

Using Constructions as Information Management Devices: An Analysis of Hakka *lien5...ya3/du3* Constructions

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This present study on the *lien5* and *ya3/du3* construction in Hakka has four claims. First, structurally, *lien5* needs to be associated with a fronted constituent that serves as a contrastive topic that is fronted at the beginning of a construction. Second, semantically, the construction denotes inclusion of the element which is being focused on as a member of the biggest sum individual (the largest number of possible elements which could be reasonably contained in a group) and renders it as the extreme value. Not only does each part of the construction contribute to the overall meaning, but the construction itself also contributes an extra meaning—that the element which is being focused on has to characterize the least expected value. Third, the felicity in using this construction interacts with the meaning of *lien5* and general principles of conversation; in this respect, *lien5* hence differs from English *even*, which conventionally refers to a likelihood scalar. Finally, this construction is employed to enhance the informative value of the form in question.

Keywords: contrastive topic, biggest sum individual, Construction Grammar, Maxim of Quantity, information management strategy

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1. Introduction

The coherence of a discourse, written or oral, lies in a smooth information link between the current sentence/utterance and the prior context. Cross-linguistically, a wide array of linguistic expressions, from lexical forms to syntactic constructions, can be shown to structure the information status of the various elements of a proposition (cf. Ward and Birner 2006; Lambrecht 1994, 2001; Chu 1998). For instance, left-dislocation, right-dislocation, passives, or inversion, in which some constituent is placed in a non-canonical position, is claimed to bear the purpose of different information packaging function (cf. Ward and Birner 2006).

Lambrecht (1994, 2001) further claims that information structure, parallel to syntax and semantics, should also be considered as a component of grammar. Specifically, his viewpoint, in line with the tenets of construction grammar advocated by Goldberg (1995, 2006), among others, declares that grammatical constructions—pairings of form and meaning—serve a communicative function. The manipulation of the word order of constituents in a sentence, for instance, is seen as a strategy for information management. In line with this argument of a strong correlation between word order and information structure, Chu (1998) points out that the general unmarked word order displays a pragmatically unmarked information structure for topic-prominent languages like Chinese. In Chinese languages, Hakka included, the pragmatically unmarked constituent order is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO), and hence less informative elements often occur in the preverbal position and more informative elements, in the post-verbal position (cf. Li and Thompson 1975). The unmarked information structure sequence is therefore topic-focus since the preverbal position is for constructing the topic and the post-verbal position is for conveying new information to the hearer (cf. also Givón 1988; Gundel 1988, among others on the study of issues related to word order). Based on this line of argument, special constructions with marked word order manifest special pragmatic function.

While various grammatical constructions in Chinese have been investigated in terms of their information status, one among the many is particularly intriguing as it involves both strategies—the co-occurrence of different particles and the change of

canonical word order of the constituent. The following construction in Hakka¹ in which *lien5...ya3* ‘including...also’/*lien5...du3* ‘including...all’² co-occur to highlight a member of a set that is a thing which would be the least expected in the context can illustrate:³

(1) [這賊仔連褲也／都愛偷，敢怕衰到連褲也／都無好著个款。]

*Ya2 cet8-e5 lien5 fu3 ya3/du3 oi3 teul, gam-2 pa3 soi1 do3 lien5 fu3
ya3/du3 mo5 ho2 zok4 ge3 kuan2.*⁴

¹ Hakka is one of the Sinic languages in the family of Chinese. The Hakka language consists of several dialects spoken in Guangdong (廣東), Fujian (福建), Jiangxi (江西), Guangxi (廣西), Sichuan (四川), Hunan (湖南), and Guizhou (貴州) provinces in Mainland China, and also Hainan island (海南島) and Taiwan (臺灣). Symbolizing the social status of the Hakka people, the word *Hakka* [hak4 ga1] literally means ‘guest people’. Two views are held so as to the origins of Hakka people. One view holds that the Hakka people originated from the Central Plains of China, and because of foreign invasions, civil wars and other historical reasons, moved southwards and finally to Taiwan around the middle of the nineteenth century (Hashimoto 1973; Luo 1998). Another view holds that the Hakka developed from the area of the southern Gan in the Song Dynasty, with the Hakka dialects bearing features similar to non-Chinese languages such as She and Yao. And afterwards, large numbers of Hakka migrated to Taiwan in the early Qing Dynasty (Chappell 2001). Refer also to Chappell and Lamarre (2005) for more detailed descriptions.

² The other similar structure *lien5...ma3* construction can also be found in Hakka. However, it is believed that the particle *ma3* surfaces in this construction due to the influence from the corresponding lexical item *ma* meaning ‘also’ in Taiwanese Southern Min. More historical and dialectal data is needed for this issue in the future. I would like to thank one of the reviewers for indicating this point.

³ The data presented in this paper are mainly based on the *Si3yen3* (四縣) Hakka dialect in Taiwan. Generally speaking, five spoken Hakka dialects are used in the Taiwan Hakka communities scattered around the island, including the *Si3yen3* Hakka dialect, the *Hoi2liuk8* (海陸) Hakka dialect, the *Tai3pul* (大埔) Hakka dialect, the *Ngieu5ping5* (饒平) Hakka dialect, and the *Seu3on1* (詔安) Hakka dialect. According to the data documented by the Council for Hakka Affairs in Taiwan, there are approximately 6,800,000 Hakka people in Taiwan, about 27% of the total population. Phonological and morphological differences can be observed between the various sub-dialects.

⁴ *The Manual of Taiwan Hakka Tongyong Romanization System* 臺灣客語通用拼音使用手冊 published by Ministry of Education of Taiwan in 2003 is used to render the data. The tone system is as follows: 1 stands for *yinping* (rising), 2 stands for *yinshang* (falling), 3 stands for *yinciu* (high level), 4 stands for *yinru* (short low), 5 stands for *yangping* (low level), and 8 stands for *yangru* (short high). The character versions are also provided in the examples. The following

The thief-SF LIEN pants YA/DU want steal, almost deplorable COMP
LIEN pants YA/DU NEG to wear NOM condition

‘The thief stole everything, including even the pants. He must have been in
a very sorry condition that he didn’t even have pants to wear.’

The construction has two detached particles linking together. While each of the three particles⁵ has its own independent syntactic and semantic features, they have lost some of their original grammatical functions and have developed a newly grammaticalized construction due to their co-occurrence. The above example goes as follows: among all the items a thief would steal, *fu3* ‘pants’ are the least likely item, presumably because one pair of pants may not necessarily fit everyone, and hence if even such an item is stolen, it follows that all the other obviously more useful items will also have been stolen by the thief. The combination of *lien5* and *ya3/du3* gives rise to an additional scalar meaning that does not come from either of the individual morphemes occurring singly.

While only little attention has been paid to these constructions in Hakka, several studies have investigated the syntactic and semantic features of the corresponding *lian2...ye3/dou1* constructions in Mandarin Chinese both from a synchronic perspective (cf. e.g., Li and Thompson 1981; Paris 1979; Tsao 1990; Chu 1998) and from diachronic perspective (cf. Xing 2004, 2006). First, various elements can occur as a *lian2* constituent—a regular noun phrase, a verbal phrase, a prepositional phrase, a time adverbial, a whole or reduced subordinate clause, or a predicate nominal—however, it is noted that the *lian2* constituent carries the grammatical properties of nominals. Tsao

abbreviations are used for the grammatical functions: ASP, aspect marker; CL, classifier; COMP, complementizer; NOM, nominalizer; NEG, negation marker; PART, particle; POSS, possessive marker; SF, suffix; PL, plural marker; POT, potential marker.

⁵ According to König (1991, 10), lexical items like *even*, *only*, *also*, *too* or *just* in English and their counterparts in many other languages are traditionally categorized as adverbs. However, as indicated by König (1991), since these lexical elements have a large number of syntactic and semantic properties in common, they should be regarded as a special subclass of adverbs. This study follows König (1991) in calling these elements “focus particles.” In addition to this label, several other labels are also frequently used for this subset of adverbs: “focusing adjuncts” (Quirk et al. 1972), “focusing adverbs” (Taglicht 1984), “scalar particles” (König 1981), “intensifiers” (Ross and Cooper 1979), or “focusing subjuncts” (Quirk et al. 1985).

(1990) thus argues that the *lian2* constituent is a topic by successfully testing the *lian2* constituent against several linguistic features of a topic. Moreover, since the *lian2* constituent bears a stress, it also delineates a contrast, functioning as a contrastive topic as maintained by Tsao (1990) and Chu (1998). Paris (1979) calls *lian2* a quasi-quantifier which quantifies over the elements scanned over by the quantifier *ye3* or *dou1*. Furthermore, all the researchers have noted that the construction highlights an element among a set to be the least likely value among the candidates assumed by the background. Xing (2004, 2006), in contrast, examines the pragmatic factors for the development of *lian2* from a verb denoting concrete activity to a grammatical morpheme bearing a scalar focus function. The basis of Xing's claim in this matter is derived from a study of documented historical texts of ancient Chinese. Her studies shed insight and it is also significant for the analysis of the syntactic and semantic evolvement of *lien5* in Hakka, since Hakka, identified as one of the eight major Chinese dialects, is considered to be etymologically related to ancient Chinese (cf. Chappell 2001 for the discussions of the origins of the eight main Chinese dialects). Her main claims will hence be incorporated into the analysis of Hakka *lien5* in Section 3.

However, while previous studies of the Mandarin *lian2...ye3/dou1* constructions can help advance our knowledge of the Hakka constructions in question, several issues of these constructions in Hakka remain unexplored. Although each of the three morphemes exhibits its own syntactic and semantic features, in this construction, we see a form-meaning pairing construction which imparts peculiar syntactic and semantic characteristics due to their co-occurrence. To unravel the true nature of the *lien5...ya3/du3* construction in Hakka, I will further develop a semantic analysis that captures the 'inclusion' component and the 'even' component. In addition, to relate the meaning of the *lien5...ya3/du3* construction to the standard meanings of *ya3* and *du3*, I will argue that the restriction on the co-occurrence of *lien5* and *ya3/du3* in Hakka is not unreasonable in that *lien5* occurs in this construction with *ya3* or *du3* to disambiguate possible readings created by *ya3* and *du3*. Furthermore, I will also investigate the motivations that underlie the syntactic and semantic generalizations of such a construction as well as spell out the felicitous conditions for its usage. In particular, this

study will demonstrate that constructions with marked syntactic and semantic generalizations serve a pragmatic-discourse function as part of the information management strategy and the general principles of conversation in discourse.

This paper is organized as follows. After the introduction, Section 2 will discuss the syntactic and semantic behaviors of each of the three morphemes as well as their interaction. Then in Section 3, the felicitous conditions for the usage of such constructions will be examined. Section 4 discusses what motivates the form of the constructions with the tenets of constructionist approach in treating constructions as information management devices. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Treating *lien5*, *ya3*, *du3*, and *lien5...ya3/du3*

Having reviewed the major findings of previous analyses of the corresponding constructions in Mandarin, we are now ready to tackle the construction in question in this study. Each of the three morphemes as well as their interactions will be discussed in this section.

2.1 *Lien5* as a topic marker associated with focus

The morpheme *lien5* in Hakka exhibits multiple functions: in the form of a verb as in (2a) and (2b), of an adverbial as in (2c) and (2d), of a preposition as in (2e), and finally of a scalar particle in the construction under discussion as in (2f). Consider the following examples:

(2) a. [連本帶利]

lien5 bun2 dai3 li3

include capital carry interest

‘include both capital and interest’

b. [連結]

lien5 giet2

join connect

‘to connect’

c. [連勝]

lien5 siin3

repeatedly win

‘to win repeatedly’

d. [連連受難]

lien5 lien5 su3 nan3

continuously suffer hardship

‘to suffer continuously’

e. [連錄音帶，共兩百四十個銀]

lien5 luk8-yin5-dai3, kiung3 liong2-bak4-si3-sip8 ge3 ngiun5.

including tapes total 240 NOM dollars

‘Including the tapes, the amount of money totals 240 NT dollars.’

f. [阿英無閒到連食飯個時間都無，胡亂食食就放碗。]

*A1-yin1 mo5-han5 do3 lien5 siit8 fan3 ge3 sii5-gien5 du3 mo5, fu5-lon3
siit8 siit8 ciu3 biong3 von2.*

Ayin busy DO LIEN eat rice POSS time DU NEG, inattentively eat eat
then put-down bowl

‘Ayin was so busy that she didn’t even have time to eat. She ate
absent-mindedly and then put the bowl down.’

Examples in (2) show multiple grammatical functions of *lien5* as it appears in more major grammatical categories like a verb (2a and 2b), an adverb (2c and 2d) and then in more minor ones like a preposition (2e) and a particle (2f). In analyzing the corresponding constructions in Mandarin Chinese, Xing (2004), documenting historical texts, holds that *lian2* in Mandarin Chinese, which undergoes structural reanalysis and paradigmatic analogy, exhibits the following syntactic evolution:

(3) verb > adverb > a preposition/conjunction > a scalar focus particle

Xing (2004) argues that *lian2*’s meaning extension does not go through a path of metaphorical extension similar to that in body part terms found in Indo-European languages as proposed by Heine et al. (1991), among others. Rather, she claims that due to the isolating characteristics of Chinese, Chinese lexical items may go through a process of metaphorical extension as long as they can reflect certain grammatical

relationships. As a result, pragmatic inferencing plays an important role in the meaning development as observed in *lian2*. The following development is proposed by Xing (2004):

semantic extension	mechanisms
<i>connect/unite</i>	metaphorical extension (active > stative)
<i>consecutive(ly)</i>	metaphorical extension
<i>additive particle</i>	pragmatic strengthening
<i>scalar particle</i>	pragmatic strengthening (addition implying ordering or scalar)
<i>focus scalar particle</i>	subjectification

Xing (2004, 97) therefore argues that the development of *lian2* provides a counter-example for Traugott's (1998) hypothesis one, which states that "the lexeme's initial ranking on the scale is directly derivable from its prior meaning." Nevertheless, with a closer investigation of the *lien5...ya3/du3* construction in Hakka, we will find that after all, Traugott's (1998) claim is not so wrong. The scalar usage of *lien5* in this construction is indeed derivable from its previous meaning, as this paper will prove. While the grammatical category of *lien5* is decategorized, its meaning is still preserved across various categories—from that of 'to connect, to link' to 'continuously' to 'including' and then to an inclusive focus particle. This structural and semantic development of *lien5* is in line with general principles discussed in König (1991), who observes that words denoting inclusion often develop into an additive focus particle as, for instance, Spanish *incluso* 'even'. Furthermore, *lien5*, now in (2f) under discussion, functions as a scalar inclusive particle that not only denotes inclusion but also indicates the extreme value of the entity which is being focused on and with which it is associated. Hence example (2f) goes as follows: *Ayin* was extremely occupied with whatever she was busy with. Therefore she didn't have time to take care of the usual things in her daily life—including not even having regular meals. As regular meals are the most basic and essential requirement of daily life, when a person is too busy to have regular meals, he or she probably does not have time to do other activities such as listening to music or watching television. Therefore *lien5* in example (2f) denotes the

collection of all the activities that *Ayin* didn't have time to do; it also indicates that having meal is the least likely item among the activities that *Ayin* would not have the time to undertake.

When functioning as a focus scalar particle, *lien5* exhibits certain syntactic peculiarities. As shown in example (2f), the direct object needs to be fronted to form a *lien5* constituent. When *lien5* occurs, one of the particles *ya3/du3* must also occur. Such syntactic behavior is also observed in the corresponding *lian2...ye3/dou1* construction in Mandarin Chinese. Various researchers have successfully argued that the *lian2* constituent is a topic (Li and Thompson 1981; Paris 1979; Tsao 1990).

Given the similarities of Mandarin *lian2...ye3/dou1* constructions and Hakka *lien5...ya3/du3* constructions, it is probably quite plausible to argue that the *lien5* constituent in Hakka, is indeed a topic. However, there is still a difference in meaning between a normal topic and the *lian2* or *lien5* constituent. The following examples from Hakka demonstrate that while *Ayin* is a topic both in (4) through object preposing and in (5a) with *lien5...ya3/du3* construction, sentence (5a) carries a presupposition (5b), which is absent in (4).⁶

(4) [阿英，阿民當中意。]

A1-yin1, A1-min5 dong1 zung3-yi3.

Ayin Amin very much like

'Ayin, Amin likes a lot.'

(5) a. [阿民連阿英也／都當中意。]

A1-min5 lien5 A1-yin1 ya3/du3 dong1 zung3-yi3.

Amin LIEN Ayin YA/DU very much like

'Amin even likes Ayin a lot.'

b. presupposition: Ayin is the least likely person that Amin likes.

⁶ This point is in accord with Paul (2002) in that the semantics of object preposing and the *lian2...ye3/dou1* construction in Mandarin Chinese are completely different. As claimed by Paul (2002, 698), while the latter gives rise to an 'even' interpretation for the element quantified over by *lian2...ye3/dou1* construction, where "the speaker presupposes that there exist some other elements which hold the same property as that attributed to the quantified element" (Paris 1998, 144), this is evidently not the case for object preposing.

With the discussion to this point, we can come to the conclusion that *lien5* may function as a scalar inclusive particle attaching to a topic that needs to be positioned between the subject noun phrase and the verb and that it is also associated with a focus contained in that topic. In other words, the *lien5* constituent functions as a contrastive topic in the sense of Tsao (1990) and Chu (1998). The contrastive part which is usually realized as carrying a stress may be a proper part of the topic or the whole topic. Contrast the following two examples:

- (6) [阿明連阿英个老妹也／都當中意。]

A1-min5 lien5 A1-yin1 ge3 lo2-moi3 ya3/du3 dong1 zung3-yi3.

Amin LIEN Ayin POSS younger sister YA/DU very much like

‘Amin likes even AYIN’s younger sister a lot, (not to mention Ami’s sister).’

- (7) [阿明連阿英个老妹也／都當中意。]

A1-min5 lien5 A1-yin1 ge3 lo2-moi3 ya3/du3 dong1 zung3-yi3.

Amin LIEN Ayin POSS younger sister YA/DU very much like

‘Amin likes Ayin’s YOUNGER SISTER a lot, (not to mention Ayin’s older sister).’

In (6), *lien5* attaches to the topic *A1-yin1 ge3 lo2-moi3* ‘Ayin’s younger sister’ but associates with a focus on *Ayin*, in contrast to other people who also have younger sisters. In contrast, in (7), *lien5* attaches to the same topic but associates with a focus on *lo2-moi3* ‘younger sister’, in contrast to *A1-yin1 ge3 al-zi2* ‘Ayin’s older sister’. This function of providing a contrast between the focus and the other elements in the group is crucial to the understanding of the meaning of *lien5*. Remember that the particle *lien5* is derived from major syntactic categories denoting ‘inclusion’ and ‘addition’. This meaning of inclusion as carried by *lien5* is still preserved when it occurs in the *lien5...ya3/du3* construction. I will argue that the meaning of the *lien5* constituent with a focus denotes the largest number of possible elements which could be reasonably contained in a group, called it the biggest sum individual. The additional meaning component that indicates the item which is being focused on as the least likely value follows from independent principles of conversation.

The claim that *lien5* is a scalar inclusive particle which is associated with a focus can be further supported with the following arguments. First, possible follow-up utterances for those with *lien5* as in (5a) are much more restricted than those without *lien5* as in (4). Examine the following examples:

- (8) [阿英，阿民當中意，阿玲也當中意。]

A1-yin1, A1-min5 dong1 zung3-yi3, A1-ling5 ya3 dong1 zung3-yi3.

Ayin Amin very much like Aling YA very much like

‘Ayin, Amin likes a lot, and Aling likes a lot, too.’

- (9) [阿民連阿英也／都當中意，#阿玲也當中意。]

A1-min5 lien5 A1-yin1 ya3/du3 dong1 zung3-yi3,

A1-ling5 ya3 dong1 zung3-yi3.

LIEN Ayin YA/DU very much like Aling YA very much like

‘Amin likes even Ayin a lot. #Aling likes Ayin a lot, too.’

The discourse in (8) shows that it is easier to come up with semantically compatible comment clauses to the same topic; hence, *Ayin* is not only a member among the persons *Amin* likes a lot but also a member among persons *Aling* likes a lot. Since the two comments are parallel and can be interpreted independently, no semantic deviance is brought about. On the contrary, the presence of the same following clause would be unnatural if the previous clause contains the *lien5...ya3/du3* construction, as illustrated in (9). Notice that due to the semantic contribution of *lien5*, *Ayin* is the least likely person for *Amin* to like. The following clause turns out to be pragmatically deviant since if *Ayin* is unlikely to be liked, then *Aling* probably does not like *Ayin* either. The following case in (10), however, is pragmatically felicitous since the least likely value *Ayin* is now in contrast to a more likely value *Ami* in terms of *being liked by Amin*.

- (10) [阿民連阿英也／都當中意，阿美，阿民過較中意喔！]

A1-min5 lien5 A1-yin1 ya3/du3 dong1 zung3-yi3,

A1-mi1 A1-min5 go3 ka3 zung3-yi3 o2.

Amin LIEN Ayin YA/DU very much like Ami Amin pass more like PART

‘Amin likes even Ayin a lot. Then Ami, Amin should like even more.’

The functional impact of a focus associated with *lien5* on the naturalness of a discourse holds also for the preceding context. Remember that *lien5* may associate with a focus

which is only a part of a topic or the whole topic, as illustrated in (5a), (6), and (7). To arrive at a pragmatically natural discourse, each of the examples must have a different preceding discourse. In particular, (6) must occur in contexts where the preceding discourse mentions Ayin's sisters, whereas (7) can occur in a context in which the preceding discourse mentions other female persons, not necessarily Ayin's sisters, and not even anybody's sisters at all. The discussion proposed here can also easily explicate the stress associated with the item which is focused on in the *lien5* constituent in the two examples. Although a topic is normally unstressed, a topic that contains a focus within it usually displays a contrast, and hence will bear a stress. Notice that it is only the part of the constituent associated with *lien5* that carries stress. For instance, the contrastiveness shown by the *lien5* constituent and the noun phrase in the second clause in example (10) results simply from the comparison of this extreme value, *Ayin*, with some other value, *Ami*, in the choice of alternatives assumed by the background. It is hence very natural that *Ayin* and *Ami* will carry stress. In short, with the analysis of *lien5* as a topic marker that is associated with a focus, the contrastiveness exhibited in a discourse and the stress-bearing property of the contrastive elements follow reasonably.

2.2 The additive marker *ya3* and the distributive marker *du3*

After examining the *lien5* constituent, let us now turn to the other particle in the construction, *ya3/du3*. Consider *ya3* first. Syntactically, *ya3* can be related to elements placed to its left or to its right. Examine the contributions *ya3* makes to the interpretations of the following sentences:

- (11) [毋只阿美，恩兜也看了該兜書。]

M5 zii2 A1-mil, en5-deu1 ya3 kon3 liau2 ge3 deu1 su1.

NEG only Ami we YA read finish that PL book

'Not only Ami, but WE also finished reading those books.'

- (12) [毋只這些書，恩兜也看了該兜書。]

M5 zii2 lia2 deu1 su1, en5-deu1 ya3 kon3 liau2 ge3 deu1 su1.

NEG only this PL book we YA read finish that PL book

'Not only these books, but we also finished reading THOSE BOOKS.'

- (13) [毋只這些書，該兜書恩兜也看了哩。]

M5 zii2 lia2 deu1 su1, ge3 deu1 su1 en5-deu1 ya3 kon3 liau2 le5.

NEG only this PL book that PL book we YA read finish PART

‘Not only these books, but THOSE BOOKS, we also finished reading already.’

The readings are associated with different options which may be taken with regard to focus: *ya3* can go with the subject, *en5-deu1* ‘we’ in (11), the object *ge3 deu1 su1* ‘those books’ in (12), or the topic *ge3 deu1 su1* ‘those books’ in (13). The contribution *ya3* makes to the three readings is similar to that of *also* in English such that the emphatic stress helps disambiguate possible readings—as *also* associates with the stressed constituent, as indicated by the capitalized constituent in the English translations (cf. Jackendoff 1972). The three sentences have the same assertion, but differ in their presuppositions due to the different focus associated with *ya3*, as indicated by the previous phrase in front of the *ya3* clause. In other words, depending on which focus *ya3* is associated with, the sentence asserts the corresponding sentence without *ya3*, and at the same time presupposes that in addition to the focused item, at least one of the other values created in the common ground in the discourse also satisfies the property denoted by the predication.

Next, let us consider the distributive marker *du3*. Unlike *ya3*, *du3* can be related only to the elements to its left and it requires the phrase it is associated with to denote an entity that has a number of parts. Consider the following examples:

- (14) [阿民三姊妹都結婚哩。]

A1-min5 sam1 zi2-moi3 du3 giet4-fun1 le5.

Amin three sister DU get.married PART

‘Amin and her sisters, all three are married.’

- (15) [*阿民都看了該本書。]

**A1-min5 du3 kon3 liau2 ge3 bun2 su1.*

Amin DU read finish that CL book

- (16) [該本書，阿民都看了哩。]

Ge3 bun2 su1, A1-min5 du3 kon3 liau2 le5.

that CL book Amin DU read finish PART

‘Amin finished reading that entire book.’

In example (14), *du3* distributes over each of the three persons denoting that each individual satisfies the property of the predication. Example (15) is ungrammatical because a person like *Amin* does not have parts for *du3* to distribute over. Nevertheless, (16) is grammatical since a book presumably has parts—namely, pages. In short, *du3* is a distributive marker that needs an element denoting an entity with parts (cf. Li and Thompson 1981; Lin 1998 on the analysis of *dou1* in Mandarin Chinese).

2.3 *Lien5...ya3/du3* together

After having examined the syntactic and semantic features of the three morphemes, respectively, we are now ready to investigate how they interact in the construction under discussion. Let us consider *lien5* and *ya3* first. Remember that sentences containing *ya3* can have several different readings. Sentences with *lien5* differ from those without it in two ways: on the one hand, the focus is now within the topicalized constituent which *lien5* attaches to, and, on the other hand, it is not possible to obtain a reading with a focus different from the one of the *lien5* constituent, as illustrated in (17) and (18):

- (17) [毋只阿美，連恩兜也看了該兜書。]

M5 zii2 A1-mi1, lien5 en5-deu1 ya3 kon3 liau2 ge3 deu1 su1.

NEG only Ami LIEN we YA read finish that PL book

‘Not only Ami who finished reading those books, but even WE also finished.’

- (18) [毋只這些書，連該兜書恩兜也看了哩。]

M5 zii2 lia2 deu1 su1, lien5 ge3 deu1 su1 en5-deu1 ya3 kon3 liau2 le5.

NEG only this PL book LIEN that PL book we YA read finish PART

‘Not only these books, but even THOSE BOOKS are also finished by us.’

Cases with *lien5* and *ya3* co-occurring as in (17) and (18) have *lien5* and *ya3* associated with the same focus and carry now the meaning of ‘even’ as indicated. Hence the contribution to meaning of *lien5* and *ya3* has to be somehow compatible. We have noted that the presence of *ya3* presupposes that there are other alternatives to the focus which can also satisfy the property of the predication. According to the analysis

proposed here of *lien5*, the *lien5* constituent indicates the biggest sum individual including the focus and at the same time denoting it as the extreme value. Hence *lien5*, an inclusive scalar particle, is semantically compatible with *ya3*, an inclusive particle, and it is natural for them to co-occur.

Next, consider the interaction between *lien5* and *du3*. Remember that *du3* requires an element to its left denoting an entity with parts. However, when co-occurring with *lien5*, it can denote an element without parts, as illustrated in (19):

(19) [連阿美都看了該本書。]

Lien5 A1-mi1 du3 kon3 liau2 ge3 bun2 su1.

LIEN Ami DU read finish that CL book

‘Even AMI finished reading that book.’

The observation in (19) seems to challenge the traditional view of *du3* as a distributive marker that requires an entity with parts, since *Ami* presumably does not have relevant parts. Nevertheless, it is possible to save this view. Remember that due to the basic ‘inclusion’ meaning of *lien5*, the *lien5* constituent forms a sum individual including the focus associated with *lien5*. Hence, we can argue that *lien5* licenses *du3* to distribute over the parts of that sum individual. We can therefore maintain a unified analysis of the distributive marker, and the contrast between (15) and (19) can thus be accounted for.

Furthermore, *lien5* also helps to disambiguate possible readings created by *du3* when more than one plural entity occurs to its left. Consider the following example:

(20) [該兜書，恩兜都看了哩。]

Ge3 deu1 su1 en5-deu1 du3 kon3 liau2 le5.

that PL book we DU read finish PART

‘We all finished reading those books. / We finished reading all those books.’

However, when *lien5* occurs, there is a strongly preferable reading:

(21) [連該兜書，恩兜都看了哩。]

Lien5 ge3 deu1 su1 en5-deu1 du3 kon3 liau2 le5.

LIEN that PL book we DU read finish PART

‘We finished reading even each one of THOSE BOOKS.’

(22) [該兜書，連恩兜都看了哩。]

Ge3 deu1 su1 lien5 en5-deu1 du3 kon3 liau2 le5.

that PL book LIEN we DU read finish PART

‘Even WE finished reading those books.’

In short, the co-occurrence of *lien5* and *ya3/du3* denotes the inclusion of the item which is being focused on as a member of the biggest sum individual and at the same time renders the entity which is being focused on as the extreme value. In addition, a construction with the combination of *lien5* and *ya3* adds the further presupposition that some other alternatives also satisfy the property expressed by the predication. The three particles have lost some of their original grammatical functions and have developed into a newly grammaticalized construction serving a particular syntactic and semantic function.

3. Felicitous conditions

So far this analysis of the *lien5...ya3/du3* construction has not covered the fact that *lien5* picks up the least likely value. I will argue that the felicity of the usage of this construction lies in the nature of its interaction with general principles of conversation and background knowledge and that its presence is motivated by a speaker’s information management strategy. To illustrate, consider the following two English examples:

(23) a. Mary likes everyone, *including her enemies*.

b. #Mary likes everyone, *including her friends*.

The sentence in (23a) is acceptable but that in (23b) sounds very odd. The effect arises from the meaning of the *including* phrase, and the background knowledge related to the meaning of *friends*, *enemies*, and *likes*. In (23a), the phrase *including her enemies* does convey new information since one’s enemies are usually the least likely persons that someone would like. The speaker provides the maximal information to the hearer about Mary’s personality by uttering that she likes even the most unlikely persons, her enemies. The utterance of (23b), however, is not conversationally felicitous because the

phrase *including her friends* does not add anything new. If Mary likes everyone, she will like her friends anyway since friends are highly likely to be liked. In other words, in uttering sentence (23b), the speaker violates the conversational maxim of quantity as proposed by Grice (1975), which specifies that a contribution to a conversation should be informative. The *lien5...ya3/du3* construction has the same properties as the *including* phrase in English in that it has to be uttered within a proper context. More precisely, the meaning of the *lien5...ya3/du3* construction can be placed in a position of interaction with the conversational maxims proposed by Grice, and the background knowledge shared by speaker and hearer at the time of utterance affects the felicity of the usage of this construction, as will be discussed.

The Gricean Maxim of Quantity specifies that the participants in an ordinary conversational discourse should be as informative as possible, but no more informative than is required. For instance, if a speaker utters *John has three children*, the hearer can rationally assume that the maximal number of children John has is *three*, not *four*, nor *five*. According to Grice's maxim, if John had more than three children, the speaker should have said so. To be informative, the speaker refers to the maximal number of children that John has and the hearer can rely on the truthfulness of the utterance.

As to the way in which the meaning of the *lien5...ya3/du3* construction interacts with the Gricean notion of informativeness, recall that the meaning of the *lien5* constituent denotes the biggest sum individual and that the alternatives are those other sum individuals that do not include the focus associated with *lien5* as a part. A predication about the biggest sum individual normally entails a predication about all the other alternatives, which are proper parts of it, but not vice versa. If *John and Mary walked a long time* is true, then *John walked a long time* is true as well, but not vice versa. To be conversationally cooperative, the speaker is supposed to be maximally informative. With respect to this construction, the biggest sum individual will yield the most specific and hence the most informative assertion. Therefore, it is very natural to assume that the speaker asserts this proposition rather than less informative ones. As long as the biggest sum individual satisfies the predication, the satisfaction of the other alternatives is entailed, but the satisfaction of any other alternatives does not entail the

satisfaction of the biggest sum individual. The speaker would violate Maxim of Quantity if he picked up any other entity of the alternative set instead of the biggest sum individual.

Nevertheless, the fact that the *lien5* constituent denotes the biggest sum individual does not necessarily assure that the utterance based on it is felicitous unless certain additional background conditions hold, given the fact that the focus with which *lien5* associates also denotes the least likely value. In other words, whether it is appropriate to utter a *lien5* construction depends on the background knowledge shared by speaker and hearer. Take example (24) and (25) for instance.

- (24) [真好食！連舌嚙也強強想愛吞落去。]⁷

Ziin1 ho2-siit8! Lien5 sat8-ma5 ya3 kiong5-kiong5 xiong2 oi3 tun1 lok8 hi3.

really yummy LIEN tongue YA almost think want swallow fall go

‘(The food) was really yummy! Even my tongue was almost swallowed by me.’

- (25) [羅鴨仔逐擺就講：「烏色盡高貴。」故所，佢準備一身烏衫，一雙烏鞋，一頂烏帽仔，連唇膏都係烏个。]⁸

Lo5-ap2-e5 dak4-bai2 ciu3 gong2 [vu1-set4 cin3 go5-gui3]. Gu3-so2, gi5 zun2-pi3 yit4 siin5 vu1 sam3, yit4 sung5 vu1 hai5, yit4 dang2 vu1 mo3-e5, lien5 sun5-go1 du3 he3 vu1 ge3.

Raven always then say black most elegant therefore she prepare one body black clothes one pair black shoes one head black hat, LIEN lipstick DU is black NOM

‘The raven always says: “Black is the most elegant color.” Therefore, she prepares herself a black suit, a pair of black shoes, a black hat, and even the lipstick she wears is black.’

The felicity of the usage of example (24) is guaranteed based on our world knowledge. We use our tongues while we eat. No matter how delicious the food is, it is highly unlikely we will swallow our own tongues. The *lien5* constituent denotes not only the

⁷ This example is taken from *Hakka Thoi-Van-Fa Chon-Khan* (Huang 1997).

⁸ This example is taken from *Hakka Monthly* (Zhang 2004).

biggest sum individual—everything on the dish, including even the speaker's tongue—but also the least likely value assumed by the background knowledge. Hence, the utterance of example (24) is felicitous with respect to such background knowledge. Likewise, in example (25), the felicity of using this example is also assured by our world knowledge. While it is very common to wear a black suit, black shoes, or a black hat, it is less likely that one would wear black lipstick because black is a fairly uncommon color for lipstick. The *lien5* constituent denotes not only the biggest sum individual—the collection of the suit, the shoes, the hat and the lipstick—but also the least likely value assumed by background knowledge. More examples can illustrate. Contrast the following two cases:

(26) [?? 去年雨水盡多，連基隆也／都落恁多雨。]

??*Kiu3-ngien5 yi2-sui2 cin3 do1, lien5 Gi1-lung5 ya3/du3 lok8 an2 do1 yi2.*

last year rain very much LIEN Gi-lung YA/DU rain this much rain

'??It rained a lot last year. Even Gi-lung got a lot of rain.'

(27) [去年雨水盡多，連澎湖也／都落恁多雨。]

Kiu3-ngien5 yi2-sui2 cin3 do1, lien5 Pang5-fu5 ya3/du3 lok8 an2 do1 yi2.

last year rain very much LIEN Pang-fu YA/DU rain this much rain

'It rained a lot last year. Even Pang-fu got a lot of rain.'

The utterance of (26) is infelicitous whereas that of (27) is felicitous given the background knowledge of the weather in Taiwan. Examine the following data taken from Central Weather Bureau in Taiwan:⁹

(28) Year 2006 Average Precipitation:

Gi-lung [基隆] 310 mm

Pang-fu [澎湖] 125 mm

Years 1971-2000 Average Precipitation:

Gi-lung [基隆] 3,755 mm

Pang-fu [澎湖] 951 mm

Given the background knowledge, the utterance of example (26) is infelicitous whereas that of example (27) is felicitous since *Pang-fu* is a place with the least amount of

⁹ Source: Central Weather Bureau, Taiwan, <http://www.cwb.gov.tw/V5e/index.htm>, Path: Statistics; Historical Data; Monthly Mean Precipitation (accessed August 30, 2006).

precipitation in Taiwan whereas *Gi-lung* is a place with the biggest amount of precipitation in Taiwan. In brief, this construction in question not only characterizes the biggest sum individual but also requires that the focus associated with *lien5* to be the least likely value assumed by the background knowledge in order for the utterance of it to be felicitous. This is not due to a particular semantic property of *lien5*, but due to the interaction of the semantics of *lien5*, general principles of conversation, and background knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer.

4. Motivating the construction as an information management device

Finally, let us come to the question of what motivates the existence of such a construction. In other words, what pragmatic functions does it serve in the language? Following the line of argument taken by constructionists, I will provide discourse evidence to show that the use of the construction, among the arrays of various constructions, is one of the general information management strategies manipulated by a speaker.

Taking a non-derivational account of language, constructionist approaches take any linguistic expression to be a unique item in its pairing of specific form and meaning. The existence of certain linguistic expressions is to serve certain communicative functions, which will be constrained by general cognitive principles. Goldberg (2006, 5) declares that “[a]ll levels of grammatical analysis involve constructions: learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function, including morphemes or words, idioms, partially lexically filled and fully general phrasal patterns.” She continues to hold that “[a]ny linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist” (Goldberg 2006, 5). Examples of constructions ranging from complex words and idioms to covariational conditionals and ditransitives, vary in size and complexity.

Constructionist approaches hold that the nuances of meaning subtleties or pragmatic functions of any linguistic expression come from each of the linguistic

elements it contains. In addition to the unusual semi-idiosyncratic constructions such as the *what's X doing Y?* construction studied by Kay and Fillmore (1999), and the nominal extraposition examined by Michaelis and Lambrecht (1996), the ditransitive construction, the resultative construction, caused-motion construction, the time-away construction and the aspectual-way construction in English are claimed to be meaning-bearing units that can not only license both the predicate and the objects but also demonstrate a number of generalizations as well as idiosyncrasies (cf. Goldberg 1995; Jackendoff 1997; Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004). In addition, other patterns ranging from passive and topicalization to questions and relative clauses are deemed to be constructions—correspondences of certain formal features with certain communicative functions.

In addition to English, several languages have been studied to explore the cross-language potential of constructionist approaches. Kay and Fillmore (1999, 1) maintain that cross-language generalizations are captured by the architecture of the representation system and by “the sharing of abstract constructions across languages.” Several studies can illustrate. Fried (2004) examines case marking patterns in Czech, demonstrating the integration of Frame Semantics in constructional analysis of specific grammatical structures. Fujii (2004) offers a unified constructional account of a set of conditional patterns in Japanese. Lambrecht (2004) examines the interaction between a specific grammatical pattern and information structure in spoken French. Lien (2002, 2005, 2006) examines the interaction between lexical meanings and constructional meanings exhibited by data from Taiwanese Southern Min. Lai (2003), studying the multiple-functional morpheme *lau* in Hakka, proposes that *lau* is underspecified so that each of the functions associated with *lau* constructions arises from the integration of the meanings of the elements of the constructions.

Not only have constructionist approaches aimed at capturing empirical adequacy cross-linguistically, but they also seek explanatory adequacy for capturing cross-language generalizations. General cognitive mechanisms are employed to account for the existence and the specific functions of the constructions. For instance, correspondences between the number of arguments and the number of complements are motivated by discourse-pragmatic reasons, word-order options are maintained as

having to do with the processing alternatives, and displacement of arguments is claimed to have certain information-structure properties carried by the constructions involved.

To illustrate, Goldberg (2006, 138ff) maintains that the recipient argument of the ditransitive construction is a secondary clausal topic (cf. for instance, Givón 1979; Langacker 1987, among others). Data from corpus and experimental studies demonstrate that the theme argument of the ditransitive construction tends to be new information. Such a restriction, however, does not hold for the dative construction, as shown by the contrast in the following pairs of examples taken from Goldberg (2006, 138, [21], [22], [24], [25]):

- (29) a. She gave him a book.
 b. ??She gave a man them.
- (30) a. She gave a book to him.
 b. She gave it to a man.

As has been claimed by previous studies of data from various corpora, that the recipient argument is a secondary topic is evidenced by its rare introduction of a new participant into a discourse, its tendency to be pronominal or definite, and its attributes of being animate and being presupposed.

Another case investigated by Goldberg (2006, 167ff) has to do with subject-auxiliary inversion. A wide array of formal idiosyncrasies are observed with this particular pattern in English, including yes/no questions, non-subject *wh*-questions, counterfactual conditionals, sentences with initial negative adverbs, exclamatives, comparatives, negative conjuncts, and positive rejoinders. However, Goldberg argues that regularities can be detected when functional motivations are taken into consideration. The dominant feature of this particular pattern is the attribute of being non-positive, and therefore all the seemingly idiosyncratic constructions are motivated by a radial network.

What is held by Goldberg (2006) accords with what is claimed by Lambrecht (1994, 2001) that information structure should be considered as a part of grammar once we are cognizant of the functions that constructions convey. Accordingly, the construction in question—carrying a focus within a topic with a remarkably non-canonical word order—provides a device of information management. As

maintained previously, the *lien5...ya3/du3* construction is used for both topicalizing and focalizing the fronted noun phrase, with *lien5* being associated with the element which is being focused on within the topicalized element. Focus often signifies a piece of information specially marked as the most informative portion of the sentence for the hearer to easily recognize. The item that is focused on within the topic in such a construction gives rise to a contrast, highlighting the highly informative topic. The construction can therefore be viewed as a linguistic device of information management to enhance the informative value of the form in question. The following examples, repeated from (24) and (25), can clearly demonstrate the function this construction expresses.

(31) [真好食！連舌嚙也強強想愛吞落去。]

Ziin1 ho2-siit8! Lien5 sat8-ma5 ya3 kiong5-kiong5 xiong2 oi3 tun1 lok8 hi3.

really yummy LIEN tongue YA almost think want swallow fall go

‘(The food) was really yummy! Even my tongue was almost swallowed by me.’

This example is taken from a person who was exclaiming how delicious the food was in the night market. The usage of the *lien5...ya3* construction in this case goes as follows. The yummy dishes were all eaten up, including almost even the speaker’s own tongue. No matter how delicious the food was, it was very unlikely that the speaker could possibly eat his or her own tongue. The metaphor *eating-one’s-own-tongue* further emphasizes how delicious the food was. Consider another example below:

(32) [羅鴨仔逐擺就講：「烏色盡高貴。」故所，佢準備一身烏衫，一雙烏鞋，一頂烏帽仔，連唇膏都係烏个。]

Lo5-ap2-e5 dak4-bai2 ciu3 gong2 [vul-set4 cin3 go5-gui3]. Gu3-so2, gi5 zun2-pi3 yit4 siin5 vul sam3, yit4 sung5 vul hai5, yit4 dang2 vul mo3-e5, lien5 sun5-go1 du3 he3 vul ge3.

Raven always then say black most elegant therefore she prepare one body black clothes one pair black shoes one head black hat, LIEN lipstick DU is black NOM

‘The raven always says: “Black is the most elegant color.” Therefore, she prepares herself a black suit, a pair of black shoes, a black hat, and even the lipstick she wears is black.’

This case is a fairy tale with two characters—a raven and a tiger. The description here is to show how the raven dresses herself up to attend a banquet prepared by the tiger. The *lien5* constituent, identifying the focus within the topic of the last clause, emphasizes the lipstick. *Du3*, associating with the topical constituent to its left, distributes everything prepared by the raven. The construction denotes that all the items prepared by the raven, the lipstick included, are black. The lipstick is the least likely item to be black, and is located at the extreme end of the scale.

The two examples are taken from a Hakka corpus, which reflects the authentic usage of native Hakka speakers. While it is usually assumed that *ya3* and *du3* are interchangeable in this construction, data show that each of them is used according to certain conditions, which correlate with their semantic features. On the one hand, *ya3* tends to occur when the previous discourse clearly specifies the element that the *lien5* constituent may be added up to. On the other, when more elements are mentioned in the previous context, *du3* tends to be chosen in order to distribute over each individual item mentioned in the discourse. Cross-reference with Mandarin data of the corresponding *lian2...ye3/dou1* construction support the same observation. Consider the following cases, in which the first two are Hakka and the last two are Mandarin:

- (33) [毋過燕國到趙國非常遠，這兜細人耐毋荷，故所毋單淨無學著邯鄲人
个步法，連自家本來行路个方法也毋記得了，續像龜仔樣用爬著轉著燕
國。]¹⁰

*M5-go3 yen5-guet4 do3 ceu3-guet4 fi1-song5 yen2 lia2-deu2 se3-ngin5
nai3-m5-ho5 gu3-so2 m5-dan1-ciang3 mo5 hok8-do2 hon5-dan2 ngin5 ge3
pu3-fap4 lien5 cii3-ga1 bun2-loi5 hang5-lu3 ge3 fong1-fap4 ya3
m5-gi3-det4 le5 sa3 ciong3 guil-e2 yong3 yiung3 pa5-den2 zon2-den2
yen5-guet4*

nevertheless the State of Yan PREP the State of Zhao very far these child
stand NEG POT so NEG only NEG learn-ASP Handan people POSS
walking style LIEN oneself original walk POSS manner YA forget PART
instead like turtle shape use crawl-ASP return-ASP the State of Yan

¹⁰ This example is taken from *Hakka Monthly* (Huang 2005).

‘Nevertheless, it’s very far to walk from the State of Yan to the State of Zhao. These kids couldn’t stand the long-distance trip. Therefore, they didn’t learn the way of walking of the Handan people. What’s worse, they even forgot their own way of walking. Consequently, they had to crawl like turtles back to the State of Yan.’

- (34) [這個孫呀，也連這私廳都愛賣咧啦！] ¹¹

Lia2 ge3 sun1 ngal ya3 lien5 lia2 sii1-tang1 du3 oi3 mai3 le5 la5

This CL grandson PART also LIEN this personal living room DU want sell
PART PART

‘This grandson! He wanted to sell even this personal living room (that belonged to this branch of family!)’

- (35) [腫瘤有良性及惡性兩種，世界上除了人會長腫瘤以外，連動植物也有可能生長腫瘤。]

*Zhong3-liu2 you3 liang2-xing4 ji2 e4-xing4 liang3 zhong3 shi4-jie4 shang4
chu2-le ren2 hui2 zhang3 zhong3-liu2 yi3-wai4 lian2 dong4-zhi2-wu4 ye3
you3 ke3-neng2 sheng1-zhang3 zhong3-liu2*

Tumor have benign and malignant two CL world on besides human will
grow tumor except LIAN animal and plant YE have possible grow tumor

‘There are two kinds of tumors—benign or malignant ones. In the world, apart from human beings, even animals and plants can also have tumors grow in their bodies.’

- (36) [他可以預測人的死亡存活，禍福壽夭，其準無比，連年月日都能推算出來。] ¹²

*Ta1 ke3-yi3 yu4-ce4 ren2 de si3 wang2 cun2 huo2 huo4 fu2 shou4 yao1 qi2
zhun3 wu2 bi3 lian2 nian2 yue4 ri4 dou1 neng2 tui1-suan4 chu1-lai4*

He can predict human POSS death existence life calamity bliss life
expectancy its accuracy NEG comparison LIAN year month day DOU can
calculate out come

¹¹ This example is taken from *Dongshi Hakka Stories*, vol. 7 (Xu 2003, 114).

¹² Both example (35) and example (36) are taken from Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese.

‘He can accurately state when you were born and predict when you are going to die. He can also accurately predict how long you are going to live and when a calamity will happen to you or good things will come. He can even calculate the exact day, month and year for the happenings of those things.’

Let us consider examples (33) and (35) first with *ya3* or *ye3*. In (33), the context brings up two elements on the scale to be compared—the way of walking by the people of the State of Yan and of that by the people of the State of Zhao. The particle *ya3* ‘also’ is hence chosen by the speaker when the context clearly brings out the presupposition of the existence of the other element on the scale. The construction with *lien5...ya3* together then conveys meaning that the *lien5* item is the least likely one on the scale. Similarly, in (35), the two elements being compared in the context are human beings vs. animals and plants. Thus, *ye3* is chosen in this context. In addition, the *chu2le...yi3wai4* construction in the previous sentence clearly indicates the item to be compared with the *lian2* constituent in the *lian2...ye3* construction.

On the other hand, in (34) and (36), the context is mostly geared towards distributive readings. In (34), the items that are sold by the grandson are implied instead of expressed. The context, however, brings up the meaning that the grandson has already sold off all the items previously owned by the family, even including the private living room that belonged to this branch of family. The co-occurrence of *lien5* and *du3* brings out not only a distributive meaning but also the attribute of unexpectedness. Several particles in the context also help intensify the surprised reaction of the speaker. Likewise, in (36), the predictive power of the person is so amazingly accurate that it may cover every single happening in one’s life, and if that were not surprising enough, he can even calculate the exact time of all the happenings. The context again clearly brings up not only a distributive meaning but also the attribute of unexpectedness that such a situation could possibly be due to the co-occurrence of *lian2* and *doul*.¹³

¹³ The context information provided in examples (33), (34), (35) and (36) supports the argumentation that there remain some subtle meaning differences between *ya3* and *du3*: *ya3* tends to be used in comparative context while *du3* tends to be employed in distributive

5. Conclusion

In this study, it is argued that three particles in Hakka—*lien5*, *ya3*, and *du3*—have developed a newly grammaticalized construction with *lien5* associated with a focus within the topic at the clause-initial position or the position between the subject noun phrase and the verb to serve a particular pragmatic function. The *lien5...ya3/du3* construction requires a topicalized constituent for *lien5* to associate with the focused element in the topic. The additive marker *ya3* relates to the element identified by *lien5*. The distributive marker *du3* distributes over the element identified by *lien5*. The construction denotes inclusion of the item that is associated with *lien5* as a member of the biggest sum individual and at the same time renders the entity as the extreme value. The combination of *lien5* and *ya3* further presupposes that the alternatives that do not contain the focus also satisfy the predication. The combination of *lien5* and *du3* expresses that each atomic part of the biggest sum individual satisfies the predication.

Furthermore, it is also maintained that the meaning of *lien5...ya3/du3* construction interacts with the Gricean notion of informativeness. The *lien5* constituent denotes the biggest sum individual and hence yields the most specific and the most informative assertion. The felicity of uttering the construction in question interacts with the background knowledge shared by speaker and hearer at the time of the utterance. The focus associated with *lien5* has to be the least likely value assumed by the background conditions. In addition, in both topicalizing and focalizing the fronted element, this construction with its special word order serves as a linguistic device of information management to increase the informative value in regard to the topic in question. The analysis not only captures the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics of the *lien5...ya3/du3* construction but also incorporates the discourse function of it in light of the satisfaction of the background knowledge. In addition, based on an examination of larger discourses contained within a corpus, this study also

environment. Similarly, the corresponding lexical items *ye3* and *doul* in Mandarin Chinese show differences in scalar presupposition, informativeness, and polarity licensing, as indicated by Chen (2005). However, due to the sparseness of the data, no significant statistic evidence can be provided in this paper to validate this point. This will be left for future studies.

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speculates that the choice between *ya3* and *du3* may not be completely random but is influenced by context. More empirical evidence with larger corpora or experimental evidence will certainly help strengthen the proposal. Such an endeavor, however, will be left for future study.

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以構式為訊息管理的策略—— 客語「連……也／都」構式之分析

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本文採用構式語法與語用的互動，分析客語「連……也／都」構式，提出以下論點：首先，本構式由兩個助詞搭配而成一個固定的構式，其句法及語意也借助搭配而成。此構式乃是運用「連」連結一個必須前置的主題的手段，同時也在這個主題內標示一個焦點因而形成「對比主題」。其次，本構式的語意同時包括「包含」及「極度」，前者的語意由「連」的語意演變而來，後者則是構式整合之後產生的語意。是以，使用這個構式的適切性與否端視這個構式的語意是否符合一般言談的原則而定，亦即這個構式出現的言談情境必須能明確表示「連」所標示的焦點是背景知識中最不可能發生的。最後，本文指出這個構式藉著「連」及「也／都」的合用把「連」所連結的元素主題化並焦點化，不僅改變詞序也改變訊息焦點，這樣的特殊語言形式有其特定的語用功能，是語言使用者為達有效溝通目的而用來管理訊息的一個策略。

關鍵詞：對比主題 最大公約數 量的準則 構式語法 訊息管理策略