

漢語他動動詞「投」在動賓結構之研究

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摘要

本研究以中研院平衡語料庫的語料為本，從詞彙語意與構式之互動探討漢語他動動詞「投」在「動賓」格式中的格式語意。根據語料顯示，漢語他動動詞「投」所帶賓語的語意類型非常豐富，如拋、擲，投票，跳入，寄、遞，以及投奔、投靠等等。為探索「投」與其後所接之賓語在語法表現上所呈現之語意與語法的互動，本研究將「投」在「動賓」格式，設定成一個語意框架，再以此框架來研究「動賓」結構所隱含的語意，發現此賓語恆為受事者(Theme)或目的地(Goal)，進而提供了具有系統性、更可以展現該框架所隱含的語意，並且在語意、語法、構式、認知之互動關係上，呈現較適切的語意詮釋，在多個語意面向之中提出一套有系統性的框架語意分類及語意連結分析。

本研究提出以漢語他動動詞「投」的核心語意為原型(prototype)，輔以不同的語意側重(semantic profile)，搭配框架語意與構式語法，可呈現出不同的語意內涵。雖然漢語他動動詞「投」的「動賓」結構不需要改變語意框架便可在不同賓語之間的語法類型加以詮釋，但仍會有歧義(ambiguity)的現象產生。此時，可利用 Pustejovsky (1995) 所提出的 Qualia Structure 測試賓語的語意屬性，在同樣類型的賓語卻有不同的解讀時，提出較合理的語意詮釋。

最後，本研究深入探討「投」與漢語他動動詞的互動關係，在過去的研究中，發現了對漢語他動動詞「投」在「動賓」結構的詞彙化(lexicalization)並未多加著墨。有鑑於此，本研究更特別提出詞彙化的演變過程，並著眼於語意角色與語法位置的互動，呈現語意與語法的配搭關係。

關鍵字：漢語他動動詞、中文字「投」、中研院平衡語料庫、框架語意、動賓
格式、歧義

**A Corpus-based Lexical Constructional Analysis of $T\acute{o}$ U+NP
in Mandarin Chinese**

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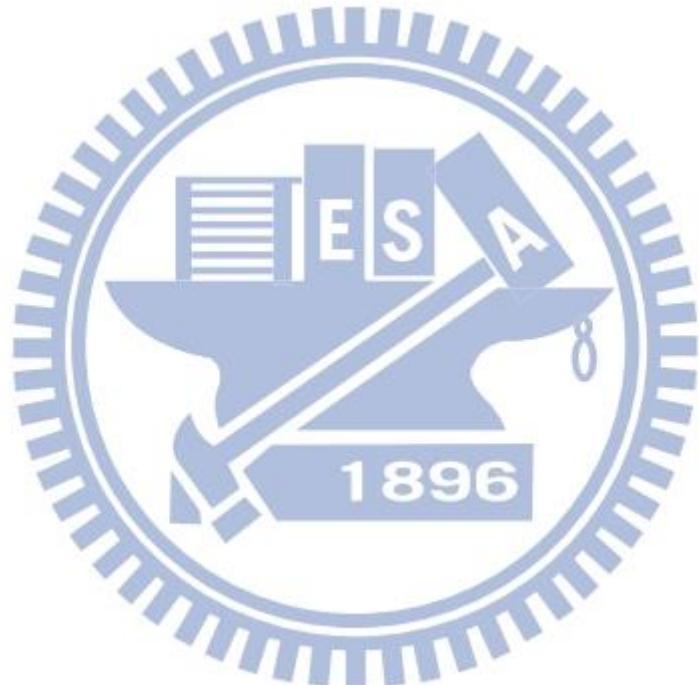
Abstract

This thesis aims to investigate the Frame Semantics (Fillmore and Atkins 1992) of caused-motion verb $T\acute{o}$ U in the [$T\acute{o}$ U +NP] combination. Furthermore, it follows Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2010) to explore the constructional interpretation of the [$T\acute{o}$ U+NP] combination. Since the [$T\acute{o}$ U+NP] combination bears various uses in the semantic domain, according to Jackendoff (1997), a constructional approach seems more economic than a lexical rule approach. Under this view, this thesis adopts frame-oriented verbal predicate, and we can figure out that only the Theme or the Goal can immediately follow $T\acute{o}$ U. Accordingly, the analysis provided in this study is Corpus-based lexical constructional analysis, which argues that though the verb $T\acute{o}$ U is a polysemous word which bears other multiple related senses, with different profiling of designated nominal arguments, the multi-faceted uses of $T\acute{o}$ U will be emphasized.

Though there are quite a few merits in Frame Semantics and Construction Grammar, we may not identify an ambiguous [$T\acute{o}$ U+NP] construction in a context easily. In view of this, this study adopts Qualia Structure which can distinguish the ambiguity undertaken in the [$T\acute{o}$ U+NP] combinations. Furthermore, given that the lexicalization of [$T\acute{o}$ U+NP] combination is not fully discussed in previous studies, it is worth pointing out here that this study also explores the process of how the lexicalization of [$T\acute{o}$ U+NP] combination produces, and focuses on not merely the

interaction between semantics and syntax, but also the interaction between cognition and language use.

Key words: Caused Motion, Mandarin Chinese *Tō U*, Construction Grammar, Frame Semantics, Corpus-based, Qualia Structure.



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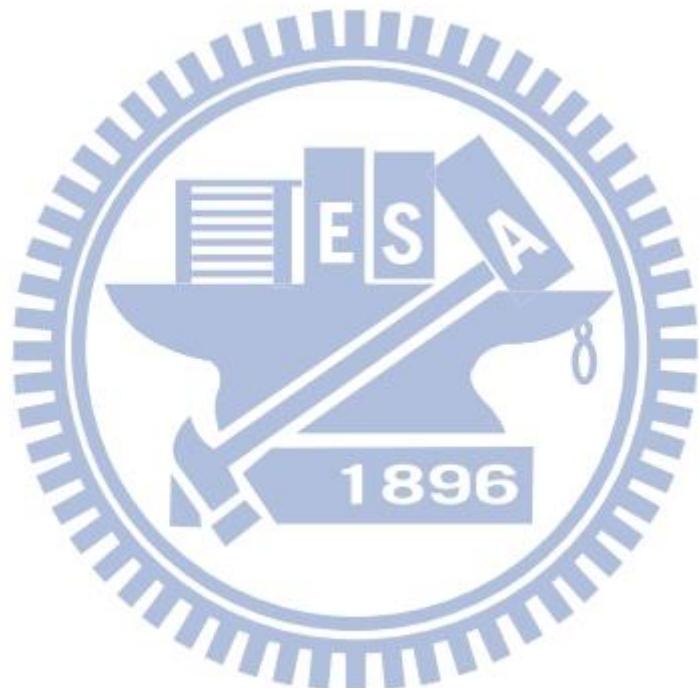
李懿方 謹誌
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