INTRAPSYCHOLOGICAL FORCE-DYNAMIC INTERACTION: VERBS OF REFRAINING IN HAKKA[*]

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ABSTRACT

In order to explore intrapsychological force-dynamic interaction, this study, adopting Talmy's (2000a) force-dynamic framework, examines (i) how force is manifested in verbs of refraining in Hakka, and (ii) the correlation between the semantic content FORCE and the syntactic manifestation. From examinations of these verbs, three general points become clear. First, two major force-dynamic patterns are involved in the intrapsychological domain, an ONSET CAUSATION pattern (force of refraining in the blocking part > force of resistance in the desiring part), and an ONSET DESPITE pattern (force of refraining in the blocking part < force of resistance in the desiring part). Furthermore, in the intrapsychological domain, verbs of refraining can be divided into physical suppression and psychological repression. Finally, the correlation between the semantic component FORCE and its syntactic manifestation is demonstrated by the potential mode, verb-copying constructions and also adverbs of duration, evaluation and judgment, and the resultative complements. In adopting these verbs to study the intrapsychological force-dynamic interaction, this study modifies Talmy's framework and also provides a fine-grained analysis for verbs of refraining in Hakka.

Keywords: force-dynamics, intrapsychological, Hakka verbs of refraining, ONSET CAUSATION, ONSET DESPITE

1. INTRODUCTION

Interacting with the environment requires the exertion of force, either as in people acting upon other objects, or as in people being acted upon by them. For instance, when we walk, eat, talk, laugh, or are pushed, hit, or kicked by someone else, the exertion of force is required. Johnson (1987) claims that force is everywhere, and our daily reality is one massive series of forceful causal sequences. Consequently, in order to comprehend our experience, we have to recognize the importance of structures of force. Moreover, as the interaction with the environment is held together by forceful activities, how we express such experience---the meanings and the constructions of language---is connected to the structures of force. To become more familiar with the structures of force, we can explore the issue of force dynamics.

Force dynamics, which concerns the exertion and resistance of a force, the overcoming of such a resistance, and the like, figures in an essential place in language structure. For example, Talmy (2000a) considers force dynamics to be one of the underlying structuring principles of language on a par with gender or number, and shows how a great variety of linguistic surface phenomena receive a unified explanation with the aid of force dynamics, among them modality and causality. Moreover, he develops a system of diagrams to analyze three different domains of force-dynamic patterns, including psychophysical, intrapsychological, and interpsychological domains.

Among these three different domains of force-dynamic patterns, the first domain, the psychophysical domain, has been investigated in some previous studies. For instance, satisfying the condition of the psychophysical domain of force opposition, verbs of hitting, being the most prototypical example of the psychophysical force conflict, have been analyzed both by Lai (2003) and Lai and Chiang (to appear). First, Lai (2003) gives a detailed analysis of verbs of hitting in Hakka. She concludes that MEANS OF HITTING and FORCE OF HITTING are two major semantic components for the analysis of verbs of hitting in Hakka, and also demonstrates that these two components of verbs of hitting figure characteristically in the syntactic properties of these verbs. In addition, Lai and Chiang (to appear), developing findings in Lai's study mentioned above, examine not only how force is manifested in

verbs of hitting in Hakka, but also the nature of the correlation between the semantic content FORCE and the syntactic manifestation.

The intrapsychological and interpsychological domains of forceful interactions have seldom drawn the attention of researchers, however. These two domains do not draw as much interest because people can easily understand and feel the physical force while it is not so easy to realize the conditions of a purely psychological force-dynamic conflict, especially an intrapsychological one. Intrapsychological force-dynamic interaction is a wholly psychological force of opposition which occurs within a single psyche, that is, between parts of the self. This force-dynamic domain can be examined by verbs of refraining in Hakka in light of the following two reasons. First, since the action of refraining means that the agent wants to do something, but he prohibits himself from doing it, so the force of the opposition between the agent's desire and prohibition involved in the action of refraining makes this group of verbs prototypical examples of the intrapsychological domain. Second, the verbs of this group in Hakka which express various degrees of force interactions are near-synonymous. Therefore, verbs of refraining in Hakka have been selected to analyze the intrapsychological force-dynamic interaction.

This study, adopting and modifying Talmy's (2000a) force-dynamics framework, has the following two purposes. First, it demonstrates the force-dynamic patterns of verbs of refraining in Hakka. Second, it examines the correlation between the semantic component FORCE and the syntactic manifestation of these near-synonymous verbs.

The paper is sequenced in the following way. Talmy's force-dynamics model will be outlined in Section 2 to establish the theoretical framework for the analysis of the data. The analysis will be presented in Section 3. And finally, Section 4 will conclude this paper and propose theoretical implications for further investigation.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Talmy (2000) develops a system of diagrams to analyze several different domains of force-dynamic patterns, including psychophysical,

intrapsychological, and interpsychological domains.[1] In addition to considering these different semantic domains of force-dynamic opposition, Talmy also demonstrates various patterns of force-dynamics in language. As encoded in language, force interaction preponderantly involves two forces opposing each other. One of the force-exerting entities draws the focal attention. The most salient issue to be considered in a force interaction is whether this entity is able to realize its force tendency or, on the contrary, is overcome by the opposing force. The focal force entity is called the Agonist and the opposing force is called the Antagonist by Talmy after he borrows these two terms from physiology. Talmy makes extensive use of diagrams to represent different force-dynamic patterns. The basic elements of this framework are shown in (1) below.
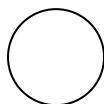
(1) a. Force Entities　　　　　　　b. intrinsic force tendency

　　　Agonist (Ago):　　◯　　　　　　toward action: >

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[1] The examples of these various semantic domains are listed below. (Talmy 2000: 412)
The minimal pairs in each domain contrast force-dynamically neutral expressions (i) with those that do exhibit force-dynamic patterns (ii).
　　a. not VP/cannot VP
[psychophysical]
　　　　　i. John doesn't go out of the house.
　　　　　ii. John can't go out of the house.
　　b. not VP/refrain from VPing
[intrapsychological]
　　　　　i. He didn't close the door.
　　　　　ii. He refrained from closing the door.
　　c. have (got) to VP/get to VP
[interpsychological]
　　　　　i. She's got to go to the park.
　　　　　ii. She gets to go to the park.
For further details of the force-dynamic patterns, see Talmy (2000: 412-13).

Antagonist (Ant):   toward rest: ●

c. Balance of strengths   d. Resultant of the force interaction

   stronger entity: +   action: -------->-------

   weaker entity: −   rest: -------●--------
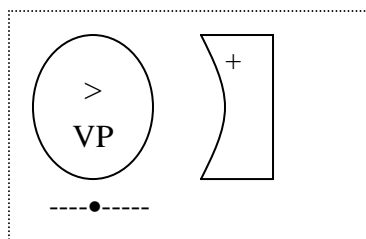
                            (Talmy 2000a: 414)

As shown in (1a), the Agonist is indicated by a circle and the Antagonist by a concave figure. The Agonist's tendency toward action is represented by an arrowhead and the tendency toward rest by a large dot, as illustrated in (1b). Item (1c) demonstrates the concept of relative strengths. In the diagrams, a plus symbol is placed inside the stronger entity, and a minus symbol is placed inside the weaker entity. The resultant is represented by a line beneath the circle of the Agonist, and this line bears either an arrowhead for action or a large dot for rest, as demonstrated in (1d).

In Talmy's model, force-dynamic interactions can be divided into EXTENDED pattern and ONSET pattern. The EXTENDED pattern is a steady-state force-dynamic pattern with the Antagonist impinging steadily on the Agonist. In contrast, the ONSET pattern indicates that the Antagonist has come into position against the Agonist or has moved out of a condition of impingement on the Agonist.[2]
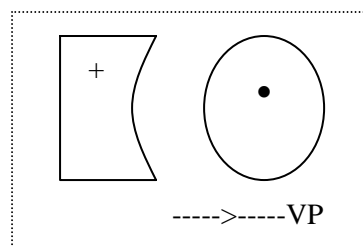
Next, regarding the intrapsychological domain of force-dynamic interaction, the example and the diagram in (2) can be used as an illustration.

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[2] For fuller discussion of this point, refer to Talmy (2000a: 415-418).

(2) a. I refrained from responding.　　b. I exerted myself in pressing
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　against the jammed door.

The sentence in (2a) indicates that there is one part of the self (*I*) that wants to perform a certain act (*responding*) while another part wants the action not to happen. And because the second part is stronger, it prevents the act from being performed. The new feature of a dotted box around the elements signals that the two forces are parts of a single psyche. On the other hand, (2b) illustrates the opposite intrapsychological pattern of refraining. In this case, one part of the psyche, acting as the Agonist, is tending toward rest, while the other part, acting as the Antagonist, overcomes this resistance so as to bring about an action.

The theoretical framework presented above provides a very useful foundation for the understanding of different domains and patterns of force-dynamics in language. However, to analyze verbs of refraining in Hakka, the present study will slightly modify Talmy's model, as will be clear in the next section.

3. ANALYSIS

In this section, the data description will first be presented in Section 3.1. Next, the semantic elements for verbs of refraining in Hakka will be shown in Section 3.2. Then, the cases concerning physical suppression and psychological repression will be discussed in Section 3.3 and Section 3.4, respectively. Finally, Section 3.5 will provide comments on the use of verbs of refraining in Hakka.

3.1 Data description

Verbs of refraining in intrapsychological domain relate to force-dynamic interactions between the desiring part of the self and the blocking part of the self. According to *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary* (1998: 1621), the definition of *to refrain* is "to hold oneself back voluntarily from an impulse to say or do something, especially from something regarded as improper or unhealthy". The use of nine verbs of refraining in Hakka conforms to this definition and will be discussed in this study. These verbs are listed in (3) below.
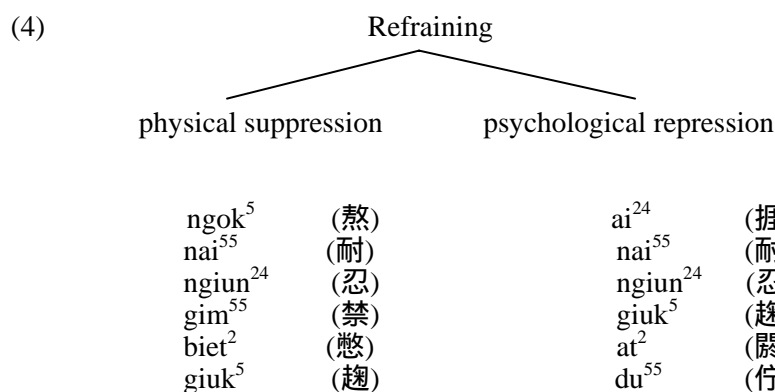
(3) Verbs of refraining in Hakka[3]

ngok^5	'to prevent oneself from doing something'
	e.g., *ngau^{11}-ya^{55}* 'to stay up all night'
ai^{24}	'to repress some negative emotions'
	e.g., *dong^{11}-nan^{11}-ai^{24}* 'hard to endure'
nai^{55}	'to refrain from doing something or to suppress inner feelings with effort'
	e.g., *nai^{55}-yong^{24}* 'to refrain from itching'
	nai^{55}-lang^{24} 'to stand the cold'
gim^{55}	'to prevent oneself from doing something'
	e.g., *gim^{55}-zoi^{55}* 'to prevent oneself from eating'
ngiun^{24}	'to prevent oneself from doing something'
	e.g., *ngiun^{24}-min^{11}-cong^{11}* 'to refrain from getting up'
	ngiun^{24}-tung^{55} 'to bear one's pain'
biet^2	'to keep oneself from doing something'
	e.g., *biet^2-hi^{55}* 'to keep oneself from breathing'

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[3] The Hakka data presented in this study are mainly based on the dialect of Northern Sisian Hakka, and are transcribed into Tongyong Pinyin. The tone diacritics and the graphic representations in the data follow the system used in *The Hakka Dictionary of Words and Phrases*. The superscript 5 is the highest, and 1 is the lowest; and 11 is yangping, 24 is yinping, 31 is shangsheng, 55 is qusheng, 2 is yinru, and 5 is yangru. Moreover, the symbol   signals that no proper graphic representation cannot be found yet for this verb in Hakka.

giuk^5 'to refrain or to repress one's feelings'
        e.g., *giuk^5-sii^{31}* 'to refrain from going to the toilet'
        'to refrain from being amiable'[4]

at^2 'to deliberately stop oneself from showing anger'
        e.g., *at^2-do^{55}-sim^{24}* 'to repress one's bad feelings'

du^{55} 'to refrain from doing something'[5]
        e.g., *du^{55}-m^{11}-diau^{11}* 'cannot stand it'

These nine verbs of refraining can be put in the taxonomy below.

(4)   Refraining

      physical suppression   psychological repression

physical suppression		psychological repression	
ngok^5	( )	ai^{24}	( )
nai^{55}	( )	nai^{55}	( )
ngiun^{24}	( )	ngiun^{24}	( )
gim^{55}	( )	giuk^5	( )
biet^2	( )	at^2	( )
giuk^5	( )	du^{55}	( )

In this taxonomy, we can find that verbs of refraining in Hakka can be grouped by expression of physical suppression and psychological repression. Physical suppression refers to the act of refraining from performing physically involuntary behavior such as going to the bathroom, breathing, itching, and blinking. Psychological repression refers to the act of deliberately suppressing oneself from showing strong

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[4] This second meaning of *giuk^5-sii^{31}* involves a metaphorical usage which will be discussed later.
[5] Although the verbs *ngok^5*, *gim^{55}*, *ngiun^{24}*, *biet^2*, and *du^{55}* have similar meanings, they are different from each other in their collocations. Our thanks to one of the anonymous reviewers for bringing our attention to this point.

feelings such as anger, sadness, love, or wish caused by some emotions. These two subcategories will be discussed after we present the semantic elements for verbs of refraining in Hakka in the next section.

3.2   Semantic elements for verbs of refraining in Hakka

The act of refraining occurs within a single psyche---one part of the self wants to perform a certain act, while the other part wants the action not to happen. Because the force-dynamic conflict occurs between parts of the self, the semantic domain dealt with here is the intrapsychological realm. In the case of refraining, the Agonist (the refrainee), reflecting an inner psychological state, is identified with the self's desire. And this desire is being overcome by the Antagonist (the refrainer) acting as a blockage. The Antagonist stands for a sense of responsibility or propriety and appears as an internalization of external social values. Some modified elements of Talmy's (2000a) model will be adopted to analyze verbs of refraining in Hakka. The basic elements of the diagram after modification are depicted in (5) below.

(5) Semantic elements of the force-dynamic framework for refraining

a. Agonist
   (desiring
    part)

the self's tendency:
desire to perform
a certain act

b. Antagonist
   (blocking
    part)

block the inner desire
the self's intention:

c. The self's volition

volition

d. The resultant state of refraining

------>-------- (the desire is fulfilled)

-------●---------- (the desire is blocked)

e. Single psyche

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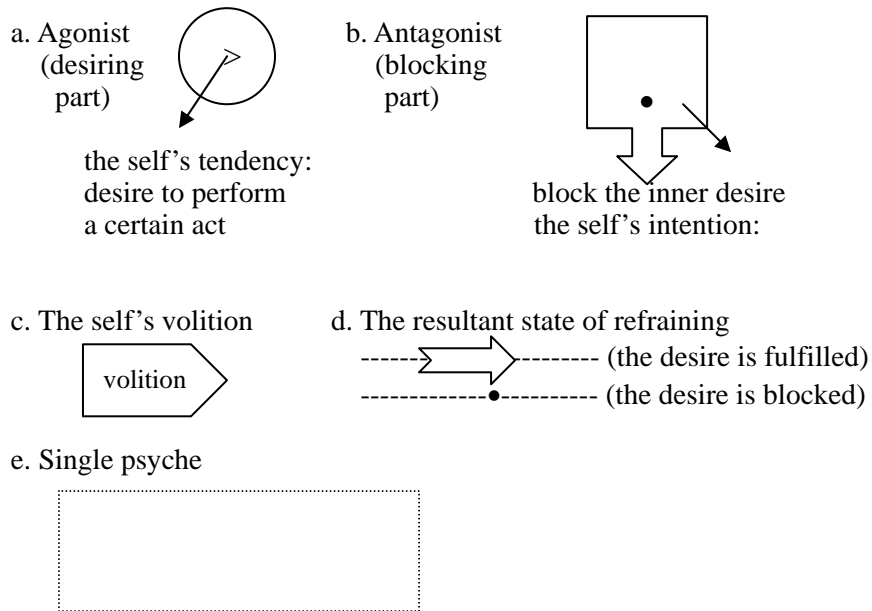
In the case of refraining, the desiring part of the self, represented by a large circle, plays the role of Agonist and the blocking part of the self, represented by a rectangle with an arrow beneath it, plays the role of Antagonist. Generally speaking, the act of refraining follows the occurrence of the desire. For instance, we refrain from laughing after we have the desire of laughing. In other words, the force of refraining in the blocking part enters the state of impingement in the middle of the event rather than impinges steadily on the desiring part; the arrow beneath the blocking part illustrates this ONSET pattern of force interactions.[6]

Furthermore, in (5a), the arrowhead inside the large circle refers to the self's tendency---desiring to perform a certain act. And in (5b), the dot within the rectangular represents the self's intention---blocking the self's inner desire. Moreover, since the act of refraining involves the divided self, both the desiring part and the blocking part of the self intend to perform the action, represented by a pentagon. As for the resultant state of refraining, the arrow on the resultant line in (5d) indicates that the desire is fulfilled after the functioning of the force-dynamic interaction, while the dot on the resultant line in (5d) indicates that the desire is blocked by the peripheral part of the self. Finally, the dotted box signals that the two forces are parts of a single psyche.

After discussing some semantic elements for verbs of refraining in Hakka, we will then adopt the force-dynamic framework to analyze two subtypes of refraining---physical suppression and psychological repression---in Section 3.3 and Section 3.4, respectively.

3.3 Physical suppression

As mentioned previously, physical suppression refers to the act of refraining from performing certain necessary physical behavior, such as breathing, going to the bathroom, sleeping, and blinking. The case of physical suppression can be further divided into two force-dynamic patterns. The first kind of force-dynamic interaction concerns cases

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[6] Different from the present study, Talmy (2000a) treats the act of refraining as an EXTENDED force-dynamic pattern.

where the force of resistance in the desiring part is stronger than the force of refraining in the blocking part. As a result, the resultant state matches the desiring part's expectation; that is, the self's desire is fulfilled. This force-dynamic interaction occurs in reflexes which will be discussed further in Section 3.3.1. Next, the second kind of force-dynamic interaction is more complicated. At the beginning of the conflict, the force of the desiring part is weaker than the force of the blocking part. Therefore, the desire is blocked in the first phase. However, because the desire to perform certain involuntary behaviors will become stronger and stronger, we can expect that finally the force of the desiring part will be stronger than the force of the blocking part. In other words, we can predict that in the long run, the self's desire will be fulfilled. Detailed discussion of this point will be presented in Section 3.3.2.

3.3.1 Force of resistance in the desiring part (+) > Force of refraining in the blocking part ( )

   Reflex is a movement that one's muscles make without thinking about it or without being able to control. For instance, when we suddenly see a bright light, we cannot help blinking. When we cut onions, it is hard for us to prevent tears from shedding. When we are frightened suddenly by someone else, it is not easy for us to refrain from screaming. From the force-dynamic point of view, one cannot easily control and block one's desire because the force of the desiring part is much greater than the force of the blocking part. This force-dynamic pattern can be shown in diagrammatic form as in (6) below.

(6)
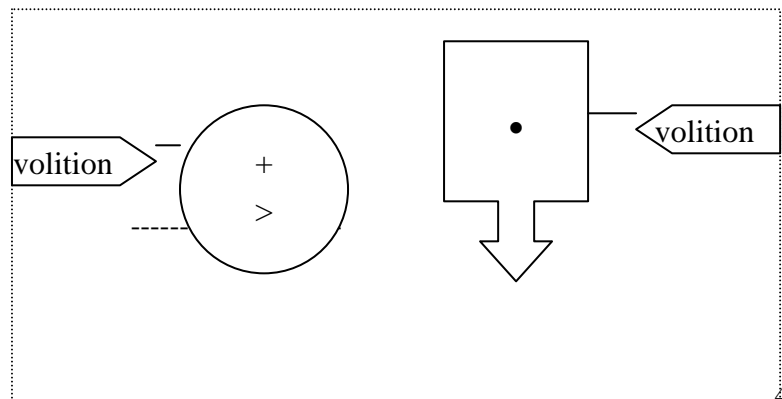
In this diagram, the two volitional forces interact within a single psyche. The desiring part expects a person to perform a certain action, while the blocking part intends to restrain a person. In a conflict, because the force of the desiring part is much stronger than the force of the blocking part, the desire is fulfilled, and the physical behavior is performed. Therefore, this force-dynamic interaction belongs to the ONSET DESPITE pattern. Consider the following example:

(7) [7]

Gi^{11} an^{31} giang^{11}-neu^{11}, bun^{24}gia^{11} go^{24} yit^2 zau^{31},
She very fear-tickle, BUN her older brother once tickle
du^{55}-m^{11}-diau^{11} ha^{11}-ha^{11}-tai^{55}-seu^{55}.
refrain-NEG-POT laugh heartily
"She is very sensitive to being tickled, so when her older brother tickled her once, she could not refrain from laughing out loud."

In (7), it can be seen clearly that in normal cases, when someone being so sensitive to being tickled is tickled by someone else, it is impossible for her to refrain from bursting out laughing. This phenomenon is due to the situation that the force of one's desire to laugh is much stronger than her self's force of blocking that desire. As a result, the negative potential mode (*m^{11}-diau^{11}*) indicates that the action of refraining is not fulfilled as it potentially may be. That is, the desiring behavior of the self (to laugh loudly) is fulfilled after the intrapsychological force-dynamic interactions.

Evidently, the adverb judgment in (8) below confirms the speaker's attitude toward the propositions of the sentences.

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[7] The following abbreviations are used for the gloss of the Hakka data: BUN, agent marker; LAU, patient marker; DO, subordinator; NEG, negative marker; GE, possessive marker; LE, sentence final particle; CL, classifier; ASP, aspect marker; POT, potential mode; and LOC, locative marker.

(8)

Gia^{11} me^{24} **ciet^5-do^{55}** voi^{55} bun^{24} cung^{24}-teu^{11} tsung^{24} do^{55}
His mother definitely will BUN onions irritate DO
nai^{55}-m^{11}-det^2 liu^{11} muk^2-ziip^2.
refrain-NEG-POT shed eye-water
"His mother definitely cannot refrain from shedding tears because of the (spicy) onions."

In this example, because the (spicy) onions cause the self's desire to shed tears, where this force is greater than the divided self's force of refraining, the action of shedding tears is performed instantly. The felicitous use of the adverb of judgment *ciet^5-do^{55}* 'definitely' in (8) to confirm the speaker's expectation is based on the speaker's common sense regarding reflexes.

On the other hand, the adverb *mo^{11}-siong^{31}-do^{31}* 'unexpectedly' in (9) below represents that the resultant state of refraining had been outside the speaker's expectation when the self's desire does not match the real outcome.

(9)

Gia^{11} me^{24} ciet^2 cung^{24}-teu^{11}, **mo^{11}-siong^{31}-do^{31}** gi^{11}
His mother cut onions NEG-think-successfully she
nai^{55}-det^2 mo^{11} liu^{11} muk^2-ziip^2.
refrain- POT NEG shed eye-water
"His mother cut onions. It was unexpected that she could refrain from shedding tears."

In (9), after cutting onions, the subject could restrain herself from shedding tears. This does not match our expectations. Therefore, the felicitous use of the adverb *mo^{11}-siong^{31}-do^{31}* is again based on our knowledge regarding the reflexes.

We will now further discuss the characteristics of the blocking part and the desiring part in this force-dynamic pattern. Within the psyche of a person, the blocking part is volitional. In addition, the blocking part has the strong intention to back the desire; that is, one is conscious of the intended result. This intention can be exemplified by the adverb *tiau^{11}-sii^{55}* 'purposely' as shown in (10) below.

(10)

Bun^{24} gia^{11} go^{24} yit^2 zau^{31}, gi^{11} **tiau^{11}-sii^{55}**
BUN her older brother once tickle she purposely
ngiun^{24}-det^2 m^{11} seu^{55}.
refrain-POT NEG laugh
"After being tickled by her older brother, she purposely refrained from laughing."

3.3.2 Force of resistance in the desiring part ( ) < Force of refraining in the blocking part ( )

Other than reflexes, some forms of physical behavior are more easily suppressed. For instance, when we are swimming, we have to hold our breath; that is, we need to refrain from breathing in the water. When we want to go to the bathroom but cannot find one, we have to refrain from urinating. In addition, when our eyes are being checked by an oculist, we have to refrain from blinking. However, these kinds of physical behavior such as breathing, urinating, and blinking can be suppressed only temporarily. In other words, it can be predicted that in the long run, these actions need to be performed. The force-dynamic conflict can be shown in diagrammatic form as in (11) below.

(11)
a.

b.
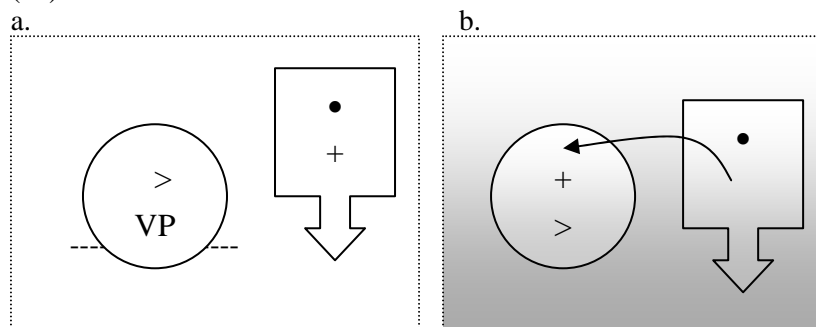
c.
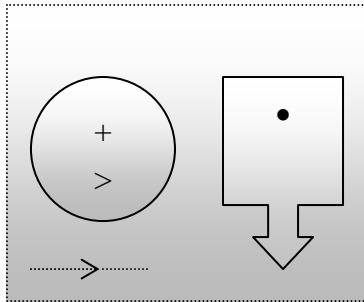
This force-dynamic script shows that only Phase (a) is windowed---being placed into the foreground of attention, as shown by the white background of the surrounding rectangular---while Phase (b) to (c) is gapped---being placed into the background of attention, as shown by the gray background of the surrounding rectangular.[8] In this force-dynamic pattern, only Phase (a) is focused on. In this phase, the force of the desiring part is weaker than the force of refraining in the blocking part; the desire is blocked successfully, shown by the dot on the resultant line. Although Phase (b) to (c) is gapped, when the force of the desiring part becomes greater, finally this force will become stronger than the blocking force. Therefore, in Phase (c), the desire to perform certain actions will be fulfilled, shown by the arrowhead on the resultant line.

The positive potential mode (e.g. *det^2*) in the examples below shows that the desire can be blocked successfully but only temporarily.

(12)

Gi^{11} ngiun^{24}-det^2 ngiau^{55}.
He refrain-POT urinate
"He can refrain from urinating."

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[8] According to Talmy, a portion of a referent situation can be placed into the foreground of attention by the explicit mention of that portion, while the remainder of that situation can be placed into the background of attention by omitting the mention of it. And the portions that are foregrounded by inclusion are said to be windowed, while the portions that are backgrounded by exclusion are said to be gapped. See Talmy (2000a: 257-309) for detailed discussion of the windowing of attention in language.

The sentence in (12) shows that the necessary physical behavior (urinating) in our daily lives can be suppressed and controlled. However, this act of refraining lasts only temporarily. The verb-copying constructions accompanied by the adverbs of duration in (13) can illustrate this point.

(13) a.
    Gi^{11} ngiun^{24} ngiau^{55} ngiun^{24}-e^{11} yit^2 ziet^2 ko^{55}.
    He   refrain   urinate   refrain-ASP   one CL   class
    "He refrained from urinating for one class period."
  b. # [9]
    #Gi^{11} ngiun^{24} ngiau^{55} ngiun^{24}-e^{11} sam^{11} ngit^2.
    He   refrain urinate refrain-ASP   three   days
    "#He refrained from urinating for three days."

In (13), based on our encyclopedic knowledge of the world, we know that it is possible for one man to refrain from going to the bathroom for a class period, but it is not possible for him to refrain from urinating for three days. Whether the usage of the adverbs of duration is felicitous or not depends on our pragmatic knowledge that reflects the relationship between our common sense and linguistic phenomena.[10]

    The examples below illustrate that the desiring force will eventually become stronger than the blocking force, and the desire will need to be fulfilled.

(14)
    Gia^{11} moi^{55}-e^{31} , ngiun^{24}-ngiau^{55} ngiun^{24} an^{31} giu^{31},
    His   daughter   refrain-urinate refrain   very   long
    tin^{55}-cok^5   voi^{55} lai^{11}-ngiau^{55}.
    undoubtedly   will   wet the pants
    "His daughter has refrained from urinating for such a long time; she undoubtedly will wet her pants."

This example illustrates that because excretion---passing liquid or solid

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[9] The symbol # indicates that the sentence is grammatical but unacceptable.
[10] We thank one of the reviewers for strengthening this point.

waste out of our bodies---is a normal physical operation, we cannot keep ourselves from performing this operation for a long time. The felicitous use of the adverbs *tin^{55}-cok^{5}* 'undoubtedly' is based on the speaker's common sense about the normal operation of our bodies. Furthermore, the following examples show that the self will be hurt after a refraining for a long time.

(15)
> Gia^{11} ba^{11} ngiun^{11}-ngiau^{55} ngiun^{11} do^{55} pong^{11}-gong^{24} fat^{2}-yam^{11}.
> His father   refrain-urinate refrain   DO   bladder   get infected
> "His father got the cystitis because he refrained from urinating."

In (15), because of the habit of refraining from urinating, he can cause damage to his bladder. Furthermore, even when the self cannot block his desire properly, he may psychologically be hurt. An example below illustrates.

(16)
> Ge^{55}-vi^{55} se^{55}-moi^{55}-e^{31} do^{55} hok^{5}-gau^{31} lai^{11}-ngiau^{55},   bun^{24}
> That-CL   little girl   LOC   school   wet the pants   BUN
> tung^{11}-hok^{5} cii^{31}-seu^{55}.
> Classmates   laugh at
> "That little girl was laughed at by her classmates because she wet her pants in school."

In (16), the little girl could not refrain from urinating and hence wet her pants in class. She would feel embarrassed after being unable to suppress her desire. Therefore, whether the self performs the action of refraining successfully or not, he will get hurt physically or psychologically to some extent.

After analyzing this subtype of physical suppression in Hakka, we find that the windowed phase of this intrapsychological force-dynamic interaction belongs to the ONSET CAUSATION pattern because during this beginning phase, the real result matches the intention of the refrainer---to block the desire. However, in the gapped final phase, it is an ONSET DESPITE pattern because despite the force of blocking, the result eventually matches the self's desire.

To give a brief summary, we have seen that physical suppression can be divided into two subtypes---one concerning reflexes, and the other concerning involuntary behavior. The relative strengths between the two conflicting forces are due to the properties of the desire. The former pattern belongs to the ONSET DESPITE pattern. The latter shows a complex combination of two patterns. While the windowed phase (the beginning phase) is the ONSET CAUSATION pattern, the gapped phase (the final phase) is the ONSET DESPITE pattern.

3.4 Psychological repression

Psychological repression refers to the act of deliberately restraining oneself from showing strong feelings such as anger, sadness, love, or performing an action caused by emotions such as laughing out of happiness and crying out of sadness. The situation of psychological repression can also be divided into two subtypes: the force of refraining in the blocking part is stronger than the force of resistance in the desiring part, and the force of refraining in the blocking part is weaker than the force of resistance in the desiring part. In the case of psychological repression, the relative strengths between the two interacting forces are due to the ability of self-control and endurance. When a person can control himself as appropriate, the blocking force will be greater, but if it is hard for a person to perform self control, the blocking force will be weaker. In the two subtypes, the first subtype is the ONSET CAUSATION pattern because the real result matches the intention of blocking part. This pattern will be discussed in Section 3.4.1 below. The second subtype belongs to the ONSET DESPITE pattern because the self's desire is fulfilled in spite of the divided self's blocking force. This pattern will be analyzed in Section 3.4.2.

3.4.1 Force of refraining in the blocking part (+) > Force of resistance in the desiring part (   )

As described previously, when a person has command of his own capacity for self-control and endurance, the force of refraining will be greater than the desiring force. The force-dynamic interaction can be shown in diagrammatic form as in (17) below.

(17)

> volition

\>

+

•

volition >

------------•---------
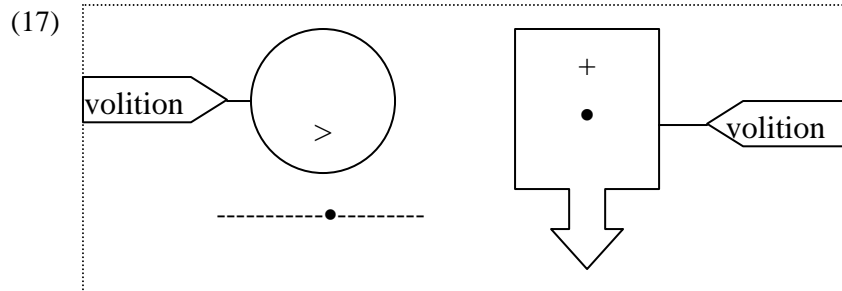
In this diagram, the plus symbol (+) inside the rectangular indicates that the force of the blocking part is relatively stronger than that of the desiring part. Moreover, the dot on the resultant line means that the real result after refraining, while being contrary to the desire of the Agonist, matches the blocking part's intention, that is, to block the desire. As a result, this interaction belongs to the ONSET CAUSATION pattern. Consider the following examples:

(18)

Gi^{11} lau^{11} nu^{55}-hi^{55} at^2 do^{55} sim^{24}.
He LAU anger repress LOC heart
"He repressed the anger in his heart."

(19)

Gi^{11} an^{31} gien^{24}-kiong^{11}, nai^{55}-det^2 mo^{11} do^{55} tai^{55}-ga^{11}
He very tough refrain-POT NEG LOC everyone
mien^{55}-cien^{11} gieu^{55}.
face-before cry
"Being very tough, he restrained himself from crying in front of
other people."

(20)

Yin^{24}-vi^{11} mo^{11} cien^{11}, gi^{11} zii^{31}-ho^{31} nai^{55}-det^2 mo^{11}
Because NEG money he have to refrain-POT NEG
mai^{11} ziang^{24} sam^{11}-fu^{55}.
buy beautiful clothes
"Because he had no money, he had to restrain himself from buying
beautiful clothes."

These three examples show that psychological repression includes the repression of strong feelings (e.g., *nu^{55}-hi^{55}* 'anger') in (18), behaviors caused by strong emotions (e.g., *gieu^{55}* 'cry') in (19), and also impulses of actions not necessary to be performed in our daily lives (e.g., *mai^{11} ziang^{24} sam^{11}-fu^{55}* 'buying beautiful clothes') in (20). In these three examples, because the blocking force is stronger than the desiring force, the strong feelings of anger, the behavior of crying, and the impulse of buying beautiful clothes are repressed and cannot be performed successfully.

Furthermore, the adverb *ciet^{5}-do^{55}* 'definitely' confirms that the speaker's expectation matches the real result after refraining. Consider the following example:

(21)

    Gi^{11} an^{31} gien^{24}-kiong^{11}, **ciet^{5}-do^{55}** voi^{55} nai^{55}-det^{2} m^{11} do^{55}

    He very tough   definitely will refrain-POT NEG LOC

    tai^{55}-ga^{11} mien^{55}-cien^{11} gieu^{55}.

    everyone face-before cry

    "Being very tough, he definitely will restrain himself from crying in front of other people."

Example (21) shows that if the speaker knows that the subject can by himself restrain his emotions, then he can expect that the blocking force of the self will be greater than the desiring force.

In this force-dynamic pattern, only if the restrainer can control his desire well, will the force of blocking continue to be greater than the force of desiring. In addition, the act of refraining can last for a very long time. This point can be examined by the verb-copying construction along with adverbs of duration. Let us consider the sentence in (22).

(22)

    Gi^{11} lau^{11} dui^{55} gia^{11} ba^{11} ge^{11} yen^{55}-hi^{55} giuk^{5}

    He LAU to his father GE complaint refrain

    do^{55} sim^{24} giuk^{5} siip^{5} ngien^{11} le^{24}.

    LOC heart refrain ten year LE

    "He has repressed his complaint about his father for ten years."

Unlike physical suppression, psychological suppression can last for a very long time, such as ten years as in (22).

　　With regard to the features of the blocking part and the desiring part, in this ONSET CAUSATION force-dynamic pattern, the blocking part successfully represses the desire. As for the desiring part, there are two possible situations. First, the self may be hurt after the action of refraining. Example (23) illustrates this point.

(23)
　　Gi^{11}　ngiun^{11}-tung^{55}　ngiun^{11} do^{55}　　nga^{11}-ngien^{11}-muk^2-ziu^{55}.
　　He　　repress-pain　repress DO　　teeth-ground-eyes-wrinkled
　　"He repressed his pain to the extent that his face was contorted."

The verb-copying construction along with the resultative complement shows that the desiring part of the self changes his state and is causally affected by the blocking part. However, other than a negative impact, sometimes the self may obtain a positive influence from the act of refraining. Consider the following example:

(24)
　　Ngiun^{24}　yit^2-sii^{11}　　fung^{24}-pin^{11}-long^{55}-cin^{55}.
　　Refrain　　one-time　wind-calm-wave-tranquil
　　"Once you repress your anger, everything will proceed smoothly."

Example (24) shows that when a person represses his strong feelings of anger or hatred, everything will proceed smoothly. Because of this positive effect, the self in this case is also causally affected by the blocking part.

　　From the discussion above, it can be concluded that this subtype of psychological repression is the ONSET CAUSATION pattern with the self being influenced positively or negatively with regard to the action of refraining.

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3.4.2 Force of refraining in the blocking part ( ) < Force of resistance in the desiring part ( )

If a person is not good at controlling his feelings or restraining his emotions, then the force of the blocking part will be weaker than the force of the desiring part. That is to say, the force of the desiring part will prevail over the force of the blocking part. Therefore, despite the existence of the blocking force, the result will eventually match the expectations of the desiring part, and the desire will be fulfilled. The intrapsychological force-dynamic interaction is shown in (25).

(25)
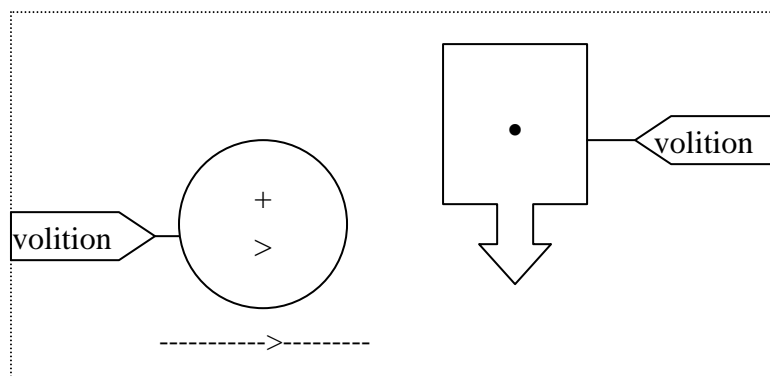
In this diagram, the plus symbol in the large circle indicates that the desiring part owns the relatively stronger force. The arrowhead on the resultant line shows that the real result matches the self's desire. Therefore, this is an ONSET DESPITE pattern. Take (26) for example.

(26)

Gi^{11} tet^2 oi^{55} seu^{55}, zung^{31}-he^{55} nai^{55}-m^{11}-det^2 do^{55}
He too love laugh always refrain-NET-POT LOC
ko^{55}-tong^{11}-hong^{55} seu^{55}-nga^{11}-nga^{11}.
Class in burst into laughter
"Because he loves laughing very much, he can never restrain himself from bursting into laughter in class."

In the example above, the negative potential mode *m^{11}-det^2* means that

the action of refraining cannot succeed. In other words, the action of blocking fails and the desire of laughing is fulfilled.

Let us now examine how speaker-oriented adverbs interact with these verbs. The adverb *zen^{55}-gin^{24}* 'assuredly' shows that the real result matches the speaker's expectation, and means the desire, failing to be blocked, is fulfilled successfully.

(27)

Gia^{11} moi^{55}-e^{31} yit^2 liang^{11} sin^{24}-sui^{31} , **zen^{55}-gin^{24}**

His daughter once receive salary assuredly

ciu^{55} nai^{55}-m^{11}-det^2 hi^{55} mai^{11} sin^{24} sam^{11}-fu^{55}.

then refrain-NEG-POT go buy new clothes

"As soon as his daughter gets her pay, assuredly she is unable to repress the impulse to buy new clothes."

In this example, because of the speaker's understanding about the subject's being unable to repress the desire, the speaker can predict that the action of restraining will not be successful, and the subject's desire will be realized. If the real result matches this expectation, then the use of the adverb in this example is felicitous.

We are now ready to consider the characteristics of the self in this ONSET DESPITE pattern. Although the blocking part of the self cannot repress the desire, it still affects the self indirectly. Specifically, even if the blocking force is weaker, after the action of refraining, the self may be hurt to some extent. The two examples below illustrate this point.

(28)

Gia^{11} moi^{55}-e^{31} ngiun^{24}-m^{11}-det^2, lon^{55} mai^{11} dung^{11}-si^{11},

His daughter refrain-NEG-POT recklessly buy things

da^{31}-song^{31} an^{31} do^{24} cien^{11}.

waste very much money

"His daughter could not refrain from buying things; hence she wasted a lot of money."

(29)

Gi[11] nai[55]-m[11]-det[2]   do[55]   gung[11]-ca[11] hong[55]   tai[55]-seu[55],
He   refrain-NEG-POT   LOC   bus   on   loudly laugh
gam[31]-do[31]   dong[11]   gien[55]-seu[55].
feel-successfully   very   embarrassed
"He could not refrain from laughing loudly on the bus, and hence
felt very embarrassed."

Generally speaking, wasting a lot of money or feeling embarrassed indicates a certain kind of emotional impact on the self. In this force-dynamic pattern, the desiring part of the self changes its state and is causally affected by the blocking part.

We have noted the two cases of psychological repression. The first case is an ONSET CAUSATION pattern with the blocking force of the self being greater than the desiring force of the divided self, while the second one is an ONSET DESPITE pattern with the blocking force of the self being weaker than the desiring force of the divided self. The relative strengths between the two conflicting forces depend on the self's ability of self-control. If the self has a good aptitude for self-control, then the blocking force will be stronger; if not, then the blocking force will be weaker. Furthermore, if it is found that the psychological repression of the self can last for a long time, the self will be hurt to some extent after the action of refraining.

Before turning to generalizations which may be made with regard to verbs of refraining in Hakka, we should consider two special cases. The first case concerns the usage of *giuk⁵-sii³¹* which involves metaphorical extension[11]---a process whereby meanings extend from conceptually concrete domains to conceptually abstract domains (cf. Heine et al. 1991, Sweetser 1990). The original meaning of *giuk⁵-sii³¹*, involving the concrete physical domain, is 'to refrain from having a shit'. When refraining from going to the toilet, one would feel uncomfortable, and hence could not be amiable to others. Therefore, a person's refraining from evacuating his bowels leads to his manner of arrogance and

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[11] In Lien (2002), there is a similar discussion of the usage of *kek⁴ khi³* (   ) in Taiwanese Southern Min. He states that the different meanings of *khi³* (   ) following the verb *kek⁴* (   ) involves metaphorical extension.

unfriendliness. Hence, the meaning of $giuk^5$-sii^{31} extends from the concrete physical domain concerning an involuntary behavior to a more abstract psychological domain concerning the subject's manner in the refraining of performance of that behavior. And the metaphorical application is apparent as being 'to refrain from being amiable'.

The second case involves the refraining verb du^{55}. This verb can be combined with the negative potential mode m^{11}-$diau^{11}$ to express that one cannot help oneself from performing an action. However, the verb du^{55} cannot go with the positive potential mode $diau^{11}$ to indicate that one successfully refrains from performing an action. The phrase du^{55}-m^{11}-$diau^{11}$ has become a lexicalized and hence fixed expression, and the collocation of the verb du^{55} with the positive potential mode $diau^{11}$ has somehow been lost in Hakka.[12]
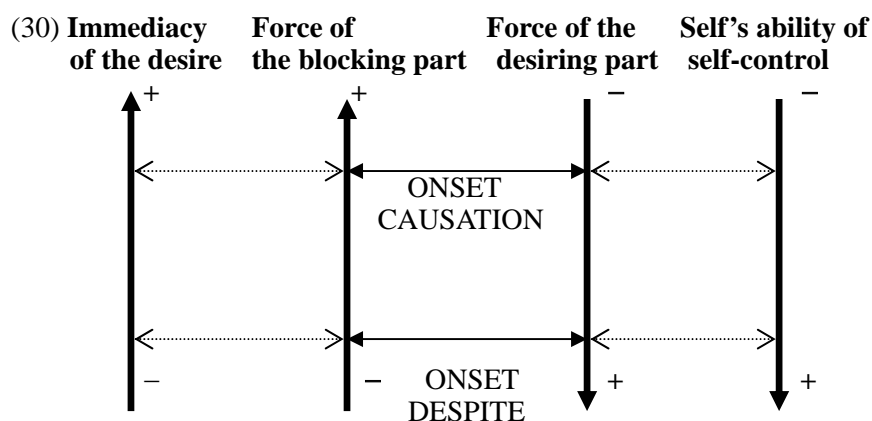
4. CONCLUSION

After examining intrapsychological force-dynamic interaction by analyzing verbs of refraining in Hakka, this study not only modifies Talmy's framework as a foundation for exploring the intrapsychological domain but also provides an extensive analysis of the use of verbs of refraining in Hakka. This concluding section will first propose a scale to encompass the generalization of verbs of refraining in Hakka that have been discussed in this study. Then, some theoretical implications requiring future investigation will be outlined.

4.1 The generalization of verbs of refraining in Hakka

A scale is proposed to depict the correlation among the immediacy of the desire, the force of the desiring part, the force of the blocking part, and the self's ability of self-control, as given in (30).

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[12] More investigation needs to be done as to the historical or dialectal reasons for this loss, but such an issue must be left for future study.

(30) **Immediacy   Force of   Force of the   Self's ability of**
of the desire   the blocking part   desiring part   self-control

```
        +              +              −              −

    ⇠- - - - -⇢   ⇠- - - - - - - - - -⇢  ⇠- - - - - -⇢
                      ONSET
                      CAUSATION

    ⇠- - - - -⇢   ⇠- - - - - - - - - -⇢  ⇠- - - - - -⇢
        −              −   ONSET          +              +
                           DESPITE
```

      The analysis proposes that there are two subtypes of intrapsychological force-dynamic pattern, one concerning physical suppression, and the other psychological repression. Due to the relative strengths between the blocking part and the desiring part, an ONSET CAUSATION pattern and an ONSET DESPITE pattern exist in both physical suppression and psychological repression. The relative strengths between the divided self in the physical suppression lie in the immediacy of the desire, while the relative strengths between the divided self in the psychological repression lie in the ability to exert self-control.

      In addition, some syntactic manifestations including the potential mode, verb-copying constructions along with the adverbs of duration, evaluation and judgment, and the resultative complements have been used to examine different patterns in the intrapsychological domain. One significant difference has been noted between the two types. While the action of refraining cannot last for a long time in physical suppression, it can in psychological repression. Moreover, except for cases of reflexes in which the desire is impossible to control, other cases exhibit negative or positive influences on the self no matter whether the desire is blocked or not. When the desire is blocked, one can refrain from violating the related social value; or else one can be hurt physically or be in pain in the act of refraining. On the other hand, when the desire is fulfilled, one can resolve the problem of the conflict of forces and avoid sustaining physical damage, or one can violate the social value and hence make the situation worse.

4.2 Implications

Although the current analysis is mainly based on Talmy's (2000) model, the semantic elements employed, if not completely identical to, correspond with respect to several similar concepts proposed in other studies, particularly in Dowty (1991), and Jackendoff (1990). Two issues are especially worthy of consideration.[13]

First of all, the Antagonist, that is, the opposing force, seems to fulfill some contributing properties of the Agent Proto-Role proposed by Dowty (1991), while the Agonist, the focal entity being opposed, seems to fulfill some features of the Patient Proto-Role. Specifically, the blocking part is volitional, is sentient, and causes a change of state in the desiring part. On the other hand, the desiring part does not alter the state, is not causally affected by the blocking part, is not an incremental theme, is not stationary relative to the desiring part, and exists independent of the event named by the verb. However, Dowty's (1991) model does not contain the discussion of verbs in the intrapsychological domain. Therefore, the possible correlation between agenthood and patienthood on the one hand and the Antagonist and the Agonist on the other remains an unresolved issue. Some possible considerations can be noted for further exploration. It has been mentioned that in addition to involuntary reflexes, the self will be affected negatively or positively after the act of refraining. Further, because the intrapsychological force-dynamic interactions occur with natural reflexes of a single psyche, the blocking part and the desiring part are actually merged in the psyche. In other words, the application of the concepts of agenthood and patienthood to this domain begs the question whether the blocking part and the desiring part within the single psyche should be classified as a Proto-Agent role or a Proto-Patient role. Because when the self performs the action of refraining volitionally, he plays the role of agent; but since it is this self whose tendency toward action is blocked, he also plays the role of patient.

Another issue that is closely related to the previous one relates to the mapping of semantic roles to their syntactic components. The blocking

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[13] We would like to thank Professor Feng-fu Tsao and Professor One-soon Her for bringing our attention to these related issues.

part and the desiring part, semantically two distinctive elements merged into one single psyche, are hence mapped into the same syntactic component. Such a mapping violates Chomsky's (1988) Theta-Criterion, which states that there must be a one-to-one correspondence between noun phrases and thematic roles. However, Jackendoff (1990) proposes an alternative two-tier approach for the mapping. Within this approach, he declares that it is possible for one entity to fulfill more than one role in different tiers, one a thematic tier, and the other an action tier.[14] Therefore, perhaps Jackendoff's model may provide a possible account for such a double-mapping phenomenon. But discussion of this issue will also be left for future study.

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[14] The thematic tier roles include theme, goal, source, and location, and the action tier roles include agent, experiencer, patient, beneficiary, and instrument. See Jackendoff (1990) for details.

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ONSET DESPITE

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