Exploring Multiple Functions of *Choe³* 做 and its Interaction with Constructional Meanings in Taiwanese Southern Min[*]

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Choe³ 做 as a polysemous word in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) has multiple functions manifested most clearly in the constructions in which it occurs. As a lexeme or a content word it can be used as a verb. As a grammatical morpheme or a function word it serves as both a preposition and a conjunction. *Choe³* 做 can be monotransitive, intensive, ditransitive, or intransitive in its capacity as a verb participating in a host of grammatical constructions. In terms of semantic distinction, it can function as a 'make' verb, a 'do' verb, a 'be' verb, and a 'give' verb, as well as a prefix-like element in forming adverbs. In sum, one can never fail to see the coëxistence of a range of functions of *choe³* 做, both lexical and grammatical, as a result of its interaction with constructions.

Key words: multiple functions, lexical and constructional interaction, *sui generis* construction, construction grammar, core/periphery

1. Introduction

This paper explores multiple functions of *choe³* 做[1] and its interaction with

[1] *Choe³* 做, a form prevalent in the Quanzhou variety of Southern Min (called the coastal variety in Taiwan), is used uniformly in this paper. Its dialectal variant, *cho³*, characterizes the speech of the Zhangzhou variety (referred to as the inland variety in Taiwan). *Cho³* is also a literary counterpart from the point of view of the Quanzhou variety. The character 作 realized as *choh⁴* (with a literary reading *chok⁴*) is said to be the progenitor of 做 *choe³* (see Wang et al. 2000:38).

constructional meanings in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM). *Choe³* 做 plus an NP constitute a V-N construction denoting an event with an elaborate meaning contributed partially by the input of pragmatic information of the noun in question. Since there is only one or two slots in the post-verbal position available for coding in the syntactic structure, not all semantic roles will appear in it. In terms of information structure, what appears in the post-verbal position is the element in focus carrying new information, all other elements being shaded. A variety of semantic roles is assumed by the post-verbal NP; e.g., **event** (as in *choe³ sit⁴* 做穡 'be a farmer; work'), **goal** (as in *choe³ toa⁷-lang⁵* 做大儂 'attain manhood/womanhood' and *choe³ piaⁿ²* 做餅 'make cake'), **theme** (as in *choe³ toa⁷-chui²* 做大水 'have a flood'), **time** (as in *choe³ siⁿ¹-jit⁸* 做生日 'have a birthday party'), and **place** (as in *choe³ hng⁵* 做園 'cultivate dry land').[2] The meanings of such *choe³* constructions exhibit an intersection of the senses of their constituents and their interpretation has to be arrived at by the co-composition of the meaning of the verb *choe³* 做 and that of its NP. *Choe³* 做 in a sense is an underspecified verb which has a range of meanings the selection of which hinges on the specific meaning of the NP. There is a range of senses latent in the NP that have to be teased out to interpret the verb in question. As a rule, the enriched lexicon of the noun is partially built on our pragmatic knowledge in terms of Pustejovsky's event structure and qualia structure and sometimes even linked to cultural models.

Besides in ordinary VN constructions, *choe³* 做 also participates in special constructions whose gestalt sense is structurally encoded and cannot be calculated compositionally. Such special constructions not easily amenable to ordinary syntactic treatment are exemplified by (*li²*) *choe³ li² chiah⁸* (汝)做汝食 'feel free to eat/you are so absorbed in eating', *li² choe³ li², goa² choe³ goa²* 汝做汝, 我做我 'you're who you are and I'm who I am' and their congeners. *Choe³* 做 has developed a prefix-like function to form an adverb, as exemplified by *choe³-tin⁷* 做陣 'form groups; together'. Perhaps under the influence of Mandarin, *Choe³* 做 has become a light verb to verbalize de-verbal nominals, as in *choe³ piau²-ien²* 做表演 'give a performance'.

Between introduction and conclusion, the bulk of this paper consists of seven sections: (2) *choe³* 做 as a transitive or intensive verb meaning 'make', 'do' and 'be', (3)

In terms of phonological shape there is no distinction between 作 and 做, both pronounced *zuo⁴* in modern Mandarin; though a distinction is still kept in the lexical distribution of phrasal formation and compounding, the demarcation line has become increasingly blurred. Due to constraints of space, the uses of *choh⁴* (*chok⁴*) 作 will not be discussed.

[2]   The transliteration of Taiwanese Southern Min is largely based on the Church romanization of Douglas (1873) with some minor modifications. The data presented are partially gleaned from rich resources in Douglas (1873), Embree (1984), Chen (1991), Murakami (1981), Ogawa et al. (1931-32ab), Tung (2001), Yang (1998) and Zhou (1998).

choe³ 做 + weather words, (4) *choe³* 做 in the double-object construction, (5) *choe³* 做 as a complementizer, (6) *choe³* 做 as an adverbial marker, (7) a *sui generis* construction involving *choe³* 做, and (8) *choe³* as a light verb.

2. *Choe³* 做 as a transitive or intensive verb meaning 'make', 'do', or 'be'

2.1 *Choe³* 做 as a 'make' verb

The noun that goes with the verb *choe³* 做, as illustrated in the following examples, denotes the result that results from a specific action, or rather scenario of actions, essentially a process of bringing from non-existence into existence. In terms of lexical decomposition, *choe³* 做 can be factored out as being made up of more abstract semantic primes: CAUSE Y TO COME INTO BEING:

Example	Gloss
choe³ piaⁿ² 做餅	make a cake
choe³ si¹ 做詩	compose poems
choe³ saⁿ¹ 做衫	make clothes
choe³ ke² 做粿	make glutinous rice cakes

Just like *phah⁴* 拍, interpretable as 'do' or 'make' (as in *phah⁴ chioh⁸* 拍石 'strike stone; make a stone image'), *choe³* 做 can be taken in these two senses (as in *choe³ kau²-a²* 做狗仔 'make a dog image, act as a dog', the latter sense being used in a V+N expression like *choe³ kau²-a² pe⁵* 做狗仔爬 'crawl on the ground like a dog').

2.2 *Choe³* 做 as a 'do' verb

2.2.1 *Choe³* 做 + an eventish noun

The fallacy of defining parts of speech in terms of semantic notion lies in the fact that syntactic categories are not always coterminous with semantic categories. That is, nouns do not always denote objects, state, or quality. In many cases they may involve events. One has to postulate that nouns such as *lao³ peng²-you³* 老朋友 'old friend' and *kuai⁴ che¹* 快車 'fast car' have hidden events;[3] otherwise, we cannot account for the

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[3] Some apparent non-de-verbal nouns are interestingly enough historically traceable to a verbal origin. For example, *yi³* 椅 'chair' evolved from the verb *yi³* 倚 'lean against' (Wang et al. 2000:34, 496).

semantic co-composition of attributive adjective and its head noun.[4] We have to posit a rich lexicon for the nominal expression to account for the semantic properties of words associated with it.[5] For example, there are many aspects of a nominal expression as exemplified by the many uses of $lang^5$ 儂 pertaining to one's health condition, physique and temperament, as in i^1 $lang^5$ bo^5 $song^2$-$khoai^3$ 伊儂無爽快 'he is indisposed', i^1 $lang^5$ $chin^1$ $koai^{n5}$ 伊儂真懸 'he is tall', and i^1 $lang^5$ $chin^1$ $tiong^1$-hoo^7 伊儂真忠厚 'he is an honest person'.

All the object nouns that the verb $choe^3$ 做 takes, as given in the following table, denote events, as in sit^4 穑 'farming, work', tai^7-chi^7 事志 'affair', $sing^1$-li^2 生理 'commercial transaction', hi^3 戲 'old drama', kek^8 劇 'modern drama', $kang^1$ 工 'work', $bang^7$ 夢 'dream', sek^4 式 'ceremony', and le^2-pai^3 禮拜 'worship'.[6]

Examples	Gloss
$choe^3$ sit^4 做穑	be a farmer, do farming work, to work
$choe^3$ tai^7-chi^7 做事志	do things
$choe^3$ $sing^1$-li^2 做生理	engage in merchandizing
$choe^3$ hi^3 做戲	perform in or present a drama (classical style, with singing or dancing)
$choe^3$ kek^8 做劇	perform in or present a drama (modern style, without singing and dancing)
$choe^3$ $kang^1$ 做工	to work
$choe^3$ $bang^7$ 做夢	to dream
$choe^3$-sek^4 做式	hold a ceremony
$choe^3$ $chio^3$ 做醮	perform the Taoist rites; hold a Taoist thanksgiving festival
$choe^3$ le^2-pai^3 做禮拜	to worship

The verb $choe^3$ 做 acts as a kind of verbalizer to enable the eventish noun to be used in the predicate position. Eventish nouns are different from disyllabic de-verbal nouns, to be discussed in section 8, like gen^2-kiu^3 研究 'research', 調查 $tiau^7$-cha^1 'investigation',

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[4] *Old friends* when interpreted attributively are those who enjoy a long friendship and *fast cars* are cars that run fast. The attributive adjectives modify the event associated with the noun in question (See Lien 2000 for detailed discussion).

[5] See Pustejovsky (1991, 1993, 1995a,b) in this regard.

[6] Each of the eventish nouns given here refers to an event which can function as an argument of the predicate $choe^3$ 做. It can be regarded as a lexical realization of a covert event originally proposed as an argument in Davidson (1966). (Note that the term *eventish* is due to Parsons 1990)

and *hong²-bun⁷* 訪問 'a visit', which are derived from their verbal counterparts by attaching a light verb or a dummy verb to them.

2.2.2 *Choe³* 做 in the construction denoting forgery

The object noun denotes something that has been fabricated. 'To make' may easily develop into 'to forge, fabricate', which etymologically come from 'to make', as exemplified by the words *forge* and *fabricate*, traceable to senses 'fit together, shape, form', in English. Doppelgänger or a double is not a real object, though the real object and its replica may be exceedingly similar in outer appearance (Goodman 1978). Philosophers try to draw a line between natural kind and artificial kind. Artificial kind is in a sense a reproduction of something original. Mandarin *wei³/wei⁴* 偽 'fraud, artificial' can be traced back to *wei²/wei⁴* 爲 'to do; to make' (Wang et al. 2000:49, 676). The fake denoted by the object noun is a result of doing or rather fabrication, as illustrated below:

Example	Gloss
choe³ sek⁴ 做色	make a color, especially a false color
choe³ an³ 做案	make a false accusation in court
choe³ he³ 做貨	make old goods look new for purpose of deceit

A synonymous coordinate compound like *choe³-chok⁸* 做作 'counterfeit, as goods' can also develop a sense of falsity.

2.2.3 *Choe³* 做 + temporal/spatial expressions

The object NP of *choe³* 做 as exemplified by the following is a temporal/spatial expression associated with a covert event representing the culture model based on pragmatic information concerning our cultural knowledge:

Example	Gloss
choe³ tang¹ 做冬	keep the feast for the Winter Solstice
choe³ sun⁵ 做旬	perform memorial rites for the dead at regular intervals
choe³ siⁿ¹-jit⁸ 做生日	hold a birthday party; to keep a birthday
choe³ moa²-geh⁸ 做滿月	hold a party for a baby who has become one month old

choe^3 ge^5 做牙[7]	observe the 2nd and 16th of each month (lunar calendar)
choe^3 ki^7 做忌	observe the anniversary of a death with ceremonies
choe^3 chhan^5 做塍	cultivate land, esp., irrigated field, be a farmer
choe^3 hng^5 做園	cultivate garden or dry land
choe^3 te^5 soa^{n1} 做茶山	cultivate tea in the mountain

There is a covert event associated with the noun in each example. We can set up an event structure for the noun. The specification of the event structure is based on our pragmatic knowledge of the world. In terms of conceptual frame an agent engages in some kind of activity in temporal and spatial dimension. In terms of argument structure a distinction is often made between complement and adjunct and it is claimed that complements are indispensable elements of predicate-argument structure whereas their adjuncts can be done without. But the adjuncts realized as temporal and spatial expressions instead of the complements occupy the object position probably due to the constraint on information structure.

2.3 *Choe^3* 做 as a 'be' verb

Chao (1968:714-715) regards *zuo^4* 做 in Mandarin as a classificatory verb (Vc), as in *zuo^4 hao^3-ren^2* 做好人 'be a good man', in contradistinction to a transitive verb, as in *zuo^4 hao^3-shi^4* 做好事 'do good deeds'. A typical classificatory verb is the copular verb *si^7* 是 showing an identity or definitional relation between two nominal terms. Thus, *choe^3* 做, as in *choe^3 hm^5 lang^5* 做媒儂 'be a matchmaker' in TSM, can be regarded as a 'be' verb. Some linguists (e.g., Meng et al. 1987:11) take the N in the VN construction as an equivalent object showing a (near) equivalent relation between subject and object, whereas works like Quirk et al. (1972) treats it as a complement, and the verb in question is intensive.[8] An intensive verb is parallel to the classificatory verb in Chao's framework. Below are some examples:

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[7] *Ge^5* 牙 may metonymically stand for *ge^5-jit^8* 牙日 meaning the 2nd and 16th of each month on the lunar calendar when the tradesmen made offerings to the god of earth as well as stray spirits (Douglas 1873:104). In particular, *be^2-ge^5* 尾牙 'last ge' that falls on the 16th of the twelfth moon is an important traditional festival day when the boss gives a feast for his employers in appreciation of their year-long hard work. Although it is not etymologically clear whether *ge^5* means 'tooth' or 'broker', *choe^3 ge^5* 做牙 is unmistakably an emergent construction fed by pragmatic information at its initial stage as discussed in Huang (1998), but it has been conventionalized as a fixed expression with a cultural connotation.

[8] Quirk et al. (1972:37-40, 343-345) regards the copular verb as intensive since it takes an NP as a subject complement. Intensive verbs are used to denote equivalence or class membership between two NPs.

Example	Gloss
choe³ sen¹-si^{n1} 做先生[9]	be a doctor; treat a patient medically
	be a teacher; teach students
choe³ hm⁵ lang⁵ 做媒儂	be a matchmaker
choe³ long⁵ han³ kha¹ 做羅漢骹	be a bachelor; a bum; a tramp
choe³ chhat⁸ 做賊	be a thief, to steal
choe³ ping¹ 做兵	become a soldier; serve in the army

Choe³ 做 in the V-N construction as shown above composes with an ordinary noun to yield an event that denotes a habit, practice, or profession. Whatever the case, it involves an event which is iterative and features an individual-level predicate.

The object-noun, like its counterpart in the case of the 'do' verb, is associated with a hidden event structure. That is, on the surface it is noun, but it does not refer to an object merely; it implies a habitual event. In some cases it can serve both as a stage-level predicate and individual-level predicate (Kratzer 1988, 1996). For example, *choe³ sai¹-kong¹* 做司公 is ambiguous between 'to be a Taoist priest' (habit, individual-level interpretation) and 'to hold a memorial service' (on-going activity, stage-level interpretation). *Choe³* 做 can be either interpreted as 'be, become' or 'do, perform', and it denotes a social role and an event respectively. The two interpretations can be regarded as a difference between individual-level predicate and stage-level predicate. The difference lies crucially in an aspectual distinction: the first refers to a lasting and immutable event such as a habit or a profession, and the second refers to a transient and mutable event. In the second interpretation there is a type-coërcion converting a role-denoting noun into an eventish noun (Partee & Rooth 1983, Pustejovsky 1993).

To summarize, a V-N construction may be ambiguous and show class overlap. For example, *choe³ sai¹-kong¹* 做司公 involves an overlap of the 'be' and 'do' verbs. A noun can also serve as the object of the 'make' and 'do' verbs, as in *choe³ ku¹* 做龜 'make turtle-shaped cakes; become a turtle'.

3. *Choe³* 做 + weather words

The NP of weather words refers to natural disasters such as floods, typhoons, droughts, etc. It involves event structure denoting the occurrence of an event. Unlike its other function as a transitive verb taking two nominal arguments, *choe³* 做 as a weather verb is an intransitive verb taking only one argument with the thematic role of theme.[10]

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[9] *Sen¹-si^{n1}* 先生 may refer to a doctor or teacher.

[10] *Choe³* 作 (> 做) originally means 'arise', as in Mandarin *feng¹-yu³ da⁴ zuo⁴* 風雨大作 'the big

Example	Gloss
choe³ toa⁷-chui² 做大水	to have a flood, be flooded
choe³ hong¹-thai¹ 做風颱	to have a typhoon
choe³ phai² thi^{n1} 做歹天	the weather turns foul

Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) discuss in detail the thesis of unaccusativity in which intransitive verbs are further classified into two subtypes: (1) unaccusative verbs and (2) unergative verbs in terms of semantic and syntactic criteria.[11]

In the unmarked order there is an obvious difference in the position of the argument the intransitive verb in question takes. The noun appears post-verbally for unaccusative verbs, as in *chhut⁴ jit⁸-thau⁵* 出日頭 'the sun rises; the day breaks', *loh⁸ hoo⁷* 落雨 'it rains', *thau³ hong¹* 透風 'the wind blows', *choe³ toa⁷-chui²* 做大水 'there is a flood; to flood/be flooded', *lau⁵ koa^{n7}* 流汗 'to sweat; perspire', *thng³ khak⁴* 褪殼 'shed shell'. By contrast, it appears pre-verbally for unergative verbs, as in *kau²-a² te⁷ chau²* 狗仔在走 'the dog is running', and *chiau² te⁷ pe¹* 鳥在飛 'the bird is flying'. The unaccusative verb is said to have no external argument. Unlike the unergative verb it can assign no case to an external theta role and also fails to assign an accusative case to an underlying object. The noun in the object position will therefore be automatically moved to the subject position (Spencer 1991:260-262). However, the argument of an unaccusative verb remains *in situ* and is given an indefinite interpretation in Chinese (Mandarin and Southern Min included). It will take on a definite sense when moved to the subject position. In short, the two types of intransitive verbs (viz., unaccusatives and unergatives) in TSM differ in the constructions in which each of them occurs.

4. *Choe³* 做 in the double-object construction

Choe³ 做 is not an inherent ditransitive verb, but its ditransitive property can be secondarily derived when occurring in the double-object construction. Its secondary use is conferred by the construction in which it occurs. The ditransitive verbal function of *choe³* 做 may well be a result of reänalyzing a serial verb construction exemplified by *choe³ chit⁸ e⁵ boo² hoo⁷ i⁷* 做蜀個姥與伊, literally 'make a wife and give him', 'make arrangements for getting a wife (e.g., for one's son or nephew)'.

A typical example of *choe³* 做 as a ditransitive verb is provided by the trochaic

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storm started' (a phrasal lexeme), and TSM *choe³ hong¹ loh⁸ hoo⁷* 做風落雨 'the wind blew and it rained; a storm was raging'. Cf. Levin 1993:276 for weather verbs in English.

[11] See Lien 1997 for a preliminary contrastive study of Mandarin and Southern Min in this regard.

form *choe³•lang* 做•儂.[12] Unlike *choe³ lang⁵* 做儂 interpretable as either a verb phrase or a noun phrase (as in *i¹ gau⁵ choe³ lang⁵* 伊豪做儂 'he is a pleasant person; he knows how to conduct himself' and *i¹ choe³-lang⁵ chin¹ khong²-khai³* 伊做儂真慷慨 'he is quite generous'), it is always a verb phrase (as in *lin² cha¹-boo²-kiaⁿ² choe³ siaⁿ²-mih⁸ lang⁵* 恁查某囝做甚物儂 'who was your daughter betrothed to?') in which *lang⁵* 儂 regains its stress since it is further preceded by *siaⁿ²-mih⁸* 甚物 'what?'. As shown above, *choe³•lang* 做•儂 can be a verb phrase, since it is insertable.

In terms of conceptual frames the betrothal event involves three parties: (1) the agent that arranges the match, (2) the woman, and (3) the man. The sentence that contains the predicate *choe³•lang* 做•儂 often keeps the agent hidden, with the woman and man emerging as subject and object, as in *A¹-Lan⁵-a² choe³•lang* 阿蘭仔做•儂啊 'Jane has been betrothed to (someone)' where *•lang* •儂 meaning 'somebody' is an indefinite proform.

In summary, there is an interface between construction and verbal semantics. *Choe³* 做 has changed from a monotransitive verb to a ditransitive verb. In other words, it has changed sentence type. There is a semantic change from 'to make' to 'cause to have' in *choe³* 做 in tandem with a change of construction from monotransitivity to ditransitivity. In other words, shift of construction type brings about change in meaning.

5. *Choe³* 做 as a complement

When *choe³* 做 occurs as V_2 in a V_1V_2 construction, it functions as a complement of V_1. A sequence of V_1V_2 constitutes a V-C compound verb. The compound verb can be regarded as classificatory in the sense of Chao (1968)[13] and intensive in the sense of Quirk et al. (1972). In the sentential construction, $X+[V_1V_2]_{cl}+Y$, there is a relationship of equivalence or class membership between the subject X and its complement Y (as in *chit⁴ e⁵ ho⁷-choe³ kng¹-chio¹* 即個號做弓蕉 'this is called banana' and *i¹ kio³-choe³ Chun¹-sing⁵* 伊叫做春成 'he is named Robert'). The relation of X and Y can be viewed as one between use and mention in Quine (1940)'s terms, or alternatively one between language and metalanguage. It could also be looked upon as two mental spaces with certain kinds of linkage (Fauconnier 1985).

Basically the relationship between X and Y is characterized by iconicity; that is, in terms of semiotics there is similarity between X and Y. In the structure $X+V_1[choe³$

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[12] Quite interestingly, the contrast between *choe³ •lang* 做•儂 and *choe³ lang⁵* 做儂 shows the important role of prosody in its interaction with syntactic structure and semantic interpretation.

[13] Tang (1994) takes such a construction as pivotal verbs as being made up of predicate and complement.

做]$_{v2}$+Y, *choe³* 做 is a world-making word creating another world Y and V$_1$ functions as a linkage that relates the original world X to the newly created world Y by establishing a certain type of viewpoint (as in *hoo⁷-sin⁵ khoa^{n3}-choe³ thih⁴-ting1-a²* 胡蠅看做鐵釘仔 'the fly is mistaken for a nail').

According to Ma (1993:65-66) a V$_1$+V$_2$ sequence like *yi³*(以) X *wei²*(爲) Y (exemplified by 以長安君爲質 'take the prince from Chang'an as hostage' in Old Chinese) is a pivotal construction in which Y is both the object of V$_1$ and the subject of V$_2$.[14] We can postulate that a sequence of V$_1$+V$_2$ as exemplified by *ho⁷+choe³* 號做 in TSM, is a telescoped sequence of the pivotal construction X-V$_1$-Y-V$_2$-Z. The telescoping of *ho⁷+choe³* 號做 is illustrated in *in¹ ho⁷ hit⁴ e⁵ mng⁷-kia^{n7} choe³ king¹-chio¹* 因號(V$_1$)許個物件做(V$_2$)弓蕉 (they-call-that thing-as-banana, 'they called it banana') → *hit⁴ e⁵ mng⁷-kia^{n7} ho⁷ choe³ king¹-chio¹* 許個物件號做弓蕉 that thing-call-as-banana, 'it is called banana'. We can see that the pivot NP has replaced the name-giver as the new subject.

Y in the structure of X V$_1$+V$_2$ Y can be expanded from an object-denoting element to a proposition through type-shifting, as exemplified by the compound verb *liah⁸ choe³* 掠做 that can take a clause as its complement.

Metaphor is involved in establishing a link between Y and Z. Since metaphor is defined in terms of an iconic relationship between two terms, there is similarity between Y and Z, but they are not completely equivalent, as in *liah⁸ goa² choe³ thit⁴-tho⁵-mih⁸* 掠我做佚陶物 'take me as a plaything'.[15] Here 'me' and 'plaything' are not exactly the same, but they are brought together for a comparison. The non-equivalent relation between Y and Z can be held responsible for the rising of an irrealis or counterfactual meaning, as in *liah⁸ choe³ si⁷ i¹* 掠做是伊 'thought that it was him'. The pivotal construction X V$_1$ Y V$_2$ Z can be a source for a complement-taking predicate V$_1$ V$_2$ as well as a source for the disposal constriction X Prep Y V where V$_1$ is reänalyzed as a preposition. It is comparable to the development of the Mandarin *ba³* 把 construction, as in *i¹ bo⁵ liah⁸ goa² choe³ lang⁵* 伊無掠我做人 'he does not treat me as a person (viz., his wife)'.

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[14] Chao (1968:351-52) also regards *ren⁴ ta¹ wei² fu⁴* 認他爲父 'recognize him as father' as a pivotal construction in which the N *ta¹* 他 serves as both the object of the first verb *ren⁴* 認 and the subject of the second verb *wei²* 爲.

[15] Albeit a manual verb in its core sense *liah⁸* 掠 'to catch' as used here is taken in its metaphorical sense. The use of *liah⁸* 掠 can be termed putative, comparable to *yi³* 以 'to take' in Old Chinese, as in *yu²-ren² shen⁴ yi⁴ zhi¹* 漁人甚異之 'the fisherman takes it as quite strange', in contradistinction to the causative use (See Liu 1955). Causative and putative readings manifest a contrast between realis and irrealis readings.

6. *Choe³* 做 as an adverbial marker

6.1 *Choe³* 做 + nominal group expressions

Under this heading are compounds made up of *choe³* 做 plus a noun denoting a group or pair; e.g., *choe³ phoaⁿ⁷* 做伴 'become a companion', *choe³ tui¹* 做堆 'become a pile', *choe³ tin⁷* 做陣 'become a group', *choe³ he²* 做夥 'be together in a group', and *choe³ tui³* 做對 'set oneself against'. The construction [*choe³* 做 + nominal group expression] function as verb phrases or resultative complements. Some of them (such as *choe³ phoaⁿ⁷* 做伴, *choe³-tin⁷* 做陣 and *choe³-he²* 做夥) have evolved into adverbs meaning 'together' and can be further followed by verb phrases. Another example is *choe³ tui¹* 做堆, most often used as a resultative complement (as in *sak⁴ choe³-tui¹* □做堆, literally 'push [them] together', in a culture-specific context in which the parents marry one's son and adopted daughter when they come of age). But as a compound verb, *choe³ tui³* 做對 still means 'be intentionally in conflict with'.

The constructions exemplified by *choe³ phoaⁿ⁷* 做伴, *choe³ tin⁷* 做陣, and *choe³-he²* 做夥 are reciprocal predicates taking collective subjects. But the V+O construction (Verb + group noun) is reänalyzed as an adverb and in terms of formal semantics as a functor that maps an S onto anther S. That is, it takes a whole sentence as its argument.

Consider this example: *A¹-Lan⁵ kah⁴ A¹ Gi⁷-a² choe³ phoaⁿ⁷ khi³ peh⁴ soaⁿ¹* 阿蘭合阿義仔做伴去爬山 'Mary and Johnny went mountain-climbing together.' Here the serial verb construction VP *choe³ phoaⁿ⁷* 做伴 has been reänalyzed as an adverb. The reänalysis can be schematized as follows:[16]

$$S\ VP_1VP_2 \rightarrow S\ ADV\ VP$$

As a VP, *choe³ phoaⁿ⁷* 做伴 can assign thematic roles to nouns, but once reänalyzed as an adverb, the role-assigning capacity is lost. *Choe³* 做 seems to develop into a somewhat productive prefix-element serving to form adverbs by being attached to a nominal root, as in *choe³-tin⁷* 做陣, and *choe³-he²* 做夥, both meaning 'together'.

Nouns (other than group nouns) can be compounded with *choe³* 做 as a prefix-like element to form an adverb, as in *choe³ i³-ti³* 做意致 ADV MARKER + attention 'attentively' in *choe³-i³-ti³ tak⁸ chu¹* 做意致讀書 'study as hard as one can; stop playing around and study'. In either case *choe³* 做 seems to be a head determining the grammatical category of the expression in question.

Parallel examples in modern Mandarin also lend support to the claim that the 'do'

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[16] For the mechanism of reänalysis see Langacker (1977), Timberlake (1977), and Harris & Campbell (1995).

verb as head-word acting as prefix is instrumental in forming an adverb: *zuo⁴-she²-me* 做什麼 'what…for?', *wei⁴-she²-me* 為什麼 'why', and *gan⁴-she²-me* 幹什麼 meaning 'what for; why' as reason adverbials in Mandarin (Lü 1985:136-141).

In sum, the expression functions as an adverbial requesting cause or reason in preverbal position, but postverbally it is used as a VP asking for the purpose of an action. In either case, the original VP construction being made up of V+O is grammaticalized as a polysyllabic lexical element. The formation of adverbs owes its inception to reänalysis of the first VP in the serial verb construction as an adverb.

6.2. *Choe³* 做 + numeral + verbal classifier

The construction V + numeral + verbal classifier can function as an adverbial, as in *choe³ chit⁸ e⁷ kau³* 做蜀下到 '(pl. sub.) arrive at the same time', *choe³ chit⁸ e⁷ ai³ goa⁷ choe⁷ chiⁿ⁵?* 做蜀下愛若濟錢 'how much do they cost altogether?' *choe³ chit⁸ si⁵ pin³ bin⁷* 做蜀時變面 'change color (and get angry) suddenly' *choe³ chit⁸ khun³ chiah⁸ san¹ oaⁿ² mi⁷* 做蜀睏食三碗麵 'have three bowls of noodle in a single stroke', and *siau³ choe³ chit⁸ pai² hing⁵* 數做蜀擺還 'settle the accounts all at once'.[17] *Choe³* 做 (as was the case with the construction discussed in section 6.1. above) functions as a prefix-like element marking the construction in question as an adverbial. In the same vein, the adverbial results from reänalyzing the first VP of the serial verb construction (viz., VP$_1$ VP$_2$).

The verbal classifier *e⁷* 下 is pronounced differently from the nominal classifier *e⁵* 個 in isolation form. In the Quanzhou variety of TSM, however, this difference is neutralized in their combination forms, both being pronounced /e 11/ in sandhi (as in *i¹ choe³ chit⁸ e⁷/e⁵ ke², tioh⁸ kio³ kan¹-khoo²* 伊做蜀下／個粿，著叫艱苦 'she will complain whenever he makes glutinous rice cake/a piece of glutinous rice cake').[18] *Cho³* 做 + nominal expressions denoting spatial orientation can also form adverbials, as in *cho³ ching⁵ chhoa⁷ loo⁷* 做前𤆬路 'lead the way' and *cho³ piⁿ⁵ kiaⁿ⁵* 做平行 'walk abreast'.

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[17] The verbal classifiers *e⁷* 下, *khun³* 睏, and *pai²* 擺 can take verbs other than *choe³* 做, as in *phah⁴ chit⁸ e⁷* 拍蜀下 'beat once', *hioh⁴ chit⁸ khun³* 歇蜀睏 'take a rest' and *kiⁿ³ chit⁸ pai²* 見蜀擺 'see (s.o.) once'.

[18] It should be noted that there is a slight difference in pronunciation between *e⁷* in *choe³ chit⁸ e⁷* 做蜀下 and *e⁵* in *choe³ chit⁸ e⁵* 做蜀個 in the Zhangzhou variety of TSM. *E⁷* 下 and *e⁵* 個 bear sandhi tones /11/ and /33/ respectively. By contrast, the Quanzhou variety of TSM shows no such sandhi difference.

7. *Sui generis* constructions involving *choe³* 做

7.1 X_i + *choe³* 做 + X_i + V

One of the central claims of construction grammar (Fillmore et al. 1988, Goldberg 1995, Kay 1997, Jackendoff 1997, and Michaelis & Lambrecht 1996) is that constructions contribute meanings that cannot be calculated in terms of compositionality of senses of lexical items alone. Another contention is that there is no clear dividing line between core and periphery in syntax and semantics (Fillmore et al. 1988, Culicover 1999).

Diachronically, *choe³* 做 in TSM has taken on quite unique features in special, *sui generis* constructions. There are two groups of special constructions to be addressed: (I) X_i + *choe³* 做 + X_i + V, and (II) X_i *choe³* X_i, Y_j *choe³* Y_j. As discussed in Jackendoff (1997), a *sui generis* construction like the 'time'-away construction is productive and subject to a range of syntactic and semantic constraints. Likewise, the *sui generis* constructions as given here observe a set of constraints. First let us examine the construction, X_i + *choe³* 做 + X_i + V, for which there are some discernible syntactic and semantic properties. (1) The two Xs must be co-referential, as in *li² choe³ li² chiah⁸* 汝做汝食 'free to eat as much as you want; dig in' (cf. **li² choe³ i¹ chiah⁸* *汝做伊食). (2) *Choe³* 做 must remain unchanged, and occurrence of a synonymous word like *chhong³* 創 'do, make' in its place will make the construction ungrammatical, as in **li² chhong³ li² chiah⁸* *汝創汝食. (3) The second verb must be volitional, as shown in the contrast between *li² choe³ li² che⁷* 汝做汝坐 'don't bother getting up' and **li² choe³ li² chhiⁿ⁷* 汝做汝醒 'wake up by all means'. (4) X should be realized as a second or third person pronoun (but not first, as in **goa² choe³ goa² khoaⁿ³ tien⁷-si⁷* *我做我看電視).[19] There are some quite interesting examples that involve volition, but not dynamicity, as in **li² choe³ li² put⁴-moa²* 汝做汝不滿 'you can stay unsatisfied' and *li² choe³ li² tiam⁷-tiam⁷-a² tan²* 汝做汝恬恬仔等 'go on waiting (but I don't care)'.

This *sui generis* construction carries the implication that the speaker is commenting on the protagonist's (namely the subject's) total absorption in his ongoing activity regardless of what is happening around him.

7.2 X_i *choe³* X_i, Y_j *choe³* Y_j

Like *either* in the correlative pair *either ... or*, which cannot occur alone, as in **Mary either Jane* (Culicover 1999:49-53), both clauses in the antithetical construction

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[19] This sentence would be acceptable were it further followed by another clause like *li² boe⁷ choe³ tit⁴ si⁷-m⁷?* 汝袂做得是唔? 'You can't stand it, can you?' It is the speaker's retort to, say, the addressee's complaint about the noise that the TV made.

X_i *choe³* X_i, Y_j *choe³* Y_j must occur. Take for example the following sentence: *i¹ choe³ i¹, goa² choe³ goa²* 伊做伊, 我做我 'I am what I am and you are what you are.' This special construction contributes the context-sensitive interpretation that a clear line should be drawn between two parties, each of which is featured by some semantic properties that are context-induced. The noun (X or Y) need not be realized as a pronoun, as in *oaⁿ² choe³ oaⁿ², ti⁷ choe³ ti⁷, m¹ thang¹ lam⁷ choe³-he²* 碗做碗, 箸做箸, 唔通濫做夥 'Bowls are bowls, and chopsticks are chopsticks. Don't mix them up'.[20]

8. *Choe³* 做 as a light verb

Choe³ 做 as a verbalizer serves to turn a nominal expression into a predicate. There are two types of nominal expression that can be associated with *choe³* 做 : (1) nominal expressions having no other use than as nominal expressions (as in *choe³ bang⁷* 做夢 'to dream', where *bang⁷* 夢 cannot be used in predicate position unless it is verbalized by *choe³* 做); and (2) nominal expressions derived from verb phrases in which the expressions alone can be used as predicates; e.g., 調查 *tiau⁷-cha¹* 'investigate/investigation', 研究 *gien²-kiu³* 'to study/study', 表演 *piau²-ien²* 'perform/performance'. In the latter case, *choe³* 做 is used as a light verb capable of assigning cases to its argument (Grimshaw & Mester 1988, Grimshaw 1990, Miyagawa 1994, Saito and Hoshi 2000). When a disyllabic de-verbal noun is verbalized by *choe³* 做, its object must be preposed and marked by a preposition like *tui³* 對 'concerning'; e.g., *tui³ iu⁵ u¹-jiam² su⁷-kiaⁿ⁷ choe³ chit⁸ hang⁷ chhim¹-jip⁸ e⁵ tiau⁷-cha¹* 對油污染事件做蜀項深入的調查 'make a thorough investigation into the incident of oil pollution', where the de-verbal noun occurs with a sequence of numeral + classifier.[21]

It should be pointed out before ending this section that there is an area where Chinese and Japanese differ with respect to the use of de-verbal nouns. Tan (1934:128-131) insightfully notes a difference between TSM and Japanese in that disyllabic forms as illustrated above can function both as verbs and nouns in TSM, whereas the corresponding forms in Japanese can serve only as nominal forms, and furthermore cannot occur in predicate position unless they followed by the light verb *-suru*.

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[20] *Choe³* 做 in this special construction can be replaced by *hoan⁵* 還, as in *i¹ hoan⁵ i¹, goa² hoan⁵ goa²* 伊還伊, 我還我 without losing its construction-specific sense. Logically the construction in question seems to be tautological. The constructional meaning associated with it shows that there is indeed a distinction between language use and logical reasoning (see Wierzbicka 1987 for discussion of this problem).

[21] Compare *tiau⁷-cha¹ iu⁵ u¹-jiam² su⁷-kian⁷* 'look into the incident of oil pollution' 調查油污染事件 and **choe³ tiau⁷-cha¹ iu⁵ u¹-jiam² su⁷-kian⁷* *做調查油污染事件.

9. Conclusion

In this paper we have provided a detailed analysis of the multiple functions of *choe³* 做 and its interaction with constructional meanings in TSM. We can see an asymmetric relationship between syntax and semantics in that, despite a paucity of syntactic positions, the N in the V(*choe³* 做)-N construction takes on a range of semantic roles, in our semantic interpretation. In co-composition with a following N, *choe³* 做 can be monotransitive, intensive, ditransitive, or intransitive. As a result of grammaticalization, *choe³* 做 can be used as a verb complement, a prefix-like element marking an adverbial and a light verb. The special constructions involving *choe³* 做 observe syntactic and semantic constraints; some parts must be kept constant while others are variable and open to productive realization.

Ever since the introduction of generative linguistic theory, the innate nature of human linguistic capacity has been convincingly argued on the basis of the observation that a native speaker is able to produce and understand endless new sentences. Such a working hypothesis has been codified as a well-entrenched principle.[22] A measure of the adequacy of any linguistic theory is to see whether or not it attains generalization in its analysis. Syntactic rules are set up to capture generality and the interrelationship among a whole set of sentences to reflect the creativity of our linguistic faculty. If this represents the true picture of language acquisition, mastering a language among other things is simply learning a group of rules by generating an infinite set of sentences. But the truth in any real-life situation is that there are plenty of syntactic fragments, prefabs, and *sui generis* constructions that owe their existence to the combined effect of historical development and creativity on the part of users.[23] The endeavor of this paper to account for *sui generis* constructions involving *choe³* 做 in TSM is a small step towards a fuller and more in-depth understanding of the richness of one particular language system.

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[22] This well publicized view has not been unanimously accepted. See Bolinger's (1961) perceptive paper taking issue with it, and Wang (1991) for his insightful reflection on Chinese prefabs.

[23] One may well contend that such linguistic phenomena not amenable to sweeping theoretical generalizations are peripheral, and therefore should not be the main concern of linguists. They should rather address themselves to the core grammar. Such a stand regarding the clear division between core and periphery has been challenged since Fillmore et al. 1988, and more recently by Culicover 1999.

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探索台灣閩南語 '*choe³* 做' 的多重功能 兼論詞匯意義和結構意義的互動

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　　台灣閩南語多義詞 '*choe³* 做' 的多重功能，在其出現的結構中表現得最為顯著。實詞 '做' 充當動詞使用，虛詞 '做' 當介詞或連接詞使用。'做' 作為動詞，可以是單賓動詞、連繫動詞、雙賓動詞、不及物動詞，出現於一系列的語法結構中。就語義區分而言，'做' 有「製作」動詞、「行事」動詞、「連繫」動詞、「給予」動詞及形成副詞的類前綴等用法。約言之，我們可以看出 '做' 有一系列並存的詞彙和語法功能，這些功能是 '做' 和結構互動的結果。

關鍵詞：多重功能，詞匯和結構互動，特殊結構，結構語法，核心/邊緣