

# 構式與詞彙語意之互動：以漢語雙賓句「給」之隱現為例

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## 摘 要

漢語以帶「給」或不帶「給」的雙賓句式表示給予(giving)或施惠(beneficiary)的意義。過往論著如 Li and Thompson (1981)、F. Liu(2006)、Tsao(2008, ms)等，皆以動詞表示給予或施惠意時是否需要在動詞後加「給」為動詞分類的依據、並進一步分析各別類型動詞之通性。但其涵蓋面不足、預測力不佳；部分列為「禁止加『給』」的雙賓動詞，例如「搶」，在加入後卻為合法句、且母語者仍可理解其義，如「他搶給銀行兩萬塊錢」。

為此，本論文以構式語法(Construction Grammar)方法分析漢語各動詞以雙賓句表達「移轉／傳遞」(Transference)時的句構及各論元的語意角色。本論文主張，漢語移轉／傳遞構式(construction of transference)的事件結構為「X 使 Y 趨向 Z 或離開 Z」，其定義句構(defining pattern)為 X-V-Z-Y、且句中不得有「給」；Y 趨向 Z 或離開 Z 由動詞決定。「給」與主詞、兩受詞、動詞之間的語意配搭關係足以決定句子合法度及理解方式：「租」之主詞為可出租人或承租人，但「租給」的主詞必為出租人；「搶」的主詞為移轉／傳遞動作之終點(Goal)，但「搶給」的主詞變成起點(Source)；如「我燒給雅各一隻瓷花瓶」中，雅各可能活著，但「我燒給雅各一臺電腦」中，雅各必然已死；「我吃給他一碗飯」不合法，因不能以「吃」完成移轉／傳遞動作。本文亦證明複合動詞「V 給」中「給」是主要動詞、「V」為「給」的方式，且 Chen (2005)所提「雙賓家族」之概念可行。更顯示「動詞加動量補語」句型，如「歇他兩個晚上」，為移轉／傳遞構式之衍生用法。

本文建議未來研究者以語料庫為主要工具，進行共時與歷時之量化研究，並以 Newman (2005)提出之架構輔助歷時分析。

The interaction between construction and lexical meaning:  
A constructional approach to verbs of transference in Mandarin

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ABSTRACT

The meaning of giving or beneficiary is expressed in Mandarin with ditransitive constructions with or without the coverb *gei* 'give.' Li and Thompson (1981), F. Liu (2006) and Tsao (2008, ms), inter alia, classified verbs according to whether they must or must not be followed by *gei* to express giving of beneficiary within the sentence and sought common features in each category. This method had small coverage and low predictability, and certain ditransitive verbs in *gei*-forbidden category, like *qiang* 'to rob,' will yield grammatical sentences understood by native speakers when followed by *gei*: *ta qiang gei yinhang liang-wan quai qian* 'S/he robbed \$20,000 to give to the bank.'

In the spirit of Construction Grammar, I analyzed the sentence patterns and the semantic roles of each argument when Mandarin verbs express transference or beneficiary with a ditransitive construction and proposed a prototypical Mandarin construction of transference. The event structure is 'X causes Y to move to Z or from Z,' the defining pattern is X-V-Z-Y, where *gei* must be absent; the direction of Y is determined by the verb. The meanings of the subject, two objects, *gei* jointly affects the grammaticality and the reading of the sentence: the subject of *zu* 'to rent' can be the landlord or the tenant, but that of *zu-gei* 'to rent to' can only be the landlord. The head of compound verb V-*gei* is *gei* while V is the manner. The structure 'V-O-quantifier,' such as *da ta san quan* 'gave him/her three punches,' emerged from this construction. This thesis provided support to the proposal to treat ditransitive constructions as a family (Chen 2005).

Corpus-based synchronic and diachronic research is recommended for further study. The four domains in Newman (2005) may be applied in diachronic researches.

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## Abbreviations

2sg	second person singular pronoun
3sg	third person singular pronoun
3pl	third person plural pronoun
ASSOC	associative ( <i>-de</i> )
BA	disposal coverb <i>ba</i>
CL	classifier
DO	direct object
IMPFV	imperfective aspectual adverb <i>zai</i>
IO	indirect object
M	mood word
PFV	perfective aspectual marker <i>le</i>
Q	interrogative particle <i>ma</i>