行政院國家科學委員會補助專題研究計畫成果報告

客語近義動詞之詞彙化類型

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中文摘要

本研究以 Lai (2000)對客語打類動詞之研究為基礎，並採用 Talmy (2000)之力學架構來檢視此類動詞中，「力」是如何表現，並進一步分析語意內涵「力」和打類動詞句法行為表現上之對應關係。分析後有以下兩點發現：第一，客語打類動詞主要可區分為兩種力學類型，其一為 ONSET CAUSATION 類型（施打者之施力大於受打者之抗力），其二為 ONSET DESPITE 類型（施打者之施力小於受打者之抗力）。第二，我們可藉由客語「分」字句、「.7」字句、評量副詞以及動詞出現之上下文看出語意內涵「力」與打類動詞句法行為表現之對應情形。本研究由力學角度出發，為客語打類動詞提供較為縝密完備之分析方式，並針對 Talmy 的理論提出修正與補充，以強化 Lai 之分析的周延性。

關鍵詞： 力學、詞彙化、客語打類動詞、客語忍類動詞、客語促類動詞

Abstract

Developing Lai's (2000) study on the verbs of hitting in Hakka, this research, adopting Talmy's (2000a) force-dynamic framework, examines not only how force is manifested in verbs of hitting in Hakka, but also what the correlation between the semantic content FORCE and the syntactic manifestation is. From the examinations of these verbs, two general points become clear. First, two major force-dynamic patterns are involved in verbs of hitting in Hakka, one ONSET CAUSATION pattern (force of the hitter > force of the hittee), and the other ONSET DESPITE pattern (force of the hitter < force of the hittee). Furthermore, the correlation between the semantic component FORCE and the syntactic manifestation is demonstrated by Hakka BUN-construction, adverbs of evaluation, adverbs of justification, and the contexts. After examining these verbs from a force-dynamic perspective, this research provides a finer-grained analysis for verbs of hitting in Hakka, and most importantly, modifies Talmy's framework as a foundation for developing Lai's analysis.

Keywords: force-dynamics, lexicalized implicature, ONSET CAUSATION, ONSET DESPITE, Hakka verbs of hitting, Hakka verbs of refraining, Hakka verbs of urging
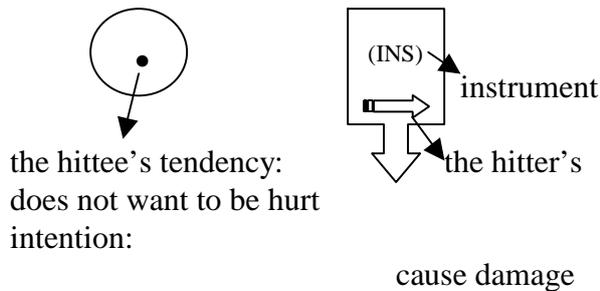
I. Motivation and purpose

To explore the interaction between the semantic content of FORCE and its syntactic realizations, Lai (2000) gives a fine-grained analysis of the 26 verbs of hitting in Hakka—*vong, vok, tong, san, biang, biak, biet, pong, cui, zem, zung, gok, eu, lun, mut, mak, pan, lot, cu, xiu, git, kiak, cut, guek, tui,* and *fut*. She concludes that MEANS OF HITTING and FORCE OF HITTING are two major semantic components, figuring characteristically in the syntactic properties of these verbs. One issue concerning exactly how force is manifested in these verbs, however, remains unexplored. Besides, verbs of hitting belong to the

psychological/physical domain of force-dynamic opposition proposed by Talmy. To give an extensive research of the linguistic manifestation of force dynamics, this project further examines verbs of refraining (*nai*, *ngiun*, *ai*, *kiuk*, *it*, *ben*, *an*) and verbs of urging (*tsui*, *bet*, *tsuk*, *tsak*, *kiuk*, *hiap*, *gam*)—the former in the intrapsychological and the latter in the interpsychological domain. Therefore, based on Lai's study, this study, adopting and modifying Talmy's (2000a) force-dynamic framework, has the following purposes. First, it demonstrates the force-dynamic patterns of these three domains by examining the three types of verbs in Hakka. Second, it investigates the correlation between the semantic component FORCE and the syntactic manifestation of them. However, to simplify the presentation, the report will exemplify only the group from verbs of hitting.

II. Modification of Talmy's framework

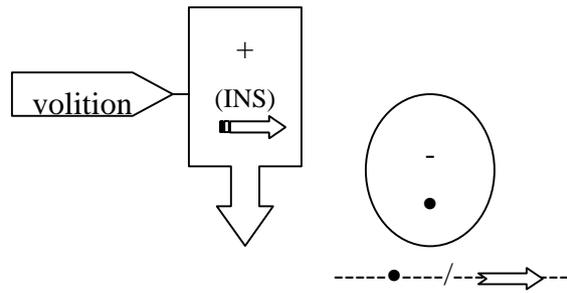a. Agonist (hittee)   b. Antagonist (hitter)

the hittee's tendency: does not want to be hurt

(INS) instrument

the hitter's intention:

cause damage

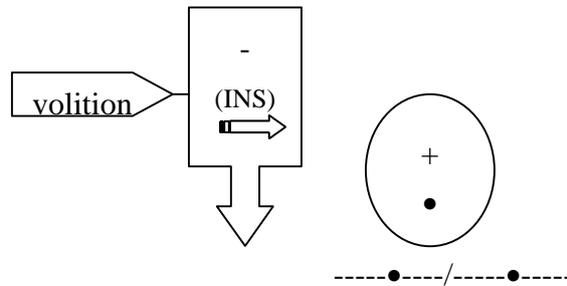c. The hitter's volition   d. The resultant state of hitting

volition

III. Analysis

Two force-dynamic patterns of verbs of hitting in Hakka are proposed: one ONSET CVAUSATION (force of the hitter > force of the hittee) and the other ONSET DESPITE (force of hitter < force of hittee) as illustrated by the following two diagrams.
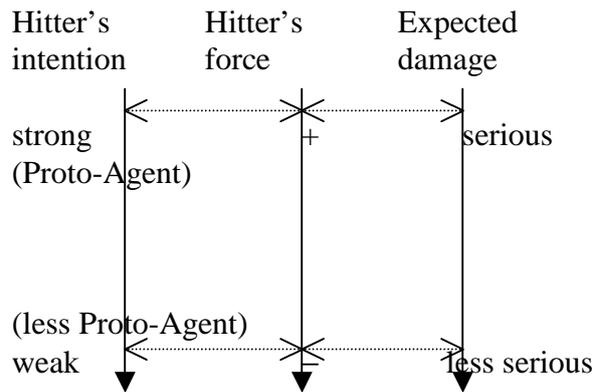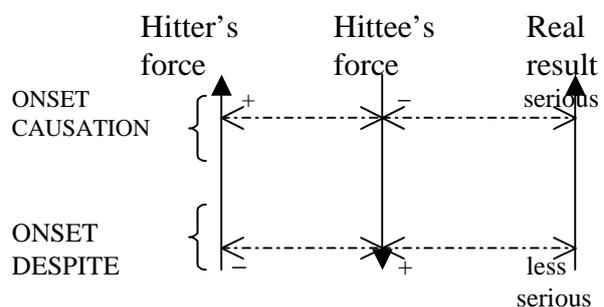
<ONSET CAUSATION pattern>

volition

+ (INS)

-

-----●----/--⇒--

<ONSET DESPITE pattern>

volition

- (INS)

+

-----●----/-----●-----

Secondly, a scale depicting the correlation among hitter's intention, hitter's force, and hitter's expected result is proposed below.

Hitter's intention	Hitter's force	Expected damage
strong (Proto-Agent)	+	serious
(less Proto-Agent) weak	–	less serious

Furthermore, a scale depicting the correlation among hitter's force of hitting, hittee's force of resistance, and the real result is given below.

	Hitter's force	Hittee's force	Real result
ONSET CAUSATION	+	–	serious
ONSET DESPITE	–	+	less serious

IV. Remarks

Developing Lai's (2000) study on the verbs of hitting in Hakka, this research, adopting Talmy's (2000a) force-dynamic framework, examines not only how force is manifested exactly in these verbs but also what the correlation between this semantic component and the syntactic manifestation is. Two correlated scales of intention, force, desired damage, and real damage is them proposed. After examining these verbs from a force-dynamic perspective, this research not only provides a finer-grained analysis for these verbs but also modifies Talmy's framework as a foundation for developing Lai's analysis.

However, in addition to the physical domain, two other domains—intrapsychological domain and interpsychological domain are included in Talmy's framework. While verbs of hitting represent the most prototypical type of the physical domain, verbs of refraining are the most prototypical type of the second domain and verbs of urging are the most prototypical type of the third domain. To simplify the presentation, the report gives only a detailed analysis of the hitting group, leaving the other two groups for another context.

V. References

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