

Verbs of Visual Perception in Taiwanese Southern Min: A Cognitive Approach to Shift of Semantic Domains^{*}

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This paper attempts a cognitive account of the polysemy of three verbs of visual perception, viz., *khoann3* 看, *kinn3* 見, and *siong3* 相, in Taiwanese Southern Min. In the bulk of the paper each verb of visual perception with respect to its polysemy is elaborated on and considerable attention is devoted to uncovering the interaction of visual perception and other semantic domains. A range of related senses associated with each verb is teased out on the basis of semantic co-composition of the verb and its object.

Our exploration of the polysemy of three visual perception verbs in Taiwanese Southern Min shows that visual perception is a very important means by which we cope with the world, and we find that it interacts significantly with other non-visual perceptual domains.

Key words: visual perception verb, polysemy, cognition, semantic domain, interaction, Taiwanese Southern Min

1. Introduction

The paper deals with the polysemy of three verbs of visual perception, viz., *khoann3* 看, *kinn3/kien3* 見 and *siong3* 相, in Taiwanese Southern Min (henceforth TSM) with close attention to the semantic extension of each verb made possible by the inheritance relation with other non-visual semantic frames.¹

^{*} The research reported in this paper is partially supported by NSC 90-2411-H-007-32. I am indebted to two anonymous reviewers for insightful comments and suggestions. The ideas contained herein owe much of their inspiration to Williams (1976), Fillmore (1994), Huang (1994), Jackendoff (1994), Sweetser (1990), Baker (1999), Cheng (1999) and Tsao et al. (2001). For data on modern Southern Min I rely heavily on Douglas (1873), Ogawa et al. (1931-1932), Embree (1984), Cheng (1989), Chen (1991), Wu (2000), Tung (2001) and Zhou (1998). I also enjoy with gratitude lively discussions with Imogen Chen, Li-hsueh Chen, Hanchun Huang, Jeong-hyun Lim and Yiching Wu.

¹ The spelling of words in TSM is mainly based on church romanization in Douglas (1873) with some modifications including in particular numerical tone marks in place of diacritics, the

In the main bulk of this paper we shall provide a detailed account of the related senses of each verb of visual perception, and then there will be a section where we shall tackle the issue of how the senses in each verb are interrelated globally and what overarching principles are at work to integrate all the disparate senses.

2. The Polysemy of *khoann3* 看

In what follows we explore the semantic extension of *khoann3* 看 as a verb of visual perception. In particular, we examine first how the domain of visual perception interacts with other non-perceptual domains which include events, control, text, social interaction, purpose, process, and condition, and then discuss the development of the domain of visual perception into the overarching domain of cognition under which recognition, determination, classification and judgement fall. In addition, *khoann3* 看 is taken as being also grammaticalized as a tentative marker and used as an indicator of spatial orientation.

2.1 WATCH WITH EYE

The semantic property of basic perception involves three frame elements: (1) perceiver, (2) phenomenon, and (3) body part. The body parts reflect our five senses: visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, and textual senses. Visual, auditory, and olfactory senses denote distant perception different from the close perception of touch and taste. As insightfully discussed in Sweetser (1990:23-48), the different paths that the metaphorical extension of these two types of perception follows can be explained by such a distant and close difference of biological mechanism. Visual perception is a further narrowing down of the body part involving the use of eyes. There is an inheritance relationship among the three kinds of perception. Visual perception is inherited from distant perception, which is in turn inherited from perception in general.

There is a range of verbs expressing visual perception: *khoann3* 看, *khoann3 kinn3* 看見/*khoann3 tioh8* 看著, *kinn3* 見, *siong3* 相.² A variety of semantic frames can be built on the basis of visual perception. First, let us examine the semantic frame *see_eye*. The frame elements are Seer, Seen and Body_part. Seer is Perceiver, Seen, Phenomenon, and body_part_{eye} body_part in distant perception respectively. Seen could be physical object or physical motion.

marking of nasalization with double n, replacement of *ts-* by *ch-*, and rendition of open o as double o.

² The building of most semantic frames given in this paper owes its inspiration to Baker (1999).

Khoann3 看, as in *chim1-chiok4 khoann3* 斟酌看 ‘watch attentively’, rather than *khoann3-tioh8* 看•著 / *khoann3-kinn3* 看•見 ‘see’, is volitional. Two of the diagnostic tests of volitionality are (1) the imperative form and (2) the progressive form. Only volitional verbs can occur in the two kinds of construction. In terms of aspectual difference *khoann3* 看 ‘look’ is an activity verb whereas *khoann3-tioh8* 看著 / *khoann3-kinn3* 看見 ‘see’ are achievement verbs.

2.2 *Khoann3*_FACULTY

In the frame of See_Faculty what is at stake is the faculty of seeing, not the activity of looking, as shown in *bak8-chiu1 bu7 bo5 khoann3 •e* [*<khoann3-tit4*] 目珠霧無看•得 ‘cannot see due to dim sight’. Furthermore, no specific object as a target of vision is necessarily involved; rather, generic objects are understood and need not be explicitly expressed.³ *Khoann3* 看 ‘look’ in combination with the phase marker *tioh8* 著 / *kinn3* 見, the modal verb *e7* 會 and negation yields a variety of senses. By way of illustration the following table shows the interaction of *khoann3* 看 as a verb of visual perception with modality, phase, negation, and volition and two kinds of possibility: (1) Faculty and (2) Circumstance.

Semantic categories	Examples	Gloss
faculty	<i>u7 khoann3 •tit4</i> 有看•得	can see
	<i>bo5 khoann3 •tit4</i> 無看•得	cannot see
circumstance	<i>khoann3 e7 tioh8</i> 看會著	can see
	<i>khoann3 be7 tioh8</i> 看袂著	cannot see
intention	<i>beh4 khoann3</i> 卜看	want to look
	<i>m7 khoann3</i> 唔看	don’t want to look
achievement or	<i>khoann3 u7</i> 看有	saw, understand ⁴
comprehension	<i>khoann3 bo5</i> 看無	didn’t see, don’t understand
achievement	<i>khoann3 •tioh4</i> 看•著	saw
	<i>bo5 khoann3 •tioh8</i> 無看•著	did not see

2.3 *Khoann3*_SPECTATE

The frame of *khoann3*_SPECTATE 看 involves an event in its entirety, viz., it

³ The object noun, viz., the object to be seen, need not be explicitly expressed, as it does not constitute a focus of attention.

⁴ When taken in the sense of ‘understand’ it has become a verb denoting cognition.

has a beginning and an end. It is a scenario, mostly a play, or rather dramatic entertainment, consisting of sequentially occurring subevents and it takes time to go through the whole event, as illustrated in *khoann3 koan1-a2-hi3* 看歌仔戲 ‘watch local opera’, *khoann3 iann2-hi3* 看影戲 ‘watch the movie’, and *khoann3 tien7-si3* 看電視 ‘watch T.V.’. It is different from *khoann3*_PROCESS in that the latter only refers to an on-going activity. Whereas *iann2-hi2 khoann3-liau2 a* 影戲看了啊 ‘finished watching the movie’ is perfectly acceptable, it is quite unnatural to say *chhiu7-a2 teh4 lak4 hioh8-a2 khoann3 liau2 a* 樹仔在落箸仔看了啊 ‘finish watching the tree shed its leaves’.

A noun may be construed as denoting an object or an event. For example, *tien7-si3* 電視 can be taken as an object or an on-going event, viz., ‘the T.V. set’ or ‘T.V. (program)’, as exemplified in *khoann3-tioh4 tien7-si3* 看著電視 ‘spot the T.V. set’ and *khoann3 tien7-si3* 看電視 ‘watch T.V. (program)’. One can make the distinction by setting up different features in the qualia structure for each sense of the term in question (Pustejovsky 1991 & 1995).

There is a range of nominal expressions denoting an event such as *khoann3 lau7-jiet8* 看鬧熱 ‘watch the carnival’, *khoann3 siang1-sip8-chiet4* 看雙十節 ‘watch the Double-Tenth gala’, *khoann3 moo5-sut8* 看魔術 ‘watch the magician’s performance’, *khoann3 na5-kiu5* 看籃球 ‘watch the basketball (game)’, and *khoann3 be2-hi3* 看馬戲 ‘watch the circus’.

By contrast, another type of nominal expression denotes objects rather than events such as *khoann3 ui7-tien2* 看畫展 ‘see the art exhibition’, *khoann3 ing1-hoe1* 看櫻花 ‘go peach-blossom viewing’, *khoann3 ge7-sut8 koan2* 看藝術館 ‘visit the art gallery’, *khoann3 he2-chhia1* 看火車 ‘watch the train’, *khoann3 kong¹-keng²* 看光景 ‘do sightseeing’, *khoann3 koo2-a2-ting1* 看鼓仔燈 ‘watch lanterns’, and *khoann3 hai2-ang1* 看海翁 ‘watch whales’, but some of them like the last three examples seem to be amenable to an eventive interpretation as well.⁵ One can see that the device of metonymy is at work. For example, *khoann3 hai2-ang1* 看海翁 can mean ‘watch whales’ or ‘watch whale performance’. In the second sense, *hai2-ang1* 海翁 metonymically stands for the performance made by whales.

2.4 *Khoann3*_GUARD/TEND

The frame of GUARD/TEND_*khoann3*, epitomizable as seeing is controlling, means scanning, watching over, or monitoring, as exemplified in *khoann3 gu5* 看牛

⁵ I do not go along with Baker (1999) which sets up a frame of TOUR that has an inheritance relation with the frame Going somewhere or many places to see something worth seeing, since it seems to me that the frame SPECTATE is sufficient to take care of the matter in question.

‘tend the cows’, *khoann3 ginn2-a2* 看囡仔 ‘look after kids, baby-sit’, and *khoann3 mng5* 看門 ‘keep the door’.⁶ Not only does it involve visually perceiving an animal or animals, but also having it or them under control. Thus, this frame has an inheritance relation with the basic sense of seeing, as the sense of control is secondarily derived from the bare sense of SEE WITH EYES. Having something under control has to do with the authority of the controller and there is a control relation between the one under control and the one holding the power. In other words, if any animal’s activity violates the restriction, the seer will take action to put it right. This directive sense is defensible in some situations. One can see the point of a joke in which a cowherd protested to his master who blamed him for the straying of some cows when the former retorted that he was just or rather literally watching the herd.

2.5 *Khoann3* _READ

A novel in *khoann3 sio2-soat4* 看小說 ‘read a novel’ is a text which, like a play, has a length with a beginning and an end, but it differs from a piece of dramatic entertainment in that it is not a performance, namely actions acted upon the stage. An impatient reader may skip some chapters, jump to the end and even go to and fro as he pleases. But this is impossible with watching a play. Though as a text a book shares the common feature of length with a dictionary, reading a book is different from referring to a dictionary. When reading a book one could proceed from the beginning to the end, whereas consulting a dictionary only involves going to a certain page for information sought after. Thus *chha5 ji7-tien2* 查字典 ‘consult a dictionary’ but not *khoann3 ji7-tien2* 看字典 ‘see the dictionary’ is acceptable. One can capture the distinction in terms of the features for qualia structure (Pustejovsky 1991:427-430).

2.6 *Khoann3* _VISIT

The semantic frame of VISIT, as exemplified in *khoann3 in1 al-ku7* 看ㄟ阿舅 ‘visit his uncle’, has a three-fold inheritance relation with the frames of SOCIAL INTERACTION, SPEECH EVENT and SEE-EYE. Social interaction is a reciprocal event involving interaction between persons familiar with each other. A speech event has in its essential ingredients, viz., speaker, addressee, and message to be conveyed. See-eye means to perceive an event or a process with one’s eyes. Thus, paying someone a visit means not only visually perceiving him or her with one’s eyes, but also engaging in a verbal interaction. The Seer and the Seen must have known each other. Although it

⁶ *Khoann3* 看 is alternatively realized as *khan3* 看 in *khan3 gu5* 看牛. A synonym of *khoann3* in the three examples is *koo3* 顧 ‘tend’.

is not certain what their relative social status is one can be sure that there is no authority relation between them, unlike the case with the frame of Consultation_with_Authority, as exemplified in *khoann2 il-sing1* 看醫生 ‘see the doctor’. Nor is there an unequal social status between the Seer and the Seen shown in the use of *kinn3* 見, to be discussed in §3.1.

2.7 Sense_PURPOSE

The event of *khoann3* 看 ‘watch’ with the semantic feature of volitionality in some cases has a link to a specific purpose and the teasing out of the purpose and its ultimate realization as a scenario depends on the semantic properties of the noun phrase in question. There are many facets of the object denoted by a noun phrase, as exemplified in *lai7 e to1-a2* 利的刀仔 ‘sharp knife’ (the function of its edge), *sui2 e to1-a2* 美的刀仔 ‘beautiful knife’ (appearance), and *chin1 kau7 e to1-a2* 真厚的刀仔 ‘a very thick knife’ (volume), where the feature in parentheses stands for a facet of each noun).⁷ As shown in each example, the attributive adjective has the function of picking and specifying a specific aspect of a dimension of the object in question. In a similar vein, the verb of visual perception *khoann3* 看 has the function of teasing out an aspect of the object denoted by the nominal object, and there are a variety of purposes that can be calculated on the basis of the co-composition of *khoann3* and the semantic properties of the noun phrase it is associated with. The purposes of Consult and others will be elaborated on in this section.

2.7.1 *Khoann3*_CONSULT

Consulting someone about something means that the consulter taps the consultant’s expertise for advice about the best way to cope with his problem. There is a relation of dependence between them in that the consultant has the authority on which the consulter relies for problem-solving purposes. Various types of consultation can be found, such as those between client and lawyer, student and teacher, or patient and doctor. The content of consultation can be pinned down when the exact type of consultants is known. For example, if the consultant is a doctor, he is supposed to offer medical advice to his patient and it will help provide solutions to the patient’s problem. Such medical advice can be termed Consultant_with_Authority for short. With this frame as a basis let us consider the expression *khoann3 il-sing1* 看醫生 ‘see the doctor’. Such an expression cannot be taken literally as meaning ‘perceive the doctor

⁷ An underlined form means that it is not an etymologically viable character, but a semantic or a phonetic loan.

visually’ alone since it has a richer meaning. The patient goes to see the doctor for a special purpose that involves a pretty complicated scenario epitomizable as Consultant_with_Authority. Thus, *khoann3 i1 sing1* 看醫生 or alternatively *khoann3 sien1-sinn1* 看先生 ‘see the doctor’ shows that the event of seeing has an inheritance relation with Consultant_with_Authority. Seer and Seen correspond to Consuler and Consultant respectively.⁸

Unlike *khoann3 i1 sing1* 看醫生 whose meaning is quite clear-cut, as shown above, *khoann3 pinn7* 看病 seems to be two-way ambiguous between ‘see a patient’ and ‘consult a doctor’, as the case with Mandarin (Wang 1998:507). But *khoann3 pinn7* 看病 appears to be a loan compound from Mandarin which has a tension with indigenous expressions in TSM. One seldom uses *hoann3 pinn7* 看病 alone in TSM, at least among the older generation of TSM (Wu 2000:969, Vol. 1). Thus, instead of *Il e7-pool khi3 khoann3 pinn7* 伊下晡去看病 meaning ‘He saw the doctor this afternoon’, one would say *Il e7-pool khi3 hoo7 i1-sing1 khoann3* 伊下晡去與醫生看. If the semantic roles are reversed, the sentence will be *Il-sing1 e7-pool ka7 i1 khoann3 pinn7* 醫生下晡共伊看病 ‘The doctor gave him medical treatment this afternoon’.

Note that *khoann3 pinn7* 看病 taken in the sense of ‘examine a medical condition (for a patient)’ differs from *khoann3 i1-sing1* 看醫生 ‘see the doctor’ in terms of a difference in perspectives. In the former case the event is viewed from the perspective of the doctor, whereas in the latter case the event is viewed from the perspective of the patient. The difference between them also lies in the different way in which information is packaged, in particular, the medical problem (viz., 病 *pinn7* ‘illness’) is profiled in *khoann3 pinn7* 看病, whereas the doctor is in focus in *khoann3 i1-sing1* 看醫生. By contrast, *pinn7-lang5* 病儂 ‘the patient’ is foregrounded in *khoann3 pinn7-lang5* 看病儂 ‘treat the patient medically’. Notwithstanding the difference in information structure the three expressions have an overarching frame of medical treatment in common.

2.7.2 *Khoann3*_OTHER PURPOSES

Purposes other than Consult can be teased out in examples such as *khoann3 chhu3* 看厝 ‘see the houses’, *khoann3 chhial* 看車 ‘see the cars’, and *khoann3 ke3-chng1* 看嫁妝 ‘see the dowry’.⁹ One can see in the three examples the common purpose of

⁸ *Hoo7 i1-sing1 khoann3* 與醫生看 let doctor see ‘see the doctor’ seems to be more acceptable than *khoann3 i1-sing1* 看醫生 among the older generation of native speakers. The latter appears to be a neologism borrowed from Mandarin.

⁹ There seems to be two kinds of see: (1) static ‘see’, and (2) dynamic ‘see’. Here we talk about the dynamic ‘see’ which occurs in the progressive aspect. Cf. Sibley (1955) for the distinction between the achievement and the non-achievement use of *see* in English as a criticism of Ryle

the event of looking at something, viz., purchase it. *Khoann3* 看 is a volitional act, and one can arrive at the shared motivation of this volitional act in terms of semantic co-composition of the verb and its object. But a house, a car, and a dowry need not be a piece of merchandise. It can serve other functions as well, for example, as an object of seeing, when *khoann3-tioh8* 看著 occurs instead of *khoann3* 看, and the object noun phrases all turned out to be objects of purely visual perception rather than objects to be purchased. Another use of *khoann3* 看 somewhat related to the purposive sense, exemplified in *khoann3 chhal* 看車 ‘watch out for the car’ and *khoann3 loo7* 看路 ‘watch your step lest you should trip’ (lit. “look at-road”), is nevertheless linked to the imperative mood, as it is mainly used as a warning against an impending danger. Thus, the construal of an expression like *khoann3 chhal* 看車 depends on how the co-composition between the verb and its collocators is worked out in terms of our pragmatic knowledge.

2.8 *Khoann3*_PROCESS

In preparation for the depiction of the frame *See_Process* we establish a frame called *Bare_Event*, which involves two roles, Participant and Event. The Event is predicated of the Participant. In terms of their values the Participant is realized as NP functioning as an external subject to the Event which is realized as a VP or a VP marked by the progressive marker *leh4* 咧. The whole *Bare_Event* is exemplified by *chhiu7-a2 leh4 lak4 hioh8-a2* 樹仔咧落箸仔 ‘the tree shedding its leaves’ where *chhiu7-a2* 樹仔 ‘the tree’ is the external subject to the Event *leh4 lak4 hioh8-a2* 咧落箸仔 ‘shedding its leaves’. The frame *See_Process* expresses a semantic relation between Seer and Seen. Seen inherits the *Bare_Event* in which the Participant may be an agent or a patient. The VP in the Event can be headed by a bare verb or a VP marked by the progressive aspect marker. Such a frame is illustrated in *khoann3 chhiu7-a2 leh4 lak4 hioh8-a2* 看樹仔咧落箸仔 ‘see the tree shedding its leaves’.

2.9 *Khoann3*_CONDITION

The frame *Bare_State* features two roles: participant and state. In terms of its value the participant is an NP which functions as an external subject of a finite verb and the State is expressed by an adjectival phrase. The state, specifically limited to stage-level predicate, is predicated of the participant. In particular, its semantic property is

(1949). He also proposes two kinds of *look* as shown in the distinction between *look for* (quest) and *look at* (scrutiny), which correspond to two different lexical items, viz., *chhe7* 尋 and *khoann3* 看, in TSM.

temporary and accidental rather than inherent and stable.¹⁰ The frame can be illustrated by *il chin1 hoann1-hi2* 伊真歡喜 ‘him/her very happy’ where ‘him/her’ is the external subject and ‘very happy’ stands for the State. With the frame Bare_State set up we can now examine the frame See_Condition which can be characterized this way. See_condition is basically a relation between Seer and Seen, and the inheritance relation shows that Seen is the same as State, viz., as inherited from Bare_State. The verb *khoann3* 看 can be construed as having two complements, NP AdjP. The AdjP as a state is predicated of the NP, as exemplified in *khoann3 il chin1 hoann1-hi2* 看伊真歡喜 ‘see him very happy’.

2.10 *Khoann3*_RECOGNIZE

In the frame of cognition_inchoative (ci), the roles are Cognizer and Content. The former is a sentient being and the latter, a proposition. The roles for the frame of see_recognize that has an inheritance relation with ci are Seer and Seen. The former is the same as ci.Cognizer and the latter, ci.Content. In terms of its value Seen is realized as a clause. The verbs in question can be realized as *khoann3* as well as *khoann3 tioh4* 看著, *khoann3 kinn3* 看見 and *khoann3 e7 chhut8* 看會出. The verb of the frame of see_recognize is a factive verb in that the proposition expressed by its complement clause is true of the world, as in *khoann3 bi2-ang3 lai7 khang1-khang1* 看米甕裡空空 ‘see that the jar is empty’. The interpretation of perceptual complement often depends on the characteristics of perceptual verbs, as shown below:

(1)	<i>khoann3-tioh8 chhiu7-sien5-a2 thng3 khak4</i>
	看著樹蟬仔褪殼
	‘saw the cicada shed its skin’
(2)	<i>khoann3 chhiu7-sien5-a2 thng3 khak4</i>
	看樹蟬仔褪殼
	‘saw the cicada shedding its skin’

Here the cicada’s shedding its skin is taken as an event in (1), but as an activity in (2). It is in (2), not (1), that the action of seeing and the action of the cicada’s shedding its skin occur at the same time. *Khoann3* 看 can also take a sentential object expressing a proposition, as in:

¹⁰ See Kratzer (1995) for the distinction between stage-level predicates and individual-predicates. This semantic distinction can be traced back to Bolinger (1967 & 1973).

(3)	<i>goa2 khoann3 bin5-a2-chai7 e7 loh8 hoo7</i>
	我看明仔載會落雨
	“I guess that it will rain tomorrow.”

Since one cannot see something that has yet to happen, *khoann3* has to be coerced into a cognitive verb. *Khoann3* can also combine with modal expressions to form a cognitive verb like *khoann3 e7 chhut8* 看會出 that can be followed by a sentence expressing a proposition, as in the following:

(4)	<i>Soat4-a2 khoann3 e7 chhut4 lau7-a1-peh4 tak8-kang1 chiah8 hun1</i>
	雪仔看會出老阿伯逐工食薰
	“Jean saw that the old man smokes every day.”

It is not necessary for Jean to lay her eyes on the old man smoking. She can reach her conclusion that the old man has the habit of smoking based on the evidence that there are cigarette butts on the ground everywhere.¹¹

2.11 *khoann3* _DETERMINE

The frame Ascertain (abbreviated as asc.) means to find out with certainty something that often denotes a state of affairs in the future. The semantic relation is expressed by a relation of the Cognizer and a state of affairs (SOA). The frame See_determine, which has an inheritance relation with the frame Ascertain, involves Seer and Seen. Seer is asc.Cognizer, and Seen asc.SOA. What is meant is to try to find out what will happen, as exemplified below:

<i>khoann3 li2 beh4 chainn2 iunn7?</i>	“What on earth do you want to do?”
看汝卜怎樣?	
<i>khoann3 li2 beh4 khi3 ia2 m7 khi3</i>	“Do you want to go?”
看汝卜抑去唔去?	

Here SOA is realized as a question or in particular what will happen in the future. An important point about this category is that one need not use one’s eyes to ascertain the situation. Therefore the verb of visual perception has changed to a verb of cognition.

¹¹ See Rogers (1971 & 1974), Kirshner & Thompson (1976), Saarinen (1983), Higginbotham (1999), Felser (1999) and Barwise & Perry (1999) for interesting studies of issues relating to perception verb complements.

2.12 *khoann3*_ CLASSIFICATION

The frame Classify_{see} can be linked to the frame of categorization (cat. for short) which involves three roles: cognizer, item, and category. In the frame classify_{see}, Seer is cat.cognizer, Seen cat.item, and Category cat.category. The verb of visual perception has turned into a verb of cognition, as in *khoann3 choe3 in1 lau7-su1* 看做個老師 ‘regard him as his teacher’.

2.13 *khoann3*_ JUDGING

It is quite common among many languages of the world that some verbs of cognition are derived from verbs of visual perception in terms of the mechanism of metaphor. TSM for one provides some interesting supporting examples for such a claim. Consider, for example, the expression *khoann3 bo5* 看無, which is three ways ambiguous, viz., (1) do not see, (2) do not understand, (3) look down on. We can take the first meaning as the core sense from which the second and third senses are derived. In other words, there is a metaphoric extension from sense 1 to senses 2 and 3. The resolution of such an ambiguity hinges on the calculation based on types of construction as the interaction between lexical items, word order, and phase markers. A glance at the following tables (the first table shows expressions of visual perception and the second expressions of cognition or rather evaluation) will make clear the combined effect of various factors:

Visual Perception	Gloss	Types of Construction
<i>khoann3 bo7 i1</i> 看無伊	do not see him	V+Neg HAVE+O
<i>khoann3 bo5 tioh8 i1</i> 看無著伊	did not see him	V+Neg HAVE+ASP+O
<i>khoann3 u7 tioh8 i1</i> 看有著伊	saw him	V+HAVE+ASP+O
<i>bo5 khoann3 tioh8 i1</i> 無看著伊	did not see him	Neg HAVE+V+ASP+O
<i>u7 khoann3 tioh8 i1</i> 有看著伊	saw him	HAVE+V+ASP+O

Cognition/Evaluation	Gloss	Types of Construction
<i>khoann3 i1 bo5</i> 看伊無	do not think much of him	V+O+Neg HAVE
<i>khoann3 i1 bo5 tioh8</i> 看伊無著	look down on him	V+O+Neg HAVE+ASP
<i>khoann3 i1 u7 tioh8</i> 看伊有著	think highly of him	V+O+HAVE+ASP

The metaphorical extension from visual perception to cognition boils down to a relation of two mental spaces in the sense of Fauconnier (1985). Somebody in sight is important, whereas somebody out of sight is unimportant. Thus, having somebody in sight means taking him seriously. In short, seeing is respecting.¹²

2.14 *khoann3*_FACE

Khoann3 看 in *chhu3 khoann3 sail* 厝看西 ‘The house faces west’ means to be opposite to, or your eyes point to something or in a specific direction. A human body has an inherent frontness. An object like a house also has an inherent frontness. *Soann1 khal* 山骹 ‘the foot of a mountain’ is an anthropomorphic expression denoting human traits in nonhuman things. Likewise, a human body can be projected onto a house. When someone is looking at something, his face is directed towards it. Here metaphor seems to be involved. A house with a front part is likened to a person with eyes. Eyes can be linked to the front part of a house in terms of the model of mental space (Fauconnier 1985). Just as when a person sees something, his face is directed toward it, one can say that a house, if likened to a sentient being with visual perception, looks towards the west, which means that the front part (viz., face) of the house is directed towards it.

2.15 *Khoann3*_TENTATIVE MARKER

V + *khoann3* 看 could be construed as a truncated construction which can be traced to a full construction like V + *khoann3* + a Clause. For example, *chiah8 khoann3* 食看 may be derived from a construction like *chiah4 khoann3 u7 ho2-chiah8 bo* 食看有好食無 {“Eat it and see whether it is delicious.”}. The omitted part *u7 ho2-chiah8 bo* 有好食無, an alternative question form, can be reconstructed on the basis of the information provided by the first part, viz. the verb. Such a use of *khoann3* 看 has been grammaticalized as a tentative marker.¹³ *Khoann3* 看 in its original sense can be characterized as the frame of Ascertain_{see}. With the reconstructible parts being omitted, *khoann3* 看, which formerly is associated with the following fragment, has

¹² By contrast, English uses the vertical axis with a bipolar scale, viz., up and down, to show respect and disrespect, as in *look up to* and *look down on*.

¹³ A tentative marker means trying out something and see how it fares. In particular, it denotes an action or a series of action that are executed to see if what the real situation is before a decision is made as to what future action or actions are to be taken. A more natural and widely-used alternative expression is *khoann3-bai7* 看覓, a synonymous coordinate construction. There is no grammaticalized counterpart for tentative marker in English.

been reanalysed as a constituent of the previous verb, as shown in the change from V-[*khoann3*+{*u7 ho2-chiah8 bo*}] to [V + *khoann3*]. While both TSM and Mandarin share 看 (TSM *khoann3* and Mandarin *kan4*) as a tentative marker, the constructions involved are different. For example, *kan4* in Mandarin is often preceded by a reduplicated form, as in *chi1 chi1 kan4* 吃吃看 ‘Just try it out and see if it tastes good!’, while *chiah8 chiah8 khoann3* 食食看 will not be acceptable in TSM.

3. The polysemy of *kinn3*

In this section we examine the polysemy of *kinn3/kien3* 見 manifested not only lexically as shown in the sense of ‘meet’ and ‘decide’, and exclusive devotion, but also structurally, in particular universal time correlative, in the *sui generis* construction 見 _ 見_. Besides, like *tioh8* 著, *kinn3* 見 has emerged as an achievement marker, albeit on a much more modest scale.

3.1 *Kinn3* _ MEET

Kinn3 見 has at least two lexical senses: (1) ‘see’ and (2) ‘meet’, in addition to its grammatical functions in Old Chinese. ‘See’ is the basic sense from which ‘meet’ is derived (Cao & Su 1999:249). However, as Chinese has undergone a typological change from a synthetic to an analytic language, its basic sense ‘see’ as opposed to *si7* 視 ‘look’ in Old Chinese is realized as *khoann3-tioh8* 看著 ‘see’ in modern Southern Chinese, also a type of modern Chinese. Thus, the most frequent sense of *kinn3* 見 is the derived sense ‘meet’. There are two pieces of evidence in support of the claim that *kinn3* in modern TSM is not the same as *khoann3-tioh8* 看著. First, *kinn2* 見, but not *khoann3-tioh8* 看著, in modern TSM, can be preceded by verbs of intension, as in *II beh4 khi3 kinn3 in1 lau7-sul* 伊卜去見個老師 ‘He will see his teacher’. (Cf. **II beh4 khi3 khoann3-tioh8 in1 lau7-sul* *伊卜去看著個老師.) Second, *kinn3* 見 can be furthered followed by the achievement marker *-tioh8* 著, as in *II u7 kinn3-tioh8 in1 lau2-sul* 伊有見著個老師 ‘He managed to meet his teacher’, a fact showing that *kinn3* 見 is not an achievement verb, though it is not an activity verb in the sense of Vendler (1957), either.

It is now clear that *kinn3* 見 in modern TSM does not mean ‘see’ in the sense of achievement, as it used to. It does not mean the same as ‘visit’, one of the senses of *khoann3* 看, either. *Kinn3* 見 differs from *khoann3* 看 on at least four counts. First, although both mean ‘seeing somebody for a specific purpose’, unlike *khoann3* 看, *kinn3* 見 implies an unequal social status of the two parties, viz., the seer is a person inferior in social ranking to the seen. Second, and this is related to the first point, *kinn3*

has a more literary flavor and is used in a formal setting. Third, while only the sentient being can be the target of *kinn3* 見, one can *khoann3* 看 (viz., ‘see’) both somebody and something. Even the purpose of each of them is different, as in *khoann3 i1-sing1* 看醫生 ‘see the doctor’ (e.g., to enquire after his health) and *kinn3 lau2-su1* 見老師 ‘meet the teacher’ (e.g., to lodge a complaint).¹⁴ *Kinn3* 見 in this sense can be alternatively rephrased as *kinn3 bin7* 見面, as in *kinn3 Li3 sio2-chia2 e bin7* 見李小姐的面 ‘meet Miss Li’. Lastly, they are different syntactically. For example, *ka7 i1 khoann3* 共伊看 ‘see him’ is acceptable, whereas **ka7 i1 kinn3* *共伊見 is not.

3.2 *Kinn3* _ DECIDE

*Kinn3*_DECIDE involves finding out, or ascertaining what will be the situation in the future, especially when a draw or tie has to be resolved, as exemplified in expressions like *kinn3 sul1-iann5*, 見輸贏 ‘decide a contest’, *kinn3 sinn1-si2* 見生死 ‘determined to conquer or die’, and *kinn3 chin1-tiunn1* 見真章 ‘when it comes to reality’ (not mere idle talk). This frame differs from Ascertain_*khoann3* in that a resolution will ensue. Here *kinn3* 見 has undergone a change from a verb of visual perception to a verb of cognition.

3.3 *Kinn3* _ *Kinn3* _ UNIVERSAL TIME CORRELATIVE

According to Lü (1955:46-50) and Chou (1956), 見 in both Old and Middle Chinese functions as a personal pronominal object, whether it occurs in the construction Patient 見 V (the so-called passive form), or in the construction Agent 見 V. Both constructions have vestigial forms in modern TSM. In the construction P₁ 見₁ V as a kind of the “passive”, the patient is the first person, the subject and the pronominal object realized as 見 are coreferential, and the subscript 1 indicates coreferentiality and first person. An agent is often omitted, but it can be introduced by a preposition in the post-verbal position, as in P 見 V 於 A, exemplified by *kien3 siau3 u5 tai7-hong1 chi1 ka1* 見笑於大方之家 ‘to become the laughing stock of experts’. Today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax. The 見 + V phrasal construction is still, though sporadically, used in modern TSM with a literary flavor, as in *kien3-koai3* (lit.)/*kien3-koe3* (col.) 見怪 ‘to be blamed’ (*m7 thang1 kien3-koai3* 勿通見怪 ‘Don’t blame me!’ as a polite form of expression), and *kien3-gi5* 見疑 ‘be suspected’ (*hoo7 lang5 kien3-gi5* 與儂見疑 ‘suspected by others’). Some of them like *kien3-siau3* 見笑 ‘be

¹⁴ *Kinn3* 見 also has a related sense ‘receive, grant an interview to’ in TSM as well as Mandarin, as in *Hak8-hau7-tiunn2 beh4 kinn3 hak8-sing1 tai7-piau2 bo?* 學校長卜見學生代表無? ‘Will the president receive student representatives?’.

ashamed’ has been fossilized as word forms in that it can be further modified by a word of degree like *chin1* 真 ‘very’. The construction of Agent/theme 見 V also has some rare modern reflexes, as in *kien3-tiong5* 見長 ‘superior to sb. in a certain quality; excel at’.

見 has a colloquial reading (*kinn3*) and a literary reading (*kien3*) in modern TSM. Unlike the colloquial reading *kinn3* 見, the literary reading *kien3* 見 has a personal pronominal as manifested in some vestigial forms of old Chinese, as discussed above, but *kinn3/kien3* 見 in the construction 見 VP 見 VP in modern TSM cannot be construed as a pronominal object. The difficulty of such a construal lies in the fact that *kinn3* 見 in examples like *kinn3 phah4 kinn3 iann5* 見拍見贏 ‘Whenever a fight takes place, (s)he will win’ cannot be interpreted as a personal pronominal object. The most plausible explanation seems to take 見 *kinn3* as meaning ‘meet’ and give the interpretation as ‘meeting fighting and meeting winning’, viz., ‘whenever encountering meeting, one will encounter victory’. 見 VP 見 VP has become a *sui generis* construction established especially to express the universal temporal quantification. In particular, whenever an action takes place, it will inevitably lead to a particular result. The meaning can only be calculated in terms of the construction *en bloc*. The VP involved could be a VO, as in *kien3 khun3 kien3 bang7-kinn3 iau1-mo5-kui2-koai3* 見睏見夢見妖魔鬼怪 ‘When he sleeps he will dream of monsters’.

Before closing let us note that the personal pronominal function of *kien3* 見 might be derived from its original meaning of visual perception. Note that *sio1* or *siann1* 相 also carries a personal pronominal function as a reciprocal marker.¹⁵ This use might also be derived from its original sense of visual perception.

3.4 *Kinn3* EXCLUSIVE DEVOTION

Exclusive devotion can be understood in a variety of ways. One simple way of rendering it is, the only thing one does is something, and another way of putting it is, whatever he does it will be inevitably something or rather what we witness the subject is doing is only something. The sense of exclusive devotion seems to be derived from the sense of witnessing, viz., watch with one’s eyes. That is, the eye-witness source of information is based on visual perception (Chafe & Nichols 1986). Here is an example of exclusive devotion: *chit8 jit8 kinn3 thit4-tho5* 蜀日見得桃 ‘did nothing but play the whole day’. In addition, there is an implied mild injunction that one should not have done the thing in question, as there are more important things to be done.

¹⁵ See Lien (1994) for a typological study of reciprocals in Chinese.

3.5 *Kinn3*_ACHIEVEMENT MARKER

Since 見 in Old Chinese corresponds to 看見 in modern Chinese, it can be classified as an achievement verb in the sense of Vendler (1957), which implies a resultative state. Given this basic sense, it is quite natural that it has become an achievement marker when it is grammaticalized and becomes a complement to verbs, but unlike the achievement marker *tioh8* 著, which is a quite productive and wide-ranging function word, 見 can only be attached to a highly restricted set of verbs, viz., verbs of distant perception, such as *khoann4* 看 ‘look’, *thiann1* 聽 ‘listen’ and *phinn7* 鼻 ‘smell, sniff’, as in *khoann3-kinn3* 看•見 ‘see’, *thiann1-khi3* 聽•見 ‘hear’ and *phinn7-kinn3* 鼻•見 ‘smell’.¹⁶ These achievement verbs with the construction of verb + complement might be a result of reanalysing the construction manner adverb + verb each of which can be interpreted as ‘perceive by looking’, ‘perceive by listening’, and ‘perceive by smelling’.¹⁷

4. The polysemy of *siong3*

Siong3 相 is rarely used as a verb of purely visual perception except in a more literary genre in modern TSM. Thus, the range of its use is mainly limited to a handful of specialized senses, such as the Chinese-style blind date, fortune-telling, and waiting.

4.1 *Siong3*_GAZE

*Siong3*_Gaze 相 means ‘look at something or somebody steadily or intensely’, as in *kim1-kim1 siong3* 金金相 ‘look hard at’. It is related to the frame of Watch with Eye, albeit with an additional sense of manner incorporated into it. But this use of bare visual perception has fallen into disuse. Instead, its meaning has been extended to more abstract semantic domains, as exemplified in the following examples.

Siong3 chhin1 相親 means to look at each other with a specific purpose, for example, so that a marriage can be arranged. It is a term that might have been borrowed from Mandarin, viz., a shorthand expression that incorporates two things: (1) the event of looking at each other and its purpose (viz., arranging a marriage). A native corresponding term is *tui3-siong3* 對相, which literarily means ‘look at each other

¹⁶ Note that *kinn3* 見 in compounds like *bang7 kinn3* 夢見 ‘dream of’, and *chio3 khinn3* 照見 ‘can see by the light of’ is not a complement, but a main verb.

¹⁷ Parallel to the pair of look-see, listen-hear, there is a pair of smell1-smell2 in English showing an one-to-many form and meaning relationship.

intensely, exchange looks, look each other over’, but idiomatically denotes ‘a marriage meeting, to have a meeting with a view to marriage’. It is often the case that both parties to the meeting are of the opposite sex and have not yet previously met. Their meeting is arranged by a matchmaker, and the relations of both parties will be involved. The meeting is held for the special purpose of marriage. Thus, *tui3 siong3* 對相 is somewhat similar to *blind date* in English in that both share the semantic feature of meeting each other for the first time without a previous encounter. But it may not be necessary for a blind date to be arranged by a matchmaker. Neither is it necessarily intended for a marriage; it is only for the purpose of a romantic relationship.

Siong3 相 is seldom used as an ordinary verb of visual perception in modern TSM. Aside from its being used as a verb with the combined sense of seeing and social interaction as discussed above, it has developed a specialized sense of the art of marksmanship. Thus, the sense of ‘look at steadily’ has been used in a particular situation, as exemplified in *siong3 hoo7 i1 chun2* 相與伊準 ‘take aim, train on, aim a gun or a camera at somebody or something’. In this specialized sense one looks at something steadily with a view to shooting at it. That is, when one is looking at an object, one is pointing a gun or weapon at someone or something as a target to shoot at.

4.2 *Siong3* _ TELL FORTUNES

Another instance in which the basic sense of ‘look at steadily’ becomes specialized is *siong3 mia7* 相命 ‘tell fortunes’. It is a kind of prediction as to the fate of the seen based on visual perceptual evidence of facial features, the palm, etc. In a sense the rendition in English is not quite faithful to its original meaning as there is some measure of visual perception involved in the prototypical case. It is rare, if not totally impossible, for a blind person, to do *siong3-mia7* 相命.¹⁸ In terms of information structure some element will be profiled while other elements will be shaded (Goldberg 1995). The following examples differ with respect to information packaging. In the case of *siong3-mia7* 相命 the percept or rather the object of watching is left out on the surface. By contrast, in the case of *siong3 chhu3-the2* 相厝宅 literally ‘look at the house’ the percept, viz., the house, is profiled while the fortune of the dweller is shaded. Taken together the expression means ‘to examine the house in its relation to its surrounding and make prediction as to its geomancy in the future’.

¹⁸ *Siong3 mia7* 相命 ‘tell fortunes’ seems to be a more literal form. By contrast, *khoann3 mia7* 看命 appears to be natural as a colloquial form especially among the older generations of native speakers of TSM.

4.3 *Siong3* _ WAIT FOR

Siong3 相 experiences a semantic extension from pure visual perception to the sense of watching for (a chance), as in *siong3 kil-hoe7* 相機會 ‘watch for a chance’. It does not necessarily involve visual perception. Watching for a chance involves both looking and waiting for, and it is a combination of visual perception, cognition, and readiness to take action.

5. Interaction between visual perception and other semantic domains

We have examined in detail three verbs of visual perception, viz., *khoann3* 看, *kinn3/kien3* 見 and *siong3* 相 in TSM. Considerable attention has been devoted to the interaction of the domain of visual perception in each verb with other semantic domains. Let us examine them one by one.

Khoann3 看, which falls into two subtypes in terms of presence and absence of visual perception: Types 1 and 2.

Type 1 encompasses nine subclasses: (1a) WATCH WITH EYE (*chim1-chiok4 khoann3* 斟酌看 ‘watch attentively’), (1b) FACULTY (*bak8-chiu1 bu7 bo5 khoann3 •e* [*<khoann3•tit4*] 目珠霧無看•得 ‘cannot see due to dim sight’), (1c) SPECTATE (*khoann3 koal-a2 hi3* 看歌仔戲 ‘watch local opera’), (1d) GUARD/TEND (*khoann3 gu5* 看牛 ‘tend the cows’), (1e) READ (*khoann3 sio2-soat4* 看小說 ‘read a novel’), (1f) VISIT (*khoann3 in1 al-ku7* 看個阿舅 ‘visit his uncle’), (1g) Sense_PURPOSE (CONSULT *khoann3 i1-sing1* 看醫生 ‘see the doctor’/OTHER PURPOSES *khoann3 chhial* 看車 ‘see the cars’), (1h) PROCESS (*khoann3 chhiu7-a2 leh4 lak4 hioh8-a2* 看樹仔咧落箸仔 ‘see the tree shedding its leaves’), and (1i) CONDITION (*khoann3 i1 chin1 hoann1-hi2* 看伊真歡喜 ‘see him very happy’).

Type 2 embraces four subclasses: (2a) RECOGNIZE (*khoann3 bi2-ang2 lai7 khang1-khang1* 看米甕裡空空 ‘see that the jar is empty’), (2b) DETERMINE (*khoann3 e7 loh8 hoo7 boe7* 看會落雨昧 ‘see if it will rain’), and (2c) CLASSIFICATION (*khoann3 choe3* 看做 ‘see ... as’), and (2d) JUDGING (*khoann3 i1 bo5* 看伊無 ‘do not think much of him’). There remain two kinds of a remnant of the expressions involving *khoann3* 看, viz., FACE (*chhu3 khoann3 sai1* 厝看西 ‘the house faces west’), and TENTATIVE MARKER (*chiah8 khoann3* 食看 ‘try the taste’) which are not subsumable under either Type 1 or 2.

The senses, or rather sememes (Lamb 1964), subsumed under the verb of visual perception, viz., *khoann3* 看, as shown above, are interrelated closely or otherwise. Several striking patterns can be detected especially regarding the shift of semantic domain. In general, there is a shift of visual to non-visual (i.e., cognitive) domain as

attested by a contrast between examples in Types 1 and 2. Except for (1a) and (1b), which involve purely visual perception, the examples of Type 1, where visual perception still plays an active role, fall into several subtypes depending on the kinds of target involved, such as performance (1c), animals, or object being monitored (1d), written document being read (1e), a person being paid a visit to (1f), a person that one sees for a specific purpose (1g), a process (1h), or a condition (1i). In contrast, under (A2) are subsumed recognition (2a), determination (2b), classification (2c) and judgment (2d), all of which are the result of a shift of visual perception to cognition.

Khoann3 看 as a verb of visual perception experiences semantic elaboration and does not stay purely perceptual in all cases. For example, there are cases where, on top of visual perception, concomitant non-visual activities such as monitoring (1d), reading (1e), meeting (1f), or specific purpose such as consulting the doctor, etc. (1g), are involved. The extension into cognitive domain beyond visual domain that the verb *khoann3* 看 experiences is shown in a link to semantic fields like recognition (2a), determination (2b), classification (2c), and judgment (2d). Visual domain not only extends to cognitive domain but also spatial domain, as in FACE. Besides, there is a change of *khoann3* 看 as a lexeme to a grammatical function word, viz., a tentative marker, a result of reanalysis. In terms of the source of information as an issue of evidentiality (Chafe & Nichols 1986), shift of visual perception to cognition, as shown in the contrast of (1h), (1i), and (2a), (2b), (2c) means a change from knowledge based on visual perception to knowledge derived from inferencing.

Kinn3 見 covers the following set of senses: (B1) MEET (*kinn3 tiunn7 lang5* 見丈儂 ‘see one’s father-in-law’), (B2) DECIDE (*kinn3 sul-iann5* 見輸贏 ‘decide a contest/see the outcome of a competition’), (B3) UNIVERSAL TIME CORRELATIVE (*kien3 phah4 kien3 iann5* 見拍見贏 ‘win every fight’), (B4) EXCLUSIVE DEVOTION (*chit8 jit8 kinn3 thit4-tho5* 蜀日見得桃 ‘did nothing but play the whole day’) and (B5) ACHIEVEMENT MARKER (*khoann3•kinn3* 看•見 ‘see’ and *thiann1•kinn3* 聽•見).

見 in its basic sense ‘see’ as opposed to 看 ‘look’ functioned as an achievement verb in the sense of Vendler (1967) in Old Chinese. But this sense does not seem to survive in modern TSM, except that it seems to be related to the sense DECIDE (B2). In its place is *khoann3-kinn3* 看見 or *khoann3-tioh8* 看著. Its derived sense ‘meet’ is inherited and has become the core meaning in modern Chinese (TSM included) (B1). The sense of ‘meet’ has taken on additional sense or is linked to a speech event. The *sui generis* construction *kien3...kien3... 見...見...* has developed a fairly unique, non-perceptual gestalt meaning UNIVERSAL TIME CORRELATIVE, as in (B3). 見 alone can also function as an adverb-like word denoting undivided attention to an activity (B4). Interestingly enough, 見 is a partially developed functional word. In

comparison with another productive and versatile achievement marker 著, it is quite restricted and can only be attached to verbs of visual and auditory perception, as in (B5).

Siong3 相 embraces three senses: (C1) GAZE (*kim1-kim1 siong3* 金金相 ‘look hard at’), (C2) TELL FORTUNES (*siong3 mia7* 相命 ‘tell fortunes’), and (C3) WAIT FOR (*siong3 ki1-hoe7* 相機會 ‘on the lookout for (a chance)’). The basic sense of *siong3* 相 is ‘fix one’s glance at’ (C1), but this visual sense has been specialized in some fixed expressions denoting ‘blind date (Chinese-style)’. It has also developed the sense of fortune-telling, which does not necessarily involve looking beyond prediction by speech (C2). Visual perception in this verb also takes on the sense of waiting for, viz., a non-visual semantic domain (C3).

6. Concluding remarks

We can see from the above deliberation that language underspecifies meaning. There are richer meanings than what are literally expressed in linguistic forms. Language has developed short-hand expressions due to the exigencies of efficient communication, and they are often made in terms of the mechanism of metonymy (Huang 1994). Although what appear on the surface are verbs of visual perception, much more hidden information is conveyed. In short, a verb of looking or seeing is metonymically linked to the implied sense of speech, control, interpersonal activity, determination, judgment, classification, and so on. It is unmistakably evident that there is an intimate relationship between visual perception and cognition. Such an intimate relationship reflects the important role of visual perception in the human attempt to come to grips with the world. Thus, knowledge of the world is in many ways accomplished by means of the faculty of visual perception.

A full description of verbs of visual perception can only be achieved by pooling major components of linguistic system manifested in the interplay between semantics and phonology, as exemplified by the contrast between *khoann3-kinn3* 看見 ‘take care of’ and *khoann3•kinn3* 看•見 ‘see’ or the interaction between syntax (e.g., the surface order) and semantics as shown in the difference in meaning between *khoann3 i1 bo5 tloh8* 看伊無著 ‘do not think much of’ and *khoann3 bo5 tloh8 i1* 看無著伊 ‘do not see him’. The interaction between semantics and morphology is also evident in the formation of phrasemes, or rather fixed expressions, such as *e7 khoann3-khau2* 會看口 ‘decent, presentable’, *khoann3 ke3 ke3* 看過過 ‘think nothing of, be as plain as a pikestaff’, and *khoann3 khoan3* 看款 ‘according to circumstances’.

Apart from semantic extension, verbs of visual perception as lexemes have developed to grammatical function words in the formation of aspect markers (i.e., tentative marker) and achievement marker. Meanings of a word cannot be appreciated

fully in isolation. One can never fail to detect the rich inheritance relation that verbs of visual perception in TSM have with a range of synonyms sharing the same semantic domain. We can better capture the relationship between words sharing a similar semantic domain in terms of a repertoire of finite basic semantic primes. In this paper we develop such a level of metalanguage aided by a set of frames in lieu of the traditional lexicographic method of defining word meanings in terms of synonyms. Underpinning this specific account of verbs of visual perception in TSM is an important endeavor to explore the central issue of how our visual perception influences our attempt to grapple with the world, a focal point in the research of cognitive linguistics.

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[Received 28 April 2003; revised 17 February 2004; accepted 23 February 2004]

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台灣閩南語視覺動詞： 從認知觀點論語義範疇的轉移

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本文從認知的觀點探討台灣閩南語「看」、「見」、「相」三個視覺動詞的多義性，其中對各個詞的多義性都做了深入的分析，特別著眼於發掘視覺範疇與其他語義範疇間的互動模式。此外，我們根據動詞和賓語間的語義共組擷取視覺動詞的一系列相關聯的語義。

從本文對三個多義視覺詞的研究可以看出，知覺是我們掌握現像世界的利器，視覺範疇與非視覺範疇之間有重要的互動關係。

關鍵詞：視覺動詞，多義性，認知，語義範疇，互動，台灣閩南語