Ditransitive Constructions in Cantonese: The Give-construction as the Non-Prototypical Example

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1. Introduction

- The default definition for a ditransitive construction is almost invariably 'a construction like the give-construction'.
- While the give-construction is the most representative example of such constructions in most languages, this is definitely not the case in Cantonese. In fact, in Cantonese, the give-construction is the *only* construction that deviates from other ditransitive constructions.

2. The Syntax of Ditransitive Constructions in Cantonese

- Following Malchukov et al. (in preparation), a ditransitive construction is assumed to be one with the following argument structure:
- (1) V <Agent, Recipient, Theme>
- There are two ways to code the recipient and theme arguments in Cantonese.

(2)	V < NP < NP (Double Object Construction)
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ngo	gaau	keoi	zungman ¹					
1.sg	teach	3.sg	Chinese ²					
		Rpt	Th					
'I teach him/her Chinese.'								

(3) V < Theme-NP < BEI < Recipient-NP (Serial Verb Construction)

			syu		
1.sg	pass	CL	book	BEI^3	3.sg
_	-	Т	ĥ		Rpt

'I passed him/her a/the book.'

¹ All examples in Cantonese are romanized following the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong (2003). romanization scheme. Tones are omitted if they are not relevant to the present discussion.

² Symbols and abbreviations used in this paper:

x < y = x precedes y; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; CL = classifier; perf = perfective aspect; prt = sentence-final particle; REL = relative clause marker; Rpt = recipient role; Sg = singular number; Th = theme role.

³ There is no consensus in the literature on the categorial status of *bei*. Some argue that *bei* should be best treated as a verb (Yip and Matthews 2007), while others think that it is a preposition (Tang 1993; Xu and Peyraube 1997). Matthews and Yip (1994:60-62) give a general overview of the problem in Cantonese. Ross (1993) discusses the same problem in Mandarin in greater detail. We adopt the position that *bei* should best be treated as a verb, and structures like [V NP *bei* NP] are serial verb constructions. We will leave the gloss for *bei* in a [V NP *bei* NP] structure as BEI.

- The two types of construction in (2) and (3) are not alternative constructions.
 - Each ditransitive verb is associated with one construction or the other, but not both.
 - There does not seem to be any ditransitive verb which can freely appear in both constructions without causing any change in meaning.
- A classification of ditransitive verbs is shown in (4). It is based on the syntactic realization of the recipient and theme roles:
- (4) a. Verbs which can only appear in the [V < NP < NP] structure (double object construction): *Bei* 'give', *gaau* 'teach', *fat* 'fine', *sau* 'collect', *man* 'ask', *daap* 'answer', *him/zaang* 'owe'
 - b. Verbs which can only appear in the [V < Theme-NP < BEI < Recipient-NP] structure (serial verb construction)
 Dai 'pass', cyun 'pass', paai 'distribute', waan 'return', zaau 'refund', maai5 'buy', maai6 'sell', zou 'lease', ze 'lend', daai 'bring', lo 'take', gei 'mail/send', sung 'give as a gift', dinjau 'e-mail', cyunzan 'fax', deu/paau 'throw', ling 'carry', teoi 'push', gyun 'donate'
- We will only focus on the first type of ditransitive constructions, i.e. those formed with verbs in (4a).

2.1 Structural Order of Arguments (give vs. others)

- Cantonese, and Chinese languages in general, do not have case-marking or agreement morphology.
- The relation between the head verb and its dependents is not coded in any way.
 - The structural order of the two post-verbal arguments seems to be the only mechanism to tell the arguments apart.
- Complication: the theme argument or the recipient argument cannot be associated with a fixed position with reference to the verb.
- The key problem is that the order of the arguments in a *give*-construction is *different* from that in other ditransitive constructions.
- The *give*-construction in Cantonese is the *only* ditransitive construction that displays a peculiar order of arguments:
- (5) 'Give'
 - Theme-NP < Recipient-NP a. ngo bei-zo bun syu ngo gaaze elder.sister give-perf CL book 1.sg 1.sg 'I gave the book to my elder sister.' *Recipient-NP < Theme-NP b. *ngo bei-zo ngo gaaze bun syu CL 1.sg give-perf 1.sg elder.sister book

(6) Other ditransitive constructions

a. 'Teach'

(i)	Recip	ient-NP <	< Theme-NP							
	ngo	gaau	siupangjau	zungman						
	1.sg	teach	children	Chinese						
	'I teach children Chinese.'									
(ii)										
. /			*							

*ngo	gaau	zungman	siupangjau
1.sg	teach	Chinese	children

b. 'Owe'

(i)	Recipient-NP < Theme-NP										
	ngo	zaang	ngo	go	tungsi	3000	man				
	1.sg	owe	1.sg	CL	colleague	3000	dollar				
	'I owe my colleague 3000 dollars.'										
(ii)	*Them	he-NP < F	Recipien	t-NP							
	*ngo	zaang	3000	man	ngo	go	tungsi				
	1.sg	owe	3000	dolla	r 1.sg	CL	colleague				

(7) Summary of facts

-	bei 'give'	gaau 'teach'	zaang 'owe'
Linear Order of Arguments	Th < Rpt	Rpt -	< Th

2.2 Effect of Grammatical Weight

■ In addition to having a unique ordering, the post-verbal arguments in a *bei* 'give'-construction behave differently under the effect of weight⁴.

2.2.1 Heavy Theme-NP

a.

(8) 'give' + heavy theme-NP

Heav	Heavy NP remains in the same position									
ngo	bei-zo	jat	bun	jau	cung	jau	hau			
1.sg	give-perf	one	CL	also	heavy	also	thick			
ge	jyujinho	k	gaauf	osyu	keoi					
GE^5	linguistic	s	textbo	ok	3.sg					

'I gave him/her a thick, heavy linguistics textbook.'

⁴ That *bei* 'give' might behave differently under the effect of weight was pointed out by Tom Wasow.

⁵ It is rather difficult to gloss *ge*. Very generally, it can be considered a kind of associative marker. In this example, for instance, the noun 'linguistics textbook' is associated with the property of being heavy and thick. The whole phrase *jat bun jau cung jau hau ge jyujinhok gaaufosyu* 'a thick, heavy linguistics textbook' is an NP.

Ge also marks possession, as in keoi ge si 'his/her matter/story'. When it does, the structure can be interpreted as a noun being associated with a possessor.

b. Heavy theme-NP becomes phrase-final

ngo	bei-zo	keoi	<u>jat</u>	bun	jau	cung	jau	hau
1.sg	give-perf	3. sg	one	CL	also	heavy	also	thick

ge jyujinhok gaaufosyu GE linguistics textbook

'I gave him/her a thick, heavy linguistics textbook.'

c. Heavy theme-NP remains in the same position, with another instance of bei following it ngo bei-zo jat bun jau cung jau hau heavy 1. sg give-perf one CL also also thick

ge	jyujinhok	gaaufosyu	bei	keoi
GE	linguistics	textbook	BEI	3. sg

'I gave him/her a thick, heavy linguistics textbook.'

(9)	*ngo	bei-zo	bun	syu	bei	keoi
	1.sg	give-perf	CL	book	BEI	3.sg

- For other ditransitive verbs, the weight of the theme-NP does not, however, affect the order of the two post-verbal arguments.
- (10) 'owe' + heavy theme-NP

a.

Heavy NP remains in the same position										
ngo	zaang	keoi	<u>gei</u>	bun	soeng	nin	sapjyut	<u>ceotbaan</u>		
1.sg	owe	3.sg	few	CL	last year	ten	month	publish		

gwaanjyu gingzaihok ge syu about economics GE book

'I owe him/her a few books about economics which were published in October last year.'

b. Heavy theme-NP switches position with recipient-NP

*ngo zaang <u>gei bun soeng nin sap jyut ceotbaan</u> 1.sg owe few CL last year ten month publish

gwaanjyu gingzaihok ge syu keoi about economics GE book 3.sg

c. Heavy theme-NP in non-canonical immediately post-verbal position, with another instance of *bei* preceding phrase-final recipient-NP

*ngo	zaang	gei	bun	soeng	nin	sap	jyut	<u>ceotbaan</u>
1.sg	owe	few	CL	last	year	ten	month	publish
-					•			-
<u>gwaar</u>	njyu g	gingza	ihok	ge	syu	bei 🛛	keoi	

<u>swaanjy</u> u	Singlamok	SU	Syu	$\mathcal{DC}i$	RCOI
about	economics	GE	book	BEI	3.sg

(11) 'teach' + heavy theme-NP

a. Heavy NP remains in the same position

ngo	gaau	keoi	<u>jat</u>	cin	lin	cin	ge	gudoi	<u>honjyu</u>
1.sg	teach	3.sg	one	thousand	year	ago	GE	ancient	Chinese

'I teach her the kind of ancient Chinese which was used 1000 years ago.'

b.	Heavy theme-NP switches position with recipient-NP									
	*ngo gaau	jat	cin	lin	cin	ge	gudoi	<u>honjyu</u>	keoi	
	1.sg teach	one	thousand	year	ago	GE	ancient	Chinese	3.sg	

c. Heavy theme-NP in non-canonical immediately post-verbal position, with another instance of *bei* preceding phrase-final recipient-NP
 *ngo gaau jat cin lin cin ge gudoi honjyu bei keoi
 1.sg teach one thousand year ago GE ancient Chinese BEI 3.sg

2.2.2 Heavy Recipient-NP

■ This is not a factor that affects the ordering of post-verbal arguments in a ditransitive construction:

(12) 'give' + heavy recipient-NP

a.	Heavy	recipient-Nl	1				
	ngo	bei-zo	bun	syu	<u>go</u>	go	ngaamngaam
	1.sg	give-perf	CL	book	REL	CL	just

haang	jap	lai	ge	leoizai
walk	enter	come	GE	girl

'I gave a book to the girl who just walked in.'

b. Heavy recipient-NP in non-canonical position *ngo bei-zo **go go ngaamngaam** 1.sg give-perf REL CL just

haang	jap	lai	ge	<u>leoizai</u>	bun	syu
walk	enter	come	GE	girl	CL	book

c. Heavy recipient-NP in canonical position, preceded by another instance of *bei* ngo bei-zo bun syu *bei* go go
 1.sg give-perf CL book BEI REL CL

<u>ngaamngaam</u>	haang	jap	lai	ge	leoizai
just	walk	enter	come	GE	girl

(13)	'ov	ve' + he	eavy rec	ipient	t-NP									
	a.	Heavy	recipie	nt-NP	' in ca	nonical	positio	n						
		ngo	zaang	<u>co</u>	ngo	gaakle	i san	lai	go	go	tungsi	gei	bun	syu
		1.sg	owe	sit	1.sg	side	new	come	REL	L CL	colleague	e few	CL	book
		'I owe	the new	v colle	eague	who sit	s next t	o me a	few b	ooks.	1			
	b.	-	-			n-canor	-		-					
		*ngo	zaang	gei	bun	syu	<u>co ng</u>	o gaal	<u>klei</u> s	san 🛛	lai go	g0	tu	<u>ngsi</u>
		1.sg	owe	few	CL	book	sit 1.s	g side	r	new	come RE	L CI	L CO	lleague
(11)		Heavy ngo	•	nt-NP <u>go</u>	in ca go	heavy ro nonical <u>ngaa</u> just	-	n	<u>ang</u> Ilk	jap ente		<u>ge</u> GE		
		<u>leoizai</u> girl	i honj <u>y</u> Chin											
		'I teac	h the gi	rl who	o just	walked	in Chin	ese.'						
	b.	*ngo g	aau h	onjyu	ı <u>go</u>	on-canor go CL CL	ngaan		<u>n</u> ha	sition ang alk	jap la	<u>i</u> ome		

ge leoizai GE girl

2.2.3 Heavy Recipient-NP and Heavy Theme-NP

- When both the theme-NP and the recipient-NP are heavy, the give-construction once again behaves differently from a typical ditransitive construction.
- (15) 'give' + heavy theme-NP + heavy recipient-NP
 - a. Heavy NPs remain in canonical positions (same behaviour as 'give' + heavy theme-NP and 'give' + heavy recipient-NP)

ngo	bei-zo	<u>jat</u>	bun	jau	cung	jau	hau
1.sg	give-perf	one	CL	also	heavy	also	thick
U	0 1						
ge	jyujinho	k	gaau	fosyu	<u>go</u>	g	<u>{0</u>
GE	linguistic	cs	textbo	ook	REL	(CL
ngaa	mngaam	haa	ng	jap	lai	ge	leoizai
just		wall	K	enter	come	GE	girl

'I gave a thick, heavy linguistics textbook to the girl who just walked into the room.'

b.	b. Heavy NPs switch positions (same behaviour as 'give' + heavy theme-NP)											
	ngo	bei-zo		go	go	ngaa	amngaai	m	ha	ang		
	-	give-pe	rf		CL	, just			wa	walk		
	jap	lai	ge	leoiza	ai	jat	bun	jau	cung	jau	hau	
	enter	come	GE	girl		one	CL	also	heavy	also	thick	
				-					-			
	ge	jyuji	inhok		gaau	fosyu						
	GE	lingu	iistics		textb	ook						
	'I gave	-			uistic	s textb	ook to th	ne girl v	who ius	t walk	ed into the room.'	
	0		,	5 0				0	J			
c.	Inserti	ng anot	her in	stance	of be	i betwe	een a hea	avy the	me-NP	and a	heavy recipient-NP (same	
0.		U					and 'giv	•				
	ngo	bei-zo	0		bun	jau	cung	_	hau	erpren		
	0				CL	also		y also				
	1. sg	give-pe		one	CL	aiso	neavy		UNCK			
						P	, .					
	ge		inhok			fosyu	bei			<u>to</u>		
	GE	lingu	istics		textb	ook	BE	I RE	EL C	CL		
	<u>ngaar</u>	nngaam	1	haan	g	jap	lai	ge	leoizai	i		
	just			walk		enter	come	GE	girl			

'I gave a thick, heavy linguistics textbook to the girl who just walked into the room.'

(16) 'owe' + heavy theme-NP + heavy recipient-NP

a. Heavy NPs remain in canonical positions (same behaviour as 'owe' + heavy theme-NP and 'owe' + heavy recipient-NP)

ngo	zaang	co	ngo	gaaklei	san	lai	go	go	tungsi
1.sg	owe	sit	1.sg	side	new	come	REL	CL	colleague

geibunsoengninsapjyutceotbaangwaanjyugingzaihokgesyufewCLlastyeartenmonthpublishabouteconomicsGEbook

'I owe the new colleague who sits next to me a few books about economics which were published in October last year.'

b. Heavy NPs switch positions (same behaviour as 'owe' + heavy theme-NP and 'owe' + heavy recipient-NP)

*ngo	zaang	gei	bun	soeng	nin	S	<u>ap jyu</u>	t	ceotbaa	<u>n</u>		
1.sg	owe	few	CL	last	vea	r te	en moi	ıth	publish			
0			-		5				I			
awoor	iun ain	zaiho	k go		00 n	a 0	gooldo	con	lai	a 0	G 0	tungsi
gwaai	<u>njyu ging</u>	gzamu	к де	syu	CO II	go	gaakie	Sal	lai	go	go	<u>tungsi</u>
about	ec	onomi	ics GE	book	sit 1	.sg	side	nev	v come	REL	CL	colleague

- (17) 'teach' + heavy theme-NP + heavy recipient-NP
 - a. Heavy NPs remain in canonical positions (same behaviour as 'teach' + heavy theme-NP and 'teach' + heavy recipient-NP)

ngo ga	aau	<u>go go</u>	ngaar	<u>nngaa</u>	<u>m</u>]	haang	jap	lai	ge
1.sg te	each	REL CL	just		ľ	walk	enter	come	GE
leoizai	iat	cin	lin	cin	ge	gudoi	ho	njvu	
		thousand							

'I teach the girl who just walked in the kind of ancient Chinese which was used 1000 years ago.'

b. Heavy NPs switch positions (same behaviour as 'ask' + heavy theme-NP and 'ask' + heavy recipient-NP)

*ngo gaau	<u>jat</u>	cin	lin	cin	ge	gudoi	<u>honjyu</u>
1.sg teach	one	thousand	year	ago	GE	ancient	Chinese

go	go	ngaamngaam	haang	jap	lai	ge	leoizai
REL	CL	just	walk	enter	come	GE	girl

(18) Summary of facts

	bei 'give'	gaau 'teach'	zaang 'owe'	
Effect of Weight	Heavy NP (regardless	All arguments must be in canonical positions.		
on Post-verbal	of semantic role) in	Weight does not affect		
Arguments	phrase-final position	the order of post-verbal arguments.		

2.3 Relativization

- Example (19b) shows how the theme-NP in a monotransitive construction is relativized in Cantonese.
 - A gap is left in the canonical position of the argument, and the head follows the relative clause. The head is preceded by (i) the gapped clause, (ii) the relativization marker *go*, which is identical in form with the demonstrative pronoun for 'that', and (iii) the classifier of the head noun.
- (19) a. A monotransitive construction ngo kamjat gin-dou go jan
 1.sg yesterday see-able CL person
 'I saw a person yesterday.'
 - b. Relativization of the theme-NP in a monotransitive construction kamjat gin-dou lai-zo ngo go go jan 1.sg yesterday see-able REL CL person come-perf 'The person that I saw yesterday came.'
- With respect to relativization, the arguments in a give-construction behave just like those in any other ditransitive construction.

- In all ditransitive constructions, it is the theme argument that patterns with the theme argument in a monotransitive construction when the theme argument is relativized on, the gap strategy is employed.
- The recipient argument, however, cannot be relativized using the gap strategy. A resumptive pronoun must fill the canonical position of the recipient argument, which is after both the verb and the theme-NP in the case of 'give', and immediately following the verb in all other cases.
 - The structure becomes ungrammatical if the resumptive pronoun is omitted.
- (20) a. A ditransitive construction 'give'
 ngo kamjat bei-zo bun syu keoi
 1.sg yesterday give-perf CL book 3.sg
 'I gave a book to him/her yesterday.'
 - Relativization of the theme-NP in a give-construction b. kamjat bei keoi bun [ngo go syu] laan-zo 1.sg yesterday give 3.sg REL CL book break-perf 'The book that I gave him yesterday is torn/damaged.'
 - Relativization of the recipient-NP in a give-construction с. [ngo kamjat bei bun syu keoi jan] lai-zo go go CL 1.sg vesterday give book 3.sg REL CL come-perf person 'The person who I gave a book to came.'
 - d. Relativization of the recipient-NP in a give-construction without any resumptive pronoun go lai-zo * [ngo kamjat bei bun syu go jan] yesterday give CL book REL CL 1.sg person come-perf
- (21) a. A ditransitive construction 'teach' [Repeating (6a(i))]
 ngo gaau siupangjau zungman
 1.sg teach children Chinese
 'I teach children Chinese.'
 - b. Relativization of the theme-NP in a give-construction [ngo gaau go baan siupangjau go di zungman] hou sam
 1.sg teach that CL children REL CL Chinese very difficult 'The (kind of) Chinese that I teach that group of children is very difficult.'
 - c. Relativization of the recipient-NP in a give-construction
 [ngo gaau <u>keoi-dei</u> zungman go baan siupangjau] hou cungming
 1.sg teach 3-PL Chinese that CL children very smart
 'The group of children to whom I teach Chinese are very smart.'
 - d. Relativization of the recipient-NP in a give-construction without any resumptive pronoun *[ngo gaau zungman go baan siupangjau] hou cungming 1.sg teach Chinese that CL children very smart
- (22) a. A ditransitive construction 'owe' [Repeating (6b(i))] ngo zaang ngo go tungsi 3000 man 1.sg owe 1.sg CL colleague 3000 dollar 'I owe my colleague 3000 dollars.'

- b. Relativization of the theme-NP in a give-construction
 [ngo zaang ngo go tungsi go 3000 man] hai toi-min
 1.sg owe 1.sg CL colleague REL 3000 dollar be table-top
 'The 3000 dollars which I owe my colleague are on the table.'
- c. Relativization of the recipient-NP in a give-construction
 [ngo zaang <u>keoi</u> 3000 man] go go tungsi zau-zo
 1.sg owe 3.sg 3000 dollar REL CL colleague leave-perf
 'The colleague to whom I owe 3000 dollars has left.'
- Relativization of the recipient-NP in a give-construction without any resumptive pronoun
 *[ngo zaang 3000 man] go go tungsi zau-zo
 1.sg owe 3000 dollar REL CL colleague leave-perf
- (23) Summary of facts

	bei 'give'	gaau 'teach'	zaang 'owe'		
Rolativization	Th – gap (primary strategy)				
Relativization	I	Rpt – resumptive pronour	l		

2.4 Question-Formation

- Both the theme and recipient arguments in a ditransitive construction can be questioned.
- In all cases, the question words are in situ and they appear in the position of the questioned phrase.

(24) a.	A ditra	nsitive con	nstru	ction -	- 'give'	
	ngo	bei-zo		bun	syu	keoi
	1.sg	give-per	f	CL	book	3.sg
	'I gave	a book to	him	/her.'		-
b.	-				n a give	e-construction
	nei	bei-zo		matje	keoi	
	2.sg	give-per	f	what	3.sg	
	'What	t did you g	give	him/he	r?'	
с.	Questio	oning the	recip	oient-N	P in a gi	ive-construction
	nei	bei-zo	-	bun	syu	bingo
	2.sg	give-per	f	CL	book	who
	'Who	did you g	ive t	the boo	k to?'	
(25) a.	A ditra	nsitive con	nstru	ction -	· 'teach'	[Repeating (6a(i))]
	ngo	gaau	siu	pangja	u zu	ngman
	1.sg	teach	chi	ldren	Ch	ninese
	'I teac	ch children	ı Ch	inese.'		
b.	Questio	oning the t	hem	ne-NP i	n a ditra	ansitive construction
	nei	gaau	siu	pangja	u ma	atje
	2.sg	teach	chi	ldren	wł	nat
	'What	do you tea	ich t	he chil	dren?'	
с.	Questio	oning the i	recip	oient-N	P in a di	itransitive construction
	nei	gaau	bin	igo z	zungmai	n
	2.sg	teach	wh	o (Chinese	
	'Who	do you te	ach	Chines	e to?'	

- A ditransitive construction 'owe' [Repeating (6b(i))] (26) a. tungsi 3000 man ngo zaang ngo go 1.sg owe 1.sg CL colleague 3000 dollar 'I owe my colleague 3000 dollars.' Ouestioning the theme-NP in a ditransitive construction b. zaang nei tungsi matje nei go
 - nei zaang nei go tungsi **matje** 2.sg owe 2.sg CL colleague what 'What do you owe your colleague?'
 - c. Questioning the recipient-NP in a ditransitive construction nei zaang bingo 3000 man
 2.sg owe who 3000 dollar
 'Who do you owe 3000 dollars to?'
- (27) Summary of facts

	bei 'give'	gaau 'teach'	zaang 'owe'
Question-Formation		Either Th or Rpt	

2.5 Pro-drop

- Cantonese allows pro-drop, even though the head verb never shows any agreement with any of its arguments.
- The pro-dropped phrase has to be one that has been referred to in previous discourse. In other words, it must have topic status.
- (28) a. Pro-drop in a give-construction theme-NP
 - (i) nei bei-zo di syu bingo aa?
 2.sg give-perf CL book who prt
 'Who did you give the books to?'
 - (ii) go pangjau CL friend '(My) friend'
 - (iii) ngo bei-zo go pangjau 1.sg give-perf CL friend 'I gave (them) to a friend.'
 - (iv) ngo bei-zo di syu go pangjau 1.sg give-perf CL book CL friend 'I gave the books to a friend.'
 - b. Pro-drop in a give-construction recipient-NP
 - (i) nei bei-zo matje keoi aa?
 2.sg give-perf what 3.SG prt
 'What did you give him/her?'
 - (ii) ngo di gau syu 1.sg CL old book 'My old books'
 - (iii) *ngo bei-zo ngo di gau syu 1.sg give-perf 1.SG CL old book
 - (iv) ngo bei-zo ngo di gau syu keoi 1.sg give-perf 1.SG CL old book 3.sg 'I gave him/her my old books.'

- The theme-NP can be pro-dropped in a give-construction.
- The recipient-NP cannot be pro-dropped in a give-construction.
- Pro-drop in other ditransitive constructions:
- (29) a. Pro-drop in a ditransitive construction theme-NP
 - (i) nei gaau bingo zungman aa?
 2.sg teach who Chinese prt
 'Who do you teach Chinese to?'
 - (ii) jat baan m seoi ge siupangjau one CL five year-old GE children 'A group of five-year-old children'
 - (iii) ngo gaau jat baan m seoi ge siupangjau
 1.sg teach one CL five year.old GE children
 'I teach a group of five-year-old children (Chinese).'
 - (iv) ngo gaau jat baan m seoi ge siupangjau zungman 1.sg teach one CL five year.old GE children Chinese 'I teach a group of five-year-old children Chinese.'
 - b. Pro-drop in a ditransitive construction recipient-NP
 - (i) nei gaau di siupangjau matje aa?
 2.sg teach CL children what prt
 'What do you teach the children?'
 - (ii) zungman Chinese 'Chinese'
 - (iii) #ngo gaau zungman1.sg teach Chinese'I teach Chinese.' (but not 'I teach (them) Chinese.')
 - (iv) ngo gaau di siupangjau zungman 2.sg teach CL children Chinese 'I teach the children Chinese.'
- The theme-NP in a ditransitive construction with the verb *gaau* 'teach' can be pro-dropped.
- The recipient-NP cannot be pro-dropped in a ditransitive construction with the verb *gaau* 'teach'.
- (30) a. Pro-drop in a ditransitive construction theme-NP
 - (i) lei zaang bingo 3000 man?2.sg owe who 3000 dollar'Who do you owe 3000 dollars to?'
 - (ii) ngo go tungsi 1.sg CL colleague 'My colleague'
 - (iii) ngo zaang ngo go tungsi 1.sg owe 1.sg CL colleague 'I owe my colleague (3000 dollars).'
 - (iv) ngo zaang ngo go tungsi 3000 man 1.sg owe 1.sg CL colleague 3000 dollar 'I owe my colleague 3000 dollars.'

Pro-drop in a ditransitive construction - recipient-NP (i) lei zaang lei go tungsi matje? CL colleague what 2.sg owe 2.sg 'What do you owe you colleague?' (ii) 3000 man 3000 dollar '3000 dollars' 3000 man (iii) #ngo zaang 3000 dollar 1.sg owe 'I need 3000 dollars more.' (but not 'I owe (him/her) 3000 dollars.') go tungsi 3000 (iv) ngo zaang ngo man CL colleague 3000 dollar 1.sg owe 1.sg 'I owe my colleague 3000 dollars.'

■ Again, it is possible to pro-drop the theme-NP of a ditransitive construction, but not the recipient-NP.

(31) Summary of facts

b.

	<i>bei</i> 'give'	gaau 'teach'	zaang 'owe'
Pro-drop	Th only	Rpt can be pro-dro	h; pped syntactically, ng changes

3. Conclusion

■ We have looked at the syntax of the theme argument and the recipient argument in ditransitive constructions in Cantonese in a number of phenomena.

(32) Summary of All Properties

Verb	<i>bei</i> 'give'	gaau 'teach'	zaang 'owe'			
Property		Suur teach	Junity office			
Linear Order	Th < Dnt	Dnt	< Th			
of Arguments	Th < Rpt	Rpt < Th				
Effect of Weight	Heavy NP (regardless					
on Post-verbal	of semantic role) in	All arguments in canonical positions				
Arguments	phrase-final position					
Relativization	Th – gap (primary strategy)					
Kelativization	Rpt – resumptive pronoun					
Question-Formation		Either Th or Rpt				
		Th;				
Pro-drop	Th only	Th only Rpt can be pro-dropped syntactically.				
		but meaning changes				

- The syntax of the give-construction contrasts with that of other ditransitive constructions the give-construction is *not the prototypical ditransitive construction* in Cantonese.
 - In two respects, it is the *only* exception to the behaviour of ditransitive constructions in the language:
 - It is the theme argument, but not the recipient argument, that immediately follows the verb 'give'. Cantonese as a language does *not* have an exceptional order of non-subject arguments in ditransitive constructions, the verb *bei* 'give' in this language, and this verb *only*, does.
 - ♦ In all other ditransitive constructions, the recipient argument is the argument that is adjacent to the verb. The theme argument is the final one in the construction. This order is just as the one identified for ditransitive constructions in many other languages.
 - Under the effect of weight, the arguments in a give-construction are the only ones that can switch positions such that the heavy NP is in final position in the clause. Weight does not seem to affect the other ditransitive constructions.
- When it comes to relativization, question formation and pro-drop, the give-construction behaves in similar ways to other ditransitive constructions. The difference is between the theme argument and the recipient argument in a ditransitive construction, rather than between the give-construction and all other ditransitive constructions.

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