In Search of Covert Grammatical Categories
in Taiwanese Southern Min:
A Cognitive Approach to Verb Semantics[*]

Chinfa Lien

National Tsing Hua University

This paper attempts to uncover some covert grammatical categories in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM). These covert categories can be motivated in terms of specific types of construction. Some verbs are underspecified semantically; pinning down their specific and subtler meanings hinges on a range of constructions in which they occur. We also explore some more covert categories such as dynamicity and volitionality in other similarly underspecified verbs, and the semantic subtleties of some representative TSM words.

Key words: covert, grammatical category, unaccusative, unergative, intransitive, underspecification, Taiwanese Southern Min

1. Introduction

During its historical development, Chinese (including, of course, Taiwanese Southern Min) underwent a typological shift from synthetic to analytic.[1] Compare, for example, the paradigmatic coding in the group of verbs xi^3 洗 'wash (foot)', $guan^4$ 盥 'wash (hand)', mu^4 沐 'wash (head)' and yu^4 浴 'wash (body)' in Old Chinese with the syntagmatic encoding in the modern Chinese general-purpose verb xi^3 洗 'wash'. Word-internal information in the former set of verbs sharing a common semantic domain imposes a selectional restriction on the kinds of objects the verbs can take. Such a

---

[1] See Lien (1999) for an exploration of the typological development of Chinese with respect to causatives in Taiwanese Southern Min.

restriction is no longer present in the modern single verb with semantic underspecification.[2] In other words, many semantic features, formerly coded lexically and extractable from lexemes, have been released and are deployed to construction types; these are of immense theoretical interest requiring detailed exploration.

Overt categories in a linguistic system are marked in every sentence in which each member of the semantic category is involved. Plurality is a good example of overtly marked semantic category in English, but not Chinese. By contrast, covert categories are not marked except in some special constructions. Nouns in modern Chinese are grouped into a range of classes (or rather genders) in a broad sense in terms of semantic properties each class shares, and the semantic feature is not overtly marked on nouns; but whenever the noun in question is quantified by a numeral, it will be marked by a special classifier. Thus, gender distinction in a broad sense can be regarded as involving a range of covert categories in modern Chinese.[3]

In this paper we shall mainly center our attention on the two related senses, viz., 'raise' and 'feed', of the lexeme *chhi*^{7} 飼 in Taiwanese Southern Min (henceforth TSM),[4] and try to tease out the covert categories by which the distinction between them can be made. We shall also deal with other underspecified verbs regarding their covert properties.

Apart from the introduction and concluding remarks, the bulk of this paper consists of five sections: (2) the distinction between *chhi*^{7①} 飼^① 'raise' and *chhi*^{7②} 飼^② 'feed'; (3) underspecified verbs *ching*^{3} 種, *khng*^{3} 囥, *chhah*^{4} 插, and *toe*^{2} 貯; (4) *toa*^{3} 蹛, *tiam*^{3}/*tam*^{3} 店*, *ti*^{7} 佇 and *khia*^{7} 徛; (5) the chameleon 倒; and (6) unaccusative verbs vs. unergative verbs.

---

[2] *Underspecification* is used in lieu of *ambiguity* in this paper when there is a situation in which the specification of some semantic features in a verb will be deferred until it enters a syntactic frame. For example, the verb *khng*^{3} 囥 by itself is non-committal as to the semantic feature of dynamicity. The term *ambiguity* is reserved for cases where a sentence can be given more than one interpretation, but its meaning may not be underspecified.

[3] Whorf (1945, 1956) establishes the covert category as an important notion in research. Cf. his (1945) insightful definition: "A covert category is marked, whether morphologically or by sentence-pattern, only in certain types of sentence and not in every sentence in which a word or element belonging to the category occurs." See Lee (1996) for an overview of Whorf's linguistic theory and its impact. See also Fillmore (1968), for example, for shedding new light on the exploration of covert categories, as well as Chao (1968:9) and Ma (1992, 1998), among others.

[4] The spelling of TSM words is mainly based on the Church romanization found in Douglas (1873), with the following modifications: the use of postposed, superscript numerals in place of tone diacritics; of *ch-* consistently for [ts-]; and of *oo* for [ɔ] ("open *o*").

2. The distinction between *chhi*^{7①} 飼① 'raise' and *chhi*^{7②} 飼② 'feed'

In oversimplified terms, the word *chhi*^{7} 飼 in TSM corresponds to Mandarin *yang*^{3} 養 'raise, grow, keep' and *wei*^{4} 餵 'feed'. Grammatical categories can be coded in various ways, whether lexically, morphologically, or syntactically. The semantic distinction between 'raise, keep, grow' and 'feed' is coded lexically in Mandarin and English, but syntactically in TSM. *Chhi*^{7} 飼 is, therefore, a polysemous word, and its disambiguation depends upon the given construction in which it occurs. Polysemy means that a lexeme is associated with at least two senses that are intimately or remotely related. Thus, in a sense, the two senses are thought of as being related in TSM, as they share a lexeme in common.[5]

One can gradually form a picture of how *chhi*^{7①} 飼① 'raise' and *chhi*^{7②} 飼② 'feed' differ by exploring the following seven points.

2.1 Existential construction

When occurring in an existential sentence, *chhi*^{7} 飼 is interpreted as *chhi*^{7①} 飼① 'raise', not *chhi*^{7②} 飼② 'feed', as in:[6]

(1) Pi^5-a^2 chhi^7 chiok^4 choe^7 chhau^2 hi^5 陂仔飼足濟草魚
 'Lots of grass carp were kept in the reservoir'
(2) In^1 tau^1 u^7 chhi^7 kau^2 因*兜有飼狗^7
 'They keep a dog/dogs'

The existential construction features the structural template of Locative Phrase + Verb + Nominal Phrase, and induces the static meaning of *chhi*^{7①} 飼① 'raise' rather than its activity sense.

---

[5] As insightfully pointed out in Nida & Taber (1972), more often than not, there is a far greater distance between related senses of a lexeme than between synonyms.

[6] The examples in this paper are given in consultation with a number of sources including Chen (1991), Douglas (1873), Embree (1984), Hu (1994), Murakami (1981), Ogawa (1931-32), Tung (2001), and Zhou (1998).

[7] A character marked with an asterisk is a phonetic loan for a syllable of unknown etymology. I have, however, occasionally opted for demotic (rather than etymologically viable) characters without an asterisk, in the interest of intelligibility. For example, 佇 instead of 著 is adopted for the locative marker *ti*^{7} (< *tih*^{8}). See Mei and Yang (1995) for the establishment of 著 as the etymon for the marker in question.

2.2 Argument structure and semantic roles

In terms of argument structure and semantic roles *chhi*^{7②} 飼^① 'raise' is a two-place predicate, whereas *chhi*^{7②} 飼^② 'feed' is a three-place predicate. The argument structure of each of them and its semantic roles can be schematized respectively as follows:

(3) *chhi*^{7②} 飼^① 'raise, support, keep' *chhi*^{7} (X_{agent}, Y_{goal})
(4) *chhi*^{7②} 飼^② 'feed' (X_{agent}, Y_{goal}, Z_{theme})

The predicate *chhi*^{7} 飼 in (3) takes two arguments: X and Y, which bear the role of agent and goal respectively, as in:

(5) Tan^5 thai^3-thai^3 chhi^7 chiok^4 choe^7 niau^1 陳太太飼足濟貓
    'Mrs. Chen keeps lots of cats'[8]

The predicate *chhi*^{7} 飼 in (4) takes three arguments: X, Y, and Z, which assume the role of agent, goal, and theme respectively, as in:

(6) U^7 chit^8 pien^7 goa^2 chhi^7 li^2 bu^2 ling^1 liau^2, koh^4 chhi^7 li^2 gu^5 ling^1
    有一遍我飼你母奶了，擱飼你牛奶[9]
    'Once I breast-fed and then fed you with milk'

Of course, due to information packaging, it is not necessary for both Y_{goal} and Z_{theme} to coöccur.

2.3 Divisibility vs. indivisibility

The time scale can be divided into subsets for *chhi*^{7②} 飼^② 'feed', but not for *chhi*^{7②} 飼^① 'raise', as in:

(7) A^1-Lan^5 mui^2 sa^{n1} tiam^2 ching^1 ka^7 i^{n1}-a^2 chhi^7 chit^8 pai^2 gu^5-ling^1
    阿蘭每三點鐘共嬰仔飼蜀擺牛奶
    'Mary fed the baby with milk every three hours'

---

[8] Here are some more examples: *chhi*^{7} *kau*^{2} 飼狗 'keep a dog', *chhi*^{7} *kia*^{n2} 飼囝 'raise a son/child/children', and *chhi*^{7} *cha*^{1}-*boo*^{2} 飼查某 'keep a mistress'.
[9] More examples of this type: *chhi*^{7} *be*^{5} 飼糜 'feed congee', *chhi*^{7} *ah*^{4}-*a*^{2} 飼鴨仔 'feed the ducks', and *chhi*^{7} *nng*^{7} *sa*^{n1} *chhui*^{3} 飼兩三喙 'feed two or three mouthfuls'.

The distinction between count and mass in nouns seems to be extendable to capture the distinction between $chhi^{7②}$ 飼② 'feed' and $chhi^{7②}$ 飼① 'raise'.[10] The event denoted by the first is discrete and can be cut up into several subparts, whereas the event denoted by the latter can only be taken as a whole and there is no internal structure. One cannot use $chhi^{7②}$ 飼① 'raise' to denote an event that takes place at a point of time. In (8), with a point-of-time adverb, the verb in question can only be construed as meaning 'feed':

(8) Soat^4-a^2 chai^2-khi^2 si^5 kau^2 tiam^2 ka^7 i^{n1}-a^2 chhi^7 gu^2-ling^1
雪仔早起時九點共嬰仔飼牛奶
'Laura fed the baby with milk at 9 a.m.'

For $chhi^{7②}$ 飼② 'feed' every subpart of feeding is still feeding, whereas for $chhi^{7②}$ 飼① 'raise' we can not say that every subpart of raising constitutes raising.

2.4 Time span

In terms of time span the time needed for the event denoted by $chhi^{7②}$ 飼② 'feed' is shorter than that needed for $chhi^{7②}$ 飼① 'raise', as there is a much shorter period of time needed for the whole process of eating. That is why we claim that $chhi^{7②}$ 飼② 'feed' is a stage-level predicate, whereas $chhi^{7②}$ 飼① 'raise' is an individual-level predicate.[11] It should be noted that each of them can be atelic, since both can occur with durative time expressions, as in:

(9) A^1 Hiong^1-a^2 chhi^7 i^{n5}-a^2 chhi^7 poa^{n3} tiam^2 ching^1
阿香仔飼嬰仔飼半點鐘
'Jean fed the baby for half an hour'
(10) In^1 chhi^7 kau^2 chhi^7 sa^{n1} ni^5 a
因*飼狗飼三年矣
'They have kept the dog for three years now'

But unlike $chhi^{7②}$ 飼① 'raise', $chhi^{7②}$ 飼② 'feed' can also be used in a telic situation, as in:

---

[10] It is tempting to think that $chhi^{7②}$ 飼① 'raise', as an individual-level predicate, denotes habit; but (7) expressing repeated acts cannot have an interpretation of raising. So that temptation has to be resisted.

[11] Unlike a stage-level predicate, which refers to a situation of transient nature, an individual-level predicate denotes a permanent state and the state of affairs involved is not subject to change (Kratzer 1995).

(11) Kau^2 a^2 chhi^7 oan^5/ho^2 a
    狗仔飼完/好矣
    'The dog has been fed'

2.5 Generic and specific reading

Chhi^{7①} 飼^① 'raise' tends to occur in a generic sentence in which both the noun phrase and verb are generic and do not anchor in a specific place or temporal locus. For example, *chhi^7* 飼 in a sentence like *Iek^4-a^2 e^7-hng^1 goo^7 tiam^2 ti^7 lau^5-kha^1 ti^7 leh^4 chhi^7 kau^2* 益仔下昏五點佇樓骹佇咧飼狗 with a specific spatial and temporal locus does not have a generic reading. It must be given a specific interpretation 'feed', as attested in the proper rendition that 'Bob is feeding the dog/dogs downstairs at 5 p.m.'

The word *chhi^{7①}* 飼^① as used in proverbs denoting generic facts is always interpreted as 'raise', as in:[12]

(12) Chhi^7 niau^1-chhi^2 ka^7 poo^3-te^7 飼貓鼠，咬布袋[13]
    'The rats one kept destroyed the cloth bag'
(13) Chhi^7 kau^2 ia^7 e^7 io^5 be^2 飼狗也會搖尾[14]
    'Even a dog will wag its tail on seeing its master'
(14) Chhi^7 cha^1-boo^2-kia^{n2} chiah^8 liau^2 bi^2 飼查某囝食了米
    'One always comes to grief on account of raising one's daughter'
(15) Chhi^7 kia^{n2} khah^4 kin^2, chhi^7 pe^7 khah^4 oh^4 飼囝較緊，飼爸較惡
    'It is easier to raise one's children than take care of one's parents'

2.6 Aspectual difference

Chhi^{7②} 飼^② 'feed', a verb denoting activity, can reach a culmination, as in:

(16) Be^5 chhi^7 liau^2 ·a 糜飼了·矣
    'One finished feeding (the baby) with the congee'
(17) Gin^2-a^2 chhi^7 pa^2 ·a 囡仔飼飽·矣
    'The baby was full from feeding'

Thus, depending on the context *chhi^{7②}* 飼^② 'feed' can be used to denote activity or accomplishment in the sense of Vendler (1967). By contrast, no culmination of the event denoted by *chhi^{7②}* 飼^② 'raise' is involved; nevertheless, the event can be terminated, as in:

---

[12] The following proverbs are taken from Hsu (1998:625-627).
[13] This proverb is usually a comment on an ungrateful act.
[14] It means that an ingrate is even inferior to dogs'.

(18) Gin^2-a^2 $chhi^7$ toa^7-han^3 $tioh^8$ li^5 kha^1-$chhiu^2$ 囡仔飼大漢, 著離骹手
     'One can be free of one's burden when the child grows up'

(19) Gin^2-a^2 koh^4 $chhi^7$ sa^{n1} ni^5 $tioh^4$ toa^7-han^7 a   囡仔擱飼三年著大漢矣
     'Three more years and the kid will grow up'

2.7 Basic vs. extended sense

Chhi^{7②} 飼^② 'feed' is a bona fide verb of feeding, whereas *chhi*^{7①} 飼^① has to do with support or providing care, that is, attend to what the charge needs.[15] As shown in the following table, *chhi*^{7②} 飼^② 'feed' and *chhi*^{7①} 飼^① 'raise' in TSM correspond to *wei*^{4} 餵 and *yang*^{3} 養 in Mandarin respectively:

	TSM	Examples	Mandarin	Examples	Gloss
1	飼^② $chhi^7$	飼奶 $chhi^7$ $ling^1$	餵 wei^4	餵奶 wei^4 nai3	feed (sb.) with milk
2	飼^① $chhi^7$	飼狗 $chhi^7$ kau^2	養 $yang^3$	養狗 $yang^3$ gou3	keep a dog/dogs
3	種 $ching^3$	種蘭花[16] $ching^3$ lan^5-hoe^1	養 $yang^3$	養蘭花 $yang^3$ lan^2-hua^1	grow orchid
4	生 si^{n1}	生一個查某囝 si^1 $chit^8$ e^5 cha^1-boo^2 kia^{n2}	養 $yang^3$	養了一個女兒[17] $yang^3$ le yi^1 ge^4 nyu^3 er^2	give birth to a daughter

There is a one-to-many relationship between sememes and lexemes (Lamb 1964). For example, the lexeme *chhi*^{7} 飼 corresponds to two sememes: sense 1 'to feed' 飼^② and sense 2 'to keep' 飼^① in TSM, whereas *yang*^{3} 養 corresponds at least three sememes; (2) 'raise', (3) 'grow' and (4) 'give birth to' in Mandarin. There is a distinction between 飼^① in TSM and *yang*^{3} 養 in Mandarin with respect to the selectional restriction imposed on the object. The object of 飼^① has to be animate, whether human or animal (as in *chhi*^{7} *kia*^{n2} 飼囝 'raise a son' and *chhi*^{3} *niau*^{1} 飼貓 'keep a cat'), but *chhi*^{7} *lan*^{5}

---

[15] 飼, with departing tone, originally meaning 'cause to eat', is a causative form of 食 'eat', an entering tone word; cf. Wang et al. 2000:1660. According to Mei (1989), the causative form in question is derived by attaching the causative prefix *s- to the root 食. Lien (1999) also touches on the tonal alternation as one of causative morphological processes. It is obvious that the meaning of 'raise' as witnessed in TSM is an extension of its original causative sense. TSM is more conservative than Mandarin in this regard, since (except for some frozen expressions like *si*^{4}-*yang*^{4} 飼養 'raise', *si*^{4}-*liau*^{4} 飼料 'fodder, feed', etc.) *si*^{4} 飼 has been replaced by *wei*^{4} 餵 in Mandarin.

[16] *Chhi*^{7} *lan*^{5}-*hoe*^{1} 飼蘭花 is acceptable to some native speakers, especially to horticulturists.

[17] This sense seems to be absent in Taiwanized Mandarin.

hoe¹ 飼蘭花 'grow orchid' is unacceptable.[18] By contrast, *yang³* 養 in Mandarin does not have such a constraint, since the object noun can denote an animal or a plant.

To summarize, though *chhi⁷* 飼① and *chhi⁷* 飼② do not differ in phonological shape, their distinction is, on close examination revealed most explicitly in terms of a range of covert categories involved. The theoretical framework as established here seems to be extendable to other similar cases, as revealed in such polysemous words as *chhoa⁷* 拽 'to lead, supervise' (as in *chhoa⁷ i¹ khi³ khoaⁿ³ iaⁿ²-hi³* 拽伊去看影戲 'take him/her to the movie' and *chhoa⁷ gien²-kiu³-sing¹* 拽研究生 'supervise graduate students') and *te³* 綴 'to follow, to have an affair with' (as in *te³ i¹ chhiuⁿ³* 綴伊唱 'sing after him/her', *te³ cha¹-boo²* 綴查某 'have an affair with a woman'), and *kiaⁿ⁵* 行 'walk, to date/have an intimate relation with' (as in *kiaⁿ⁵ chit⁸ tiam² ching¹* 行蜀點鐘 'walk for an hour' and *kah⁴ i¹ teh⁴ kiaⁿ⁵* 合伊佇行 'date him or her, on intimate terms with him or her'). The distinction between stage-level interpretation and individual-level interpretation as shown in each pair of examples is parallel to the one between *chhi⁷②* 飼② 'feed' and *chhi⁷①* 飼① 'raise'.[19]

Before closing it should be noted that all sorts of events associated with 飼② 'feed' can serve as an argument in the Davidsonian sense (Davidson 1967) for the temporal predicate (viz., the adverb). By contrast, 飼① 'raise' in the construction with existential or generic readings is not amenable to such an interpretation. However, as shown below, both 飼② 'feed' and 飼① 'raise' can occur with the experiential marker *pat⁴* 別:

(20) a. I¹ pat⁴ chhi⁷ niu⁵-a²
         伊別飼娘*仔
         'He grew silkworms (once)'
     b. Goa² m⁷ pat⁴ ing⁷ kut⁴-thau⁵ chhi⁷ (ke³) kau²-a²
         我勿別用骨頭飼(過)狗仔
         'I have never fed the dog with any bone'

Thus, in Davidsonian terms, *pat⁴* 別 can be construed as a predicate that takes a state or activity as its argument.

---

[18] The object need not be an animal-denoting noun, as in *chhi⁷ chu¹* 飼珠 'cultivate pearls' (Tung 2001:251)

[19] Given such a parallelism it is not economical to treat *chhi⁷②* 飼② 'feed' and *chhi⁷①* 飼① 'raise' as a pair of homophones.

3. Underspecification of verbs *ching³* 種, *khng³* 园, *chhah⁴* 插, and *toe²* 貯

The dynamicity of verbs such as *ching³* 種 'to plant', *khng³* 园 'put', *chhah⁴* 插 'insert', and *toe²* 貯 'fill' cannot be determined in isolation. It is only in sentence structure that we can pin down exactly what it means in terms of its *Aktionsart*. Each of them can be used to denote activity when preceded by the progressive marker *teh⁴* or accomplishment that involves a resulting state following a period of activity, in the sense of Vendler (1967). In the following examples, the (a) sentences are disposal constructions where the verb in question is dynamic, whereas the (b) and (c) sentences are existential constructions where the verb in question is static.

khng³ 园

(21) a. I^1 chiong^1 han^1-chu^5 khng^3 ti^7 tia^{n2} lai^7 伊將番薯园佇鼎里
   'She put the sweet potatoes in the wok'
b. Chai^3-thau^5 khng^3 kui^1 king^1 chhu^3 菜頭园歸間厝
   'The radish filled the house'
b'. Ian^5-pit^4 khng^3 ti^7 toh^4-a^2 ting^2 鉛筆园佇書桌仔頂
   'The pencil was on the table'
c. Ti^7 piah^4 kha^1 pi^{n1} khng^3 kui^1 e^5 choa^2 te^7 a^2 佇壁骹邊园幾個紙袋仔
   'At the corner of the wall were several paper bags'

ching³ 種

(22) a. Ban^7-a^2 chiong^1 khun^5 chhai^3 ching^3 ti^7 chhai^3-hng^5 a^2 lai^7
   萬仔將芹菜種佇菜園仔裡
   'Billy planted the celery in the vegetable garden'
b. Te^5 ching^3 ti^7 soa^{n1} ting^2 茶種佇山頂
   'There were tea shrubs on the hilltop'
c. Kau^1 a^2 pi^{n1} ching^3 chin^1 choe^7 thoo^5 tau^7 溝仔邊種真濟塗豆
   'Lots of peanuts were planted near the ditch'

chhah⁴ 插

(23) a. Cha^1-boo^2 koa^{n1} chiong^1 hiu^{n1} chhah^4 ti^7 hiu^{n1} loo^5 lai^7
   查某官將香插佇香爐裡
   'The girl stuck the joss stick into the incense burner'
b. Moo^5 pit^4 chhah^4 ti^7 pit^4 tang^5 lai^7 毛筆插佇筆筒裡
   'Writing brushes were put in the pen holder'

    c. Hoe^1 kan^1 lai^7 chhah^4 ng^5 hoe^1 花矸裡插黃花
       'There were flowers in the vase'

toe^2 貯

  (24) a. Toe^2 png^7 hoo^7 i^1 chiah^8 貯飯予伊食
       'Fill the bowl with rice and give it to him'
      b. Png^7 toe^2 ti^7 oa^{n2} lai^7-toe^2 飯貯佇碗裡底
       'The rice was in the bowl'
      c. Oo^1 kan^1-a^2 toe^2 tau^7-iu^5 烏矸仔貯豆油
       'The black bottle held soy sauce'[20]
      c'. Ang^3-a^2 lai^7 toe^2 chhai^3-poo^2 甕仔裡貯菜脯
       'There are dried radishes in the jar'

To recapitulate, the constructions in which verbs in this group can occur are reducible to the following three basic types represented schematically:

  (25) (X_{agent}-prep-Y_{theme}-V-prep-Z_{loc}-localizer)
  (26) (Y_{theme}-V-prep-Z_{loc}-localizer)
  (27) (Z_{loc}-localizer-V-Y_{theme})

Evidently, the verb in this category can occur either in front of the locative expression, as in sentences (b), or after it, as in sentences (c). By contrast, other locomotive verbs like *pe^1* 飛 'fly', *siu^5* 游 'swim', and *chau^2* 走 'run' can only occur after the locative expression. They are not verbs of accomplishment and cannot occur in a locative construction denoting a static situation. A sentence like **Pi^5 a^2 lai^7 siu^5 chhau^2 hi^5* *陂仔裡泅草魚 'Grass carp are swimming in the reservoir' is unacceptable in TSM, whereas it is perfectly okay to say *Chi^2 tang^2 li^3 you^2 ·zhe cao^3 yu^2* 池塘裡游·著草魚 in Mandarin.

4. *Toa^3* 蹛, *tiam^3/tam^3* 店*, *ti^7* 佇 and *khia^7* 徛

    Toa^3 蹛, *tiam^3/tam^3* 店* and *ti^7* 佇 are coverbs, since each of them can function as verb or preposition, depending on the sentence pattern in which it occurs. A coverb can

---

[20] This is a riddle-like two-part expression, *xie^1-hou^4 yu^3* 歇後語, in TSM in which the first part is explicitly stated and the second part is to be filled by the addressee. In this case the calculated meaning is 'cannot be seen or made out', since both the bottle and its contents are black.

be regarded as a word at the transitional stage in grammaticalization of verb to preposition. *Toa^3* 蹛 and *tiam^3/tam^3* 店* seem to be free variants. When used as a stage-level predicate, each of them means 'remain in a certain place for a short period of time', or less cumbersomely 'stay, stop', as in:

(28) Giok^4-a^2 toa^3/tiam^3 in^1 ping^5-iu^2 tau^1 nng^7 sa^{n1} kang^1
菊仔蹛/店*因*朋友兜兩三工
'Lisa stayed with her friend for several days'

(29) Hok^4-a^2 e^7-hng^1-am^7 toa^3/tiam^3 li^2-sia^7
福仔下昏暗蹛/店*旅社
'Ben stopped at the hotel for the night'

(30) I^1 beh^4 toa^3/tiam^3 mi^5
伊卜蹛/店*暝
'He would like to stay overnight'

They can also be used as an individual-level predicate denoting remaining in a place permanently, or at least for a longer period of time, as in:

(31) Tan^5 ·ka toa^3/tiam^3 chng^1-kha^1 陳·家蹛/店*莊骹
'The Chens live in the countryside'

(32) I^1 toa^3/tiam^3 kong^1-boe^7 kiok^8 伊蹛/店*公賣局
'He was employed in the government monopoly bureau'

We can see that while the difference between stage-level predicate and individual-predicate is coded lexically in English, it has to be arrived at by the semantic co-composition of the verb and its object, a co-composition that may have to be supported by pragmatic information.

(33) In^1 ta^1-poo^2 choo^2 iah^4 ti^7 ·leh 因*查甫祖抑佇·咧
'His grandpa is still alive'

(34) U^7 lang^5 ti^7 ·leh ·bo? 有儂佇·咧·無?
'Is anybody home?'

Ti^7 佇 as a pure verb of existence in both of the above sentences can not be replaced by *toa^3/tiam^3*. On the other hand, when used as prepositions, *toa^3* 蹛, *tiam^3/tam^3* 店* and *ti^7* 佇 are interchangeable, and locative prepositional phrases can occur preverbally or postverbally, subject to the constraints of the semantics of the verbs in question, as in:

(35) U^7 $chit^8$ e^5 lau^7 a^1 peh^4 toa^3/$tiam^3$/ti^7 $chhiu^7$ a^2 kha^1 $chhiu^7$ $chhin^3$

有一個老阿伯蹛/店*/佇樹仔骹秋凊

'An old man cooled himself under the tree'

(36) Ti^{n1} ke^2 $khng^3$ toa^3/$tiam^3$/ti^7 $chau^3$ $ting^2$

甜粿园蹛/店*/佇灶頂

'The sweet rice cake was put on the kitchen stove'

Unlike the coverbs toa^3 蹛, $tiam^3$/tam^3 店*, ti^7 佇, $khia^7$ 倚 can only function as a verb, although its meaning has experienced a semantic shift from a posture verb 'stand' to an individual-level predicate meaning 'live somewhere permanently, as in Ong^5 sio^2-$chiah^8$ $khia^7$ Tam^7-$chui^2$ 王小姐倚淡水 'Miss Wang lives in Tanshui'.

Toa^3 蹛 and $tiam^3$/tam^3 店*, on the one hand, and ti^7 佇, on the other, are exactly interchangeable in all cases. For example,

(37) Che^7 toa^3/$tiam^3$ hia^1 tan^2 goa^2! 坐蹛/店*遐等我!

'Sit there waiting for me!'

(38) Che^7 ti^7 ·leh^4 hia^1 tan^2 goa^2 坐佇·咧遐等我

'(He) sat there waiting for me'

The use of different types of preposition makes a difference in sentence interpretation. It is obvious that the selection of preposition is related to the shift of mood. The first sentence is in imperative mood, whereas the second sentence is in declarative mood and a description of a static situation. In a sense, mood is coded lexically and structurally in this case.

Another case of lexical coding of mood is that types of mood change with the shift of pronominal forms. Plural forms of personal pronouns are used in place of singular forms in genitive construction. For example, TSM for 'my father' is gun^2 lau^7-pe^7 阮老爸 instead of goa^2 e^5 lau^7-pe^7 我的老爸 where gun^2 meaning 'we/us' is the exclusive first person plural form whereas goa^2 我 is the first person singular form. Only in the exclamatory mood is goa^2 我 used, as in goa^2 kia^{n2} 我囝 'Oh, my son!'. Thus, gun^2 kia^{n2} 阮囝 is in indicative mood whereas goa^2 kia^{n2} is in exclamatory mood'.[21]

5. The chameleon 倒

倒 boasts of a range of uses and can be regarded as an amphibious form functioning both as lexeme and morpheme (i.e., grammatical function word), depending on sentence patterns. To^2 倒 and to^3 倒, which represent two separate lexemes, form a pair of

---

[21] Huang (1959) observes that such a special construction is used as a vocative. But he does not consider it on the sentential level.

homographs. Aside from their semantic distinction there is a phonological (viz., tonal) difference between them. At first blush, one might think that to^3 倒 'dump, pour, return' differs from to^2 倒 'fall, lie down' in terms of the presence or absence of the semantic feature [volitionality], but because of the analytic nature of modern Chinese (Lien 1999), the situation seems to be more complicated than expected, and one can detect a subtle interaction between lexical and constructional aspects of meaning. For example, (39a) is dynamic, whereas (39b) and (39c) are static. Intriguingly enough, (39c) is subject to two interpretations. It can refer to a non-volitional state or a volitional act. It has an unambiguous volitional reading with the presence of the adverb $thiau^1$-ti^3 刁致 'deliberately'.

(39) a. $Chiu^7$-a^2 to^2 loh^8 khi^3 a 樹仔倒落去矣
            'The tree has fallen down'
      b. Bin^5-$chhng^5$ $ting^2$ to^2 $chit^8$ e^4 pi^{n7} $lang^5$ 眠床頂倒蜀個病人
            'There is a sick person lying in bed'
      c. I^1 ($thiau^1$-ti^3) to^2 teh^4 $khun^2$ 伊(刁致)倒著睏
            'He lay sleeping (on purpose)'

Likewise, both to^2 $siau^3$ 倒數 'welsh on a debt, jump a bill' and to^2 $tiam^3$ 倒店 'go bankrupt' are dynamic, but they are non-committal as to the semantic feature of volitionality, whereas (40) constitutes a volitional activity:

(40) Li^2 $tang^1$-si^5 beh^4 to^3 khi^3 Tai^5-lam^5? 汝當時卜倒去台南?
        'When are you going back to Tainan?'

When to^2 倒 functions as an attributive adjective, it is static, as in to^3 bin^7 倒面 'the opposite side'. Obviously the nature of either to^3 or to^2 cannot be determined in isolation and its semantic and syntactic properties have to be teased out in terms of the types of construction in which it occurs.

Thus, volitionality is not a decisive feature to distinguish to^3 倒 and to^2 倒. But it seems to play a pivotal role in drawing a line between $thoo^2$ 吐 'to spit' (volitional) and $thoo^3$ 吐 'vomit' (non-volitional), as exemplified in (41) and (42), although it is disputable whether the tonal alternation in question is a bona fide derivational process, as they constitute pretty isolated, rare cases.

(41) In^1 ang^1 $thoo^2$ $chit^8$ e^5 toa^7 $khui^3$ 因*尪吐一個大氣
        'Her husband heaved a long sigh'
(42) I^1 $chiu^2$ lim^1 siu^{n7} $choe^7$ $tioh^8$ e^7 $thoo^3$ 伊酒飲傷濟著會吐
        'Whenever he had a cup too much he would throw up'

6. Unaccusative verbs vs. unergative verbs

The semantic category of directionality can be coded in a variety of ways. It can be coded lexically, morphologically, or syntactically. An example of lexical coding is *ka³* 教 'teach' and *oh⁸* 學 'learn' with a suppletive relationship. There are two types of morphological coding: (1) internal modification, viz., either segmental (initial or final) alternation or tonal alternation, and (2) affixation. For internal modification, one only finds instances of tonal alternation, as in *boe²* 買 'buy' and *boe³* 賣 'sell'; an example of affixation is provided by the contrast between *kaufen* 'buy' and *verkaufen* 'sell' in German. Examples of syntactic coding is furnished by verbs such as *choo¹* 租 'rent', *se³* 稅 'rent', *chioh⁴* 借 'borrow/lend', *pun¹* 分 'give/get', and *kho²* 考 'examine/be examined'; their directionality is determined by reference to the construction in which they occurs.[22] The case explored below is a kind of syntactical coding, which also involves covert categories.

It has been recently proposed that there are two kinds of intransitive verbs: (1) unaccusative verbs, and (2) unergative verbs. Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) advance a set of distinctive features that distinguish between them, as summed up in the following table:

	Unaccusative verbs	Unergative verbs
A	Internal argument only	External argument only
B	It has an underlying object	It has an underlying subject
C	Externally caused verbs	Internally caused verbs
D	Its argument is the same as the object of the transitive verb	Its argument is not coterminous with the object of the transitive verb
E	There is a related transitive causative verb[23]	No related transitive causative verb

The distinctive features listed above represent many aspects in the grammatical system

---

[22] The syntactical coding is labeled in traditionally grammar as *shi¹ shou⁴ tong² ci²* 施受同辭; see Yang 1974:4-6. Chinese scholars are often puzzled by the phenomenon that 'the same word' can be interpreted in a mutually contradictory manner. In fact, there are two types of *shi¹ shou⁴ tong² ci²*. On the one hand, the same word can be used to denote direct/inverse activity, as in *choo¹* 租, where directionality is coded structurally. On the other hand are homographs, exemplified by 食 and 飼, where tonal alternation plays a derivational role. See note 15 for further discussion.

[23] The patterning of an unaccusative verb with its causative counterpart, as shown in the relation between *break* (v.i.) and *break* (v.t.), is generally referred to as ergativity (Lyons 1968:350-371).

including argument structure, semantic properties and syntactic pattern. In the interest of understanding the above table, a distinction should be made between argument structure and grammatical function. Argument structure is constructed on the basis of the *n*-tuple argument that a predicate can take, whereas grammatical function refers to the grammatical function such as subject and object that a noun phrase assumes in a sentence. External argument is the argument beyond the maximal project of a VP, and internal argument is in the VP. The distinctive features listed in A and B are motivated on cross-linguistic evidence. An internally caused verb involves the situation in which some inherent properties of the verb in question are responsible for bringing about its eventuality, whereas an externally caused verb denotes the eventuality that can be attributed to an external cause. It is therefore quite evident that an externally caused verb is intimately related to a causative verb, whether they are morphologically related or not.

As unergative verbs, *chhio³* 笑 'laugh', *khau³* 哭 'cry', *pe¹* 飛 'fly', *siu⁵* 泅 'swim', *pe⁵* 爬 'crawl', and so on, are volitional, internally caused, and have an underlying subject. Consider each pair of the following sentences:

(43) a. Gun² boo² ti⁷ leh⁴ chhio³ goa² ti³ e⁵ hit⁴ ting² chhau²-loe⁷-a²
          阮某佇咧笑我戴的許頂草笠仔[24]
          'My wife was laughing because of the straw hat that I wore'
     b. Gun² boo² ti⁷ leh⁴ chhio³ 阮某佇咧笑
          'My wife was laughing'
     c. Gin²-a² ti⁷ leh⁴ khau³ chhui³ ta¹ 囡仔佇咧哭喙焦[25]
          'The child was crying for thirst'
     d. Gin²-a² ti⁷ leh⁴ khau³ 囡仔佇咧哭
          'The child was crying'

The verb in each instance is a one-place predicate; it is predicated of the subject, and the object is not a complement, but rather an adjunct of the predicate. It is volitional since it can be used in the imperative.

By contrast, as shown in the following sentences, *lak⁴* 落 'shed', *lau³* 落 'shed', *hoat⁴* 發 'produce', *poah⁸ tng⁷* 跋斷 'break by stripping', *phah⁴-m⁷-ki^n3* 拍勿見 'lose', *lau⁵* 流 'shed', *si^n1* 生 'produce', *lau⁵* 留 'grow', *choai⁷* 跩 'sprain', *chhoa⁷* 拽

---

[24] *Chhio³* 笑 as an unergative intransitive verb is different from *chhio³* 笑 as a transitive verb, as in *m⁷ thang¹ chhio³ lang⁵ toa⁷-khoo¹* 勿通笑儂大箍 'Don't laugh at others' obesity'.

[25] It should be noted that when followed by an adjunct the verb has undergone a metaphorical extension in the (a) sentences and is not taken in its literal sense. For example, *khau³ kan¹-khoo²* 哭艱苦 means 'complain about hardship'.

'release involuntarily', and so on, are each an unaccusative/ergative predicate denoting an involuntary activity.

(44) I^1 lak^4 nng^7 ki^1 $chhui^3$ khi^2 伊落兩枝喙齒
'He shed two teeth'

(45) $Chiau^2$-a^2 lau^3 mng^5 鳥仔落毛
'The bird molted'

(46) $Ching^5$-$chhiu^7$ tih^4 lak^4 $hioh^8$ a^2 榕樹仔落箬仔
'The banyan shed its leaves'

(47) $Chhiu^7$-a^2 tih^4 $hoat^4$ i^{n2} 樹仔仔發引|
'The tree is budding'

(48) I^1 $poah^8$ tng^7 $chhiu^2$ kut^4 伊跋斷手骨
'He broke his hand'

(49) I^1 $phah^4$-m^7-ki^{n3} $chhiu^2$-pio^2-a^2 伊拍勿見手錶[26]
'He lost his watch'

(50) I^1 lau^5 bak^8-sai^2 伊流目屎
'He shed his tear'

(51) I^1 lau^7 phi^{n7} ($chui^2$) 伊流鼻(水)
'He had a runny nose'

(52) I^1 lau^7 $chin^1$ $choe^7$ koa^{n7} 伊流真濟汗
'He sweated profusely'

(53) I^1 si^{n1} $liap^8$ a^2 伊生粒仔
'He had a boil'

(54) I^1 lau^5 $chhiu^2$-$chhiu^1$ 伊留喙鬚
'He grows a beard'

(55) I^1 $chai^7$ $tioh^8$ kha^1 伊拽著骹
'He sprained his foot'

(56) I^1 tia^{n7}-tia^{n7} mi^5·si $chhoa^7$ lio^7 伊定定瞑時搨尿
'He often wet the bed at night'

The verb in question takes the element following it as its underlying object. Since each sentence has a subject and an object, one might be misled into thinking the verb is a two-place predicate, but this is not the case. Closer examination will show that there is a part-whole relation between subject and object or a possessive relation. Each sentence has an inheritance link with a construction where subject and object are merged into a

---

[26] *Phah^4-m^7-ki^{n3}* 拍勿見 literally cause-not-seen has become a fusional word *phang^3-khi^{n3}* 'lose' in modern TSM.

possessive construction with the object as the head. For example, *Ching⁵-chhiu⁷ ti⁷ leh⁴ lak⁴ hioh⁸ a²* 榕樹佇落箬仔 'The banyan is shedding its leaves' is linked to *Ching⁵-chhiu⁷ e⁵ hioh⁸ a² lak⁴ loh⁸ lai⁵ a* 榕樹的箬仔落●落●來矣 'The leaves of the banyan tree have been shed'. It is therefore justifiable to regard the verbs in this class as one-place predicates. Unlike English where the sole noun that the unaccusative verb takes has to be preposed to the preverbal position in syntactic structure, TSM witnesses it *in situ* in the object position. This behavior seems to lend support to the claim that unaccusative verbs involve an internal argument.

As unaccusative verbs denote externally caused activity, they are related to causative verbs in some cases. For example, verbs like *thng³* 褪 are of amphibious nature and function both as unaccusative and causative verbs. Traditionally ergativity refers to the situation in which the relation between the object of the transitive verb is the same as the relation between the subject of the intransitive verb (Lyons 1968:350-371). Compare a pair of sentences like this:

(57) a. Am¹-phoo²-chhe⁵-a² e⁷ thng³ khak⁴ 俺*蜅蠐會褪殼
     'The cicada will shed its skin'
  b. Am¹-phoo²-chhe⁵-a² e⁵ khak⁴ thng³ liau² a 俺*蜅蠐的殼褪了矣
     'The skin of the cicada has been completely shed'

Thng³ 褪 constitutes a case of ergativity since its relation with the object in (57a) as well as (58) is coterminous with its relation with its subject in (57b).

(58) A¹-ma² teh⁴ ka⁷ A¹ Hong¹ thng³ saⁿ¹ 阿嬤佇共阿鋒褪衫
    'Grandma was removing Tommy's clothes'

A similar inheritance link exists between (59a) and (59b):

(59) a. I¹ lau³ sai² 伊落屎
     'He had a loose bowel'
  b. I¹ ti⁷ leh⁴ lau³ chui² 伊佇咧落水
     'She is draining water'

Again, ergativity is discernible in 落 *lau³* as it is by itself underspecified with respect to the two senses of '(the liquid) flow from (a source)' and 'to drain (water)'. The first meaning, as in (59a), involves a nonvolitional activity, and two NPs have a part-whole relationship, whereas the second meaning, as in (59b), denotes a volitional activity as well as causativity. It is in the first sense that 落 *lau³* functions as an unaccusative verb.

We have distinguished between unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs on the basis of their semantic and syntactic properties with special attention to the covert categories involved, including in particular the semantic features of volitionality and part/whole relationship.[27] Verbs have been classified in either way by subjecting them to diagnostic tests. But there are also verbs which are of amphibious nature. They can function both as unergative verbs and unaccusative verbs. The intransitive verb *chau²* 走 is a case in point. Consider the following two sets of sentences:[28]

(60) a. chau² hoan¹-a² hoan² 走番仔反 'flee foreign rebelling'
     b. chau² thoo²-hui² 走土匪 'escape from bandits'
     c. thau¹ chau² chu¹ 偷走書 'play truant'[29]
     d. chau² se³ 走稅 'evade taxes'
     e. chau² sai¹ pak⁸ hoo⁷ 走西北雨 'seek shelter from sudden downpour'
(61) a. (hiah⁸-kong²) chau² chui² (靴管)走水 '(e.g., rain boots) leak water'
     b. chau² tien⁷ 走電 'leak electricity'
     c. chau² bi⁷ 走味 'lose flavour'
     d. chau² im¹ 走音 'be out of tune'
     e. (chhia¹ lian²) chau² hong¹ (車輾)走風 '(of tire) leak'

Sentences in (60) feature unergative verbs, and each verb is predicated of the subject rather than the object, as in *Lau²-peh⁴-si^{n3} ti⁷ leh⁴ chau³ hoan¹-a² hoan²* 老百姓 佇咧走番仔反 'People were fleeing foreign rebellion' where *chau³* 走 is predicated of the subject *lau²-peh⁴-si^{n3}* 老百姓 'common people'. The object noun carries the semantic role of source and it can be dropped without affecting the semantic relation between subject and verb. Conversely, sentences in (61) embrace unaccusative verbs each of which is predicated of object rather than subject, as in *(hiah⁸-kong²) chau² chui²* (靴管)走水 '(e.g., rain boots) leak water' where *chau³* 走 is predicated of the object *chui²* 水 'water', rather than the subject *hiah⁸-kong²* 靴管. The word order of the VN

---

[27] See Chappell and McGregor (1995) for a collection of papers on exploring the part-whole relation in a typological perspective.

[28] Chao (1968:310) shows that the VN construction realized as *xiu¹ che¹* 修車 'repair the car, have the car repaired', *xi³ yi¹-shang* 洗衣裳 'wash clothes, have the clothes washed', and *shua¹ xie²* 刷鞋 'shine the shoes, have one's shoes shined' in Mandarin is ambiguous between plain meaning and causative meaning. So causative interpretation constitutes a covert category associated with this construction. Unlike the VN constructions in (60) and (61), where the interpretation is based on semantic and syntactic factors, the VN construction in Mandarin that Chao gives has to be interpreted on the basis of contextual considerations.

[29] It literally means 'escape from books on the sly'. A similar expression is *chau² oh⁴* 走學 'escape from learning/school'.

construction can be reversed and the semantic role of the NP remains unchanged, as in *chau² bi⁷* 走味 'lose flavor' and *Bi⁷ chau² liau² a* 味走了矣 'Flavor has all been lost'. In terms of conceptual structure, sentences in (60) can be characterized as X_{agent}+V+Y_{source}, and those in sentences (61) feature $X_{source/location}$+V+Y_{theme}. The activity denoted by sentences in (60) involves an agent and it is therefore a volitional act, whereas the subject in each sentence (61) is not an agent, and therefore does not engage in a voluntary activity. In the latter case there is also a part-whole relationship between subject and object.

The verbs in the 'subject'-less constructions denoting meteorological condition shown below can be also regarded as belonging to the class of unaccusative verbs:

(62) a. Thau³ lam⁵ hong¹ 透南風
          'There is a wind blowing southward'
      b. Loh⁸ toa⁷ hoo⁷ 落大雨
          'There is a heavy rain/It rained heavily'
      c. Choh⁴ hong¹-thai¹ 做風颱
          'There is a typhoon/We had a typhoon'
      d. Tan⁵ lui⁵-kong¹ 霆雷公
          'It is thundering'
      e. Choe³ toa⁷-chui² 作大水
          'There is a flood/we had a flood'

The N in the V-N construction as shown above carries new information. Its word order can be reversed and still makes sense, but there is a difference in the information packaging. The preposed N will carry old information, instead. Thus, N in V-N, as in *loh⁸ hoo⁷* 落雨 'It rained' and N in N-V, as in *hoo⁷ loh⁸* 雨落 'the rain took place', share the semantic role of theme and meet the defining feature of unaccusative verbs.[30] The position supposed to be occupied by 'subject' can be filled by locative or temporal expressions, as in *Lam⁵-poo⁷ choe³ toa⁷-chui²* 南部做大水 'There was a flood in the south' and *Cha¹-mi⁵ loh⁸ toa⁷ hoo⁷* 昨暝落大雨 'It rained heavily last night'. Such meteorological sentences occur in existential constructions featuring the template of loc/temp-V-N_{theme} and express dynamic (rather than static) existence where activity involved is externally caused by an implicit agent in nature.

---

[30] Note that no inheritance link can be established for an unergative verb like *pe¹* 飛 'fly', since *chiau² pe¹* 鳥飛 'the bird flies' is a sentence, whereas *pe¹ chiau²* 飛鳥 'the flying bird' is a phrase.

7. Concluding remarks

The goal of this paper has been the uncovering of covert categories in TSM. First of all, we build our case by examining the distinction between two related uses of the lexeme *chhi*[7] in terms of semantic and syntactic criteria, including sentence types (such as existential and generic sentences), argument structure and semantic role, the notion of divisibility, the experience marker, activity vs. event without internal structure, and the selectional restriction of the verbs. Second, we look into a set of underspecified verbs such as *ching*[3] 種, *khng*[3] 园, *to*[2] 倒, *chhah*[4] 插, and *toe*[2] 貯. We argue that the presence of the semantic feature of dynamicity hinges on the construction in which they occur. Third, we come to grips with verbs such as *toa*[3] 蹛, *tiam*[3]/*tam*[3] 店*, *ti*[7] 佇 and *khia*[7] 徛, and we find that a distinction between stage-level use and individual-level use can be made. Lastly, we put forth two kinds of intransitives: unaccusative verbs and unergative accusatives, in terms of sentence types on which a semantic feature (volitionality) depends.

As Chinese shifts from a synthetic language to an analytic one, morphological ways of marking grammatical categories have given way to syntactic ways of marking. An important consequence of such a typological change is the reassignment of the built-in information on lexemes to construction types, and this is where covert categories in Chinese lie and can be fruitfully explored.[31] Studies in this paper show that constructions play an important role in contributing meanings to sentence interpretation in consonant with the claim of the theory of construction grammar (Fillmore et al. 1988, Goldberg 1995, Jackendoff 1997 & Cheng 1999).

---

[31] The issues pertaining to word classes and subject and object are intimately related to the typological nature of Chinese. There is perennial interest in tackling these problems (see Hu 1996, Lyu et al. 1956 among many others).

References

Chao, Yuen Ren. 1968. *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chappell, Hilary, and William McGregor. (eds.) 1995. *The Grammar of Inalienability: A Typological Perspective on Body Part Terms and the Part-whole Relation.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Chen, Hsiu. 1991. *Taiwanhua Dacidian* [*A Comprehensive Dictionary of Taiwanese*]. Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co.

Cheng, Robert L. 1999. Taiyu xuci yuyi bianhua he dongli jian de hudong [The changing forces and their interaction in the meaning of some Taiwanese function words]. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, New Series 29:551-588.

Davidson, Donald. 1967. The logical form of action sentences. *The Logic of Decision and Action*, ed. by Nicholas Rescher, 81-95. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Douglas, Cartairs. 1873. *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy with the Principal Variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew Dialects.* London: Trubner and Co.

Embree, Bernard L. M. (ed.) 1984. *A Dictionary of Southern Min* [*Taiwanese-English Dictionary*]. Taipei: Taipei Language Institute.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1968. The case for case. *Universals in Linguistic Theory,* ed. by Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms, 1-88. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Fillmore, Charles J., Paul Kay and Mary C. O'Connor. 1988. Regularity and idiomaticity in grammatical construction: The case of *let alone. Language* 64:501-538.

Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Hsu, Fuchuan. 1998. *Fuquan Taiyan Yudian* [*Fuquan Dictionary of Taiwanese Proverbs*]. Taipei: Hsu Fuchuan.

Hu, Hsinlin. 1994. *Fenlei Taiyu Xiao Cidian* [*A Compact Taiwanese Thesaurus*]. Taipei: Ziliwanbaoshe Wenhua Chubanbu.

Hu, Mingyang. (ed.) 1996. *Cilei Wenti Kaocha* [*On Word Classes*]. Beijing: Beijing Yuyan Xueyuan Chubanshe.

Huang, Dinghua. 1959. Minnan fangyan li de rencheng daici [Personal pronouns in Southern Min]. *Zhongguo Yuwen* 1959.12:571-544.

Jackendoff, Ray. 1997. Twistin' the night away. *Language* 73:534-559.

Kratzer, Angelika. 1995. Stage-level and Individual-level predicate predicates. *The Generic Boo*, ed. by Gregory N. Carlson and Francis Jeffry Pelletier, 125-175. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Lamb, Sydney M. 1964. The semantic approach to structural semantics. *American Anthropologist* 66:57-78.

Lee, Penny. 1996. *The Whorf Theory Complex: A Critical Reconstruction.* Amsterndam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Levin, Beth, and Malka Rappaport Hovav. 1995. *Unaccusativity at the Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Lien, Chinfa. 1999. A typological study of causatives in Taiwanese Southern Min. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, New Series 29:395-422.

Lyons, John. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Lyu, Jiping et al. 1956. *Hanyu de Zhuyu Binyu Wenti* [*Issues Relating to Subject and Object in Chinese*]. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

Lyu, Shuxiang. 1987. Shuo 'sheng' he 'bai' [On 'sheng' and 'bai']. *Zhongguo Yuwen* 1987.1:1-5.

Ma, Qingzhu. 1992. *Hanyu Dongci he Dongcixing Jiegou* [*Chinese Verbs and Verbal Constructions*]. Beijing: Beijing Yuyan Xueyuan Chubanshe.

Ma, Qingzhu. 1998. *Hanyu Yuyi Yufa Fanchou Wenti* [*Issues on Semantic and Grammatical Categories in Chinese*]. Beijing: Beijing Yuyan Wenhua Daxue Chubanshe.

Mei, Tsu-Lin. 1989. The causative and denominative function of the *s-prefix in Old Chinese. Paper presented at the Second International Conference on Sinology. Taipei: Academia Sinica.

Mei, Tsu-Lin, and Hsiu-Fang Yang. 1995. Jige Minyu yufa chengfen de shijian cengci [Chronological strata in the grammar of the Min dialects]. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 66:1-21.

Murakami, Yoshihide. 1981. *Gendai Binnango Jiten* [*Modern Southern Min Dictionary*]. Nara: Tenri Daigaku Oyasoto Kenkiujo.

Nida, Eugene A., and Charles R. Taber. 1972. Semantic structures. *Studies in Linguistics in Honor of George L. Trager*, ed. by M. Estellie Smith, 122-141. The Hague: Mouton.

Ogawa, Naoyoshi et al. 1931-32. *Tai-Nichi Tai Jiten* [*A Comprehensive Taiwanese-Japanese Dictionary*], vol. 1 & 2. Taipei: Taiwan Sootokufu.

Tung, Chungssu. 2001. *Taiwan Minnanyu Cidian* [*Taiwanese Southern Min Dictionary*]. Taipei: Wunan Book Co.

Vendler, Z. 1967. *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Wang, Li et al. (ed.) 2000. *Wang Li Gu Hanyu Zidian* [*Wang Li's Old Chinese Dictionary*]. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee. 1945. Grammatical categories. *Language* 21:1-11.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee. 1956. A linguistic consideration of thinking in primitive communities. *Language, Mind, and Reality: Selected Writings*, ed. by J. B. Carroll, 65-86. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Yang, Shuda. 1974. Gushu yiyi juli xubu [Addenda to squibs on doubtful interpretations in ancient texts]. *Gushu Yiyi Juli Deng Qizhong*, by Yu Yue et al. Taipei: Shijie Shuju.

Zhou, Changji. 1998. *Xiamen Fangyan Cidian* [*Dictionary of Xiamen Dialect*]. Nanking: Jiangsu Jiaoyu Chubanshe.

Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Tsing Hua University
101, Sec. 2, Kuang-fu Road
Hsinchu 300, Taiwan
cflien@mx.nthu.edu.tw

追蹤台灣閩南語的隱性語法範疇：
動詞語義的認知途徑

連金發

國立清華大學

　　找出語法範疇的表現方式是語言研究的主要課題 (Whorf 1945, 1956)。語法範疇有多重表現方式，其中不外乎詞彙、音韻、形態或句法四種表現方式。漢語音義表現的類型演變可歸結爲詞彙／形態表現到句法表現的變遷。最近的構造語法 (Fillmore et al. 1988, Goldberg 1995 & Jackendoff 1997) 主張，構造對句子能夠貢獻新的語義，結構表現法的探索和構造語法的趣旨正好吻合。

　　本文旨在發掘台灣閩南語的隱性語法範疇。隱性範疇可以根據構造類型加以論證。有些動詞本身某方面的語意屬性沒有言明，其特殊而精微的語義非得從構造的觀察入手不可。台灣閩南語的 *chhi*[7] "飼" 正足以闡明這點。這個詞至少有兩個相關聯的語義，相當於國語的 "養" 和 "餵"。這兩個語義可以按照以下幾個方面區分開來：(1) 存在式、(2) 論元結構和語意角色、(3) 可分性和不可分性、(4) 時間的久暫、(5) 泛指和殊指、(6) 時貌、(7) 基本義和延伸義。

　　剩下的篇幅談論相關的動詞。我們先就其他類似語義未言明的動詞，如 *ching*[3] "種"、*khng*[3] "囥"、*chhah*[4] "插"、*toe*[2] "貯"，探索更多的如動態性、自主性等隱性範疇，其次就暫態和恆態用法的隱性區分和語法功能的兩棲特性，檢視 *toa*[3] "蹛"、*tiam*[3]/*tam*[3] "店*"、*khia*[7] "徛"、*ti*[7] "佇" 等動詞的語義精微性。再者，我們從結構入手，捕捉 "倒" 多變的語義特性。末了我們依據多半是隱性的語法屬性劃分非對格動詞和非作格動詞，兩者都是不及物動詞的次類。

關鍵詞：隱性，語法範疇，非對格，非作格，不及物，不設定，台灣閩南語