現代漢語普通話、閩南話與客家話的「帶音的輕動詞」：

說「打」與「加」

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本次演講主要探討現代漢語普通話，以及台灣閩南話、客家話包含「帶音的輕動詞」(light verb)的使役複合動詞。

現代漢語中，表示使役意義的主要方式包括分析型使動結構(periphrastic constructions)與複合動詞。使役複合動詞又分兩類，即結果複合動詞(resultative compounds)與包含「帶音的輕動詞」之複合動詞。漢語是分析型語言，故使用複合詞來表達使役意義很正常。觀其歷史發展進程則更明顯：上古、中古時期漢語結構產生劇變，從富有音變構詞法的綜合類型語言轉型成分析型語言(參見 Mei 1991)。此外，漢語的詞彙亦有重大轉變，使役意義的表達方式也因此不同。上、中古漢語以一些不同的方式來表達使役意義，如使役前綴、變調及清濁別義（參見 Mei 1991、Pulleyblank 2000、等）。當幾種表達方式漸漸衰落後，至晚期中古漢語即趨於滅亡，遂又發展出表達使役意義的其他方法，如結果補語結構等。晚近還出現結果複合詞，在此結構中能充分表現使動事件跟結果狀態。

然此次演講不擬深論結果複合詞，將重點置於含有「帶音的輕動詞」的複合使役動詞。帶音的輕動詞就是一種具有籠統的使役意義，卻不表示特定的動作（參見 Grimshaw & Mester 1988、 Feng 2005、 Zhu 2005、Jie 2008），如「弄」、「打」、「搞」。這種動詞詞根出現在「V-V」複合詞的 V_1 時，常不用來表達特定的動作，而表達籠統的使役意義。這些意義模糊的動詞之功能，就是把不及物動詞變成及物動詞，故跟結果複合詞有別。諸多帶音的輕動詞中，我將仔細地分析「打」字。出現在「V-V」複合詞的 V_1 時「打」有時是一個實意的動詞，

就造成結果複合詞，也可能是一個帶音的輕動詞。我將略論「打」字的歷史發展，把漢語普通話的「打」、閩南話「拍」、客家話「打」等三者進行比較。

此次另一討論重點「加」字，我認爲「加」用在一些複合動詞的前面，例如「加寬」、「加深」，就是一種帶音的輕動詞。我會先說明「加+動詞」與結果複合詞的差別，之後分析該動詞的特點。「加」的功能是將由開放尺標（open scale）形容詞（表達某種特性的增加）變化的不及物狀態變化動詞（change of state verbs）變爲及物動詞，同時亦是表示動詞邏輯的主要成分之一，即所謂「increasing event」（參見 Hay, Kennedy & Levin 1999）。

上述的動詞分析均依據 Ramchand(2008)的理論框架。分析對象援引自相關文獻、辭書、現代文學作品、報刊、線上資料庫、網路搜尋引擎等來源。

Causative light verbs in Mandarin Chinese, Taiwan Southern Min and Hakka: A discussion on 打 and 加

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This presentation deals with the issue of complex V-V verbs in Mandarin Chinese formed by means of a causative light V_1, also in a comparative perspective, presenting a first overview of this phenomenon in two other Sinitic languages, i.e. Taiwan Southern Min (TSM) and Hakka.

The main means to express causativity in Mandarin Chinese are periphrastics means and complex verbs formed by two verbal roots (i.e. resultative compounds and verbs formed with a light V_1). The tendency to

express causativity by means of compounding seems to be linked to the analytic nature of Mandarin. This is even clearer if we consider the diachronic development of the Chinese language, which is characterized by a typological shift from a synthetic to an analytic language and by a substantial change in the lexicon. This change caused a change in the ways to express causativity by means of different strategies; complex causative verbs seem to emerge out of the need to compensate for the loss of other means to express complex event structures. Old Chinese possessed morphological and lexical causatives; Middle Chinese developed means such as tonal contrast and the voiced/voiceless alternation (清濁別義 qīngzhuó bié yì; cf. Mei 1991, Pulleyblank 2000, among others). By the time of Late Middle Chinese, all these means got extinct; Chinese developed other means, such as the resultative construction and, then, resultative compounds, where both the causing and the result events are expressed, as e.g. 搖醒 yáoxǐng 'shake-awake'.

In this talk, we will not deal with resultative compounds, but, rather, we will focus only on complex V-V verbs formed with a phonetically realized light V_1 (帶音的輕動詞 dài yīn de qīng dòngcí), i.e. a verb that has general and abstract semantic content (see Grimshaw & Mester 1988, Feng 2005, Zhu 2005, Jie 2008), as e.g. 弄 nòng 'make, handle' and 打 dǎ 'beat, strike, hit' 搞 gǎo 'do'. These verbal roots, when appearing as V_1s of V-V compounds often do not represent a particular action, origin or manner, as in the case of resultatives, but are blurred verbs, with a general causative meaning, forming the transitive version of intransitive change of state verbs. Among light verbs, we will illustrate one particular case, i.e. the root 打 dǎ 'hit, beat, strike'. In V-V compounds 打 dǎ can be used either as a full verb, forming a resultative

compound, or as a light verb. We will briefly show the diachronic development of this root and compare it with TSM 拍 phah4 'hit' and Hakka 打 da2 'hit'.

Finally, we will illustrate another particular light verb, i.e. the root 加 jiā 'increase', forming verbs such as 加寬 jiākuān 'increase + wide = widen', 加深 jiāshēn 'increase + deep = deepen'; we will highlight the differences between these verbs and resultative compounds and propose that its function is to form the transitive variant of change of state verbs based on open-range adjectives involving an increase in some properties, representing also one of the relevant parts of the logical representation of these verbs, i.e. the 'increasing event' (cf. Hay, Kennedy & Levin 1999).

We will analyse these forms adopting the framework put forth by Ramchand (2008), which consists in a syntactic decomposition of the event structure. Our analysis and findings will be based on a variety of data coming from different sources: the literature on the topic, dictionaries, contemporary literary texts and newspapers (mostly available on-line), corpora, Google searches.

主講人介紹：

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