

# 臺灣閩南語論文集

Papers from the 1994 Conference on  
Language Teaching and Linguistics  
in Taiwan

Vol. I: Southern Min

曹逢甫・蔡美慧 編



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# 序

去年（民國八十二年）十一月間，教育部為了配合在民國八十五年要全面實施的本土語言教育課程，特委託清華大學語言學研究所和台灣語文學會舉辦台灣閩南語和客家語研討會，本人身為語言所之一員又是台灣語文學會會長，因此，雖然本身工作已繁忙到分身乏術的地步，仍義不容辭地把它接下來並立刻著手策劃。在緊鑼密鼓地工作了半年多後，該二會終於在今年六月三、四、五，三天如期舉行。

在那三天一向相當平靜的清大人文社會學院突然熱鬧起來，因為有一、二百位學者、教師遠從美國、中國大陸、以及台灣各地來此參加我們的會議。在三天的會期中，共發表四十六篇論文（閩南語二十四篇，客家語二十二篇）而且一直到曲終人散，討論都非常熱烈。

會中也有多人提及希望會議主辦單位能進一步把論文整理並正式出版，分送全省各教育單位以及圖書館。於是我們又向教育部申請並獲得經費補助來進行論文修訂出版的工作。

編過論文集的人都知道，會議論文編輯工作看似簡單，其實並不比會議的籌辦來得容易。現在眼見辛勤的工作已將告一段落，心裏自是欣喜不已，希望我們的努力真能對台灣的本土語言研究與教育有所貢獻。

最後我想藉這個機會來向幾位亟需要由衷感謝的人仕致最誠摯的謝意，首先我得感謝教育部教育委員會毛連溫執行秘書以及曾一士專門委員，再其次我也得謝謝我的得力助手姚瑤娘、蔡美慧以及鄧玉雪、蔡婉玉、吳聖鵬、何佳芸、林主恩的幫忙，還有清大語言所與外語系多位研究生的協助校對，以及文鶴出版公司的陳淑勤小姐的細心排版。沒有以上這些人仕的熱心幫忙，這二本論文集是不可能公諸於世的。

曹 逢 甫 謹識

民國八十三年十二月十五日

于清大人社院 B522 研究室

# 臺灣閩南語論文集

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# OBJECTS AND VERB-COMPLEXES IN TAIWANESE

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## A. Introduction

This is a synchronic study<sup>1</sup> of the syntax of objects in Taiwanese as generally<sup>2</sup> spoken in northern Taiwan. As objects are necessarily associated with verbs, this paper will also touch on the nature of verbs, in particular verb-compounding, in Taiwanese. It will be suggested that verb-compounding in Taiwanese, as compared to that in Mandarin, is much weaker, which accounts for the more varied syntax of objects in the former.

## B. Basic Framework

'Object' is a notorious grammatical category in all Chinese dialects. It has plagued and/or intrigued Chinese linguists for countless years. This paper will follow the least controversial position by referring it to any post-transitive-verb nominal elements that are not 'complements'<sup>3</sup>. The same framework applies equally to single or double objects. It follows from this approach that objects in Chinese (dialects) naturally assume a great number of thematic roles<sup>4</sup>. This paper will not concern itself with this latter issue. What remains to be resolved is the issue of 'transitive' verbs. Again, this has been a difficult issue in Chinese linguistics, and this paper can only rely on common sense and cross-linguistic information, so that the following sentences are *not* transitive sentences even though

nominal elements do occur post-verbally, contrary to many analyses in China.<sup>5</sup>

1. 伊 最近 死 翁。

I choekin si ang.

(She lost her husband recently.)

2. 伊 今年 落 不少 頭毛。

I kinni lak bechio thaomo.

(He lost quite a lot of hair this year.)

'True transitivity' and 'true objects' are extremely difficult notions at best.

## C. Objects and Thematic Roles

The following roles of objects are observed in Taiwanese. Compared with Mandarin, Taiwanese allows more roles to occur as objects. For the purpose of illustration, only mono-morphemic verbs and no prepositions are used in this section. More complex verbs will, however, be used in later sections.

### a. Temporal Locative

3. 伊 在 吃 早起。

I ti chia chaikhi.

(He is having his breakfast.)

4. 我的 學生 都 讀 下晝。

Goa-e hakseng long thak etao.

(All my students attend afternoon classes.)

5. 生意人 拜 初二、十六。<sup>6</sup>

Senglilang pai chheji, chaplak.

(Business people make offerings to their deities twice a month.)

### b. Spatial Locative

6. 囝仔 上 愛 坐 頭殼 頂。<sup>7</sup>

Gina siong ai che thaokhak teng.



(Children love to sit on top of others' heads.)

7. 較 頭前 愛 彎 正手!

Kha thaocheng ai uat chiaNchhiu!

(Turn right just slightly ahead!)

8. 稍 等! 我 先 掛 美國。

Sio tan! Goa seng kha Bikok.

(Wait! Let me call the U.S. first!)

**c. Instrumental**

9. 即嘛的 囡仔 敢 會曉 寫 毛筆?

Chima-e gina kam ehiao sia mopit?

(Can children nowadays write with a brush?)

10. 這台車, 你買若多錢?

Chittai chhia, li boe loache chin?

(How much did you pay for this car?)

11. 熱天, 哪 有 人 蓋 棉被?

Zoatin, na u lang ka miphoe?

(Nobody uses quilts in summer, is there?)

**d. Goal**

12. 你 欲 死, 你 去 跳 海 好啦!

Li beh si, li khi thiao hai ho la!

(If you want to die, why don't you jump into the ocean?)

13. 伊 會 生氣, 你 爰 講 伊!

I e siunkhi, li mai kong I!

(He'll be angry. Don't say anything to him!)

14. 大家 都 欲 考 台大。

Take long beh kho Taitai.

(Everyone wants to get into Taiwan University.)

**e. Range<sup>8</sup>**

15. 起 四 層 樓， 儻 賺 錢。  
 Khi sichan lao, be than chìn.  
 (Four-story buildings do not bring in enough profit.)
16. 我 想 欲 跟 人 學 刻 印 仔。  
 Goa siubeh ka lang o khik ina.  
 (I'd like to learn how to make chops.)
17. 我 在 糊 風 吹。  
 Goa ti ko hongchhoe.  
 (I am making a kite.)

**f. Patient**

18. 伊 殺 一 隻 雞 欲 請 你。  
 I thai chitchia ke beh chhian li.  
 (He cooked a chicken for you.)
19. 這 區 的 人 都 得 拆 厝 起 新 路。  
 Chitkhu-e lang long tio thiah chhu khi sin lo.  
 (People in this neighborhood have to have their houses demolished for new roads.)
20. 今 年 賣 金 子 會 大 賒。  
 Kinni boe kima e toa liao.  
 (Selling gold this year will result in great losses.)

**g. Others**

Non-nominal elements can also occur as objects in Taiwanese, though this is not a highly productive structure<sup>9</sup>, e.g.

21. 我 吃 一 個 真 飽。  
 Goa chia chit-e chin pa.  
 (I had a lot to eat.)

22. 付 伊 看 一个 歡喜!  
 Ho i khuan chit-e huanhi!  
 (Let him have a good time watching it.)
23. 我 行 一个 真 忝。  
 Goa kian chit-e chin thiam.  
 (I got really worn out from the walk.)
24. 伊吃 假 的，都 贅 大軀。  
 I chia ke e, long be toakho.  
 (He never gains weight. Where has all his eating gone?)

## D. Objects Topicalised

Preposing objects is a universal strategy in Chinese dialects, but it is not without dialect-specific constraints. In Taiwanese and probably in all Chinese dialects as well, non-transitivity roles<sup>10</sup>, if occurring as objects, are not on the whole to be topicalised<sup>11</sup>, as shown below.

25. \*早起， 你 嚙 時 欲 吃？<sup>12</sup>  
 Chaikhi, li tangsi beh chia?  
 (When do you want to have breakfast?)
26. \*我的 頭 殼 頂， 你 欲 坐 無？  
 Goa-e thaokhak teng, li beh che bo?  
 (Do you want to sit on my head?)
27. \*毛筆，大陸的 學生 較 意<sup>13</sup> 寫。  
 Mopit, taiioke-e hakseng khak gao sia.  
 (Students on the Mainland are better at writing with the brush.)
28. \*? 棉被，暗時 得 愛 蓋！  
 Miphoe, amsi tio ai kah!  
 (You must use the comforter at night!)

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of transitive roles as topics.

29. 五 十 層 樓，唔是 彼呢 簡單 起。  
Gochapchan lao, msi hiani kantan khi.  
(Building 50 storys is not a simple task.)
30. 雞 都 殺 完 啊，即嘛 欲 殺 啥？  
Ke long thai-uan a, chima beh thai sian?  
(I've prepared all the chickens. What next?)
31. 你 起的 厝，敢 都 你 家己 賣？  
Li khi-e chhu, kam long li kati boe?  
(Do you sell what you build?)
32. 無 路用的 冊，都 得 愛 燒！  
Bo loiong-e chheh, long tio ai sio!  
(We must burn all the useless books!)

The contrast between (21-24) and (25-28) is accounted for by the fact that non-transitive roles are associated with prepositions in the deep structure, and prepositional objects do not in general occur as topics in Chinese, e.g.

33. 您 跟 您 阿媽 住 做 伙 是 無？  
Li ka lin ama toa chohoe si bo?  
(Do you live with your grandma?)
34. \* 您阿媽，您跟住做伙是無？  
(As above)
35. 囡仔 真 愛 用 紙 做 飛機。  
Gina chin ai iong choa cho huiki.  
(Children love to make airplanes with paper.)
36. \* 紙，囡仔真愛用做飛機。  
(As above)

Without going into the issue whether passive sentences are a means to creat-

ing topics in Chinese, non-transitive roles do not normally occur as the subject in 付 — Passive sentences in Taiwanese, e.g.

37. \*早起 付人 吃去 啊。  
 Chaikhi ho lang chia-khi a.  
 (My breakfast was consumed by someone.)
38. \*美國 付人 掛去 啊。  
 Bikok ho lang khah-khi a.  
 (\*The U.S. has been dialed to.)
39. \*毛筆 付人 寫去 啊。  
 Mopit ho lang sia-khi a.  
 (The brush has been used by someone.)

Transitive roles, on the other hand, occur freely in such sentences, e.g.

40. 厝 付別人 起去 啊。  
 Chhu ho patlang khi-khi a.  
 (The building was finished by others.)
41. 厝 付人 拆去 啊。  
 Chhu ho lang thiah-khi a.  
 (My house had been demolished.)
42. 土地 付代書 賣去 啊。  
 Thote ho taisu boe-khi a.  
 (The land was sold to someone by the broker.)

Objects in Taiwanese can also be preposed to the secondary-topic position, e.g.

43. 你飯 緊吃吃 咧!  
 Li png kin chiachia le!  
 (Eat your meal quickly!)

44. 你 報 紙 看 了 未?

Li pochoa khuan-liao boe?

(Did you finish with the paper yet?)

Secondary-topics are also referred to as 'contrast', which, however, does not characterize the meaning of such sentences as (44) properly. 'Paper' in (44) is not contrasted with any other noun, implicit or explicit.<sup>14</sup>

## E. Objects in Disposal Sentences<sup>15</sup>

In northern Taiwan, 給 'ka' is generally used as the disposal marker, which has as its object the object of the main verb, as is the case in Mandarin<sup>16</sup>, e.g.

45. 給 冊 提 來!

Ka chheh the-lai!

(Bring me the book!)

46. 伊 給 車 賣 去 啊。

I ka chhia boe-khi a.

(He sold his car.)

47. 你 孬 給 伊 罵!

Li mmo ka i ma!

(Don't scold her!)

What is of interest to us in this connection is that disposal objects in Taiwanese are frequently further preposed to the topic position and leave a trace behind the disposal marker 給, as illustrated below.

48. 車, 伊 給伊 賣 去 啊。<sup>17</sup>

Chhia, i kah boe-khi a.

(He sold his car.)

49. 車 的 鎖匙, 你 給伊 供 在 啥 位?

Chhia-e sosi, li kah khng ti to ui?

(Where did you put the car keys?)

50. 囡仔，你哪的無愛給佢都取來？

Gina, li na-e bo ai ka in long chhoa-lai?

(Why didn't you bring all the children?)

As seen here, 伊 occurs regardless of whether the referent is animate or inanimate.<sup>18</sup>

Thus far, we have observed that objects in modern Taiwanese can occur in the regular/post-verbal position, in the sentence-initial/topic position, as well as in the post-subject position. In the sections below, we shall look at the interaction between objects and post-verbal complements and see what implications there are that relate to the structure of verb-compounding.

## F. Objects and Verb-Complexes

Verb complexes refer, in this paper, to structures where the main/primary verb is followed by any type of complements, be they aspectual/phasal markers, resultative complements, directional complements, or potential complements. Verb-complexes impose syntactic constraints on objects in Taiwanese. We shall examine some data first. This section benefits from a previous, excellent analysis of Taiwanese resultatives by 李 (1988).

### a. Phasal Markers<sup>19</sup>

51. 錢，(你)用了未？

Chin, li iong-liao boe?

(Did you spend all the money?)

52. 你錢用了未？

53. \*你用了錢未？

54. \*你用錢了未？

When phasal markers occur, the object is obligatorily preposed either to the topic position (51) or to the secondary-topic position (52). None of the post-verbal occurrences is grammatical. Mandarin sentences corresponding to (51-53, with 完) are perfectly grammatical. Phasal markers are suffixed to the verb and

do not permit the insertion of objects, as shown in (54), as well as in its Mandarin counterpart. Furthermore, the occurrence of 用付了 further indicates that 了 in Taiwanese is akin to regular resultative complements (see below).

#### b. Aspectual Markers

55. 車 票， 你 給 我 提 著！  
Chhiaphio, li ka goa the-tio!  
(Hold the ticket for me!)

56. 你車票給我提著！  
57. \* 你給我提著車票！  
58. \* 你給我提車票著！

The situation here is identical to (51), indicating that the distinction between phasal and aspectual markers is rather fuzzy at best, at least in Taiwanese. In fact, Taiwanese shows paucity in post-verbal aspect markers as observed in Mandarin. There is no Taiwanese counterpart of Mandarin perfective marker (了) or experiential marker (過). Whether or not 著 in (55) corresponds to Mandarin progressive aspect is also quite doubtful. Instead, Taiwanese employs pre-verbal aspect markers, i.e. 曾、在 (Cf. Teng 1979).

#### c. Resultative Complements

59. 土 匪 殺 死 二十四個 台 灣 人。  
Thohui thai-si jichapsi-e Taiuan lang.  
(Bandits killed 24 people from Taiwan.)
60. \* 二十四個台灣人，土匪殺死。  
61. \* 土匪二十四個台灣人殺死。  
62. \* 土匪殺二十四個台灣人死。

The situation with resultative complements is slightly more complex. When the object is indefinite, it must stay in the regular object position, but when it is definite, more options are available, as seen below.



63. 伊 弄 壞 王 教 授 的 電 腦 。

I long-phai Ong Kaosiu-e tiannao.

(He wrecked Prof. Wang's computer.)

64. 伊 給 王 教 授 的 電 腦 弄 壞 。

65. 王 教 授 的 電 腦 ， 伊 給 伊 弄 壞 。

66. \* 伊 弄 王 教 授 的 電 腦 壞 。

Definite objects can occur post-complex, as disposal object, or as a topic (63-65), but the verb complex must not be separated (66). However, when the definite object is a (personal) pronoun, the syntax is different again.

67. 王 太 太 給 伊 嚇 走 。

Ong Thai tai ka i han-chao.

(Mrs. Wang frightened him off.)

68. \* 王 太 太 嚇 走 伊 。

69. \* 王 太 太 嚇 伊 走 。

Pronouns tend not to occur post-verbally. To account for this tendency in Taiwanese, 李 (1988) states that Taiwanese has constraints against placing pronouns and definite nouns as the grammatical objects of resultative verbs (p.154). He further generalises that this indicates a stronger topic-comment tendency in Taiwanese than in Mandarin. This paper, on the other hand, adopts a more conservative approach. Sentences (59-69) illustrate a wide range of patterns, and it should be noted that different types of verb complexes impose different syntactic constraints on their objects. (59-69) above employ only those resultative complements that have full lexical properties. Lesser complements exhibit different constraints, as will be seen below.

When resultative complements refer to other than full lexical meanings, the object can occur in many different positions (e.g. post-complex or post-verb, especially when it is a pronoun), e.g.

70. 學 生 找 無 王 教 授 。

Hakseng chhe-bo Ong Kaosiu.