以框架理論為本之漢語感官動詞詞彙語意研究

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摘　　要

本研究以框架語意理論為本 (Fillmore & Atkins 1992)探討漢語當中的感官動詞，並建立於 Liu 和 Chiang (2008)所提出的「中文動詞語意網」之架構，為漢語感官動詞做出層次性的分類。關於感官動詞的相關研究，Viberg (1984) 奉獻己力於跨語言的語料蒐集與觀察，他主張感官動詞普遍而言可分作三大類：主動 (PASSIVE)、被動 (PASSIVE)、連綴 (COPULATIVE)，如表一所示。

表一. 英語感官動詞基本詞形變化表 (Viberg 1984)

Sense Modality	ACTIVE PVs	PASSIVE PVs	COPULATIVE PVs
Vision	look (at)	see	look
Hearing	listen (to)	hear	sound
Touch	feel	feel	feel
Smell	smell	smell	smell
Taste	taste	taste	taste

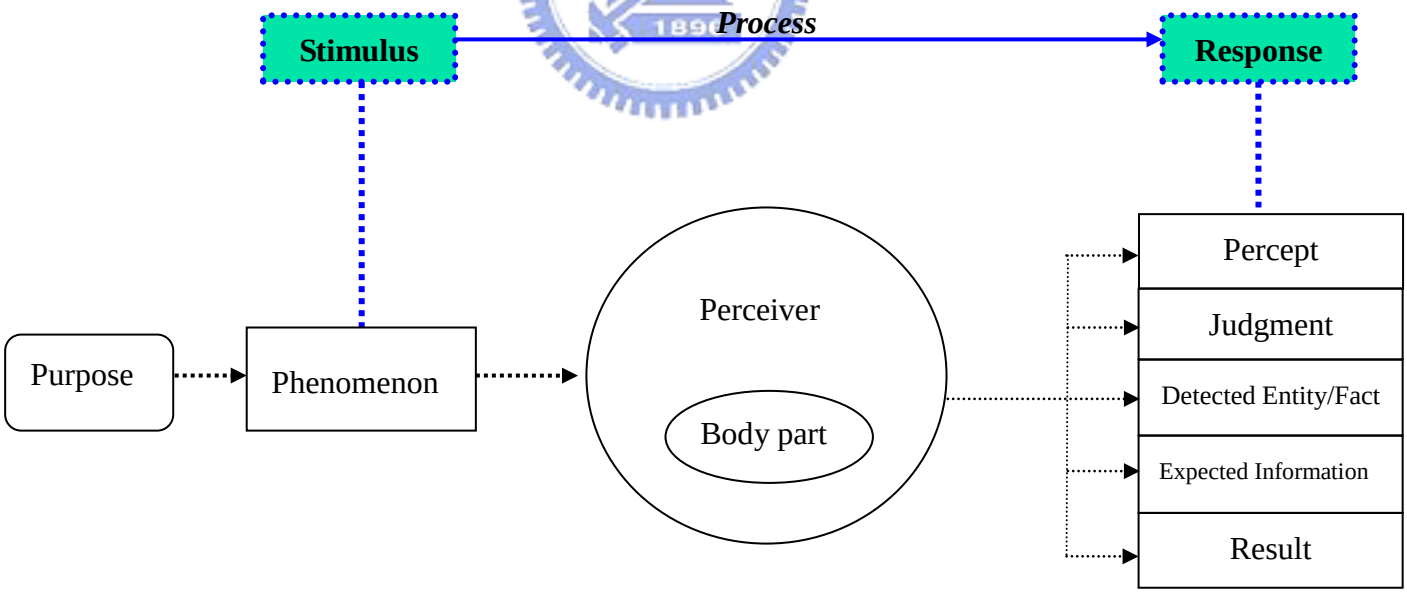
本研究參考 Viberg 的分析，同樣先以「事件結構」和「五大感官」的角度觀察漢語感官動詞的特殊表現，其初步的動詞區分如表二所示。從表二之中，我們發現漢語和英語的詞彙存在著大致上的對應，然而，我們也發現構詞組成方式和漢語感官動詞分類之間透露著密不可分的關聯性，尤其是漢語感官動詞的後綴，例如「到」和「起來」，這些「結果語素」所造成的語法語意差異可說是不容小覷，而這項特徵也是和英語大相逕庭的一點，在於漢語本身屬於分析型語言、英語則屬於合成性(綜合性)語言所致，因此，構詞型態在本研究會是一大重點，除了表二涵蓋的動詞之外，由其他後綴所組成的漢語感官動詞也是本文的探討對象。

表二. 漢語感官動詞基本詞形變化表

官能感覺	動作性感官動詞	完成性感官動詞	狀態性感官動詞
視覺	看	看到、看見	看起來
聽覺	聽	聽到、聽見	聽起來
觸覺	摸	摸到	摸起來
嗅覺	聞	聞到	聞起來
味覺	嚐	嚐到	嚐起來

除了構詞表徵之外，語法和語意之間的互動亦為動詞分類提供了明朗化、系統化的分析原則。此研究的語料觀察對象主要來自於中央研究院的現代漢語平衡語料庫，透過語料的檢視，這篇分析並重語法上和語意上所呈現的事實，以其為基礎，將漢語感官動詞分類至不同層次的框架，從上至下，這些框架的層次分別稱作「主框架」、「首要框架」、「基本框架」以及「微框架」(Liu & Chiang 2008)，在此篇研究之中，漢語感官動詞所建立的語意框架結構是由「感官主框架」以及承繼於其的五個首要框架、使用於其的兩個首要框架、五個基本框架和十個微框架所組成，這些框架雖然相互差異，然而，這篇研究仍然著重於框架之間的關聯情況，具體而言，這些框架有著共同的概念基模，主要來自於感官事件中的核心框架參與角色，如下圖所示。

Conceptual Schema of Perception Archiframe:



此外， 經由分類之後，漢語感官動詞的特性也更清楚地展現了，尤其在於兩大方面，一個即框架與構詞組成之間的對應，另一個則是感官和認知在語意延伸上所表露的密切互動。

以上皆是這篇研究極為關注的議題，企盼能為之提供井然有序、合理合據的解釋跟分析。

A Frame-based Lexical Semantic Study of Mandarin Perception Verbs

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Abstract

This study explores Mandarin perception verbs by adopting Frame Semantics (Fillmore & Atkins 1992) and attempts to classify the verbs into a hierarchical structure on the basis of the construction of Mandarin VerbNet proposed by Liu and Chiang (2008). In terms of perception verbs, Viberg (1984) made a cross-linguistic research and claimed that they mainly include three types: ACTIVE, PASSIVE, and COPULATIVE, shown as Table 1.

Table 1. The Basic Paradigm of Perception Verbs in English (Viberg 1984)

Sense Modality	ACTIVE PVs	PASSIVE PVs	COPULATIVE PVs
Vision	look (at)	see	look
Hearing	listen (to)	hear	sound
Touch	feel	feel	feel
Smell	smell	smell	smell
Taste	taste	taste	taste

Following Viberg's analysis, this study also probes into Mandarin perception verbs according to event types of verbs as well as five senses. A preliminary differentiation of the verbs is displayed as Table 2. Equivalently, a correspondence on lexical items between Mandarin and English exists. However, from Table 2, it is found that the discrimination reveals a highly relevance with the morphological make-ups, especially the influence of the suffixes, such as the

resulatative morphemes 到 *dao* ‘reach’ and 起來 *qilai* ‘rise’. This is a noticeable difference from English for Mandarin is an analytic language while English is a synthetic language. Thus, the morphological make-up types occupy a fundamental status in this study. Besides the verbs shown in Table 2, more perception verbs which are composed of other suffixes are also discussed.

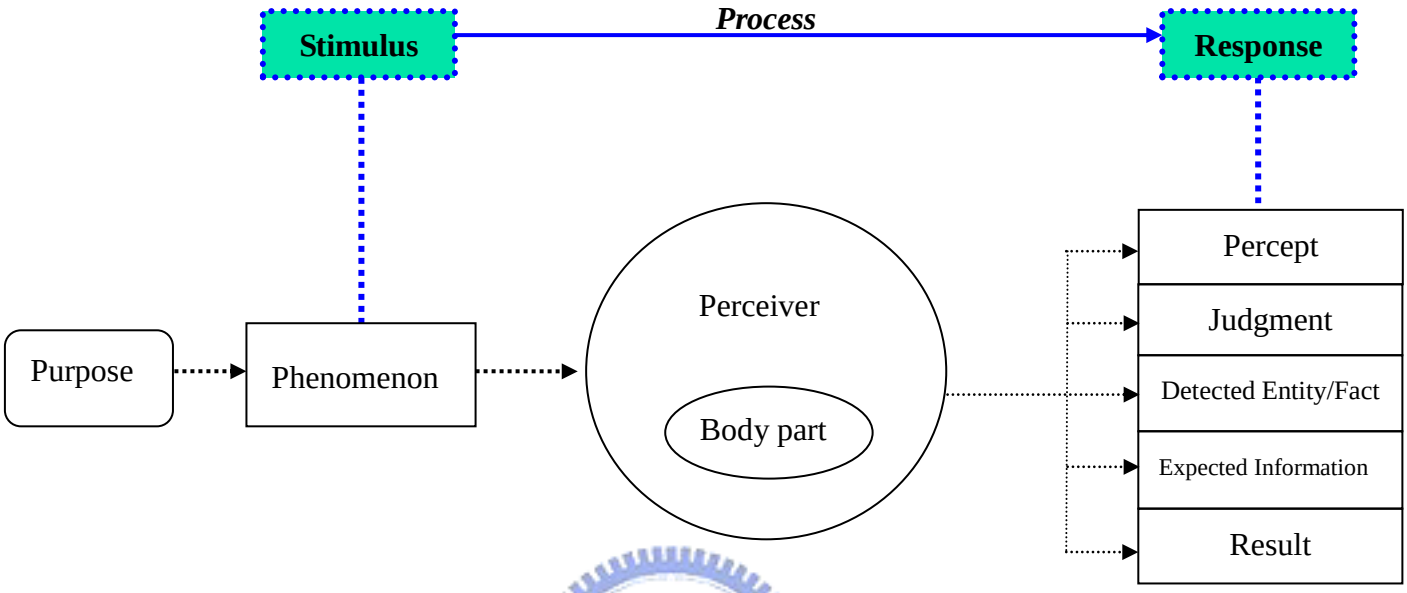
Table 2. The Basic Paradigm of Perception Verbs in Mandarin

Sense Modality	Activity PVs	Achievement PVs	Stative PVs
Vision	看 *kandao* ‘see’	看到 *kandao* ‘see’、 看見 *kanjian* ‘see’	看起來 *kanqilai* ‘look’
Hearing	聽 *ting* ‘listen’	聽到 *tingdao* ‘hear’、聽見 *tingjian* ‘hear’	聽起來 *tingqilai* ‘sound’
Touch	摸 *mo* ‘touch’	摸到 *modao* ‘touch’	摸起來 *moqilai* ‘feel’
Smell	聞 *wen* ‘smell’	聞到 *wendao* ‘smell’	聞起來 *wenqilai* ‘smell’
Taste	嚐 *chang* ‘taste’	嚐到 *changdao* ‘taste’	嚐起來 *changqilai* ‘taste’

In addition to the morphological characteristics, the interaction between grammar and semantics serves to provide principles for a systematic as well as evident classification. Based on the corpus observation mainly from Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Mandarin Chinese (Sinica Corpus), this study analyzes the verbs by striking a balance between syntax and semantics. Through the principles which are motivated by syntax-to-semantic correspondences, the perception verbs are categorized into different layers of frames. Each layer is responsible for a particular scope for semantic description. From top to down, the layers are Archiframe, Primary Frame, Basic Frame, and Micro-frame (Liu & Chiang 2008). In terms of Mandarin perception verbs, the frame-based structure is composed of Perception archiframe, five primary frames by inheritance, two primary frames by using, five basic frames, and ten micro-frames. Though the frames are differentiated, the interrelationship among the frames is also transparently displayed, not neglected. Essentially, all the frames share a conceptual schema, which is postulated with the core frame

elements, as shown below.

Conceptual Schema of Perception Archiframe:



Besides, through the classification, some characteristics of Mandarin perception verbs thus emerge. Two of them are especially introduced. One is the correspondence between frames and morphological make-ups; and the other is an intimate interaction between perception and cognition realized by frequent uses of semantic extensions.

All of these are the concerned issues which this study attempts to explain in a well-organized way.

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在研究所的這三年中，引領我成長最多的人當然就是我的指導教授──劉美君老師。猶記得當初參加交大碩班入學面試時，對老師的印象最為深刻，心想：「這位教授真是一位正姐耶！講話也好好聽喔！」後來有幸進入交大就讀，修了老師的課，發現老師對於學術研究相當認真嚴謹，尤其每每談到語言學就燃起的那股熱情，最讓我欽佩不已，也自我反省：「身為一位研究生，我是否擁有像老師那般的研究熱忱呢？」而我也記得，當我還是個「小研一」時，反應常常慢半拍，對語言的敏銳度遠遠不及老師跟學長姐，老師卻依然耐心地指導我，加上參與老師主籌的國科會計畫，讓我對語言可以說是越來越有感覺，漸漸步入軌道，因為老師的鼓勵跟支持，我也很幸運地在這三年中跟老師一起發表兩次會議論文，其中 ICLC 在波蘭舉行，我便得以藉此機會到國外見識語言學界的盛會，以及增廣自己的國際觀，這一切都要感謝劉美君老師的栽培，讓我從一個粗枝大葉的菜鳥蛻變成一位「碩士生」。

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