# LEXICASE POINTS WITH TAIWANESE VR CONSTRUCTIONS[*]

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**ABSTRACT**

VR (resultative verb)[1] constructions are most generally treated as compounds or verbs plus complements by Chinese linguists. In this paper, I would like to question the validity of this analysis with reference to the example of Taiwanese VR constructions, and propose and justify an alternative analysis within the lexicase dependency framework.

A Taiwanese VR construction is a single word, and not a compound, which is different from the traditional analysis that views a VR as a compound composed of two verbs. In this paper I claim that a Taiwanese VR is in fact a single word composed of a verb and a derivational suffix. It has been claimed that differences in the distribution of the object of VR forms depends on whether the object is definite or not. For example, an indefinite object has to be positioned after the VR construction (i.e., VR + O). The distribution of the objects is claimed to be more flexible if they are definite (e.g., O + VR). However, in this paper I would like to account for this phenomenon purely in terms of the transitivity of the resultative verbs. The transitive VR constructions take the nouns that follow them as their dependents and assign accusative case form to them. If the dependent object comes before the VR construction, a so-called disposal marker *kā* is required; otherwise, no accusative case form will be assigned, and the sentence will be ill-formed. Intransitive VR constructions cannot have their dependents following them simply because no accusative case form can be assigned to them.

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[1] Some Chinese linguists call it RVC (resultative verb compound), but VR is most commonly used due to the order of the two components.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION TO THE FRAMEWORK

The framework I will use in this paper is Lexicase. Lexicase grammar is a type of dependency grammar which evolved out of generative-transformational grammar. It retains the requirements that a linguistic theory, as a scientific hypothesis, be formal, explicit, maximally simple, and general. In Lexicase, there is only one level of representation, so there can be no D-structure distinct from S-structure, no traces, PROs, or other empty categories, and no movement rules.

### 1.1 Lexicocentricity

Lexicase is 'word grammar' (cf. Hudson 1984): A Lexicase stemma (or 'tree' in other frameworks) is a network of pairwise dependency relationships between words, where every word except the root word depends on one and only one regent word. Syntax is word distribution only.

### 1.2 Valency

In lexicase grammar, each word is marked with a 'valence', or a statement of its combinatory potential with other words. All sentences are only strings of words in which one word marked as a predicate, [+prdc], directly or indirectly governs each of the others via a chain of dependency links, and in which all the obligatory valency requirements of the words are satisfied. A sentence is well-formed if the valence of each word is satisfied.

### 1.3 Case

CASE RELATIONS. There are five and only five case relations in Lexicase grammar:

PAT    'patient'; obligatory with every predicate. Lexicase is a
          patient-central framework.
AGT    'agent'; obligatory with all transitive verbs
LOC    'locus'
COR    'correspondent'
MNS    'means'

PAT and AGT occur only as complements, but the other three case relations (i.e., LOC, COR, and MNS) may either appear as complements or adjuncts, i.e., allowed but not required dependents.

Every noun must either bear a case relation or be a predicate.

PAT is obligatory for every predication.

Every transitive clause has one instance of the AGT case relation, and any clause bearing an AGT case relation is transitive.

No more than one of each of these case relations can occur marking a complement of a single predicate.

### 1.4  Macrorole

Actr 'actor' is the macrorole, which is borne by the AGT actant if there is any, otherwise by the PAT actant.

### 1.5   Case Forms

Case forms are the grammatical configurations that mark the presence of case relations. The nominative case form appears in all languages, and the accusative appears in all accusative languages.

### 2.    WHAT IS A TAIWANESE VR FORM?

Very similar to Mandarin Chinese, a Taiwanese resultative verb in this analysis is a verb made up of two parts, the first denoting an action and the second the result of that action. In general, the first and the second parts of a VR are both one syllable, but some are made up of one syllable in the first part and two in the second, and in some, both parts are disyllables. For example:

(1)  a.  thâi-sí $^2$  b.  khoàⁿ-kìⁿ
      kill die        look  see
      'kill'        'see'

    c.  chiah-pá  d.  ēng-liáu
      eat    full        use finish
      'full'        'use up'

    e  liah--tioh
      grab get
      'catch'

(2)  a.  cháu--chhut-khì  b.  kóng--loh-khì
      run    out    go        talk  drop go
      'run out'        'keep talking'

(3)  a.  soat-bêng-chheng-chhó
      explain    explicitly
      'explain explicitly'

There are 2430 VR entries in the CKIP electronic dictionary of Mandarin (Liu 1994). Each entry has a Taiwanese equivalent in Cheng's Taiwanese-Mandarin Lexicon (1996). However, not every Taiwanese equivalent is a VR form. For example, *pi1shang2* $^3$ 'drape over' is translated into *moa*, and *la1long3* 'draw somebody over to one's side' as *pa-kiat*, which are not VR forms. Tsao (1994) compares Mandarin with Taiwanese and claims that the Mandarin VR construction is a highly productive device but that Taiwanese is still in an emergent state in its development of the VR constructions. He gives some Mandarin VR forms for which Taiwanese has no counterpart or which have not been integrated to a single verb and are separable by other elements, e.g., *ma4ku1* 'scold to cry', *ku1hong2* 'cry until one's eyes become red'. Nevertheless, I expect that the number of VR forms would be not too different from those in Mandarin.

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$^2$ The orthography I adopt in the paper for Taiwanese is the Church Romanization with the citation tones.
$^3$ The orthography of Mandarin I use is Hanyu Pinyin, but with Arabic numerals for tones.

**2.1 Taiwanese VR Constructions as Single Words**

The analysis of Taiwanese VR constructions I propose in this paper can be seen as a work which continues on from the analysis of Mandarin VR forms in Thompson (1973) and Starosta et al. (1993). I view a VR form as a full-fledged single word but not a compound. I take Bloomfield's definition of word as the criterion in this paper.

> 'word, then, is a free form which does not consist entirely of (two or more) lesser free forms; in brief, a word is a minimum free form' (Bloomfield 1933:178).

**2.2 Traditional Chinese Linguistic Analysis**

Conventionally, one Chinese character is viewed as one word and hence a VR construction has always been treated by Chinese linguists as a compound containing two, three, or four words (Chao 1968, Chang 1988, Lin 1992, etc.). This analysis is correct only when a Chinese character really is a word. However, Chinese characters usually encode monosyllabic morphemes, not necessarily words[4] (DeFrancis 1989:179). The reason for this confusion could be due to the fact that the Chinese orthography writes a syllable as one single character, whether it is a word or not. As Starosta et al. (1993:22) put it, the belief that a character represents a single word contributes to the hoary myth that Chinese is a monosyllabic language. In addtion, Y. R. Chao also notes that '... the linguistic unit corresponding to a character is typically a morpheme bound to a preceding or following morpheme ... The great majority of morphemes entered in a dictionary of single characters belong to this category' (Chao 1968:145-46).

Taiwanese VR constructions have also been called compounds (Lee 1974, Teng 1994, Tsao 1994) or verb-complement constructions (Lien 1994a). The problem with this assumption as already noted, is that most Chinese characters do not represent a word that is a minimum free form, although some do.

There are many definitions of compound words in the Chinese linguistic literature (cf. Ng and Starosta 1995). However, those

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[4] Sometimes some syllables are not really even morphems as in *boli* 'glass'.

definitions cause much confusion since many of them are stated simply in terms of combinations of morphemes, without any reference to or restriction on their free or bound statuses (Ng and Starosta 1995:12), and are used idiosyncratically or even inconsistently by the same linguist. In this paper, I would like to adopt the definitions below since they are well accepted in general linguistics. First, Anderson wrote (1992:292):

'In its traditional sense, compounding differs from derivation and inflection in quite a straight forward way. It consists in the combination of (two or more) existing words into a new word, while derivation (as well as inflection) consists in the application of a Word Formation Rule to a single existing word'

Selkirk (1982:53) characterizes a 'compound' in accordance with conventional general linguistic practice as:
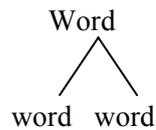
Word
/\
word  word

VR forms are single words but not compounds since they are free in the sense that they are not limited in the choice of elements which can precede or follow them; they are minimal in the sense that they cannot be further decomposed into parts which are both minimal and free (Starosta to appear). This is true for most Taiwanese VRs. For example:

(4)      siak-phoà
          throw break
          'break'

(5)      phah-tioh
          hit  get
          'hit'

(6)      sak-khui
          push open
          'push away'

The second part of the VR forms in (4)-(6) are mostly not free:

(7)    a.        \*phoà chit ê hoe-kan
                break  one   vase

        b.        \*tiòh lí phah
                get  you hit

        c.        \*khui2 mìh-kiā$^n$
                away   thing

        d.        Khui1 mìh-kiā$^n$
                open   something

When the second parts of the VRs are used as free forms like other full-fledged verbs, they mostly cannot be accepted by native speakers. 7d is accepted since there is a different *khui* in the lexicon and it is a free form, a full-fledged verb meaning 'open', but *khui* 'away' in 7c is not a free form. 5 In Lexicase, two forms have to be the same in three dimensions to be considered the same form in the lexicon, namely, in form and in meaning as well as in distribution. *Khui1* is different from *khui2* in both meaning and distribution and therefore they are obviously two different forms.

The so-called potential VR forms in Taiwanese can be formed by infixing *ē* or *bē*, just as is the case with their counterparts *de* or *bu4* in Mandarin. This phenomenon seems not to comply with the criterion of the indivisibility of words, but these two elements are sometimes described as infixes (Chao 1968:159).

I treat *ē-phoà* and *bē-phoà* as a parallel set of affixes to *phoà*. There is a derivation rule to derive *ē-phoà* verbs from *phoà* verbs and then there is a further derivation rule to derive *siak-ē-phoà* verbs from *siak* verbs.

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[5] The two forms are presumably etymologically related and are written with the same character, which accounts for the fact that the two are commonly regarded as the same in Chinese linguistics.

In Taiwanese, there are at least six more such affixes, namely *hō̤,*
*kah, ū*, *bô*, *tih- beh*, and *iáu-bōe*, which have no equivalents in Mandarin
Chinese (cf. Cheng 1995:25):

(8)    a.    siak-ē-phoà        b.    siak-bē-phoà
            'can be broken'          'can't be broken'

        c.    siak-hō-phoà       d.    siak-ū-phoà
            'break it!'           'broken'

        e.    siak-bô-phoà       f.    siak-kah-phoà
            'not broken'         'break until broken'

        g.    siak-tih-beh-phoà   h.    siak-iáu-boē-phoà
            'going to be broken'    'not broken yet'

(9)    a.    *siak-hoe-kan-phoà   b.    *phah-lí-tióh
            throw vase  break        hit you get

        c.    *sak-m̂g-khui        d.    *siak-mìh-kiāⁿ-phoà
            push door away       throw things break

        e.    *phah-mìh-kiāⁿ-tióh  f.    *sak-mìh-kiāⁿ-khui
            hit   things  get       push things away

Inserting infixes into VRs is acceptable (8a to 8h), but inserting
forms other than infixes cannot be accepted, as illustrated in 9a to 9f.[6]

## 3. TAIWANESE VR CONSTRUCTIONS AS SIMPLE VERBS

Robert Cheng claims that Taiwanese VR construction function as a
memory-cognition unit (Cheng 1997:100). In other words, they should
be listed as lexical items in the mental lexicon. This idea is in favor of
my viewing VR constructions as "words", since only words should be
listed in the lexicon. VR constructions function like other

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[6] There are some exceptions to this, e.g., *chiảh kah chiok pá* 'eat until stuffed', but I will
not be treating them in this paper.

morphologically simple verbs' (cf. Starosta et al. 1993). Thus in Taiwanese, all VR construction forms appear as the lexical heads of endocentric clauses, and uninfixed VR forms can be negated by all the usual negation mechanisms for verbs, i.e., *bô, bē,* and *mài,* and take the aspect suffix *a0* like other verbs:

(10)   a.   bô-siak-phoà        b.   bē-siak-phoà
             'not broken'            'can't be broken'

         c.   mài-siak-phoà      d.   siak-phoà--a0.
             'don't break it'        'has been broken'

It has been claimed that there is an internal structure for VR forms, namely [v-v]v (Chang 1988:73). However, since the R part of VR in Taiwanese is usually not a free form, as Examples 9 a-f above show, it can have no syntactic distribution and hence cannot belong to a syntactically defined word class.

A VR construction in Mandarin is a derived word, a head plus its derivational suffix (Starosta et al. 1993:14). I find that this analysis is also better able to account for generalizations about Taiwanese VR forms, as will be illustrated later.

I propose to account for the derivational relation between V and VR by means of rules such as the following one, which relates V *khui2* to V:

DR-1

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -telc \end{bmatrix} \quad : \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +telc \\ +sprt \end{bmatrix}$$

$$] : khui2]$$

This rule is to be read as corresponding to a given atelic verb, there may be a telic verb ending in the suffix *-khui* which differs in meaning by the addition of a component of 'separation' to the meaning of the original nontelic verb'. In a lexicase grammar, derivational relationships are accounted for in terms of analogical rules. The rule serves only to express the analogical pattern of correspondence between two sets of verbs, a pattern which can be used in recognizing or creating new VR forms (cf. Starosta et al. 1993:14).

In an example like *soat-bêng-chheng-chhó* 'to explain explicitly', the second affixal component is the same as its etymologically-related free form both in form and in meaning. This is true of only a small proportion of the Rs in VR forms. Nevertheless, the derivational affix *chheng-chhó2* 'explicitly' is still different from the underived verb *chheng-chhó1* 'explicitly' since they do not have the same distribution. To treat this subset of VR forms by a separate compounding rule would result in a loss of generalizations about these constructions as a group.

## 4. THE DEPENDENCY RELATIONSHIP OF RESULTATIVE VERBS

Resultative verbs in Chinese are not always transitive, as Chang (1988:71) claims for Mandarin. In fact, there are transitive VRs as well as intransitive VRs both in Taiwanese and Mandarin. No matter whether they are transitive or not, they are like other verb types in that they always take nouns as dependents:

Transitive:



(11)   a.

lòng-phoà
break

I        hoe-kan
he       vase
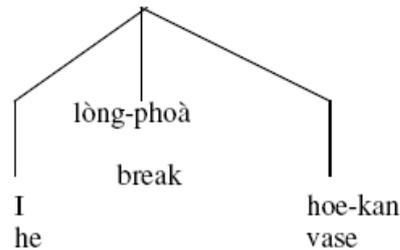
'He breaks the vase'

b.

bé
buy

I        hoe-kan
he       vase
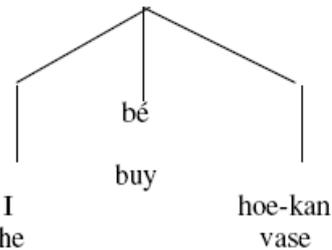
'He buys the vase'

Intransitive:

(12)　　a.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　b.

chiah-pá
ate up

lâi
come

Goà
I

Lí
you

'I am full.'　　　　　　　　　　'You come here.'
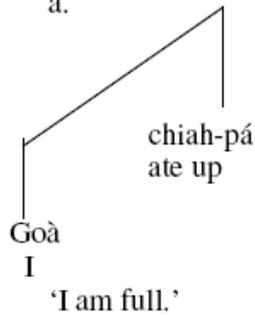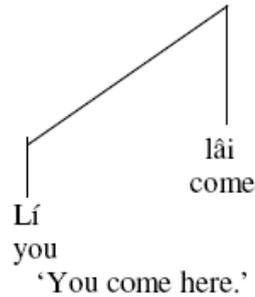
Regarding the distribution of the VRs and their dependents, Li (1988) observes that NP dependents of Taiwanese VRs have a strong tendency to be topicalized.  For example:

(13)　　a.　　　　Hit  niá san, chhēng7-phoà-khi.
　　　　　　　　　that  cl. garment wear out
　　　　　　　　　'That garment is worn out.'

If the object directly follows the verb, the sentence is not acceptable:

　　　　　b.　　　　*Chhēng-phoà-khì hit niá san.

Teng (1994, 1995) confirms Li's observation and attributes this tendency to the definiteness of the objects. He claims that when the object is indefinite, it must stay in the regular object position, i.e., immediately after the verb, but when it is definite, more options are available (Teng 1995:6).

If Teng is correct, then the sentences with indefinite objects below (14 a- d) should be acceptable:

(14)   a.       *Lí īong-liáu chîn boē?
                 you use up money not
                 'Did you use up the money?'

       b.       *Lí kám sak-ū-j̍ip-khì phoê-siun ?
                 you did push have enter leather box
                 'Did you push the leather box in?'

       c.       *Lí sàu-chhut-khì kut-thâu!
                 you sweep out    bones
                 'Sweep out the bones'

       d.       *Lí chhoā-chhut-khì gín-á!
                 you bring   out     child
                 'Bring the children out of there!'

       e.       Lí phàng-kìⁿ chin bô?
                 you lose     money no
                 'Did you lose the money?'

       f.       Lí ná-ē     thâi-sí lâng?
                 you why    kill die people
                 'Why did you kill those people?'

    In fact, although in Sentences (14) a-d the objects are all indefinite, putting them immediately after the verbs is still unacceptable. I conclude that they are all intransitive VRs, and intransitive VRs can take any objects following them as transitive verbs do.[7] (14) e-f are grammatical not because the objects after the VRs are indefinite but because the VRs are transitive. Teng says that if the objects are definite, then more options are available. However, the examples he provides become acceptable only by adding the disposal marker *kā*. If I take out *kā,* they become unacceptable again, although the objects are definite:

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[7] Note that by this analysis, the initial NP in 13a is not a topic but the grammatical subject of the sentences (See Her 1987 for the corresponding construction in Mandarin.)

(15)   a.      I *kā* Ong kàu-siū    ê tiān-nāu    lòng-phái$^n$.
                    he *kā* Ong Professor    computer wreck
                    'He wrecked Professor Ong    computer.

       b.      *I Ong kàu-siū    ê tiān-náu    lòng-phái$^n$.
                    he Ong professor    computer wreck

       c.      Ong kàu-siū    ê tiān-náu,    i *kā* i lòng-phài$^n$.
                    Ong professor    computer,    he *kā* it wreck

       d.      *Ong kàu-siū    ê tiàn-náu,    i i lòng-phái$^n$
                    Ong professor    computer   he he wreck

From the above, it is obvious that it is not the definiteness of the object which is significant in deciding the order, but the transitivity of the verbs and the presence of the preposition *kā*. Only when the objects can receive accusative case (i.e., [?(+Acc)]) from either the transitive VR like other transitive single verbs or from the prepositions can the sentence be acceptable.

    I would like to provide some explanations for this phenomenon within the lexicase dependency grammar framework.

(16)  a.    Thô-húi thâi-sí jī-sì ê Tâi-ôan-lâng.9
            'Bandits killed twenty-four Taiwanese.'

                    thâi-sí
                    killed
                    2ndex
                    +V

thô-húi           +trns          jī-sì    ê      Tâi-ôan-lâng
bandits           +fint          24       cl.    Taiwanese
⎡1ndex⎤           1([+N])       ⎡3ndex⎤ ⎡4ndex⎤ ⎡5ndex        ⎤
⎣+N   ⎦           5([+N])+N     ⎣+N   ⎦ ⎣+N   ⎦ ⎢             ⎥
                  1[+Nom]                       ⎣2([+prdc])   ⎦

                  1[+AGT]
                  1[+actr]
                  5[+Acc]
                  5[+PAT]
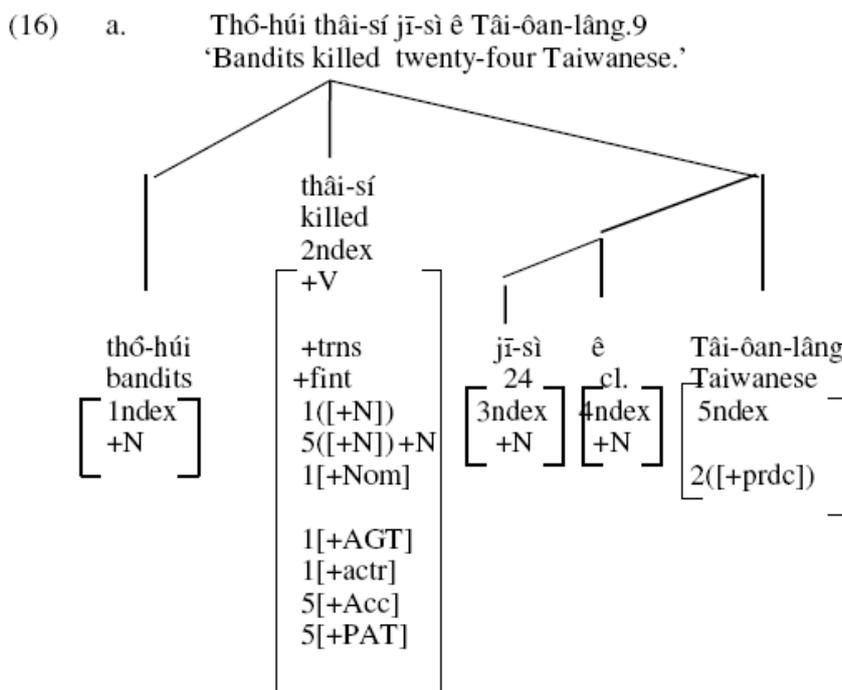
How a dependency 'tree' is drawn? To take the sentence above as an example, we first place the verb, which has a [+prdc] feature, at the highest point as the governor; then we place all the words at the lower level in word order and assign their indexes and parts of speech immediately. For the transitive verb *thâi-sí* we need to assign all its features [+trns] and [+fint] to it. Then the direct dependency relationship should be specified as 1([+N]) and 5([+N]). At the same time, the Patient *Tâi-ôan-lâng* should be specified its immediate dependency 2 ([+prdc]. Finally, the most important task is to specify all the cases and macrorole for the predicate therefore case form and case relation [+Nom] and [+AGT] are assigned from Index 1 as well as the macrorole [+actr], but the case [+Acc] and [+PAT] from Index 5. After completion of all the assignments, we may then draw lines to link all the words in dependency order.

Example (16a) is well-formed because the object *Tâi-ôan-lâng* can receive the accusative case form from the transitive VR *thâi-sí*, not because the object is indefinite. However, there is a constraint for the assignment of the accusative case form[8]: the accusative case form can only be assigned to the right of the transitive verbs or prepositions. This constraint applies to all transitive verbs, including transitive VRs:

(16)  a.Thớ-húi liȧh    jī-sì         ê  Tâi-ôan-lâng.
         bandits  catch twenty-four    cl.  Taiwanese
      'Bandits caught twenty-four Taiwanese.'

      b.*Jī-sì         ê   Tâi-ôan-lâng, thớ-húi   thâi-sí.
       twenty-four cl. Taiwanese     bandits      kill die

      b'.*Jī-sì          ê   Tâi-ôan-lâng,  thớ-húi    liȧh.
        twenty-four    ê   Taiwanese          bandits    catch

      c. *Thớ-húi     jī-sì      ê  Tâi-oân-lâng   thâi-sí.
         bandits      twenty-four cl. Taiwanese        kill die

      c'.*Thớ-húi     jī-sì       ê  Tâi-oân-lâng  liȧh.
         bandits      twenty-four cl. Taiwanese      catch

      d. *Thớ-húi    thâi   jī-sì      ê  Tâi-oân-lâng  sí.
         bandits      kill   twenty-four cl. Taiwanese       die

In (16a), the verb *liȧh* is a transitive one, and therefore the sentence is as grammatical as (16a). Neither (16b), (16b') nor (16c), (16c') is acceptable, simply  because the objects *Tâi-oân-lâng* cannot reveive the accusative case form, not because they are indefinite. The objects are not immediately to the right of the transitive verb *liȧh* or transitive VR *thâi-sí*[9]. In (16d) as well as (17d) in the next example a phrase is placed within a single word VR and hence violates the principle of word indivisibility.

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[8]  Although there are no overt case affixes in Taiwanese, a transitive verb still has to assign the accusative case form to its object and mark [?[+Acc]] in lexicon.

[9] Examples 17a-f illustrate the effects of the 'disposal marker' preposition *kā*.

(17)   a.        I lòng-pháiⁿ  Ông kà-sīu ê tiān-náu.
                'He wrecked  Prof. Ong's computer.'



|  | I | lòng-pháin | Ông kàu-síu ê | tiān-náu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | he | wrecked | Ong profess or | computer |

$$\begin{bmatrix} 1\text{ndex} \\ +N \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} 2\text{ndex} \\ +V \\ +trns \\ +fint \\ 1([+N]) \\ 5([+N]) \\ 1[+Nom] \\ 1[+AGT] \\ 5[+Acc] \\ 5[+PAT] \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} 3\text{ndex} \\ +N \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} 4\text{ndex} \\ +N \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} 5\text{ndex} \\ +N \\ \\ 2([+prdc]) \end{bmatrix}$$
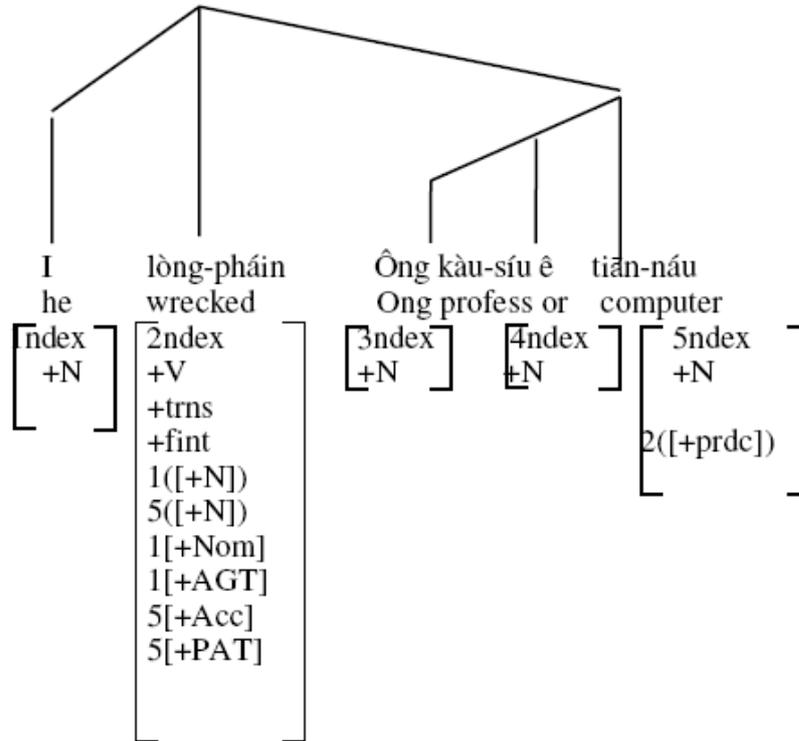
   b.        I kā Ông kàu-siū ê tiān-náu lòng-pháiⁿ.
   c.        Ông kàu-siū ê tiān-náu, i kā ī lòng-pháiⁿ.
   d.        *I lòng Ông kàu-siū ê tiān-náu pháiⁿ.
   e.        *Ông kàu-siū ê tiān-náu i lòng-pháiⁿ.
   f.        I lòng-pháiⁿ tiān-náu.

   (17b) and (17c) are acceptable because of the added preposition *kā*
change the word order but also can assign the accusative case form to its
right, as shown in the stemma below.

(18)　*Jī-sì　　ê Tâi-oân-lâng　　　thǒ-húi　thâi-sí.
　　　twenty-four cl. Taiwanese　　bandits　kill　die
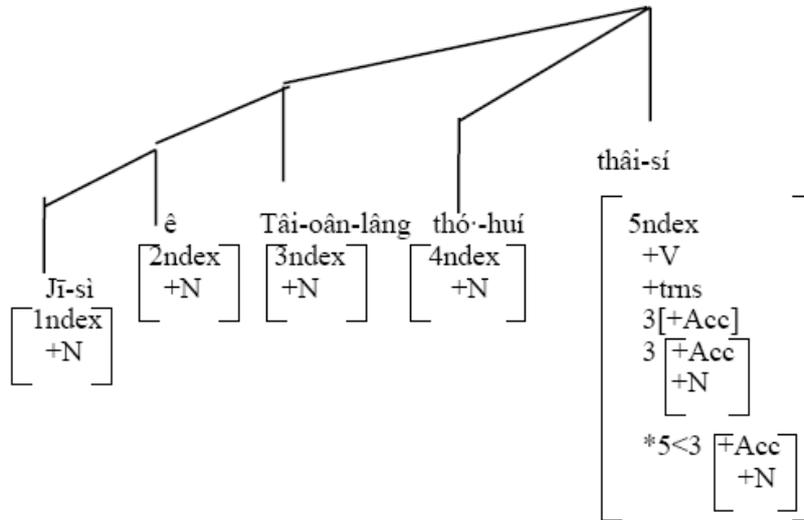


The transitive VR *thâi-sí* has to precede its object in order to assign the accusative case form to its object *Tâi-oân-lâng*. However, in (18) it appears after its object in (18) (i.e. 5<3) and hence the sentence is ungrammatical.

By using the so-called disposal marker10 *kā*, the word order can be changed, and also the accusative case can be assigned by the preposition *kā*, as shown in the stemma on page 13.

In example (19), the patient *Tâi-oân5-lâng* is reinterpreted as the Means complement of the *kā*-type derived intransitive verb. The Nominative Agent in the transitive sentences is interpreted as the Nominative Patient of the *kā*-type verb. The relationship between the transitive and *kā*-type verb is captured by the derivation rule DR-2:

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[10] The so-called disposal markers are prepositions. This name is used frequently in Chinese Linguistics and ascribed to objects that are supposed to be "chu3zhi4" 'disposed of' however certain Chinese linguists feel it is inappropriate to accept such an ambiguous term. I use it here only for easier reference.

DR-2

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{+trns} \\ \text{m[+AGT]} \\ \text{n[+PAT]} \end{bmatrix} \quad : \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{-trns} \\ \text{m[+PAT]} \\ \text{n[+MNS]} \\ \text{+dspl} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(19)
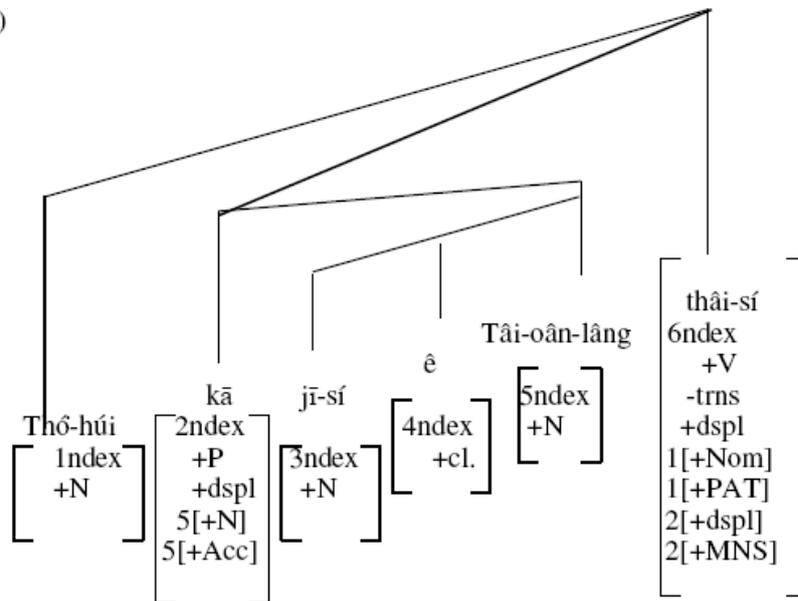


DR-2 shows the difference in transitivity between the transitive verbs and the intransitive *ka*-type verbs. This rule reinterprets the Agent of the transitive as Patient of the corresponding intransitive verb and the transitive Patient as the Means of the derived intransitive verb (cf. Ng 1992:224).

## 5. CONCLUSION

Taiwanese resultative verbs are single words, and not compounds. There are transitive and intransitive VRs just as there are regular transitive verbs and intransitive verbs. A transitive VR construction can take a following noun as its dependent and assign the accusative case form to it. On the other hand, an intransitive VR cannot take any noun immediately after it as its dependent. If the dependent object comes before the VR construction, a disposal marker *kā* is required; otherwise, no accusative case form will be assigned, and hence the sentence will be ill-formed.

If we accept that VRs are single words rather than compounds, then it would provide a better account of word segmentation and also allow for a more efficient ordering of lexical items listing in the dictionary. Words are supposed to be listed thoroughly in the lexicon but the rule governing the placing of compounds is ambiguous. However, since VRs has limitation in terms of production and hence possible to be listed in the lexicon. If we treat VRs as compounds, then they should not be listed as lexical items in the lexicon, which would be against the principle followed in the listing of lexical items--if items that have a limitation in production should be listed. In other words, if we treat VRs as compounds, and they are actually in the lexicon then we should also list all other compounds, which is impossible due to their great number.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acc | Accusative | ndex | index |
| actr | actor | ngtv | negative |
| Adj | adjective | Nom | Nominative (subject) |
| Adv | adverb | ntrg | interrogative |
| AGT | Agent | O | object |
| cl | classifier | pasv | passive |
| COR | correspondence | PAT | patient |
| Det | determiner | plrl | plural |
| dfnt | definite | prdc | predicate |
| DR | derivation rule | R | resultative |
| dspl | disposal | S | subject |
| fint | finite | sprt | separation |
| lctn | location | telc | telic |
| LOC | locative | V | verb |
| MNS | means | VR | resultative verb |
| N | noun | xlry | auxiliary |

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# LEXICASE 觀點的台語動補結構

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動補結構一向被漢語語言學家認為是複合詞(compounds)或是動詞加補語。本文對台語動補結構持此分析的妥當性提出質疑，並提議以依存語法理論(lexicase dependency framework)的替代方案來分析。

一個台語動補結構是單一的語詞(a single word)，而非複合詞。傳統分析將動補結構看做兩個動詞的構造，我在此加以辯駁。本文宣稱台語動補結構是一個單一動詞加上它自身衍生的詞尾(a derivational suffix)。語言學界向來認為台語動補結構其受詞分佈的差異是看它的受詞是否限定而定(definite or not)。譬如說，受詞若是非限定，它就得置於動補結構之後；反之；若是限定的受詞就相當具有彈性，可置前可置後。然而，在本文，我將此現象解釋為單純只是因為該動補結構是否及物(transitivity)而定。該動補結構若是及物，就接名詞做它的依存詞(the dependent)，並且授予受格；假若依存詞置於動補結構之前，就需要有所謂的處置動詞(disposal marker *kā*)；否則無法取得受格，而該句子就不合文法(ill-formed)。不及物動補結構不能接依存詞於後，全然是因為此動補結構無法被分派受格之故。