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碩士論文

構詞模組與詞彙地位：

論漢語詞彙與構式間之漸變性

Morphological Pattern and Lexical Status:

The continuum between lexicon and construction in Mandarin

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摘 要

本論文探究漢語動詞介於詞彙與構式間的詞彙化過程及其構詞模式，針對三組具代表性的有趣實例加以分析，分別為 1) Stimulus-headed predicates 可憐/可愛/迷人/氣人/有趣/有意思/令人興奮/令人高興，2) Verb-Complement sequences 叫好/叫苦/哭窮/哭累，以及 3) Manner-Verb combinations 暗叫/高叫/高喊/狂喊。這三組動詞在構詞上之特殊性為其兼具開放性與創造性，更進一步地說，這三類構詞模組皆由特定構式解構之後，衍生而逐漸成詞，可視為是解構而得的詞彙，抑或是半詞彙化的構式，其存在提供一種兼具普遍性和開放性的語意與語法間之對應配搭關係，過程包含了兩個以上事件語意的結合，透過語言使用上的頻繁共現而誕生。首先，從語法和構詞的互動來看，第一組動詞呈現特殊且固定的構詞形式，這些構詞模組分別衍生自相對應的語法結構，且其構詞模組的詞彙語意與其來源構式的語意緊密相扣，例如：情態助動詞“可”+動詞 (Modal + V)，情緒及物動詞+受詞 ($V_t + NP$)，所屬動詞“有”+名詞 ('have'+ NP)，致使動詞“令”+受詞+動詞 (causative + NP + V)，依序列舉於下面例 (1) 之中：

(1) 以 Stimulus 為主語的情緒動詞之構詞模組

- a) Modal+V 「可+X」：這個流浪漢很可憐。‘This vagrant is pitiful.’
- b) $V_{transitive} + NP$ 「X+人」：這支舞很迷人。‘The dance is charming.’
- c) ‘have’+ NP 「有+X」：這部電影很有趣。‘The movie is interesting.’
- d) Causative +NP+V 「令人+X」：這則消息令人興奮。‘The news is exciting.’

其次，第二組動詞則清楚展現出語意與構詞間的融合關係。其模式為將該類主要動詞事件與其動詞事件之某一核心參與角色合併成詞，譬如溝通動詞合併其框架主要角色“溝通之訊息”(Message)，進而詞彙化。這類動詞代表包含：叫好/叫苦/哭窮/哭累 ‘to applaud/to complain of hardship/to poor-mouth/to complain of fatigue’，描述一特殊的訊息傳達事件，例句如例(2)所示：

(2) Verb-Complement Sequences 之構詞模組

- a) 大家都為她的表現叫好。

‘Everyone was shouting “Well done” for her performance.’

- b) 沒有一個人叫苦，沒有人發怨言。

‘Nobody complained of hardship or grumbled.’

- c) 各家旅行社都在哭窮。

‘All of the tourist agencies poor-mouthed.’

- d) 儘管工作辛苦，卻沒有人哭累。

‘Nobody complained of fatigue despite toilsome working.’

第三組動詞以 M-V 的構詞模式明確標記出特殊的溝通方式，傳達帶有顯著溝通方式的溝通事件。這類動詞代表包括：暗叫/高叫/高喊/狂喊 ‘to shout inwardly/to shout loudly/to shout loudly/to shout madly’，例句列舉於例(3)：

(3) Manner-Verb Combinations 之構詞模組

- a) 他雖然膽子大，也不禁暗叫：「媽呀！這麼高！」。

‘He couldn’t help shouting inwardly: “My God! So high!” even though he was bold.’

- b) 一群年輕人高叫/高喊著：「劉德華，我愛你。」

‘A crowd of young people shouted loudly: “Andy Liu, I love you.”’

- c) 在這，她可以狂喊，可以哭泣。

‘Right here, she can shout madly and cry.’

本篇論文探討三組動詞構詞模組的語言互動及其詞彙地位，並期望藉此具代表性的普遍現象，引起對於漢語詞彙此種具開放性、可預測性的重要詞彙形成模式之關注重視與積極研究。

**Morphological Pattern and Lexical Status:
The continuum between lexicon and construction in Mandarin**

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Abstract

This paper aims to explore three intriguing cases about the lexicalization in Mandarin Chinese, including lemmas such as 1) Stimulus-headed predicates 可憐/可愛/迷人/氣人/有趣/有意思/令人興奮/令人高興; 2) Verb-Complement sequences 叫好/叫苦/哭窮/哭累, and 3) Manner-Verb combinations 暗叫/高叫/高喊/狂喊. The three cases are unique in that they are morphologically open and productive. More specifically, they demonstrate varied morphological structures in lexicalization that are derived from deconstructionalization and event conflation due to high frequent uses in discourse. First, from syntax to morphology, the verbs of the first case show fixed morphological constructions that are directly derived from certain syntactic patterns, including modal VP (Modal + V), transitive VP ($V_{\text{transitive}} + \text{NP}$), possessive VP ('have'+ NP), and causative VP (causative + NP + V), as exemplified respectively in (1):

(1) Lexicalization of the Stimulus-headed predicates

- a) Modal+V 「可+X」: 這個流浪漢很可憐。 ‘This vagrant is pitiful.’
- b) $V_{\text{transitive}} + \text{NP}$ 「X+人」: 這支舞很迷人。 ‘The dance is charming.’
- c) ‘have’+ NP 「有+X」: 這部電影很有趣。 ‘The movie is interesting.’
- d) Causative +NP+V 「令人+X」: 這則消息令人興奮。 ‘The news is exciting.’

Additionally, the verbs of the second case demonstrate clear semantic and morphological incorporation in combining an act with its frame-profiled element (Message) encoded as the direct complement following the verb. The 2nd type of verbs, such as 叫好/叫苦/哭窮/哭累 ‘to applaud/to complain of hardship/to poor-mouth/to complain of fatigue’ tends to serve as a single predicate denoting a specific message-delivering act, as exemplified respectively in (2):

(2) Lexicalization of the Verb-Complement Sequences

- a) 大家都為她的表現叫好。

‘Everyone was shouting “Well done” for her performance.’

- b) 沒有一個人叫苦，沒有人發怨言。

‘Nobody complained of hardship or grumbled.’

- c) 各家旅行社都在哭窮。

‘All of the tourist agencies poor-mouthed.’

- d) 儘管工作辛苦，卻沒有人哭累。

‘Nobody complained of fatigue despite toilsome working.’

The 3rd type of verbs, such as 暗叫/高叫/高喊/狂喊 ‘to shout inwardly/to shout loudly/to shout loudly/to shout madly’ tends to mark clearly the special manner of communication in the M-V compounds, used as a single predicate denoting a communicative event with a marked manner, as exemplified respectively in (3):

(3) Lexicalization of the Manner-Verb Combinations

- a) 他雖然膽子大，也不禁暗叫：「媽呀！這麼高！」。

‘He couldn’t help shouting inwardly: “My God! So high!” even though he was bold.’

- b) 一群年輕人高叫/高喊著：「劉德華，我愛你。」

‘A crowd of young people shouted loudly: “Andy Liu, I love you.”’

- c) 在這，她可以狂喊，可以哭泣。

‘Right here, she can shout madly and cry.’

The paper discusses the unique morphological pattern and lexical status of the verbs of the three cases and ultimately draws attention to the open and to-be- determined nature of these classes of lemmas that are characteristic of the Mandarin lexicon.

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