-canonical constructions are represented in various forms: TUNG constructions, locative inversion, and the Deprofiled Object Construction.

\subsection*{4.3.2.1 TUNG Constructions}

Frequently used to the binary characterization of sentence structure in Mandarin Chinese, the topic-comment distinction can be defined in the following way: a topic refers to an entity (person, thing, etc.) about which something is already said, whereas the following statement made about the entity is the comment. More specifically, on

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{15} Goldberg’s (2006) Pragmatic Mapping Generalizations indicates that any semantic participants that are irrelevant and recoverable from the context can be deprofiled while the participants that are interpreted to be relevant to the context must be overtly expressed.
the syntactic tier, a topic occurs in a sentence initial position, and sometimes may be separated from the comment by a pause or a comma. On the pragmatic tier, a topic is definite in the discourse and indicates what is talking about is of current interest. According to Li and Thompson (1981), topicalization refers to the process by which a non-agent participant (i.e. theme/patient, means, spatial or temporal expressions) is moved to the front of the sentence and functions as topic. In Mandarin Chinese, there are two ways to reach on topicalization: change of word order and placement of specific markers. Similar to Mandarin Chinese, Hakka renders topicalization in either way. Consider the following examples.

(67) 飯湯就放該 shiun5 口放。
fan3 tong5 ciu3 piong3 koi5 shiun5-kieu2 piong3
porridge soup then put DET ridge put
‘Press the light soup of porridge alongside the clothes (to make them smooth).’

(68) 啊骨頭啦、頭那啦，做下放眠床下。
a1 kut2-teu5 la2, teu5-na5 la2, zo3-ha3 piong3
PART bone PART skull PART all put
min5-cong5 ha1
bed down
‘The bones, the skull of heads, all put them under the bed.’

(69) 兩斗米就同佢剝來田唇放哦。
liong2 teu2 mi2 ciu3 tung2 ki5 pok2 loi5
two dipper-like bin rice then TUNG he threshing come
tien5 sun5 piong3
plowed ground   mouth   put
‘Put the two dipper-like bin of threshing grain on the mouth of the plowed ground.’

Examples (67) to (69) illustrate how Hakka reaches on topicalization. All examples move their object denoting a theme/patient to the front of the sentences. However, they vary in their syntactic complexity. Example (67) describes a scene where the speaker suggests the hearer presses the light soup of porridge along the side of clothes to make them smooth. This example illustrates that topicalization can be arrived at by moving the object, i.e. *fan3 tong5* (飯湯) ‘light soup of porridge’ to the initial position of the sentence. Example (68) depicts a situation where the bones and skull of the head are altogether put under the bed. Topicalization in example (68) is more complicated since it not only changes its word order, but also adds the particle *la* (啦) for pausing. Another scene is pictured in (69): an unexpressed speaker suggests the hearer to put the rice on the narrow raised strip of the plowed ground. Example (69) illustrates that topicalization may be expressed by a fronted object, an introduction of a patient marker TUNG, and a pro-form, which is co-referential with the topic. It is interesting that when topicalization takes place, a pro-form referring to the topic tends to take up the syntactic vacancy left by the fronted object. (See the discussion of [NP2 TUNG-KI V NP3] construction for more details).

TUNG, a free variant of North Sixian Hakka LAU, is exclusively used in Dongshi
Dapu and Hailu Hakka. A TUNG construction performs four grammatical functions: comitative, source/goal, benefactive, and patient functions (Lai 2003, Chiang 2006). In particular, the patient function is frequently found with the non-canonical constructions denoted by *piong3* as illustrated in a [[(NP1) TUNG NP2 V NP3] construction or in a [NP2 TUNG-KI V NP3] construction where NP2 is marked as the theme undertaking the result of the action. Specifically speaking, the first construction maximally provides three syntactic slots for all participant roles of *piong3*: NP1 for the agent, NP2 for the theme and NP3 for the location. It is worthy of note that NP1 tend to be unexpressed in the first construction when it is construed to be non-focal or predictable in the discourse. With regard to the second construction, it can be treated as an instance of topicalization in that the agent is always made implicit. More specifically, the theme role (i.e. NP2) is moved to the front of the sentence and functions as topic. In the second construction, the theme (i.e. NP2) precedes the patient marker, adds a resumptive pronoun *ki2* (佢) ‘he’ directly to TUNG followed by the main predicate. Since the TUNG construction usually involves a caused-to-move activity, almost all action verbs which can measure out an event are

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16 According to Chiang (2006), the resumptive pronoun 佢 with TUNG in a TUNG construction can be used in bipartite ways: referential and non-referential. In its referential use, 佢 refers to its antecedent patient NP1 (i.e. co-referentiality with NP1) except that NP1 denotes a kind of instrument. On the other hand, 佢 seems to lose its referential property and come to blend with TUNG, together functioning as a patient marker, allowing another NP to attach to it as shown in an3 ok7 kai3 ngn2 min2, po3 kiam5 oi5 ni2 ki2 kam3 phet7 hi5 (人民，寶劍要同佢佢砍掉去) ‘Such a wicked person should be beheaded with a sword’. 
semantically compatible with the TUNG construction. That is, predicates that have an end point for the event and have a resultative complement can occur with the patient TUNG construction. The Hakka general putting verb, piong3 (放), does not inherently specifies a delimited event but has been found to concur with the TUNG construction as exemplified in (70).

The set of example (70) describes a scene where a book is put on the desk.

(70) a. ngai 同書放佇桌亢。

   ngai  tung2  su5  piong3  du3  zok2  kong3
   I      TUNG book put DU desk top
   ‘I put the book on the desk.’

b. 書同佢放佇桌亢。

   su1  tung2 -ki5  piong3  du3  zok2  kong3
   book TUNG put DU desk top
   ‘The book was put on the desk.’

In sentence (70a), all participant roles (i.e. agent, theme, location) are profiled and syntactically realize as subject, direct object, and oblique. In sentence (70b), only the theme and the location are made explicit and are rendered in subject and oblique, respectively. As noted above, a TUNG construction only allows verbs that can measure out the event to enter into the construction. The Hakka piong3 intrinsically denotes an atelic unbounded activity, which may be excluded from the TUNG
construction. Nevertheless, the attachment of some adjuncts (signifying the terminal point for the event) to piong3 such as du3 (佇) ‘be in’ sanctions the semantics-syntax compatibility with TUNG constructions as shown in (70). Other adjuncts or adverbials such as postverbal locative marker do3 (到) ‘to arrive’, directional adverbial ha3 loi5 (下來) ‘downwards’, and temporal expression ki5 chat ngiet5 (幾隻月) ‘for several months’ can be added to signify the terminal point of the putting event as illustrated in examples (71) through (73).

Example (71) and (72) are instances of the [(NP1) TUNG NP 2 VP] construction whereas example (73) is that of the [NP2 TUNG-KI VP] construction.

(71) 同兩斗米放到篩仔頂。

Tung2 liong2 teu2 mi2 piong3 do3 cil-e5 tang2
TUNG two CL rice put DO sieve top
‘Two dipper-like bin of rice was put on the top of the sieve.’

(72) 同婦人家放下來。

Tung2 fu3- ngin5- ka5 piong3 ha3 loi5
TUNG woman put down come
‘The woman was put down to the floor (from one’s back).’

(73) 甜粄炊好，駛得同佢放幾隻月冇問題。

tiam5-pan2 coi1 ho2 , sii2 tet2 tung2-ki5 piong3 ki2-chat2
sweet pastry steam CP, AUX TUNG put several
ngiet5 mo5 mun3-ti5
month NEG problem
‘The steamed sweet pastry can be put for several months.’
Sentence (71) describes a scene where rice in stock is relocated to the top of the sieve. In example (71), the locative marker *do3* (到) denoting the end point contributes to a terminative meaning. That is, the successful transfer of the rice to the end location, *cil e5 tang2* (篩仔頂) ‘top of the sieve’ indicates the completion of the whole event.

Sentence (72) is about someone acting upon a woman and causing her change of location (particularly, from a higher to a lower place). In this case, a directional complement is used to measure out the whole event. Specifically speaking, the relocation of the woman to a lower place simultaneously brings about the endpoint of the action denoted by the verb. Note that in example (72), only the theme role, i.e. *fu3- ngin5- ka5* (婦人家) ‘women’ which undergoes a change of location is overtly expressed.

As mentioned earlier in section 4.3.2, this phenomenon can be resorted to pragmatic or discourse factors: when arguments are predictable and non-focal in the discourse, they are prone to be unexpressed. In this example, due to their predictability and recoverability from the context, the end point, namely the ground, can be cast in shadow. Similarly, example (73) specifies a delimited event by a temporal expression, *ki5 chat2 ngiet5* (幾隻月) ‘for several months.’ The usage of
$piong3$ constructions as in (73) extends to mean ‘to put for a prolonged time’. Such an interpretation comes from the ACTION-FOR-RESULT metonymy. When an object is being put onto a location, it stays there until being moved otherwise. Without a motion force exerted upon it, the state of the moved object presumably stays. Hence, $piong3$ can co-occur with a time phrase to specify the time length of the state.

### 4.3.2.2 Locative Inversion

It has been richly documented that the position of locative phrases, i.e. preverbally or postverbally placed, yields to shades of meanings (Chao 1968, Tai 1975, Li & Thompson 1981, Liu, Pan, & Gu 1983, Norman 1988, Peyraube 1994, Lamarre 2003). Generally, a preverbal locative phrase denotes the location of an event or a state of affairs whereas a postverbal locative phrase designates the relocation of a moved theme/participant or a state resulting from a change of location. Lamarre (2007) further demonstrates that preverbal and postverbal locative phrases take on distinct semantic functions. When placed before the verb, the locative phrase usually describes an unbounded event, taking the durative meaning. On the other hand, when placed after the verb, it is more often than not terminative. That is, the postverbal locative phrase depicts a dynamic bounded event, expressing the GOAL of the motion. Compare sentences (74) and (75).
Sentence (74) describes the scene where two silver coins are kept into the money cabinet. The position of the locative phrase, \( \text{ngiun5 kui3 ha5} \) (銀櫃下) ‘into the money cabinet’ is placed preverbally, denoting a state seen as continuing for a period of time. Example (75) depicts a situation where stones are put in the middle of the road, rolling back and forth. The placement of the locative phrase, \( \text{lu3- tun5} \) (路屯) ‘in the middle of road’ as in (75) illustrates the postverbal use of locative phrases, encoding an endpoint of the motion. Another source of evidence for this idea comes from the concurrence of the main predicate and the durative marker \( \text{kin2} \) (緊). Contrast the following examples again.
The durative maker *kin2* (<緊>) in example (76) is semantically compatible with the whole construction. Since the sentence contains a preverbal locative phrase, it describes an unbounded event, taking a durative meaning. Example (76) illustrates the state of the moved silver coins; it presumably stays until being moved otherwise. On the other hand, example (77) illustrates another case where the marker *kin2* (<緊>) is semantically incongruous with the sentence. Example (77) designates a dynamic event where the agent’s action upon the stone causes another event; the stone rolls back and forth rather than stays motionless. The meanings of the durative marker *kin2* (<緊>) and that of example (77) are contradictory. Hence, it is semantically anomalous to connect the two. Examples (78) and (79) are two additional cases that illustrate the
Examples (78) and (79) share a kernel of meaning of “a book is put on the desk” but differ in their perspectives of looking at the same event. Whereas example (78) specifies the outcome of the event, example (79) emphasizes the time span for the action to occur. In other words, when used with piong3 followed by a durative marker kin2 (緊), the whole sentence highlights the specific result of the completed event: a resultant state of something being put as shown in figure 7.

Figure 7 Time axis specifying the resultant state of the participant
Figure 7 represents the progression of an event over a certain time span from its beginning at $t_0$ over a subsequent series of time intervals $t_x$ and $t_{x-1}$ to its end-result state at $t_r$. In sharply contrast to the perspectives in figure 6, the viewpoint of figure 7 shifts to the end-result state of its participant as indicated by the box with curved lines.

On the contrary, when *do3* (到) is postverbally used with *piong3*, the whole construction indicates an action to occur, showing how the theme, *su5* (書) ‘book’ changes its location within certain spatial configuration (See figure 6 for details).

Note that if a preverbal locative phrase is introduced by the locative marker *dai3* (待), addition of the durative marker *kin 2* (紧) to the sentence are totally at odds, as exemplified in (80).

(80) *待桌面放緊一本書。
   *dai3  zok2  mien3  piong3  it2  pun2  su1
   DAI desk face put one CL book
   ‘*There is a book on the desk followed by the completion of putting.’

Summarizing the discussion so far, the semantic function of a preverbal locative phrase denotes the location of an action or a state of affairs while that of a postverbal locative phrase specifies the resultant location of a participant. Next, sentences with a preverbal locative phrase can be used with the durative marker *kin2* (緊) only when its locative phrase is not introduced by any locative markers.
4.3.2.3 Deprofiled Object Construction

Patient arguments of causative verbs are necessarily always expressed in all contexts, due to the fact that they undergo the change of state denoted by the verbs. However, one of piong3 constructions allows omitted patient argument under certain discourse conditions. The VN compounding construction as discussed in section 4.2.3 provides pieces of evidence for this phenomenon. As shown in section 4.2.3, piong3 can co-occur with a variety of arguments/complements in some fixed collocations. It is clear that meaning underspecification encoded in piong3 allows piong3 to apply to a wide range of arguments or complements. As time goes by, these frequently-used collocations evolve into assorted compounds, springing new life into the lexicon. A number of VN compounds are investigated in section 4.2.3 based on their degrees of syntactic flexibility and semantic idiomaticity. It is observed that the noun of a VN compound loses its referential properties, but is semantically enriched to express a new sense. More specifically, the VN compound is semantically fused with each other; the omission of the object noun does not distort its idiomatic meaning. The following examples illustrate this point:
(81) 頭擺愛對泥水師傅真好，無款待佢真好吭，攏會放人。

头摆爱对泥水师傅真好，无款待他真好吭，会放人。

‘In the past, the cement master needed to be delighted by the host; otherwise, he would cast a spell on the host.’

(82) 你激lia 都無嘛，總下壞壞落落ge 放落去。

你激lia 都无嘛，总下坏坏落落ge 放落去。

‘The wine you make is of poor quality because what you add has gone sour.’

(83) 厥孻都三十 leng 歲 ge 人咧，佢還放毋落心。

厥孻都三十 leng 歳 ge 人咧，佢还放毋落心。

‘Although his son is in his thirties, he still worries about his son.’

(84) 學校228有放(假)囉。

学校228有放(假)囉。

‘The Peaceful Day is a national holiday.’

Obviously the patient arguments of the examples in (81-84) are unexpressed.

Example (81) designates a scene where a malicious master puts a spell on somebody if the master was not fully entertained. Example (82) describes a situation in which one mocks at his friend’s poor skill in making wine for his ignorance of the selected
materials: his friend just causes the stale stuff (such as stale grapes) to move to a wine
vat careless about whether they are fresh or not. Example (83) depicts a scene where a
mother can not change her mental state from being worried to being at ease; in (84),
the dean of Office of Academic affairs causes the unexpressed holiday (day of rest) to
come into existence.

There seem to be two factors that motivate this phenomenon: pragmatic
recoverability and discourse prominence. The first motivating factor indicates that
because all shaded patient roles are completely recoverable in contexts, they may be
cast in the shadows. The other discourse factor is also necessary to license the object
omission. Goldberg (2000) argues at length for this statement of the Principle of
Omission under Low discourse Prominence in that non-topical or non-focal
arguments tend to be omitted since they are irrelevant to the discourse compared with
the action. See the following.

(85) Principle of Omission under Low Discourse Prominence

Omission of the patient argument is possible when the patient argument is
construed to be deemphasized in the discourse vis à vis the action. That is,
omission is possible when the patient argument is not topical or (focal) in the
discourse, and the action is particularly emphasized. (Goldberg, 2000)
4.4 Congeners of piong3 in Hakka

Akin to its basic category member piong3, other congeners with the same conceptual structure display different degrees of family resemblance. Differences in profiling capture the primary difference between piong3 and its congeners: the basic category member piong3 does not lexicalize other semantic components (i.e. path, means, manner, result, and etc.) of the movement whereas its congeners explicitly specify other components of the motion event as shown in the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congener Semantic atoms</th>
<th>song5 (上)</th>
<th>cit2 (漆)</th>
<th>go5 (膏)</th>
<th>mat2 (抹)</th>
<th>bai2 (揀)</th>
<th>so1 (挿)</th>
<th>yam3 (揀)</th>
<th>lim5 (揀)</th>
<th>pat2 (揀)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>▲ ▲ ▲ ▲ ▲</td>
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Figure 8 Extra semantic components profiled in the PUT frame

Figure 8 represents the individual profiled participants encoded in these congeners. Nine congeners are listed in the first line whereas eight possible semantic primitives are given in the left column. On the one hand, involving in the same frame, these congeners contain the most salient participants within the PUT frame, namely,
agent, theme, and location as marked by the small triangle. On the other hand, they incorporate extra semantic atoms into their lexical meanings. The big triangle is used to identify the additional information carried by these congeners.

### 4.4.1 Preliminary Observation of the Profiled Participants

As listed above, these congeners, as transitive verbs, taking an overt object, differ in lexicalization patterns although they invoke the same semantic frame. More conspicuously, some cases conflate the direction into the verbs such as *song*\(^5\) (上) ‘to put upwards’, *lim*\(^5\) (淋) ‘to cover surfaces from higher level to lower level’, and *sol* (挲) ‘to put with one’s fingers moving back and forth’. Others encode the means by which an action performs as in *cit*\(^2\) (漆) ‘to put with a paint brush’, *mat*\(^2\) (抹) ‘to put with an instrument that has a flat surface’, *lim*\(^{17}\) (淋) ‘to put liquids on surfaces from higher level to lower level’, and *sol* (挲) ‘to put with one’s fingers moving back and forth’. Still others incorporate specific manner into the verbs as shown in *bai*\(^2\) (擺) ‘to

---

17 Notice that some congeners intrinsically encode more than one element into their verbal senses. For example, the lexicalization patterns of *lim*\(^{17}\) (淋) include both path (i.e. downwards) and means (i.e. with liquid) whereas that of *sol* (挲) integrate path, means, and manner into its lexical meaning. These congeners can be classified into more than one subtype, as illustrated in (86)-(88). That is, in the case of *lim* (淋), it can be treated as one member of the path or means congeners, whereas in the case of *sol* (挲), since path, means, and manner are conflated into its lexical meaning, this congener can be grouped in any of these types.
put in order’, and \textit{pat2 (潑)} ‘to scatter (a fluid) about in flying masses’ and \textit{yam3 (掞)} ‘to put with a sprinkle of powder on surfaces or to cover surface with sprinkles’. Notice that the semantic differences latent in \textit{go5 (膏)} does not hinge upon its lexicalization pattern. Unlike the above-mentioned congeners, the semantics of \textit{go5 (膏)} can be attributed to the difference in profiling within the \textit{PUT} frame that is responsible for the meaning uniqueness. That is, the use of \textit{go5 (膏)} within the \textit{PUT} frame accentuates the characteristics of its theme role in that it is expected to be a highly viscous or semisolid substance.

To recapitulate, three subtypes of these congeners are summarized as follows.

(86) Verbs of putting with a direction: \textit{song2 (上)}, \textit{lim5 (淋)}, \textit{so1 (挲)}

(87) Verbs of putting with a means: \textit{cit2 (漆)}, \textit{mat2 (抹)}, \textit{lim5 (淋)}, \textit{so1 (挲)}

(88) Verbs of putting in certain manner: \textit{bai2 (擺)}, \textit{yam3 (掞)}, \textit{pat2 (潑) so1 (挲)}

\textbf{4.4.2 Syntactic Realizations of the Participants in [VN] and [VC] Constructions}

As indicated above, these congeners with a single event frame are transitive, typically assigning their theme role to the object position. The [VN] construction as a meaning bearing unit generally denotes the effect of an action on the entity. Such a construction is semantically compatible with the caused motion construction in that
the agent acts upon the theme and thus causing certain effects on the theme or the location. The transitivity of the theme can be fused with the [VN] construction as illustrated below.

(89) Theme in the [VN] construction

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Song5 fun2 (上粉)} & \quad \text{‘To put the powder (on the face)’} \\
\text{Cit2 yu5 cit2 (漆油漆)} & \quad \text{‘To put the paint (on the wall)’} \\
\text{Go5 yok5 e2 (膏藥仔)} & \quad \text{‘To plaster (on the wound)’} \\
\text{Mat2 fung5 mol ni3 (抺紅毛泥)} & \quad \text{‘To put cement (on the wall)’} \\
\text{Bai3 von2 kuai3 (擺碗筷)} & \quad \text{‘To put bowls and chopsticks (on the table)’} \\
\text{So1 yam5 (挲鹽)} & \quad \text{‘To put salt (on fresh)’} \\
\text{Yam3 fu5 tseu1 fun2 (掞胡椒粉)} & \quad \text{‘To put pepper (on food)’} \\
\text{Lim5 ngiau3 (淋尿)} & \quad \text{‘To put urine (on the plants)’} \\
\text{Pat2 sui2 (潑水)} & \quad \text{‘To scatter a fluid about in flying masses’}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples in (89) succinctly present a typical set of phrases illustrating the [VN] construction denoted by these congeneres. It is worthy of note that sharply in contrast to piong3, these congeneres are found with a small number of arguments. As for the object noun, only intrinsically physical participants tend to co-occur with these congeneres. It seems that these verbs conflate highly specific participant roles into their lexical meaning; they, therefore, capture severe selectional restrictions and can only be applied to a small set of arguments or in finite contexts. Further, the semantics of these congeneres is restricted to describe a relation between the action and the affected entity. It is natural for a concrete entity to be used with these congeneres.
The other semantic role that can appear in the [VN] construction designates the terminal point of the action. Unlike the theme role, which can be applied to all congeners of *piong3* in Hakka, the semantic role of location cannot be used with all congeners. Examples are given in (90).

(90) Location in the [VN] construction

| Song5 kien2 (上肩) | ‘To put (things) on the shoulder’ |
| Cit2 biak2 (漆壁) | ‘To put (the paint) on the wall’ |
| Go5 fan1 su5 (膏蕃薯) | ‘To put (the mud) on the sweet potatoes’ |
| So1 sim5 kon1 (挲心肝) | ‘To put (one’s fingers) on the chest (for a relief)’ |
| Lim5 fa1 (淋花) | ‘To put (water) on the flowers’ |
| * mat2 ciong5 (抹牆) | ‘*To paint on the wall’ |
| * so1 ng5 (挲魚) | ‘*To put one’s fingers on fish, moving back and forth’ |
| * pat2 ti3 (潑地) | ‘*To scatter the floor’ |

Examples in (90) illustrate the usage of a noun acting as a location. As shown above, not all congeners can be fused in this [VN] construction: Five out of the eight congeners have an object noun signifying the terminal point of the motion. Conversely, the rest three, namely, *mat2* (抹), *so1* (挲), and *yam3* (掞) can hardly be found with a locative expression as illustrated in *mat2 ciong5* (抹牆) ‘to paint on the wall’, *so1 ng5* (挲魚) ‘to stroke the fish back and forth’, and *pat2 ti3* (潑地) ‘to scatter the floor’, respectively.

In addition to the [VN] constructions, the [VC] constructions can be applied to
all congeners. The semantic role of result can be surfaced as a complement. Typically, these resultative complements indicate direction, phase, or resultant state of a participant referred to by the action, and normally function to be predicated of an (underlying) object. Unlike *piong3*, which allows the semantic primitives (i.e. path, result) to be overtly expressed as the complement of a verb, congeners of *piong3* only allow the result to serve as a complement, specifying the outcome of the whole event. This can be seen with respect to the following examples in (91)

(91) Complement Denoting a Result

*cit2 song5 hi3* (漆上去) ‘To put this paint **onto** (the wall)’
*cit2 ho2 le1* (漆好咧) ‘The painting of this wall has **finished**.’
*cit2 pi2-ki5 ka5 iun5 teu1* (漆畀佢卡勻兜) ‘To paint (the wall) more **flat**’

Examples in (91) illustrate the various functions of the resultative complements. To start with, the phrase *cit2 song5 hi3* (漆上去) ‘to put (this paint) onto (the wall)’ denotes the directional meaning. Next, the combination of the congener *cit2* (漆) and the phase marker *ho2* (好) as in *cit2 ho2 le1* (漆好咧) ‘The painting of this wall has **finished**’ expresses the completion of the painting event. Finally, the use of a comparative phrase, i.e. *ka5 iun5 teu1* (卡勻兜) ‘To paint (the wall) more **flat**’ amplifies the resultant state of the affected participant(s).

It is worthy of note that not all congeners of *piong3* can be entirely applied to all kinds of resultant complements. That is, regulated by their distinctive lexicalization patterns, the congeners of *piong3* are selectively fused with certain types of resultant
complements. This can be represented in Figure 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congeners</th>
<th>V denoting Path</th>
<th>V denoting Means</th>
<th>V denoting Manner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Directional C</strong></td>
<td>Song5 (上)</td>
<td>Cit2 (漆)</td>
<td>Lim5 (淋)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fun2 tung2-ki5 song5 song5 hi3</em></td>
<td><em>Powders, to put them on (the face)</em></td>
<td><em>To put this paint on</em></td>
<td><em>To put the cement on the ground</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(<em>粉同佢上上去</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘<em>Powders, to put them on (the face)</em>’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phase C</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki5 tung2 fun2 song5 ho2 le1</td>
<td>lia ciong5 cit2 ho2 le1</td>
<td>lim5 teu2 le1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(佢同粉上好咧)</td>
<td>(-fi同塗好咧)</td>
<td>淋透咧</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘She finished putting powders on the face.’</td>
<td>‘The painting of this wall has finished.’</td>
<td>‘Watering is finished.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resultant C</strong></td>
<td>fun2 oi3 song5 iun5 teu1 e2</td>
<td>cit2 pi2-ki5 ka5 iun5 teu1</td>
<td>bun1 i2 lim5 to3 siip2 tap2 tap2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(粉愛上勻兜 e)</td>
<td>(漆畀佢卡勻兜)</td>
<td>(分雨淋到濕漉漉)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Powders, put them smoothly.’</td>
<td>‘To paint (the wall) more flat ’</td>
<td>‘Someone was soaked to the skin by the heavy rain.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9 Syntactic realization of participants in the [VC] constructions

Figure 9 illustrates the use of resultative complements denoted by different congeners. Three types of congeners are given in the first line, namely, the congener of path, the congener of means, and the congener of manner. Three resultative complements (RCs), i.e. directional, phase, and resultant complements are listed in the left column. Specifically speaking, congeners denoting a means or manner can be used with all types of resultative complements whereas congeners specifying the path,
i.e. *song5* (上) can not. The semantic anomaly comes from the conflated patterns of *song5* (上) in that the element of direction has been lexicalized. That is, the congener with a specified path intrinsically encodes the information on the direction of the motion, so that the introduction of directional complements results in semantic redundancy or contradiction.

So far, we have closely examined the distinctive participant(s) encoded in every congener of *piong3* and their syntactic realization in the [VN] and [VC] constructions. These congeners together with the basic category *piong3* are linked with the caused-motion construction: One person exerts his manual force upon an object, thus causing the manipulated object to undergo a change of location or a change of state. The semantic differences among these congeners are equivalent to their difference in profiling. More specifically, their semantic differences can be assorted to the differences in their semantic frames. Representing profiled participant roles in boldface, we might express the difference among these congeners.

(92) Verbs of putting with a direction

\[
\begin{align*}
  & *song2*(上) \ <agent, \ theme, \ location, \ \textbf{path} \ \text{down-up}> \\
  & *lim5* (淋) \ <agent, \ theme, \ location, \ \textbf{path} \ \text{up-down}> \\
  & *soi* (挲) \ <agent, \ theme, \ location, \ \textbf{path} \ \text{back-and-forth}>
\end{align*}
\]
Verbs of putting denoting a path are given in (92). All of the congeners contain identical participant roles; however, they do in fact differ semantically. This distinction can be contributed to difference in profiling. In the case of song2 (上) and lim5 (淋), the direction is vertical. Whereas the path of song2 (上) is designated to an upward position, the path of lim5 (淋) indicates a downward motion. On the other hand, the path named by so1 (挲) is horizontal: a back-and-forth motion. Notice that the use of lim5 (淋) requires its underlying theme to be liquids; this is not necessary of song2 (上) or so1 (挲).

(93) Verbs of putting with a means

cit2 (漆) <agent, paint as theme, location, means paint-brush>
mat2 (抺) <agent, theme, location, means palms or fingers>
so1 (挲) <agent, theme, location, path back-and-forth, means fingers>

Examples in (93) present a list of the means congeners. These congeners integrate a specific means into their lexical meanings. They seem to have a zero-related nominal that refers to the action named by the verb. As for cit2 (漆), the means refers to the paint brush and the theme is understood as paint. With regard to mat2 (抺), the instrument by which an action performs refers to the agent’s both hands (or an instrument with a flat surface). This is true of so1(挲): The means also refers to hands but differs in its parts. The action of mat2 (抺) is performed by one’s palm and
fingers whereas that of *so1* (挲) is particularly by one’s fingers.

(94) Verbs of putting in certain manner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Manner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bai2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in specific order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with gentle force on both theme and location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yam3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with gentle force on theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat2</td>
<td>theme</td>
<td></td>
<td>with greater force</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in (94) display verbs of putting in a particular manner. To start with, the use of *bai2* (擺) denotes “to put in a specified order”. Next, the use of *so1* (挲) designates “to move gently with one’s fingers”; this is also true of *yam3* (掞). However, these two do in fact differ in semantics. In the case of *so1* (挲), the means (i.e. fingers) do make contact with both the theme and the (implicit) location, while in the case of *yam3* (掞) the means may only make contact with the theme. Finally, as for the use of *pat2* (潑), it entails a greater force acting upon the underlying theme (i.e. water) and the action performed in an outward direction.