

Linguistic Dynamicity: Regularity in Idiomaticity of Hakka *X-ded4* Constructions

Abstract

This study, investigating several *X-ded4* constructions, demonstrates how the interaction of grammaticalization and lexicalization leads to the emergent properties of modality and genericity. An illustration is *ho2-ded4*, denoting either deontic or epistemic modality, shows a continuum from a compound with a compositional meaning of the composite elements to a simplex with an evaluative constructional meaning. Other cases of *X-ded4* show that *X-ded4* formulates a genericity-charactering construction with its syntactic and semantic peculiarities. The construction also carries an illocutionary force serving a pragmatic function. The study lends weight to the conceptions of idiomaticity of grammar and the dynamic nature of language.

Key words: grammaticalization, lexicalization, genericity, modality, linguistic dynamicity

1. Introduction

Language, as an integral part of cognitive, is both cognitive and sociocultural in nature (cf. Langacker 2008). Linguistic meanings being conceptual in nature are dynamic as they formulate through time. To serve various interactive functions for communication, linguistic meanings are shaped, leading to the emergence of new meanings or functions. Certain grammatical constructions are argued to play an essential role in construing the experience to be communicated in certain manners (cf. Croft and Cruse 2004). Given the dynamic and functional properties of language, however, as Langacker (2008: 218) claims, linguistic structures do emerge with different degrees of robustness and stability. It is hence not only crucial but also challenging to describe the extensive regularities exhibited and at the same time to accommodate the dynamicity and variability of linguistic structure.

Following this stream of thought, the current study, investigating several *X-ded4* constructions, demonstrates how the interaction of grammaticalization and lexicalization leads to the emergent properties of genericity and modality. Analyses show that when *X-ded4* enters into a genericity-charactering construction, certain eventive features such as episodic aspectual markers cannot be used. The construction also carries an illocutionary force serving a pragmatic function. Another

illustration is *ho-ded*, when combined as a simplex, can denote either deontic or epistemic modality, depending on the composite elements of the construction. The study lends weight to the idea of regularity in idiomaticity and the dynamic nature of language. In what follows, a summary of the main points of grammaticalization and lexicalization in the literature is given in Section 2. Section 3 offers the analysis of Hakka cases, and Section 4 provides the concluding remarks.

2. Grammaticalization, Lexicalization and Constructions

Grammaticalization is an important process in which grammatical items and structures are invented. Grammaticalization is defined as “the change whereby lexemes and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper & Traugott 2003:xv). Historically, it refers to linguistic changes, where grammatical features are obtained by a lexicon or a construction. Synchronically, it refers to fluid patterns of language use in which a syntactic or discourse pragmatic phenomenon is under scrutiny. Since the original functions or features undergo certain changes, ambiguity may arise. Reanalysis (Harris 2005) signifies the mechanism by which the underlying structure undergoes some changes but no modification is involved. Recent studies has been paid more attention to the pragmatic conditions for such developments (e.g., Traugott 2010a,b).

The development of construction grammar (e.g., Goldberg 1995, 2006; Kay & Fillmore 1999; Croft 2001) has provided insights to grammaticalization. Constructions are defined as any symbolic form-meaning pairings that exist at all levels of grammatical analysis and that are organized in a hierarchical system (Goldberg 2006; Croft 2001). The tenets of constructional approaches allow for a re-examination of grammaticalization analysis that can occur at different levels of construction, ranging from high-level schemas (e.g., ditransitive construction) and sets of similarly behaving constructions (e.g., the set *a bit/a lot of* vs. *a kind/a sort of*) to individual construction types (e.g., *a lot of*) Traugott (2007:525). The syntactic and semantic interactions of constructions crucially influence a grammaticalization process. This interaction is accomplished through the “symbolic relations of a construction,” as defined by Croft (2001:238):

[T]he relation between the construction as a whole and the complex semantic structure it symbolizes, and the relation between the elements of the syntactic structure and the corresponding components of the semantic structure.

Reanalysis and analogy are considered the main mechanisms relevant for grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott (2003:39) state that “[i]n reanalysis, the grammatical—syntactic and morphological—and semantic properties of forms are modified....Analogy...modifies surface manifestations and...does not effect rule change, although it does effect rule spread within the linguistic system itself....” For example, the case *be going [to visit Bill] > [be going to] visit Bill* demonstrates a constituency change via reanalysis. Analogy, or extension, can be shown in the case *[be going to] visit Bill > [be going to] like Bill*. Hopper and Traugott maintain that reanalysis is a covert mechanism, while analogy is an overt operation.

Reanalysis is claimed to be the main mechanism leading to grammaticalization; however, reanalysis does not always involve morpho-syntactic change and semantic reanalysis involves semantic change, as Traugott (2010a:281) further argues. While metaphor has been considered the primary mechanism at work for semantic changes in many discussions of grammaticalization during the 1980s and early 1990s, many more recent studies have shown that meaning changes due to semantic contiguity. Semantic changes often occur through metonymization, as “metonymy and semanticization of conversational meanings are correlated with solving the problem of expressing speaker attitudes” (Hopper & Traugott 2003:93). Metonymy, a basic and fundamental phenomenon to language and cognition, indicates a process in which one conceptual entity provides mental access to another conceptual entity within the same cognitive domain (Kövecses & Radden 1998; Barcelona 2000). Example (1) illustrates a metonymic process from a mental state to its object or cause; example (2) illustrates a part-whole relationship; and example (3) and example (4) illustrate CAUSE FOR EFFECT or EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymies:

(1) concern (n.): interest (in some matter) > (the) matter that concerns

(2) England for Great Britain

(3) healthy complexion

(4) sad book

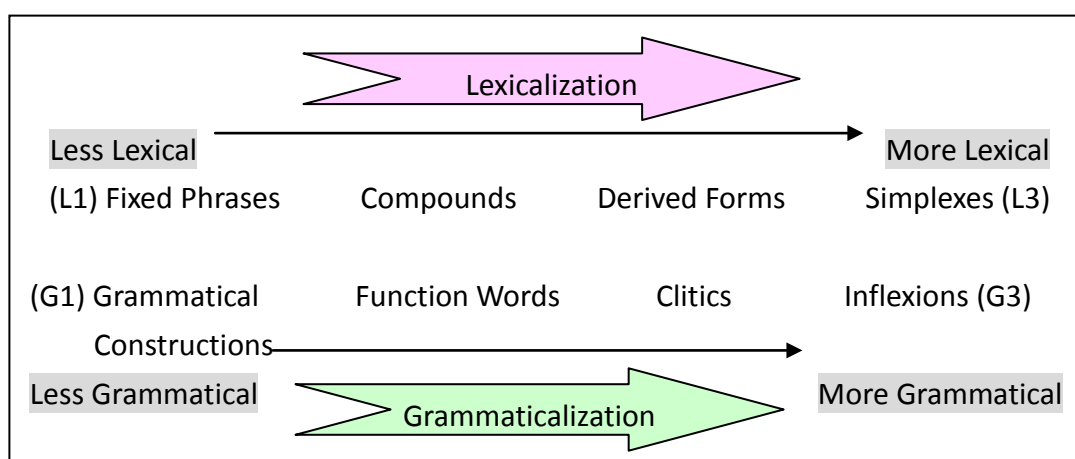
While a mechanism involves how changes occur, motivation involves why changes occur. Pragmatic factors are the motivations behind changes (cf. Hopper & Traugott 2003). Traugott (2011:549) holds that “[c]hange is not only internal but also external, driven by social factors and language users who are active participants in negotiation of linguistic patterning, especially meaning.” Among the pragmatic factors, subjectification plays a crucial role in a grammaticalization process in which pragmatic or discourse functions are often strengthened for communicative

purposes, since meanings often become increasingly more subjective due to the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the states of affairs (cf. also Traugott 1995). For instance, the following example, taken from Hopper and Traugott (2003:92, (28)), illustrates how *be going to* is used to express the speaker's subjective attitude:

(5) An earthquake is going to destroy that town.

Recent theories have recognized the challenge of distinguishing grammaticalization from the similar process of lexicalization in many ways (e.g., Heine & Kuteva 2002; Lehman 2002; Himmelmann 2004; Brinton & Traugott 2005; Fischer 2008; Norde 2009, among others). Lexicalization is the realization of the semantic representation of a word or morpheme that expresses a concept. In the literature, lexicalization has been regarded as the reverse process of grammaticalization. That is, the two processes have been construed as being opposite in nature and have even been treated as mirror images of each other. On the other hand, it has been found that both processes share certain properties, such as coalescence, loss of compositionality, and idiomaticization. Many scholars have made efforts to account for the similarities and differences between the two mechanisms. Debates and disagreements about the distinction and distinguishability of the grammaticalization-lexicalization dichotomy have emerged within the framework of grammaticalization theory.

Studies have revealed that lexicalization can pave the way for the development of grammaticalization. Brinton and Traugott (2005) propose an integrated approach to lexicalization and grammaticalization, as illustrated in Figure 1 (excerpted from Brinton and Traugott's model (2005: 104)), which focuses on the gradual procedure of a unification of grammaticalization and lexicalization:



Brinton and Traugott (2005) further claim that both lexicalization and grammaticalization share some similarities, such as gradualness, unidirectionality, fusion, coalescence, demotivation, metaphorization, and metonymization.

Grammaticalization and lexicalization demonstrate how language grammar emerges in a complex adaptive system; a linguistic expression “which consists of both form and meaning is molded into constructions which are conventionalized, repeated and undergo further change in both form and function” (Bybee 2010:110). In the next section, cases from Hakka will be analyzed to illustrate.

3. Analyses

The section will analyze cases of *X-ded4* in Hakka, demonstrating how through the processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization, new constructions emerge with innovative forms and meanings of their own. Section 3.1 discusses *ho2-ded4* constructions characterizing modality, and Section 3.2 discusses other *X-ded4* constructions characterizing genericity.

3.1 Modality-characterizing *ho2-ded4* Constructions

In Taiwanese Hakka, both *ho2* (好) and *ded4* (得) are with multiple meanings. The composite form *ho2ded4* (好得) can be regarded as the composition of a verb and a modal, or as a modal simplex, as exemplified from (6) to (8):

(6) 毋知該個病人好得無。

m5 di1 gai5 gai3 piang7ngin5 ho2 ded4 mo5
NEG¹ know that CL patient get-well can PART

‘We are not sure whether that patient can get well or not.’

(7) 算命先生算佢講(佢)有橫財好得。

son3miang7 sin1sang1 son3 gi5 gong2 (gi5) rhiu1 vang5coi5 ho2 ded4
fortune-telling master tell he say (he) have windfall can get

‘A fortune teller claimed that he would receive a windfall.’

(8) 豬肉仰恁韌，好得佢切幼幼仔，細人仔正咬得落。

zhu1ngiug4 ngiong2 an2 ngiun7, ho2ded4 gi5 cied4 rhiu3rhiu3er5,
pork how so tough thankfully he mince finely
se3ngin5-er5 zhang3 ngau1-e4-log8

¹ The following abbreviations are applied for their corresponding grammatical functions: NEG, a negative marker; CL, a classifier; PART, a particle; PM, a potential marker; SF, a suffix; LAU, a disposal marker; and ASP, an aspectual marker.

children-SF only-then chew-PM-fall

'How tough the pork is! Thankfully, he minced the pork into small pieces; the children were only then able to chew.'

In (6), *ho2*(好) is a verb denoting 'to get well', and the modal meaning is expressed by *ded4* (得). In (7), *ded4* (得) is a verb denoting 'to obtain', and the modal meaning is signified by the modal verb *ho2* (好). The usage exemplified by (7) is found only in an idiomatic *iu1/mo5-N-ho2-V* (有/無-N-好-V) construction. In both cases, *ho2ded4* (好得) is a composite form with a compositional meaning. The modal meaning in (8), however, is not conveyed by *ho2* (好) nor by *ded4* (得). Under the operation of grammaticalization and lexicalization, the composite form *ho2ded4* (好得) in (8) develops into a simplex, with an evaluative modal meaning 'thanks to; fortunately'. The data illustrate three typical types of *ho2ded4* and its related constructions in terms of lexical and constructional properties as can be shown below:

(6') Canonical construction: [NP + *ho2ded4* (M) + VP]

(7') Hakka idiomatic construction: [(NPC/T)+ (*iu1/mo5*) + NP+ *ho2*+ V (*ded4*)]

(8') The adverbial use: *ho2ded4* +[CP_{Topic}] / *ho2ded4* +[NP_{Topic}]

Among the three usages, the lexicalized simplex denoting the evaluative meaning is the most dominant one in Modern Taiwanese Hakka. The overall distribution of each type found in NCCU Hakka Corpus² is shown in Table 1:

Table 1. The frequency of Taiwanese Hakka *ho2ded4* (好得)

	<i>ho2</i> (好)	<i>ded4</i> (得)	number
category	verb	modal	1
category	modal	verb	4
category	modal		117
SUM			123

With regard to the observations, we claim that *ho2ded4* (好得) has grammaticalized into a modal meaning 'fortunately; thankfully', following Traugott's view of grammaticalization as a reanalysis of morphosyntactic strings. While

² The NCCU Hakka Corpus contains both written materials including story books, articles from Hakka Monthly Magazine, and oral data extracted from the NCCU Corpus of Spoken Hakka. For more detailed discussion of the NCCU Corpus of Spoken Hakka, please refer to Chui and Lai (2008).

examples (6) and (7) profile the subjects of the sentences, *piang33 ngin5* (病人) ‘patient’ and *gi5* (佢) ‘he’, respectively, it is the speaker instead that is profiled in case (8). In other words, *ho2ded4* has changed from coding an observable objective state of affairs to coding a speaker’s belief or attitude towards what is said. What is depicted here accords with Nuyts’ (2005) claim of subjectivity, whereby subjective evaluation is defined as the issuer presenting a state of affairs as being strictly his/her own responsibility. As an evaluative modal adverb, *ho2ded4* expresses a speaker’s attitude toward the proposition of the sentence (Quirk et al. 1995). In (8), the premise *zhu1 ngiug4 ngiong2 an2 ngiun7* (豬肉仰恁韌) ‘how tough is the pork!’ indicates the speaker’s judgment of the situational background, leading to two possible inferable propositions: one negative *se3 ngin5 er5 ngau1 m5 log8* (細人仔咬毋落) ‘the children were not able to chew’, and the other positive, *se3 ngin5 er5 ngau1 e4 log8* (細人仔咬得落) ‘the children were able to chew’. However, the further expressed conditional proposition *ho2 ded4 gi5 cied4 rhiu3 rhiu3 er5* (好得佢切幼幼仔) ‘thankfully, he minced the pork into small pieces’ excludes the negative proposition, and consequently the positive proposition can be successfully obtained as the discourse unfolds. Consider another example:

- (9) 這擺事情佢負責，
lia2-bai2 shin1cin5 gi5 fu3zid4,
 this time event he take-charge-of
 ‘He takes charge of the event this time;’
 也好得有佢恁有心...
rha1 ho2ded4 gi5 an2 rhiu1 sim1
 as-well thankfully he so have intent
 ‘Thankfully, he has the intent of doing it...’

While the premise in (8) is a negative proposition, which consequently induces the negative resultative clause, the premise in (9) *lia2 bai2 shin1 cin5 gi5 fu3 zid4* (這擺事情佢負責) ‘he takes charge of the event this time’ indicates a neutral proposition that does not induce a negative evaluation. The emergence of the proposition *rha1 ho2 ded4 gi5 an2 rhiu1 sim1* (也好得有佢恁有心) ‘thankfully, he has the intent of doing it’ indicates that the speaker elaborates an additional positive remark. The developments illustrated by the examples exhibit not only subjectivity but also dynamicity of language nature. The modal manifestations in (6) and (7) depicting objective meanings are non-epistemic since they indicate a relation between the referent of the sentence subject and the predicate. On the other hand, the modal manifestations in (8) and (9) depict subjective meanings. A relation

between an external entity (for example, the speaker) and the proposition is observed. Triggered by *ho2ded4* (好得), the characteristics of the sentences that involve epistemic modality (instead of non-epistemic modality) and speaker-oriented modality (instead of agent-oriented modality) demonstrate the emergence of subjectivity and the dynamic nature of language use.³

3.2 Genericity-characterizing X-ded4 Constructions

As has been shown in the previous section, the Hakka morpheme *ded4* is originally a transitive verb with its literal meaning denoting 'to obtain' that can be followed by a direct object. When it collocates with another predicate as a post-verbal *ded4*, grammaticalization and lexicalization process occur, transforming the whole construction of X-*ded4* into a partially substantive and partially schematic construction with its own peculiar meaning. Consider the following examples:

- (10) 薄荷食得也膏得，係盡有用个藥材。
Pog8ho5 siid8 ded4 ia3 qo1 ded4, he3 qin3 iu1-iong3 ge3 iog8coi5.
 mint eat POT also spread POT AUX very have-use REL medicine
 'The mint, both edible and spreadable, is a very useful kind of medicine.'
- (11) 休閒鞋上班也著得。
Hiu1han5-hai5 song3ban1 me3 zoq4 ded4.
 leisure-shoe work also wear POT
 'Wearing sneakers to work is allowable.'
- (12) 這個後生，做人正直，做事煞猛，異倚恃得。
Lia2 ge3 heu3sang1, zo3ngin5 zang3ciid8, zo3se3 sad4mang1,
 this CL young.man behave upright work diligently
i3 i2sii3 ded4.
 very depend POT
 'This young man, upright and diligent, is a very dependable person.'
- (13) 官司打得，狗屎食得。
Gon1sii1 da2 ded4, geu2-sii2 siid8 ded4.
 lawsuit file POT dog-droppings eat POT
 'If the lawsuit is filable, then the dog's droppings are edible.'
- (14) 這覆菜硬翹翹仔，愛浸浸啊仔正炒得。
Lia2 pug4coi3 ngang3kog8kog8-e2, oi3

³ For grammaticalization and lexicalization, it is crucial to be able to provide the bridging context that triggers the syntactic and semantic reinterpretation. Please refer to Yeh and Lai (2013) for the discussion with corpus data from Modern Chinese Corpus.

this preserved.leaf.mustard very.hard-SF have.to
jim3 jim3 a5 e2 zang3 cau2 ded4.
 soak soak PART PART then stir-fry POT

‘The preserved leaf mustard is so hard that it can be stir-fried only after being soaked for a while.’

All the examples illustrate a schematic type of [NP V *ded4*] in which NP refers to a subject, V stands for the main verb, and the postverbal *ded4* denotes a potential marker that characterizes the implicit agent's potentiality to perform the action due to the subject's disposition or property. Such a generic property may be specified as in (12) about the young man's personality or unspecified but inferable as in (10) about mint and (11) about sneakers. The characterizing features of the construction exhibited by all the examples can be represented as follows in (15):

- (15) Form: NP_{patient/theme} V *ded4*
 Function: The realization of V is possible due to certain generic property of the subject NP

The semi-schematic genericity-characterizing construction shows its own syntactic and semantic peculiarities. First of all, it is the non-agent role that is realized as the subject when it serves as the profiled property holder, as in (10), (11) and (12). Some examples show implicit agents, as in (13) and (14). In addition, to remain felicitous, some examples also need obligatory adjuncts such as a modifying phrase, and a degree adverb, as in (10). The implicit agent and the obligatory adjuncts indicate an argument mismatch whereby the participant roles in the verbal frame are not the argument roles explicitly present in the syntactic structure. Mismatches refer to linguistic phenomena that involve an incongruent association in any cross-modal mapping, and hence “challenge our conceptions of grammar and are thereby of vital importance for the development of grammatical architectures” (Francis & Michaelis 2003:2). Such a many-to-one association between frame elements and syntactic positions will be analyzed by semantic or discourse conditions, particularly the interactions between the information structure and the constructional meaning.

First, let us examine example (13) and (14) that indicate implicit agents. In (13), both agents for the verbs *da2* (打) ‘to file’ and *siid8* (食) ‘to eat’ are implicit when co-occurring with *ded4* in this construction. Likewise, in (14), the agent of the verb *cau2* (炒) ‘to stir-fry’ is also implicit. The null instantiation of the agent is a result of the interactions between constructional genericity and the pragmatic functions of

the whole constructions. As claimed by Lambrecht and Lemoine (2005) and Comish (2007), a null element that cannot represent an entity or situation directly or indirectly evoked in the discourse can only be construed as non-specific someone or something. The speaker does not have any particular object in mind because the identification of the intended referent is communicatively unimportant. On the contrary, the focus is placed on the action, process or state evoked by the predicate as applied to the referent of the subject expression. In (13), whoever the agent is, just as nobody would like to eat the dogs' droppings, so nobody would like to get involved with the action of filing a lawsuit. In the same manner, in (14), the preserved leaf mustard is linguistically expressed as the subject since it is directly relevant to the semantic interpretation conveyed. Whoever the agent is, the generic property of the preserved leaf mustard needs a particular process to be taken care of before it can be stir-fried.

The generic property designated by the construction can well explicate those cases whereby non-agent roles are realized as subjects as in (10), (11), and (12). The tendency of the mappings from semantic roles to surface syntactic positions is for the agent to be the subject, the patient, the object (cf. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995; Dowty 1991). In certain restricted sentential forms, content mismatches occur whereby non-agent roles are realized as the subjects (Francis and Michaelis 2003). In (10), *pog8ho5* (薄荷) 'mint', both edible and spreadable, makes it a very useful kind of medicine. In (12), *lia2 ge3 heu3sang1* (這個後生) 'this young man', carrying the personality of being upright and diligent, makes himself a reliable person. The constructional meaning characterizes the theme subject's disposition or property as carrying the potentiality for the implicit agent to perform a certain action. Based on the Stage Model of Langacker (1991, 2005), of a profiled relationship, a subject is a noun phrase whose profile corresponds to the trajector that is the participant designating the primary figure within the whole scene. Hence, in the construction under discussion, the semantic role that can be conceptualized as the holder of certain decisive property to activate the potentiality tends to be realized as the subject. Both (10) and (12) illustrate such a profiled relationship.

The next illustration of content mismatches has to do with the obligatory adjunct that is needed by the construction, as shown by (10), where the deletion of the adverb *ia3* (也) 'also' makes the sentence anomalous. Another illustration is given below in (16), where the first sentence becomes anomalous if the descriptive modifying phrase *ho2 siid8 do3* (好食到) 'it is so delicious that...' does not occur:

(16)?豬油渣膠米醬去，講毋得。

?Zu1-iu1-za1 lau1 mi2jiong3 hi3 hib4, qong2 m5 ded4.

Pork-fat-residue mix misogo stew talk NEG POT

豬油渣膠米醬去，好食到講毋得。

Zu1-iu1-za1 lau1 mi2jiong3 hi3 hib4, ho2siid8 do3 qong2 m5 ded4.

Pork-fat-residue mix misogo stew deliciousCOMP talk NEG POT

'The taste of the lard residue stewed with the miso is too good to describe.'

Goldberg and Ackerman (2001:798-799) argue that adjuncts can be used as a way to satisfy a focal requirement that conveys new information in a discourse. The same situation happens here with Hakka cases. The adjuncts are used to give new information during a communicative process. As the first premise gives the way the lard residue can be made so as to enhance its taste, so the descriptive modifying phrase here is to echo with what is propose for the enhancing of the taste. The adjunct phrase here helps to satisfy the focal requirement of new information in the discourse—the taste is too good to describe after what is proposed by making the lard residue.

A corollary from the genericity characterizing feature of this construction is its incompatibility with past time adverbials and perfective phase markers, as illustrated by the following examples, where the adverb *song3li1bai3* (上禮拜)'last week' in (17) and the perfective phase marker *ted4* (忒)in (18) lead to a sense of anomaly:

(17)?薄荷上禮拜食得也膏得，係盡有用个藥材。

?Pog8ho5 song3 li1bai3 siid8 ded4 ia3 go1 ded4,

mint last week eat POT also spread POT

he3 qin3 iu1-iong3 ge3 iog8coi5.

AUX very have-use REL medicine

'?The mint, both edible and spreadable last week, is a very useful kind of medicine.'

(18)?薄荷食得忒也膏得忒，係盡有用个藥材。

?Pog8ho5 siid8 ded4 ted4 ia3 go1 ded4 ted4,

mint eat POT PHA also spread POT PHA

he3 qin3 iu1-iong3 ge3 iog8coi5.

AUX very have-use REL medicine

The eventiveness that can be associated with the predicate is suppressed in this construction since the construction carries a genericity characterizing function that reports not specific episodes or isolated facts but a kind of general property or a

regularity encompassing clusters of particular episodes or facts. The discussion accords with what is claimed by Michaelis (2004, 2005) regarding coercion. The override principles proposed by her specify that when there is a clash of a constructional requirement and lexical features, coercion occurs changing the lexical features to satisfy the constructional requirement. In other words, a construction, as a form-meaning pairing, shapes the syntactic and semantic features its composite elements.

In brief, the examples discussed demonstrate mismatches in event structures and event conceptualizations. In genericity characterizing constructions, issues regarding implicit agents, obligatory adjuncts, and aspectual features are uncovered. The zero forms are claimed to be due to their cognitive statuses and the pragmatic functions in discourse. The obligatory adjuncts are needed for the satisfaction of focal requirement in a discourse. The interaction of verbal features, aspectual markers, and constructional meanings are also claimed to be a natural consequence from the property or disposition characterizing function of the construction. With a closer scrutiny of issues regarding genericity, and information structure, the analysis unravels the argument mismatches exhibited by Hakka genericity-characterizing constructions.

4. Concluding Remarks

By analyzing several *X-ded4* constructions, this study intends to lend weight to the claim of the dynamic nature of language. Specifically, it demonstrates how the interaction of grammaticalization and lexicalization leads to the emergent properties of modality and genericity involved in the constructions under discussion. The analysis of *ho2-ded4* shows the development of *ded4* from a verb to a postverbal modality indicator, illustrating a continuum from a compound with a compositional meaning of the composite elements to a simplex with an evaluative constructional meaning. The *X-ded4* genericity-characterizing construction shows its syntactic and semantic peculiarities, concerning the form-function discrepancies. The mismatches are argued to not only in accordance with the construction in question but also with the aim of serving certain pragmatic function.

Such pragmatic motivations are due to dynamic construal of the linguistic manifestations. As put in Langacker (2008: 500), conceptualization occurs through time and hence is inherently dynamic. Traugott (1995) also points out that as meanings change during grammaticalization, subjectification occurs, leading increasingly to expressing the speaker's subjective perspective toward a situation. The grammaticalization and lexicalization of *ho2-ded4* illustrates such a dynamic

nature of language. The lexicalized simplex becomes a fossilized modal adverb and often situates sentence initially, modifying the whole sentence. At the same time, it functions to express the speaker's epistemic stance toward a situation, indicating subjectification. The usage also shows a cognitive-pragmatic perspective of the speaker: through evaluating the situation, he/she expresses how the situation is way beyond his/her expectation.

Likewise, for the genericity-characterizing construction, similar pragmatic motivations are manifested. A generic statement is used not for limited number of individual entities or occurrences but for a global generalization applied to an open-ended set of entities or events. Any instance of the qualified type is expected to be valid. Hence the syntactic and semantic features follow from the nature of the construction as discussed previously. Now let us elaborate the pragmatic motivations of the usage. To illustrate, let us consider the genericity-characterizing construction, using example (13) as repeated below.

(13) 官司打得，狗屎食得。

Gon1sii1 da2 ded4, geu2-sii2 siid8ded4.

lawsuit file POT dog-droppings eat POT

'If the lawsuit is filable, then the dog's droppings are edible.'

This case is what is called an asyndetic clause in which two parallel clauses are juxtaposed one after the other without overt conjunctive markers in between. While the two clauses are with parallel syntactic structures, they denote asymmetric events with asymmetric cognitive-pragmatic functions. The genericity-characterizing construction *X-ded4*, here *da2-ded4* and *siid8-ded4*, requires the two themes to occur in the subject positions, suppressing the agents but highlighting the themes. Since the verbal features of the two verbs are de-emphasized, the agents are irrelevant. The construction hence emphasizes the generic features of the two events—a generalization that can be applied to anyone. In addition, the two juxtaposed parallel clauses convey an unparallel discourse function—a conditional concession. The concession can be spelled out as follows: If one can put himself into a condition of eating dogs' dropping, then one can put himself into the condition of filing a lawsuit. However, since our background knowledge tells us that eating dogs' droppings are an absurd and stupid act that any ordinary human beings would not do. Similarly, it is equally an absurd and stupid act to file a lawsuit. Hence, just as no person would put himself into such a situation of eating dogs' droppings, as no person would be stupid enough to file a lawsuit. The generalization is valid for any human beings as it is

based on a conversational common ground. Lawsuits not only cost a lot of money but are also very time-consuming and nerve-breaking, and hence are something people would not want to file unless unavoidable. The usage of this expression hence carries an illocutionary force—an exhortation of people’s behavior.

The elaboration of this particular example demonstrates the idiomatic nature of language and the dynamic construal of the language users. Usage-based perspective contends that frequent co-occurrence of certain combinations leads to the development of formulaic constructions and through repetition, instances of such constructions can grammaticalize (Bybee 2010: 203). For communicative purposes, heavy use of holistic formulaic expressions becomes more and more common among language users, leading to generalizations of meanings and conventionalization of inferences. Idiomaticity of language is hence quite natural as Bybee (2010: 204) holds that “loss of analyzability and compositionality and the increase in autonomy are the natural consequence of the way language is processed and indeed provide us with a source of grammar.”

Finally, the discussion accords with what is claimed by constructionist approaches that hold that the nuances of meaning subtleties or pragmatic functions of any linguistic expression come from each of the linguistic elements it contains. The existence of certain linguistic expressions is to serve certain communicative functions, which will be constrained by general cognitive principles (Goldberg 2006). 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. A 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. In sum, information structure

should be considered as a part of grammar once we are cognizant of the functions that constructions convey. Constructions can therefore be viewed as linguistic devices of information management to enhance the informative value of the form in question. All in all, examinations of Hakka *X-ded4* constructions demonstrated by this study lend weight to the conceptions of the idiomaticity of grammar and the dynamicity of language.

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摘要

本文以客語之「X得」構式為例，探討句式經過語法化及詞彙化之句法語意演變後，產生之情態語意浮現構式及泛型表徵構式之論元結構錯配特性。原先分別為動詞之「好」及「得」，經過語法化及詞彙化後形成表現義務義及知識義之情態語意。「X得」的泛型表徵構式具特殊之句法及語意特性，進入泛型構式只能與表經常性之副詞連用，不能有個別事件之時貌標記。兩者均顯示，語言使用之慣用性，形成特列構式後，其語意帶有特定之語用功能，說明語言之動態性為語言現象之常態。

關鍵字：語法化、詞彙化、泛型表徵、情態語意、語言動態性