Interface between Construction and Lexical Semantics:
A Case Study of the Polysemous Word *kek⁴* 激 and its Congeners *tiⁿ³* 佯, *chng¹* 裝 and *ke²* 假 in Taiwanese Southern Min[*]

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Elements in meaning are so rich and varied that language cannot accommodate all of them in its grammatical representation since there are only a limited number of syntactic positions available on the surface. Thus, some elements posited in the conceptual structure will emerge and be foregrounded, while other elements will be hidden and backgrounded.

The polysemous word *kek⁴* 激 in Taiwanese Southern Min is a case in point. The VO syntactic frame in which it occurs shows seemingly rich semantic diversification. Nevertheless, a much simpler repertoire of semantic roles deployed in the sentence can be arrived at through co-composition of the verb and its object, and the semantic roles involved are (1) theme, (2) goal (viz. creation), (3) location and (4) experiencer.

Besides the VO construction, *kek⁴* 激 has developed more syntactic frames: the verb-complement construction, the pivotal construction, and the complex construction with a sentential complement. We can claim on the underspecification of verb meaning that grammatical constructions partially contribute meaning to the sentence in question. Especially interesting among the extended constructions is the one expressing the 'pretend' sense which can also be found in the extended use of such verbs as *tiⁿ³* 佯, *chng¹* 裝, and *ke²* 假, to be examined in detail as well.

Key words: lexical semantics, construction, polysemy, semantic extension, pretension, interface

1. Introduction

This paper seeks to establish the coherence of a range of senses encompassed by

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the polysemous lexeme *kek⁴* 激 by examining the semantic roles of the element associated with it and the interaction between grammatical constructions and lexical meanings in the interpretation of the composed expressions in question. We shall show that the relatedness of multiple senses of *kek⁴* 激 can be motivated by the notion of category shift or grammatical extension and the operation of the mechanism of metaphor and mapping conceptual structure or frames to syntactic structure.

Aside from the Introduction and Conclusion (sections 1 and 8), the bulk of this paper consists of six sections: Syntactic Constructions and Semantic Roles (§2), The Semantic Extension of *Kek⁴* 激, and *Tiⁿ³* 佯, *Chng¹* 裝 and *Ke²* 假: a Comparison (§3), The Issue of Homophony and Polysemy (§4), Co-composition of the Verb and the following element (§5), and Discrepancy of Conceptual Structure and Syntactic Structure (§6), and The Operation of the Mechanism of Metaphor and Mapping of Mental Spaces (§7).[1]

2. Syntactic constructions and semantic roles

The meaning of the verb *kek⁴* 激 depends on how various kinds of the following element are interpreted. There are a variety of semantic roles carried by N such as theme, goal, location, and experiencer. Due to the paucity of syntactic positions on the surface, not all the semantic properties posited in conceptual structure will be realized; constrained by the information structure, some of them will be profiled whereas others will be backgrounded (Goldberg 1995). The interpretation of the verb also varies with the kinds of construction in which it occurs. There is an interaction between constructions and the specification of the semantics of the verb in question.

In what follows we shall present the syntactic constructions in which *kek⁴* 激 occurs and discuss the semantic roles of its following element. In §2.1 (the V-N

[1] The transliteration of Taiwanese Southern Min is largely based on the Church Romanization of Douglas (1873) with some minor modifications. For the data presented I have tapped a repertoire of examples from Douglas (1873), Imada (1912), Ogawa et al. (1931-32ab), Azumakata (1931), Embree (1984), Chen (1991), Hu (1994), and Zhou (1998). The characters used in this paper are mostly faithful to the examples cited. The principle adopted here is based on the one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning. For example, the numeral 'one' has two forms in Taiwanese Southern Min, as in *chit⁸* 蜀 and *it⁴* 一, each of which has a unique distribution of its own. The distribution has its unpredictable morpholexical properties (Bloomfield 1939). Non-native speakers would be at loss as to what sound form is to be selected if both lexemes were rendered indiscriminately as the simpler character 一. For a handy list of commonly used characters for Taiwanese see Cheng, Tseng, Li, and Lu (2000: 401-421). Underscoring on Chinese characters means that their etymological origin is not known.

construction), we shall provide examples showing a range of semantic roles carried by the N in question. Constructions other than the V-N construction will be dealt with in the remaining parts of this section.

2.1 The V-N construction

2.1.1 N denoting theme/substance

N denotes the semantic role of theme identifying the substance that undergoes movement, as shown in the following examples:

kek^4 chui^2 激水 'dam up water, store up water', *kek^4 lin^1* 激乳 'stimulate the secretion of milk', *kek^4 he^2-hun^1* 激火薰 'be choked with smoke', *kek^4 jio^7* 激尿 'hold back urine', *kek^4 sai^2* 激屎 'hold back shit', *kek^4 khui^3* 激氣 'hold one's breath; put on airs', *kek^4 khi^3* 激氣 'be upset, contentious, quarrelsome'

2.1.2 N denoting goal

The semantic role of goal denoted by N means the entity that does not come into being until certain kinds of event occur, as shown in the following examples:

kek^4 lim^5 激麻 'contract gonorrhea', *kek^4 liu^5* 激瘤 'grow a swelling/tumor', *kek^4 chiu^2* 激酒 'brew wine', *kek^4 nou^2* 激腦 'distill camphor', *kek^4 ping^1* 激冰 'make ice', *kek^4 kou^2-chi^{n2}* 激古井 'dam up a well', *kek^4 hou^7* 激雨 'portend rain', *kek^4 ioh^8* 激藥 'concoct medicine', *kek^4 lat^8* 激力 'exert one's strength'

Examples such as the following, where the noun is used to denote modern means of transportation such as steamships and trains, involve the semantic extension of the basic meaning of *kek^4* 激.

(1) He^2-chun^5 kap^4 he^2-chhia^1 khi^2-thau^5 m^7 chai^1 sia^{n2} lang^5 kek^4 chut^4 lai^5 e
火船合火車起頭唔知甚儂激出來的
"Who invented steamships and trains first?"

The VN construction denoting indirect causation in Taiwanese Southern Min corresponds to an explicit syntactic construction like *have –N– past participle* in English, as in *kek^4 tien^7-he^2* 激電火 'have electricity installed', and *kek^4 chui^2-to^7* 激水

道 'have water pipes laid'

2.1.3 N denoting location

Examples where the N denotes location all refer to body parts, and the meaning of the constructions in question is usually not compositional and can only be explained in terms of the mechanism of metaphor, as in

kek^4 phi^{n7} 激鼻 'the nose is stuffed up', kek^4 kut^4 激骨 'sarcastic, ironic, eccentric, contradictory, quirky, odd, witty, jocular', kek^4 sim^1 激心 'get angry'

In terms of syntactic categories, the V + N construction as a predicate often reemerges as an adjectival construction, as in $chia^{n5}$ kek^4 sim^1 誠激心 'very much distressed' and kek^4-kut^4 oe^7 激骨話 'sarcastic remarks'.

2.1.4 N denoting experiencer

When the N denotes an experiencer, usually a sentient being, kek^4 激 takes on the sense of 'incite, instigate', as exemplified by the following sentences:

(2) I^1 $chin^1$ gau^5 kek^4 $lang^5$
伊真豪激儂
"He is adept at baiting others."

(3) Lin^2 lng^7 e^5 m^7 $thang^1$ sio^1 kek^4
恁兩個唔通相激
"You shouldn't quarrel with each other."

(4) $Keng^2$-koa^{n1} $kiong^5$ kek^4 goa^2 goa^2 $chiah^4$ an^3-ni^1 $kong^2$
警官強激我，我即按呢講
"The police officer pressed me to say so."

Summarizing the discussion so far, the polysemy of the verb kek^4 激 that takes root in interaction with its complements in various constructions can be captured in terms of conceptual frames or templates in which more abstract semantic elements are used, as shown below. (The boldfaced variable stands for the thematic role in question.)

1. Theme: X CAUSES **Y** to STAY IN Z: (X controls **Y**; X holds back **Y**), as in kek^4 $khui^3$ 激氣 'hold one's breath'

2. Goal: 2a. X CAUSES **Y** to COME INTO BEING (X makes **Z**)**,** as in kek^4 $chiu^2$ 激酒 'make wine'; 2b. **Y** COMES INTO BEING where the agent may be out of focus, as in kek^4 $lang^5$ 激膿 'grow pus', kek^4 liu^5 激瘤 'grow tumor', kek^4 hou^7 激雨 'portend rain' where no explicit agency can be detected.

3. Location: X CAUSES Y to BECOME LOCATED ON **Z**, as in $chhau^3$ kah^4 kek^4 phi^{n7} 臭到激鼻 'so stinking as to choke the nostril'.
   Y as the theme is usually something in a state of liquid or gas but not solid and Z may function as location and experiencer at once, as in kek^4 ho^2-hun^1 激火燻 'be choked by smoke', where ho^2-hun^1 火燻 'smoke' is the theme and the unexpressed subject is the experiencer/location. A step further would be X CAUSES **Y** to BECOME Z**,** as in kek^4 i^1 siu^{n7} khi^3 激伊受氣 'make him angry', where Y is a bona fide experiencer.

4. Antagonist: X CAUSES **Y** (viz., X sets **Y** in motion), where X (protagonist) and Y (antagonist) both stand for sub-events, as in kek^4 i^1 khi^3 $thiau^3$ $kang^2$ 激伊去跳港 'spur him/her to drown himself/herself (by, e.g., making sarcastic remarks)'.[2]

The main verb in question can be factorized as a causative verb with a particular manner represented by the *by*-phrase. In more abstract terms, it means that X causes Y to do something by verbal or non-verbal means. Verbal means includes jesting, ridiculing, sarcasm, and non-verbal means, performing a particular act (Talmy 1985, 1988).

What is common among the four frames or templates is that they all involve the causative predication encompassing the activity predicate with various types of arguments as its complements coupled with its aspectual properties. Kek^4 激, a manner verb in the sense of Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998), shares with other verbs of its ilk the aspectual type of activity. Manner embraces specific idiosyncratic properties of each verb.

Pattern 3 where Z is a locative marker may be responsible for the formation of Pattern 4 where Y is an antagonist/actor. What Z in Pattern 3 and Y in Pattern 4 share is that they are both affectees. But there is a metaphoric extension from location to a sentient being. If the location is the same as a sentient being it is quite easy for a sentient being to be so affected as to take some action. So, as will be discussed below, a metaphoric extension is manifested syntactically in the formation of privotal construction, as in kek^4 i^1 khi^3 si^2 激伊去死 'spur him/her to death by some means'. That is, the verb kek^4 激 may be followed by other grammatical categories than nouns.

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[2] The terms 'protagonist' and 'antagonist' are taken from Jackendoff (1990).

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2.2 The V-C/CC construction

The verb kek^4 激 may be followed by a single complement or a compound complement, as in the following:

(5) Goa^2 pak^4-tou^2 lai^7 kek^4 lai^5 kek^4 khi^3 chin^1 kan^1-khou^2
我腹肚內激來激去真艱苦
"I have a hard time when my stomach feels heavy."

(6) kek^4·si^2
激死
'be choked to death, be smothered to death'

(7) Goa^2 siu^{n7} lai^5 siu^{n7} khi^3 thau^5-khak^4 kek^4 kah^4 beh^4 si^2
我想來想去頭殼激甲卜死
"I am racking my brains that get benumbed."

(8) Chit^4 ho^7 tai^7-chi^3 m^7 chai^1 sia^{n2} lang^5 kek^4 chut^4 lai^5 ·e
此號事志唔知甚儂激出來的
"It is not known who thought it out?"

2.3 The V-C-N construction

The resultative compound formed out of the verb kek^4 激 + complement may be further followed by a noun functioning as an experiencer, as in these examples:

(9) Ni^2 m^7 thang^1 an^3-ni^1 oah^8-oah^8 beh^4 kek^4 si^2 lang^5
你唔通按呢活活卜激死儂
"You shouldn't go so far as to overwhelm me."

(10) chhau^3 kah^4 beh^4 kek^4 si^2 lang^5
臭甲卜激死儂
'so stinking as to be unbearable'

2.4 The pivotal construction

The pivotal construction usually expresses causation, as in the following:

(11) Ni^2 beh^4 kek^4 i^1 khi^3 si^2 si^7 m^7
你卜激伊去死是唔
"Are you going to force him to kill himself?"

(12) kek^4 lang^5 siu^{n7} khi^3

激儂受氣

'Make somebody angry'

2.5 The V + predicate construction

We can analyze predicate-taking V as predicate of predicate, and therefore, the predicate can be regarded as a kind of argument taken by the verb. Our claim is partially motivated by the fact that predicates in some instances are used to denote a proposition.

2.5.1 Affectedness/effort-making/strenuousness

The predicates in this construction are adjectives and the meaning of the construction is non-compositional and refers to affectedness, effort-making or strenuousness, as shown in the following examples:

kek^4 gou^2 lin^5 激五仁 'act comically, appear unique', *kek^4 phi^5* 激皮 'pretend ignorance', *kek^4 khou^3 khou^3* 激恂恂 'be indifferent to, be nonchalant, be inconsiderate', *kek^4 hong^1-so^1* 激風騷 'be given to pleasure-seeking/be a playboy', *kek^4 sou^1* 激舒 'live extravagantly', *kek^4 khiau^2* 激巧 'try to appear smart, hedge, evasive, make a good thing out of something', *kek^4 ngi^7* 激硬 'become hard, take a tough line', *kek^4 goa^7 goa^7* 激外外 'put on a cold air', *kek^4 siap^4 siap^4* 激澀澀 'put on a sullen appearance', *kek^4 tiam^7* 激恬 'become silent, hold one's tongue', *kek^4 hong^1-sin^5* 激風神 'pride oneself on, be exultant over, be puffed up'

2.5.2 Pretension

Kek^4 激 in its 'pretend' sense may derive from one of its basic senses, viz. 'make', the one involving the thematic role of goal in its complement, as in *kek^4 chiu^2* 激酒 'make wine'. The semantic extension of *kek^4* 激 as meaning 'pretend' is motivated if we consider the semantic development of some *make* verbs. *Wei^3* 偽 in the following famous message of a pre-Qin philosophical work Xun Zi 荀子 is glossed as *wei^2* 為 'to do, to practice' (Xun 1989:138):

Ren^2 zhi^1 xing^4 e^4, qi^2 shan^4 zhe^3 wei^3 ye^3 人之性惡, 其善者偽也 "Man's nature is evil: goodness is the result of conscious activity" (Watson 1963:157).

Wei^3 僞 'to do' later developed one of its multiple senses 'false, counterfeit' (Luo 1986:1675). The important point to notice is the semantic shift of 'to do' to 'to be false'. There is also a parallel semantic development of words like 'forge, fabricate, feign' which originally mean 'to do, to make, form/shape' in English. What is revealing here is the semantic link of 'doing' and 'falsehood'. The core meaning of *kek^4* 激 is 'to exert, to strain' and it acquires an extended sense of 'to pretend', which implies the falsity of the proposition denoted by the complement the verb *kek^4* 激 takes, as exemplified in the following examples:

(13) kek^4 khong^1 kek^4 gong^7
     激悾激憨
     'feign ignorance, brazen it out'

(14) Chit^4 tiau^5 tai^7-chi^7 li^2 si^7 kek^4 m^7 chai^1 iah^4 m^7 si^7
     許條事志你是激唔知抑唔是
     "You pretended not to know it, didn't you?"

(15) Li^2 si^7 kek^4 boe^7 ki^3-tit^4 theh^4 lai^5 ka^{n2} m^7 si^7 sit^4-chai^7 boe^4 ki^3-tit^4 ·e
     你是激袂記得提來敢唔是實在袂記得的
     "I suppose you pretended to forget to bring it, but not really forget it."

(16) I^1 chin^1 gau^5 kong^2 Tai^5-oan^5 oe^7 thiau^7-kang^1 kek^4 boe^7 hiau^2
     伊真敖講台灣話特工激沒曉[1]
     "He is good at Taiwanese, but he pretends ignorance."

Similarly, as will be discussed in §3.1, the core meaning of *ti^{n3}* 佯 is also 'to exert (one's strength), to strain' and it has also developed the extended sense of falsity denoted by the complement clause. The false proposition expressed by the complement of *kek^4* 激 or *ti^{n3}* 佯 can be regarded as something created bearing the semantic role of goal. Of course, it is incumbent upon us to motivate the category shift of the thing-denoting complement to the proposition or event-denoting complement. There could very well be involved a grammatical extension from nominal complement to predicative complement.[3] Another explanation is the theory of type shifting that can reconcile the discrepancy between semantic type and syntactic categories (see Partee and Rooth 1983, Klein and Sag 1985, and Pustejovsky 1993).

Both the 'pretend' verb *kek^4* 激 and the counter-factive verb *liah^8 kio^3 (si^7)* 掠叫

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[3] According to Harris and Campbell (1995:97-119) extension brings about changes in the surface grammatical pattern without involving modification of underlying structure.

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(是)/*liah^8 choe^3* 掠做/*liah^8 chun^2* 掠準 'think falsely' are complement-taking verbs sharing a false proposition denoted by the complement. But there is a marked difference between them. The third person subject of a *kek^4* 激 sentence is fully aware that his behavior is false, but he makes efforts to make it appear to be true to his antagonist who does not know its falsity. The speaker of an utterance also knows the falsity of the proposition. By contrast, the subject of a *liah^8 kio^3* 掠叫/*kio^3 si^7* 叫是 sentence is always unaware of the falsity of the proposition denoted by the complement, but the speaker is always aware of its falsity unless the speaker happened to be same as the subject, viz., when the subject is a first person pronoun, as in *Goa^2 liah^8 kio^3 si^7 li^2* 我掠叫是汝 "I thought falsely it was you" and *Goa^2 kio^3 shi^7 i^1 kong^2 peh^8-chhat^8* 我叫是伊講白賊 "I thought he told lies."[4]

Kek^4 激, *ke^2* 假 and *chng^1* 裝 all show the awareness of the falsity of the proposition of the complement on the part of the subject as well as the speaker.

2.5.3 Absorption and immersion

The construction can denote absorption or immersion in engaging in an activity, as shown in the following examples:

> *kek^4 poah^8-kiau^2* 激簿局 'completely immersed in/indulge in gambling, the only thing done is gambling', *kek^4 thit^4-tho^5* 激得桃 'be absorbed in amusing oneself', *kek^4 khoa^{n3} tien^7-si^7* 激看電視 'indulged oneself completely in watching TV', *kek^4 hong^1-so^1* 激風騷 'be fun-seeking/be a playboy', 激穿 *kek^4 chhng^7* 'be fastidious about one's clothing', 激食 *kek^4 chiah^8* 'be absorbed in eating, eat extravagantly/fastidiously'[5]

Examples in both §2.5.2 and §2.5.3 denote deliberate act and conscious effort, but those in §2.5.2 involve the truth and falsity of a state of affairs whereas those in §2.5.3 concern the concentration of activity. Furthermore, both have the hidden meaning of an unfavorable comment on the subject's behavior.

The core meaning as well as its semantic overtone of *kou^3* 顧 is quite similar to *kek^4* 激, as in *kou^3 poah^8-kiau^2* 顧簿局 'be carried away by gambling, be crazy about

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[4] *Kio^3* 叫 can also function as a complementizer, as in *Goa^2 chia^1 kio^3 i^1 m^7 lai^5* 我知叫伊唔來 'I know that he will not come', and *I^1 kong^2 kio^3 u^7 khi^3* 伊講叫有去 'It is said that he went'. For a detailed treatment of complementizers 講 *kong^2* and *khoa^{n3}* 看 see Cheng (1977).

[5] Sometimes a noun phrase can serve as a predicate through metonymy, as in *kek^4 chit^8 ki^1 chhui^3* 激蜀枝喙 'quibble over something without doing anything, split hairs without doing anything'. Cf. *chhu^2 chit^8 ki^1 chhui^2* 出蜀枝喙.

gambling, forget oneself in gambling'. There is always a background implication of the blame on the subject's bad habit.

Kek^4 激 meaning 'be absorbed in' and *kan*^{1}-*ta*^{1} 干乾 'only' share the meaning 'concentrate on doing something to the exclusion of the rest'. But *kan*^{1}-*ta*^{1} 干乾 'only' as a focus marker does not carry an affective negative overtone that *kek*^{4} 激 does, as in *kan*^{1}-*ta*^{1} *goa*^{2} *u*^{7} *boe*^{2} 干乾我有買 'only I bought it', *kan*^{1}-*ta*^{1} *khoa*^{n3} *i*^{1} *chau*^{2} 干乾看伊走 'I only saw him run off', *kan*^{1}-*ta*^{1} *chiah*^{8} 干乾食 'only eat', *kan*^{1}-*ta*^{1} *siu*^{n7} 干乾想 'fancy, daydream', and *kan*^{1}-*ta*^{1} *gian*^{3} 干乾癮 'one-sided love'. As we can see, *kan*^{1}-*ta*^{1} 干乾 as a focus device can focus on nouns as well as verbs.

The distinction between pretense and absorption is made on the basis of the co-composition between the predicate *kek*^{4} 激 and the following complement fed by pragmatic information.

3. The semantic extension of *kek*^{4} 激, and *ti*^{n3} 盯/佯, *chng*^{1} 裝 and *ke*^{2} 假: a comparison

3.1 *Ti*^{n3} 盯/佯

Kek^4 激 seems to share with *ti*^{n3} 盯 whose basic meaning is 'strain, make an effort', as in *ti*^{n3} *lat*^{8} 盯力 'exert one's strength', *ti*^{n3} *bak*^{8} 盯目 'open one's eyes wide' and *ti*^{n3} *sai*^{2} 盯屎 'strain at stool' the semantic extension from effort-making to pretension as a type of affected behavior or rather conscious efforts, as in *ti*^{n3} *m*^{7} *chai*^{1} 佯唔知 'pretend not to know, feign ignorance', *ti*^{n3} *siau*^{2} 佯痟 'feign madness', *ti*^{n3} *m*^{7} *pat*^{4} 佯唔別 'pretend not to know', *ti*^{n3} *tien*^{1} *ti*^{n3} *siau*^{2} 佯癲佯痟 'feign madness, play the innocent', and *ti*^{n3} *chhi*^{n1} 佯生 'feign ignorance'. Like *kek*^{4} 激 it also conveys the sense 'affected, make an affected effort', as in *ti*^{n3} *sip*^{4} *sip*^{4} 佯濕濕 'do not commit oneself', *ti*^{n3} *khoan*^{2} 佯款 'put on airs, make a scene', and *ti*^{n3} *chhio*^{3} 佯笑 'laugh a forced laugh, affect a smile'.

While Ogawa et al. (1931-32b:255-271) treat 'strain' *ti*^{n3} 盯 and 'pretend' *ti*^{n3} 佯 as two separate lexemes by using two different Chinese characters to represent them, Zhou (1998:295) uses a single Chinese character to cover sememes denoted by the graphs 盯 and 佯 used above apparently regarding it as a polysemous lexeme.

3.2 *Chng*^{1} 裝

While Zhou (1998:248) takes it that *chng*^{1} 裝 and *chng*^{1} 妝 are two separate lexemes meaning 'pretend, feign', as in *chng*^{1} *m*^{7} *pat*^{4} 裝唔別 'pretend not to know' and 'make up, adorn oneself', as in *gau*^{5} *chng*^{1} 豪妝 'be adept at dressing up' respectively, Ogawa et al. (1931-32b:364-369) treat *chng*^{1} 粧 as a polysemous lexeme

meaning (1) 'pretend, feign, dress, play the part of', as in *chng¹ ho² khoan³* 粧好看 'dress up beautifully', *chng¹ put⁸* 粧佛 'make a Buddhist idol', *chng¹ siong¹* 粧傷 'pretend to be wounded' and *chng¹ sing¹* 粧生 'play the male part', (2) 'to wrap, to package', as in *chng¹ he³* 粧貨 'pack up, to package', *chng¹ te⁵* 粧茶 'wrap tea up', and (3) 'put into', as in *chng¹ hun¹* 粧薰 'put tobacco into the pipe'.[6]

If polysemy is recognized, one has to postulate that there is a semantic extension involved triggered by category shift or grammatical extension. It seems that *chng¹* is mostly used in the sense of 'play the part of … in a play' at least as far as the more conservative Taiwanese Southern Min is concerned. This is quite different from the situation in Mandarin where *zhuang¹* 裝 meaning 'pretend, feign' can be followed by predicates as well as nominal expressions, as in *zhuang¹ mei² kan⁴ jian⁴* 裝沒看見 'pretend not to see', *zhuang¹ feng¹ mai⁴ sha³* 裝瘋賣傻 'feign madness', and *zhuang¹ suan⁴* 裝蒜 'feign ignorance'. The sense of 'pretend' taken on by *chng¹*, as in *chng¹ m⁷ pat⁴* 裝唔別 'pretend not to know' with the false proposition denoted by the complement, can be safely regarded as resulting from the extension of false identity in the role-playing situation, as in *chng¹ sing¹* 粧生 'play the male part' generalizable as the formulas X Masquerades as Y where X is real whereas Y is false.

3.3 *Ke²* 假

In contrast to *ti^{n3}* 盯/佯 and *chng¹* 裝, there does not seem to be involved a semantic extension in the case of *ke²* 假, as shown in the following examples:

As an attributive adjective *ke²* 假 can be used to yield adjective-noun compounds like *ke² he³* 假貨 'a fake, a counterfeit, an imitation, a phony', *ke² chiu²* 假手 'artificial hand', and *ke² chu⁵-pi¹* 假慈悲 'pretended benevolence, shed crocodile tears', or adverbs like *ke² i³* 假意 'insincerely, deceitfully'.

Ke² 假 functioning as a predicate-taking verb is quite productive in forming a clause denoting a proposition, as in *ke² chai¹* 假知 'pretend to know', *ke² siau²* 假痟 'simulate a mad man; feign ignorance', *ke² si²* 假死 'lose consciousness, feign death, feign ignorance', and *ke² bo⁵ khoa^{n3} khi^{n3}* 假無看見 'pretend not to see'. It also plays a role in forming special constructions like *m⁷ – ke² –*, as in *m⁷ pat⁴ ke² pat⁴* 唔別假別 'do not know but pretend to know', and *ke² – ke² –*, as in *ke² tien¹ ke² siau²* 假癲假痟 'pretend ignorance'. *Choe³* 做 can be used as a complementizer, as in *ke² choe³ m⁷ chai¹* 假做唔知 'pretend not to know'.

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[6] We can add a further sense 'install, assemble', as in *chng¹ chit⁸ tai⁵ tien¹-nao²* 裝蜀台電腦 'assemble a computer' perhaps created under the influence of Mandarin.

4. The issue of homophony and polysemy

An alternative to treating kek^4 激 as a polysemous word is to regard its greatly different senses as consisting of different lexemes. In other words, they are considered homophones rather than a polysemous word. Homophones are identical forms with totally unrelated senses, whereas a polysemous word possesses a set of closely or remotely related senses. However, it is more economic or true to linguistic facts that kek^4 激 is a case of polysemy rather than homophony since category shift or grammatical extension is involved in the semantic extension of the lexeme kek^4 激 in question. Similar semantic extension is observed in other parallel examples such as ti^{n3} and $chng^1$.

Since the use of kek^4 激 as a higher predicate taking a proposition-denoting complement, as in kek^4 $poah^8$-$kiau^2$ 激簿局 'be absorbed in gambling', conveys the overtone of the speaker's blame on the subject's behavior, it would be self-contradictory to use the first person pronoun as the subject.

We can see the importance of context that can be induced to disambiguate the VN construction, as in kek^4 $chiu^2$ 激酒, which, depending on contexts, can have two interpretations: (1) 'make wine', and (2) 'incite each other to drink'.

5. Co-composition of the verb kek^4 激 and the following element

The extremely interesting point regarding the interpretation of the VN construction with kek^4 激 as the verb is that it takes on a variety of senses which hinge on the kinds of the following element it is associated with. In a sense, it is the meaning of the following element which picks up an appropriate sense from a range of senses posited for the verb kek^4 激. It is through the interplay of the sense of the verb and that of the following element it is associated with that we can finally arrive at the composite meaning. To forestall the temptation to treat a multitude of senses latent in the verb as a case of homophone, one faces the problem of how to provide a satisfactory account for or motivate the relatedness of senses, even though the senses may be remotely related. What we evoke to give an explanation for semantic extension of a lexical item is category shift or grammatical extension. But category shift or grammatical extension alone is not sufficient; one needs to be aware of the role of constructions in the summation of composite senses. In other words, certain types of constructions are associated with a single meaning or a set of constant meanings. For example, the meaning of the lexeme kek^4 激 changes under the impact of constructions in which it occurs. We find the most telling ones when it occurs in the pivotal construction and kek^4 + predicate constructions. In the first type of construction (see §2.4) it takes on the

sense of 'to cause, to get' and can be grouped with other causative verbs, whereas in the second type of construction (see §2.5.2) it takes on the sense of 'pretend' and patterns with 'pretend' verbs like ti^{n3} 佯, $chng^1$ 裝 and ke^2 假.[7] Semantic, syntactic, pragmatic aspects of some sui generis constructions in a particular language are worth exploring and pinning down.[8]

One may have the impression that a lexeme is overly rich in meaning. This illusion has simply to do with the fact that we use the methods of synonyms in the specification of lexical senses or the method of translation in the definition of word meaning (Fillmore and Atkin 1992, Lien 2000). One way out of this dilemma is to build a frame or frames that can be evoked to map out a network of senses that can exhaustively characterize the polysemy in question.

6. Discrepancy of conceptual structure and syntactic structure

Chinese is a covert language in that it is inflection-less and word order is an important means of expressing a difference in grammatical structure. There is another sense in which it is covert. A surface syntactic construction may correspond to more than one conceptual structure and receives more than one interpretation. The VO construction can be interpreted in a range of ways, and the interpretation is context-driven. For example, it may have a context-dependent interpretation of indirect causation, as in kek^4 $chui^2$-to^7 激水道 'have the water pipes installed'. There is a unique corresponding construction like _have + Object + past participle_ in English to express indirect causation. By indirect causation is meant that the agent ordered an actor to execute a task for him. The VO construction can be used to express direct and indirect causation depending on the context in Taiwanese Southern Min, while direct causation and indirect causation are coded differently in the surface syntactic forms in English.

7. The operation of the mechanism of metaphor and mapping of mental spaces

Names of body parts and breath are often used as a kind of metaphor to express more abstract meaning, as exemplified by the following compounds:

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[7] See Levin (1993) for a treatment of English verbs in terms of types of grammatical constructions.

[8] The term 'sui generis construction' is due to Jackendoff (1997).

$kek^4 kut^4$ 激骨 'sarcastic, sly, wily'
$kek^4 sim^1$ 激心 'be upset, be depressed, be vexed, disconsolate'
$kek^4 khi^3$ 激氣 'be sulky'
$kek^4 khui^3$ 激氣 'put on airs'

Kut^4 骨 'bone' as a pretty productive adjectival semi-suffix[9] denotes disposition and temperament, as in pin^5-$toa^{n7} kut^4$ 'lazy' 貪惰骨, $kiu^{n7} kut^4$ 強骨 'obstinate, stoically refusing to admit pain', $chiu^3 kut^4$ 蛀骨 'mischievous, naughty', and $kek^4 kut^4$ 激骨 'ironic, sarcastic, quirky'. Though -kut^4 骨 is a semi-suffix, it is a head word determining the grammatical category of the derivative. Sim^1 心 'heart' as a productive semi-suffix denotes emotional state and attention, as in $koan^1$-sim^1 關心 'considerate', $choan^1$-sim^1 專心 'attentive', sio^2-sim^1 小心 'careful', $jiet^8$-sim^1 熱心 'earnest', and $chin^7$-sim^1 真心 'with all one's heart'.

Metaphoric extension is also witnessed in the use of khi^3 氣 'breath, air, vapor' to express a wide range of extended senses such as 'odor, physical constitution, animal spirits, principles of life, health, strength, character, good or bad luck …', exemplified by the following compounds:

$iu^5 khi^3$ 油氣 'having fat', $chhing^1 khi^3$ 清氣 'clean, pure', $sip^4 khi^3$ 濕氣 'damp', $khau^2 khi^3$ 口氣 'smell of a man's breath', $thi^{n1} khi^3$ 天氣 'weather', $lang^5 khi^3$ 儂氣 'odor or influence of people', $ling^2 khi^3$ 冷氣 'air conditioning', $he^2 khi^3$ 火氣 'the hot principle of the constitution', $hiet^4 khi^3$ 血氣 'vital principles or animal spirits', $hui^3 khi^3$ 費氣 'very troublesome', $hong^1 khi^3$ 風氣 'rheumatic pains, present customs or character of a community', $sip^8 khi^3$ 習氣 'customs and manners', $chi^3 khi^3$ 志氣 'purpose of will', $ho^5 khi^3$ 和氣 'harmony', $siu^{n7} khi^3$ 受氣 'angry', $oan^3 khi^3$ 怨氣 'hatred', $lun^2/jim^2 khi^3$ 忍氣 'restrain one's anger', $un^7 khi^3$ 運氣 'fortune', $ong^7 khi^3$ 旺氣 'making money in great abundance, temperament strong and good', $li^2 khi^3$ 理氣 'the rational or real principle of some matter', $kut^4 khi^3$ 骨氣 'moral integrity, backbone', $goan^5 khi^3$ 元氣 'energy, pep, vitality'

There is a sense in connection with one's emotional state expressed by $kek^4 khi^3$ 激氣 'be sulky' as well as $siu^{n7} khi^3$ 受氣 'angry', $oan^3 khi^3$ 怨氣 'hatred', and $lun^2/jim^2 khi^3$ 忍氣 'restrain one's anger' among the above senses. By contrast, $khui^3$ 氣 'breath' seems to be a less productive morpheme in forming compounds with the more

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[9] Strictly speaking, morphemes such as kut^4 骨, sim^1 心, and khi^3 氣 are not bona fide suffixes since they do not necessarily occur in the word-final position. Yet they occur fairly often word-finally and their function in some instances is quite close to suffixes in determining the grammatical category of the word in question. Therefore they are termed semi-suffixes.

abstract sense of 'physical constitution and character' to express one's disposition or one's way of conduct, exemplified by kek^4 $khui^3$ 激氣 'put on airs'.

It is obvious that there is a division of labor in meaning manifested in the literary pronunciation (khi^3) and colloquial pronunciation ($khui^3$) of the grapheme 氣. From a synchronic point of view khi^3 and $khui^3$ can be regarded as two separate lexemes owing to their divergent meaning although historically they are etymologically related.

In terms of syntactic categories the V + N construction as a predicate often reemerges as an adjectival construction, as in $chia^{n5}$ kek^4 sim^1 誠激心 'very much distressed' and kek^4-kut^4 oe^7 激骨話 'sarcastic remarks'.

There is perhaps a mapping between two mental spaces: one is concrete and the other is abstract (Fauconnier 1985): that is, body parts such as sim^1 心 and kut^4 骨 and air/breath such as khi^3 氣 and $khui^3$ 氣 are mapped to more abstract entities. By metaphorical extension we mean there is a relationship of iconicity between the names of the concrete entities and the abstract entities.[10] It seems to be not out of place to conjecture that there are two mental spaces, say, the concrete space A (the trigger) and the abstract space B (the target); each space contains two dots represented by $V_1 O_1$ and $V_2 O_2$ respectively and the connectors linking V_1 to V_2 and O_1 to O_2. V_1 and V_2 are in fact identical, whereas there is an iconic relation between O_1 to O_2. For example, kek^4 hun^1 激薰 'be choked with smoke' and kek^4 khi^3 激氣 'be upset' are parallel since both objects denote themes, and so are kek^4 $chiu^2$ 激酒 'make wine' and kek^4 $ching^5$-li^2 激情理 'ferret out reason', since the objects denote goal. Kek^4 phi^{n7} 激鼻 and kek^4 kut^4 激骨 and kek^4 sim^1 激心 are also parallel, as the objects denote locations.

To pursue the point a little bit further, the abstract sense in kek^4 khi^3 激氣 is likened to the concrete sense in kek^4 hun^1 激薰 in that its literal sense is 'be choked with vapor' leading to a more abstract sense 'be upset, be distraught' through the operation of the mechanism of metaphor where 'vapor, air' stands for emotional state of anger.[11] Similarly, like $chiu^2$ 酒 'wine' in kek^4 $chiu^2$ 激酒 as something that does not come into existence until after the operation of some action $ching^5$-li^2 情理 'reason' in kek^4 $ching^5$-li^2 激情理 is also a creation after some sorts of action. Like phi^{n7} 鼻 of kek^4 phi^{n7} 激鼻, kut^4 in kek^4 kut^4 激骨 and sim^1 心 in kek^4 sim^1 激心 are the locations where some actions occur. Kut^4 骨 and sim^1 心 have undergone a range of

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[10] For the notion of iconicity as one of the three semiotic relationships between names and references see Peirce (1955).

[11] Unlike khi^3 氣 in kek^4 khi^3 激氣 bearing the semantic role of theme where the subject involved is an affectee, $khui^3$ 氣 in kek^4 $khui^3$ 激氣 seems to carry the semantic role of goal and the subject involved is an agent responsible for 'putting on airs'. Here $khui^3$ 氣 'vapor, air' also undergoes a semantic extension taking on the sense of 'outer appearance, airs and manner'.

semantic extension and become polysemous lexemes. When co-composing with kek^4 激 only one of the extended senses of each lexeme is picked. In other words, even though kut^4 骨 and sim^1 心 are subsumed under the general semantic role of location, they encompass a range of finer semantic properties. The creation of abstract senses conveyed by names of body parts and vapor can be explained by evoking the operation of a set of metaphors such as Temperament is Bone (kut^4 骨), Emotion is Heart (sim^1 心), Emotion is Vapor (khi^1 氣) and Conduct is Air ($khui^3$ 氣).[12] The use of names denoting body parts and vapor for more abstract specific entities is of course arbitrary. Yet once such a semantic relation is established, the composite meaning of each compound can be calculated and is well motivated. This is equally true of the metaphor and its interpretation involved in the idiom *spill the beans* in English where *beans* is used arbitrarily to denote information but the idiomatic interpretation is fully motivated (Lakoff 1987:449-453).[13]

It may not be too wide of the mark to conclude this section by saying something about the issue of how elements in language are treated in the brain. From the perspective of learners a distinction can be drawn between the kek^4 激 expressions that should be registered in the long-term memory and those that can be generated from constructions morphologically or syntactically.[14] For example, the expressions in §2.1 as well as constructions discussed in §§2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 cannot be exhaustively listed and should therefore not be stored in the lexicon since they are transparently composed. By contrast, the expressions in §2.5 must be listed if the outputs are compounds, as in §2.5.1, but those in §§2.5.2 and 2.5.3 are constructions that can be syntactically derived and there is no need of listing. Similarly, the constructions with the verb ti^{n3} 佯, $chng^1$ 裝 and ke^2 假 need not be stored in our long-term memory as they are phrasal and their meaning is compositional except compounds with the morpholexical properties. The compounds in §7 should occupy a position in our mental lexicon even though they

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[12] Since such words whose basic meaning denoting concrete entities have undergone a series of metaphoric extension, it would be a worthwhile effort to ferret out a range of metaphors involved. Precisely because each language may create a group of unique metaphors it is theoretically interesting to do an in-depth studies of metaphors in it as well as crosslinguistically.

[13] Apart from native compounds forming out of kek^4 激 + nouns denoting body parts and vapor such as kek^4 sim^1 激心 'very much distressed' and kek^4-kut^4 激骨 'sarcastic, quirky' there are new compounds apparently imported from Mandarin such as kek^4-$tong^7$ 激動 'excited', kek^4-$liet^8$ 激烈 'fiercely', $chhi^3$-kek^4 刺激 'exciting', kek^4-$hoat^4$ 激發 'incite, arouse', kam^2-kek^4 感激 'gratitude' and kek^4-$chin^3$-$sing^3$ 激進性 'radicalness'.

[14] See Cheng (1999) for the insightful distinction between the fixed or sui generis expressions that need to be stored in the long-term memory and more productive constructions that can be coped with in short-term memory. See also Pinker (1999) for his words-and-rules theory.

can be motivated in terms of the mechanism of metaphor and mapping of mental spaces for the simple reason that the link may be lost to native speakers.

8. Conclusion

I have in this paper used kek^4 激 as a case in point to motivate the semantic link of a set of senses encompassed by a polysemous lexeme. One can attain a certain level of generality by positing a limited set of frames or conceptual structures linked to each other by a network. It is due to glossing the polysemy of a lexeme by the traditional method of synonymity (Fillmore and Atkin 1992) that one gets the impression of a plethora of senses. Once the senses are further reduced into more abstract basic semantic primes it is possible to build more concise and encompassing conceptual structures or frames to capture the relatedness of various senses of a lexeme in question. I have also demonstrated the importance of evoking the notion of category shift or grammatical extension and the mechanism of metaphor to motivate the semantic extension of a polysemous lexeme in conjunction with the functioning of constructions to co-compose the overall sense of the expressions in question. It is of advantage to underspecify the meaning of the verb in question and put more burden on the meaning of the following element. We can then calculate the composite meaning of the verb and the following element by referring to the enriched meaning of the latter.

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結構和詞匯語義之互動：論台灣閩南語多義詞 "激" 及其同類詞 "佯"、"裝"、"假"

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語義成分豐富而多樣，句法位置卻極爲有限，無法全然納入其中。因此概念結構中設定的成分有些可以出現於前景中，有些必須隱藏於背景中。

台灣閩南語多義詞 "激" 正好可以闡明這點。乍看之下，"激" 出現的動賓句法格式呈現語義的繁複性，但是透過動詞和賓語的協同組合可以化解出一套更精簡的語義角色：即 (1) 客體，(2) 終點（又作創造物），(3) 處所，(4) 經驗者。爲了簡化主要動詞的語義，我們將動詞 "激" 做較寬的設定，對賓語給與更精緻而豐富的刻劃 (Pustejovsky 1991, 1995)，從而導出動賓結構的語義。

除了動賓式外，"激" 還發展出其他的句式，如動補式、兼語式、帶子句補語的複雜式等。本文對動詞的語義做較寬的設定，進而論證，句子的語義部分得自於結構本身。"激" 所引發的句式中有一種表示假裝的句式特別引人入勝。這種延伸的用法在其他同類動詞如 "佯"、"裝"、"假" 也可以觀察得到，本文也將一併詳論。

關鍵詞：詞匯語義，結構，多義性，語義延伸，假裝，互動