行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

客語「分」「老」「同」語意功能分工

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The semantic division of labor of BUN, LAU, TUNG in Hakka

中文摘要

本計畫針對客語「分」,「老」,「同」之分工,提出以下幾點:「分」與「老」之基本語意內涵不同,主要差異在於前者意涵物件成功的轉移而後者則無此意涵,此語意差異表現也在共存限制上。「分」與「老」的句法行為,前者出現於動詞後,後者出現於動詞前,則基於認知及語用功能原則。「老」與「同」分佈於不同之次方言,「老」先是就動詞語法化為介詞,語意則由「混合」轉成「伴隨」,再進一步語法化為連接詞表示「連結」。「同」先是詞動詞語法化成形容詞或副詞,再進一步變成介詞然後連接詞,語意則由「陪伴」轉成「相同/一起」,「伴隨」到「連結」的語意。

Abstract:

The project has the following claims. First of all, it is proposed that the seemingly overlapping functions of BUN construction and the LAU construction differ from each other in their attributed semantic constraints, which hinges on whether successful transfer of possession occurs or not. The constraints in turn govern the co-occurrence restrictions associated with the two constructions. Essentially, the predicates that can be associated with the two constructions have to be semantically compatible with the constructions that denote certain event frames. Furthermore, the word-order variations displayed by BUN and LAU are driven by the cognitive and functional principles. The syntactic configurations not only reflect their semantic representations in the conceptual world but also coincide pragmatically and cognitively with their perceptual saliency. The similarities and differences between LAU and TUNG, two variants in different subdialects, can be put forth as follows. Carrying different meanings when functioning as verbs—LAU and TUNG end up traveling through somewhat different paths: verb LAU 'to mix' > preposition LAU 'with' > conjunction LAU 'and'; verb TUNG 'to share with, to accompany' > adjective/adverb TUNG 'same, together' > preposition TUNG 'with' > conjunction TUNG 'and'.

1. BUN and LAU

Similarities and, more importantly, differences can be detected between these two morphemes BUN and LAU. In what follows, three aspects—semantic constraints, co-occurrence restrictions, and word order variations—will be discussed to characterize the division of labor between them, as illustrated with the following examples:

(1) a. Gi bun yit bun su BUN Ayin.
   he give one CL book to Ayin
   'He gave a book to Ayin.'

b. Gi LAU Ayin xia yit fung xin-e.
   he LAU Ayin write one CL letter
   'He wrote a letter to Ayin.'
   'He wrote a letter (to someone else) for Ayin.'

(2) a. Gi mai yit kiu tien BUN Ayin.
   he buy one CL land for Ayin
   'He bought a piece of land for Ayin.'

b. Gi LAU Ayin mai yit kiu tien.
   he LAU Ayin buy one CL land
   'He bought a piece of land for Ayin.'
   'He bought a piece of land from Ayin.'

1.1 Semantic constraints

What is relevant to the discussion here involves the verb of giving sense and the goal-marking sense of BUN. Just as LAU can mark a goal after being decategorized, so BUN can be a goal-marking adposition when decategorized from a verb of giving. The issue that calls into question is whether the goal sense that is marked by them is the same. Or, other than the difference of their syntactic positions, what different essence does the LAU-marking goal as illustrated in (1a) have with respect to the BUN-marking goal as shown in (1b)?

A closer examination of the two examples in (1) will give a clue to answer this question. Let us consider (1a) with BUN first. Example (1a) is a double object construction that can have dative alternation. Alternatively, Hakka allows another construction where the direct object can precede a pronominal indirect object without

being mediated by an adposition. Examples given in (3a) and (3b) illustrate these two alternative constructions.

(3) a. Gi bun Ayin   yit bun su.
         he give Ayin   one CL   book
         'He gave Ayin a book.'
     b. Gi bun yit bun su   Ayin.
         he give one CL   book   Ayin
         'He gave a book to Ayin.'
cf. (1a) Gi bun yit bun su   BUN   Ayin.
          he give one CL   book   to   Ayin
          'He gave a book to Ayin.'

Lai (2001) maintains that in a giving activity, the possession of the object is changed from the giver to the recipient through the act of giving (cf. also Xu 1994). Hence, as the most prototypical predicate to denote the sense of giving, BUN is, when decategorized into an adposition, used to mark the goal of giving—the person who is given the object to.

    Given this line of argument, it follows that in such a scenario, the controller of the given object will be transferred to the recipient after the successful transfer of possession in the book-giving event. Now the three examples show that they are incompatible if the following discourse denies the recipient's possession of the given object. Examine the following:

(4) a.?? Gi bun Ayin   yit bun su,   m-go   Ayin   mo   su-do.
           he give Ayin   one CL   book,   but   Ayin   NEG   receive
           '??He gave Ayin a book, but she didn't receive it.'
     b.?? Gi bun yit bun su   Ayin, m-go   Ayin   mo   su-do.
           he give one CL   book   Ayin, but   Ayin   NEG   receive
           '??He gave a book to Ayin, but she didn't receive it.'
     c.?   Gi bun yit bun su   BUN   Ayin, m-go Ayin mo   su-do.
           he give one CL   book   to   Ayin   but   Ayin NEG   receive
           '?He gave a book to Ayin, but she didn't receive it.'

    From the perspective of whether successful transfer of possession occurs or not, the semantic contrast between BUN and LAU stands out immediately. Crucially, the

example in (1b) with the LAU-marking goal does not necessarily imply that successful transfer of possession of the object to the goal occurs. A predicate of communication presumably denotes a conversation activity involving not transfer of possession of an object but transmission of messages between the conversation participants. After gaining its semantically independent status to co-occur with predicates other than predicates of communication, the goal sense, still carrying the "accompanied-by" flavor, hence extends to denote an entity that is the end point of an activity such as letter writing. Therefore, unlike those examples in (4), the example below is felicitous even though the following discourse indicates that successful transfer of the object is not maintained.

(5) Gi LAU   Ayin   xia   yit fung   xin-e,
    he LAU   Ayin   write   one CL   letter
    m-go   Ayin   mo   su-do.
    but   Ayin   NEG   receive
    'He wrote a letter to Ayin, but she didn't receive it.'

1.2 Co-occurrence restrictions

Because of their semantic division of labor, they share the labor as to the distribution of the predicates that can occur in either of the two constructions as well. Presumably, predicates that can be associated with either of the skeletal constructions have to be compatibly integrated with the semantic constraints of the constructions. Hence, predicates that can be linked to the BUN construction are much more restricted than those that can occur in the LAU construction. Crucially, dativizable verbs such as *bun* 'give', *sung* 'send', *mai* 'sell', *jia* 'lend', or *fu* 'pay', among others that denote a giver causing the recipient to possess an object through the act of giving, can be linked to the BUN construction (cf. Pinker 1989, Her 1997). In addition, verbs of future having (following Pinker 1989) such as *liu* 'leave' and *song* 'award', among others that specify some commitment of changes of possession in the future, can be associated with the BUN construction as well. In fact, because of the semantic constraint of successful transfer of possession, these verbs can not be linked to the LAU construction, which arguably does not imply such a semantic constraint. Observe the following examples:

(6) a. Gi bun yit kiu tien BUN   Ayin.
        he give one CL land to   Ayin
        'He gave a piece of land to Ayin.'

    b.   Gi bun Ayin   yit kiu tien.
        he   give Ayin   one CL land
        'He gave Ayin a piece of land.'

    c.   *Gi LAU   Ayin   bun   yit kiu tien.
         he LAU   Ayin   give   one CL land
        '*He gave a piece of land for Ayin.'

(7) a.   Xinsang song   yit bun su   BUN   Ayin.
        teacher   award   one CL book to   Ayin
        'The teacher awarded a book to Ayin.'

    b.   Xinsang song   Ayin   yit bun su.
        teacher   award   Ayin   one CL book
        'The teacher awarded Ayin a book.'

    c.   *Xinsang LAU   Ayin song yit bun su.
         teacher LAU   Ayin award one CL   book
        '*The teacher awarded a book for Ayin.'

Furthermore, as argued previously, some verbs can be combined with both of the two constructions presumably because they do not strongly imply whether successful transfer of possession occurs or not. Such predicates as *xia* 'write' and *mai* 'buy', which relax the semantic constraints, belong to this type. Speakers are left with two options, depending on their conceptualization of the event. When successful transfer of possession does occur, a BUN construction is often chosen. On the other hand, a LAU construction is preserved for the benefactive sense or the source sense, which cannot be associated with the BUN construction. The following examples in (9) and (10) can clearly illustrate the point.

(8) a.   Gi mai yit kiu tien BUN   Ayin.
        he   buy one CL land for   Ayin
        'He bought a piece of land for Ayin.'

    b.   Gi LAU   Ayin   mai yit kiu tien.
        he   LAU   Ayin   buy one CL land
        'He bought a piece of land from Ayin.'

(9) a.   Gi xia   yit fung xin-e BUN   Ayin.
        he   write   one CL letter   to   Ayin
        'He wrote a letter to Ayin.'

    b.   Gi LAU   Ayin xia   yit fung   xin-e.
        he   LAU   Ayin write   one CL   letter
        'He wrote a letter (to someone else) for Ayin.'

Additionally, because of the semantic compatibility between BUN and LAU and the event frames of letter-writing and land-buying, alternatively, they can co-occur, as illustrated in the following examples.

(10) Gi LAU   Ayin xia   xin-e   BUN gia moi-e.
     he LAU   Ayin write   letter   to   her daughter
     'He wrote a letter to Ayin's daughter for Ayin.'

(11) Gi LAU   Ayin   mai tien BUN   gia moi-e.
     he LAU   Ayin   buy land for   his daughter
     'He bought land from Ayin for his daughter.'

1.3 Word order variations

The LAU phrase has to occur preverbally, in the second position of a LAU construction, whereas the BUN phrase occurs postverbally. The peculiar syntactic restrictions exhibited by the LAU phrase have been accounted for through the trajector-landmark alignment. Essentially, occupying the subject position and the second position of the sentence, respectively, the first noun phrase and the LAU phrase are the profiled participants in the relational predication denoted by the LAU construction. Their syntactic asymmetry correlates with the asymmetry they display not only at the semantic level but also at the discourse level. It is also argued that the asymmetry is in accordance with the proximity principle (following Givón 1995), stating that syntactic coding is essentially isomorphic. The word order distinction in question will be tackled from such a perspective as well. In what follows, I would like to argue that the syntactic coding exhibited by the BUN construction reflects the conceptual saliency of the participants involved in an event frame. In brief, it is argued that the word-order variations displayed by the BUN construction and the LAU construction are driven by the cognitive and functional principles. The syntactic configurations not only reflect their semantic representations in the conceptual world but also coincide pragmatically and cognitively with their perceptual saliency. Signifying the recipient that represents a temporally later state than those represented by the agent and the patient in an act of giving, the BUN phrase is therefore coded later at the syntactic level and occurs in the postverbal position.

To summarize, it is argued that the seemingly overlapping functions of the BUN construction and the LAU construction differ from each other in their attributed

semantic constraints. The constraints in turn govern the co-occurrence restrictions associated with the two constructions. Finally, the word-order restrictions exhibited by both are claimed to be functionally and cognitively driven. With the elucidation of the semantic division of labor of BUN and LAU, we are ready to examine another morpheme TUNG that joins the camp from some Hakka sub-dialects. Hence it is the issue of cross-dialectal comparison we now turn to in the next section.

2. LAU and TUNG

Although the verbal usage of TUNG is distributed pervasively across the dialects in Hakka, TUNG constructions are used exclusively in Dongshi Hakka to replace the semantic functions associated with the LAU construction in Northern Sixian Hakka and Hailu Hakka. Therefore, the various functions of TUNG in Dongshi Hakka are mainly taken from Dongshi Zhen Keyu Gushi Ji (*Hakka Stories from Dongshi, Volume I to Volume V*) with some modifications of mine. Cross reference to other dialects will be brought up when necessary. Examine the following examples:

(12) Ayin   gin   TUNG   gia logung   xiongma.
     Ayin   often   TUNG   her husband argue
     'Ayin often argues with her husband.'

(13) Tien TUNG   ti   liong   xiong-lien.
     sky TUNG   ground two   connect
     'The sky and the ground look connected.'

(14) Gi TUNG   ng gongfa, tietsu   qiu voi koifa.
     he   TUNG   you speak   iron tree then will bloom
     'It's impossible for him to talk to you.'

(15) Gia lai-e dugeu   gin   TUNG   gi   na   qien.
     his   son gamble   often   TUNG   him take money
     'His son often asked him for money because he went gambling.'

(16) Gi   mai gimgok TUNG   gia ba   zo   shangngit.[6]
     he   buy gold   TUNG   his dad do   birthday
     'He bought gold for the celebration of his dad's birthday.'

(17) Shancet   TUNG   gi   qiong   qiangqiang.
     robber   TUNG   him rob   emptily
     'He was robbed of everything by a band of robbers.'

First of all, like LAU, TUNG still retains its verbal function. But, unlike LAU, whose verbal function can only be found in some limited cases, TUNG is still quite

productive in that it can occur as one of the elements of a compound. Moreover, TUNG follows practically the same path of grammatical change as LAU, which undergoes a grammaticalization process of decategorization from a verb into a preposition. Nevertheless, the semantic change of TUNG is different from that of LAU. Furthermore, unlike LAU, which is a very unique morpheme only found in Hakka, TUNG has corresponding morphemes in some Chinese languages such as Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese Southern Min. In fact, with only a slight difference in accent, it is arguable that TUNG in Hakka comes from the same historical origin as TONG in Mandarin Chinese (cf. Liu and Peyraube 1994) or with KANG/KA in Taiwanese Southern Min (cf. Chappell 2000, Lien 2001). Liu and Peyraube (1994), investigating several grammatical morphemes in Mandarin Chinese including JI, YU, GONG, HE, TONG, and GEN, argue that two steps of grammaticalization are involved, turning a verb into a preposition and then turning the preposition into a conjunction. Documenting data from Archaic Chinese to Modern Chinese, they have convincingly presented the historical development of this bunch of morphemes both grammatically and semantically. Take GONG for instance. Several steps are in fact involved for the grammatical development: Verb GONG > Adverb GONG > Preposition GONG > Conjunction GONG. Semantically, the meaning is developed from 'to share (with)' and 'together' to 'with' and 'and', correspondingly (Liu and Peyraube 1994:188ff). By the same token, TONG is argued to undergo a similar grammaticalization process. According to Liu and Peyraube (1994:192f), as attested since Archaic Chinese, TONG has its verbal function denoting 'to be the same as'. Later its meaning was extended to denote 'to share with' just like GONG, and later on to denote 'to accompany'. Subsequently, the verbal meaning of accompanying was developed to denote the meaning of 'with' and then later on the meaning of 'and', along with its structural development from a verb to a preposition and then to a conjunction.

Sharing the same character as TONG in Mandarin Chinese, it is highly likely that TUNG comes from the same origin as TONG, but with its own phonetic form. Before functioning as a preposition denoting the various senses described previously, TUNG has its verbal function, denoting 'to share with' or 'to accompany'. In fact, TUNG can be used concurrently as a verb, a modifying adjective denoting 'same' or a modifying adverbial denoting 'together', a preposition denoting various senses, and a comitative conjunction denoting 'and' in contemporary Hakka. The structural and the semantic developments of TUNG can be rendered as follows:

(18)   Verb TUNG 'to share with' > Adjective/Adverb TUNG 'same/together' > Preposition TUNG 'with' > Conjunction TUNG 'and'
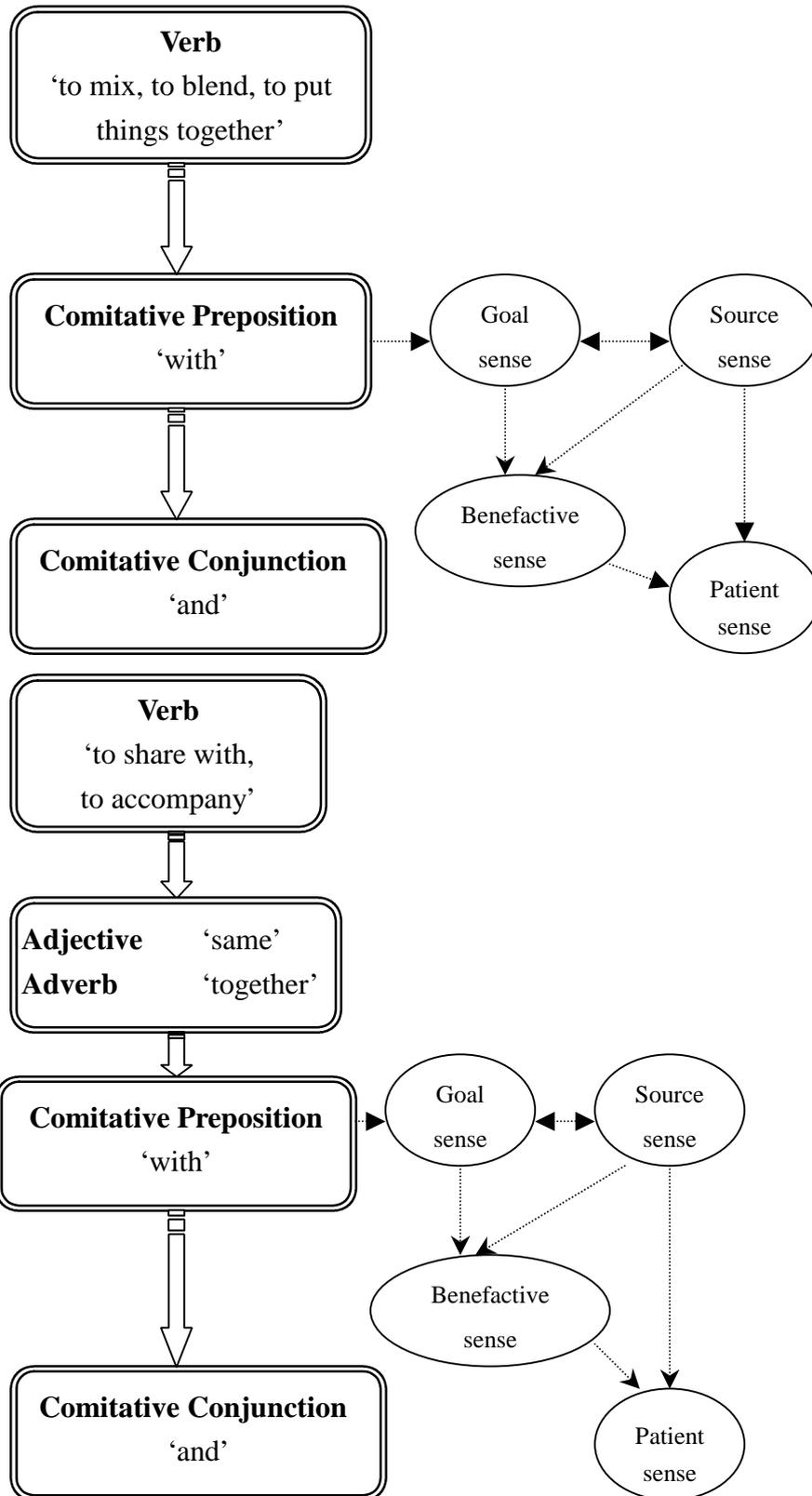
The above figures clearly indicate the structural and the semantic extensions of LAU and TUNG, respectively.

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