# Lexicalization Patterns of Verbs of Hitting in Taiwanese Southern Min

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**Abstract** This study intends to examine the force-dynamic manifestation of near -synonymous verbs of hitting in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM) by adapting Talmy's schema. It shows that the semantic components of verbs mainly decide its proper syntactic frame.

Keywords Talmy's schema, verbs of hitting, Taiwan Southern Min

#### 1. Introduction

Different verbs categorized together may exhibit various characteristics in syntactic structure and the verbs in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) have been analyzed by several researchers (Tsao1996, Lien1998). The goal of study is to explore the semantic contents of the verbs of hitting of TSM, one of the languages spoken mainly in Taiwan and to investigate how they are distributed in the interface between semantics and syntax.

#### 2. Literature Review

#### 2.1 Talmy's schema

According to Talmy's observation, Mandarin is a satellite-framed language exhibiting realization. He compared English and Mandarin in the sentence like:' I killed him but he didn't die' is ungrammatical in English but it is possible if its Mandarin translation is as: 'wo3 shal le tal  $(dan4-shi4 mei2 sha1 si3)^1$ . He argued that English verb is constructed to refer to a simplex action of the intrinsic-fulfillment type and Mandarin belongs to the satellite-frame language, which allows verbs with under-fulfillment satellite, anti-fulfillment satellite and other-event satellite (Talmy2000b:273-6). Four types of verbs, observed by Talmy (1991:510), were reviewed to capture the various verbs' presentation, being sensitive to syntactic structures.

I. Verb: Action: The Verbs are categorized as Action, involving an Agent that executes a simplex action. The Satellite adds extra semantic information denoting the change of state after the execution of an action, as exemplified by kick 'propel foot into impact with' vs. kick flat. The 'kick' contains the semantic meaning, which the scope of intention is coextensive with its action. The Satellite 'flat' represents 'thereby causing to become flat', which is wholly extrinsic to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Both words 'kill' and 'shal' are similar to each other in semantic meaning: 'cause someone to die', though one might argue that they are not equivalent to each other semantically. However, there is no way to find one word completely equivalent to another in two language systems. In this article, Talmy attempts to compare the most synonymous words in both English and Mandarin and see how they are presented differently in terms of syntactic and semantic functions. Thus, it is still appropriated to compare 'kill' with 'shal'.

referential content of the verb.

I kicked the hubcap. / I kicked the hubcap flat.

II. Verb: Action + Intention: The verb refers to an Agent intending and executing a particular action. Whether the action is fulfilled or not depends on the morpheme of Satellite, as shown in the contrast hunt 'go about looking with the intention of thereby finding the capturing' vs. hunt down. The result expressed by the verb is potential, but the satellite indicates that the change of this state is actual. The verb 'hunt' consists an activity that Agent has executed this action and this action will lead to finding and capturing a particular animate entity. However, if the Satellite 'down' is added, the verb phrase, 'hunt down' indicates that the finding the capturing actually took place. The intrinsic characteristics of 'hunt' and 'hunt down' cause the above examples' (un)grammaticality.

The police hunted the fugitive for / (\*in) 3 days (but they didn't catch him.) The police hunted the fugitive down in / for 5 days (\*but they didn't catch him)

III. Verb: Action + Intention + Implicature of Fulfillment of Intention: The verb indicates that an Agent not only intends, executes a particular action but also his intention that this action leads to a certain desired result. This intention is fulfilled only through the semantic components of the verb, not through the Satellite, which function as confirming what is implicatured, namely realization, as shown in the contrast wash 'immerse and agitate with the intention of cleansing thereby + implicature that cleansing occurred' vs. wash clean. The action is defeasible by a disclaiming phrase. That is if the Sat is absent, the verbs are apparent to express the SAT; if SAT presents, the result is definite. The verb 'wash' not only denote the action to immerse and agitate the shirt in liquid and also imply the intention to get the shirt clean if the Sat is not added. There is possibility to deny this implicature if the following clause defeat it. However, once the Sat is added, said 'wash clean', the implicature is asserted. The difference between TYPE II and III is the former one does not imply the consequence when Sat is added but the latter one does.

I washed the shirt (but it came out dirty) I washed the shirt clean (\* but it came out dirty)

IV. Verb: Action + Intention + Fulfillment of Intention: A verb in the group cannot add Satellite after the verb when comparing with type III because of redundancy. Since the verb itself consists its meanings, agent's intention and the fulfillment of intention per se, there is no need to add a Satellite. Type IV and I share a common factor: their scope of intention matches their extent of fulfillment, which is termed fulfilled verbs. They are exemplified by drown 'submerge with intention of killing thereby + succeeding therein' vs. no: \*drown dead. The verb 'drown' not only express Agent's intention to submerge an animate entity in liquid but also lead to the death of the animate entity, which the death really takes place. Therefore, it is redundant to add the Sat 'dead.'

I drowned him (\*but he wasn't dead) / \*I drowned him dead / to death.

#### 2.2 Lai's study

Lai (2003) claims that the verbs of hitting in Hakka belong to the Type III: Implied-fulfillment verbs, which lexicalize Action, Goal and Implicature of Fulfillment. Satellite means to confirm the implicature. Based on Talmy's definition, the verbs not only express an Agent's intended and executed action plus his intention that this action leads to a certain desired result, but also conveys an implicature that the intention toward the desired goal is achieved, even unaccompanied by a satellite. She also claims that Means of Hitting and Force of Hitting are two major semantic

components lexicalized in verbs of hitting in Hakka.

### 3. Data and Construction

#### 3.1 Verbs of hitting selection

How Levin (1993: 150) categorizes English verbs as verbs of hitting is used to define which verbs are 'hit' verbs in the study: the verbs describe moving one entity to bring it into contact with another entity, but they do not necessarily entail that this contact has any effect on the second entity. Levin also states that 'hit' verbs is one of the subgroups of verbs of contact by impact, which includes other three verbs, such as 'swat', 'spank' and non-agentive verbs of impact by contact verbs. The 'hit' verbs' semantic characteristics can be described as the verbs of sound demission or instantaneously cause ballistic motion like the throw verbs. Since the notion of 'hit' verbs is established, verbs of hitting are defined through the contact or the motion to cause the change of state (or not) of the patient as shown below:

	Contact	Motion	Change-of-state	Instantaneous
Hit	+	+	+/_	+

Thus, the author surveys several dictionaries to select verbs of hitting in TSM. Each word's meaning fits Levin's classification--hit verbs. Although English and Taiwanese are different, there would be some universal entities contained in semantics and shown in different surface forms. The words are selected only if the informers know how to use it syntactically. 26 verbs of hitting are selected and all carry the same participant roles <hitten, hittee>.

tah <sup>4</sup>	To strike gently with the palm		
tng <sup>3</sup>	To strike; to pound (desk)		
tui <sup>5</sup>	To strike with a mallet over and over		
phah <sup>4</sup>	To strike; to beat		
chin <sup>1</sup> /cheng <sup>1</sup>	To pound with a pestle or such instrument, not triturating, but only striking or pounding, to strike or pound a man with the fist		
pa <sup>1</sup>	To slap with the palm		
sai	To slap on the face		
sam <sup>3</sup>	To slap		
koat <sup>4</sup>	To slap		
sian <sup>3</sup>	To slap on the face		
piak <sup>8</sup>	Sound as of glass cut or broken		
hong	To slap on the face		
khau <sup>1</sup>	To strike, to plane		
tiap <sup>8</sup>	To strike, to hit		
long <sup>3</sup>	To strike with a heavy stone, or with the end of a heavy beam, as with a bettering ram		
kong <sup>3</sup>	To strike or beat with an instrument or implement		
siau <sup>7</sup>	To strike with instrument		
sut <sup>4</sup>	To beat, whip or switch with a thin rod or switch		
but <sup>8</sup>	To strike with a thin stick, switch or whip; to switch		

## 1. Verbs of hitting in Taiwanese<sup>2</sup>

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  The words are spelled in peh-oe-ji. The English translations come from three English dictionaries if available. Otherwise, they are translated by the author based on Fen Lei Tai Yu Xiao Ci Dian edited by 胡鑫麟. 1994.

mau <sup>1</sup> Make something to be crushed down		
ham <sup>2</sup> /hm <sup>2</sup>	$m^2/hm^2$ To strike downwards with a weapon or instrument	
bong <sup>3</sup>	To strike with fist	
hut <sup>4</sup>	To strike heavily	
phoe <sup>1</sup> [phe <sup>1</sup> ]	To strike with picul stick	
lian <sup>7</sup>	To strike with chain	
lui <sup>7</sup>	To let down or draw up by a rope	

## 3.2 ka<sup>7</sup> and hoo<sup>7</sup> structure

In Tsao's analysis,  $ka^7$  either specifies the preverbal object ( $ka^7$ -NP) or function as the prefix of a verb ( $ka^7$ -V). The former one related to the study, which indicates the theta role, Patient. Basically, the verbs of hitting expressed in TSM is: S +  $ka^7$  + O + V + Complement. The complement does not need to be obligatory and its function is to represent the resultative states how the Object affects.

 (1) a<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> si<sup>4</sup> a<sup>1</sup> (Tsao:82) Name ka<sup>7</sup> Name hit die 'A-san hit A-Bin to cause him (A-Bin) dead.'
 (2) a<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> Name ka<sup>7</sup> Name hit 'A-san hit A-Bin.'

Furthermore, Tsao (1987) simplified the second object is part of the first object: possessor and possessed relationship and the Object may be specific or non-specific syntactically but semantically, it denotes specification.

(3) li<sup>1</sup> e<sup>7</sup> sai<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> i<sup>1</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> chhui<sup>2</sup>, be<sup>4</sup> sai<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> i<sup>1</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> thau<sup>5</sup> (Tsao:85) you can ka<sup>7</sup> him/her hit hands, cannot ka<sup>7</sup> him/her hit head.
'You can hit his/her hands, but not his/her head.'

On the other hand,  $hoo^7$  specifies the agent (NP1) in the construction NP1 +  $hoo^7$  + NP2 + complement.

(4) goa<sup>2</sup> hoo<sup>7</sup> i<sup>1</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> tioh<sup>4</sup> thau<sup>5</sup> khak<sup>4</sup> (Tsao:85) (Cheng, 1976, 286) I hoo<sup>7</sup> him/her hit achieved-marker head 'My head was hit by him/her.'

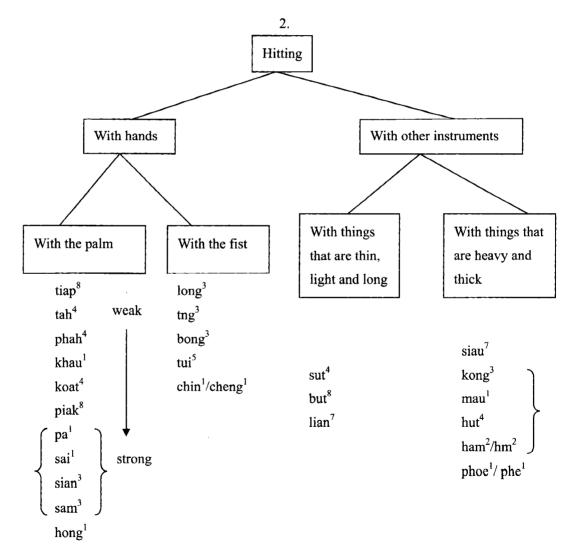
In addition, there is another construction which combines ka7 and  $hoo^7$  in the ordering: NP1 +  $hoo^7 + NP2 + ka^7 + NP3 + V$  with NP1 and NP3 identical in reference.

(5) i<sup>1</sup> hoo<sup>7</sup> lau<sup>7</sup> su<sup>1</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> (Tsao:109) (Tsao, 1998, 190) He/She hoo<sup>7</sup> teacher hit
'He/She was hit by the teacher.'
i<sup>1</sup> hoo<sup>7</sup> lau<sup>7</sup> su<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> i<sup>1</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> He/She hoo<sup>7</sup> teacher ka<sup>7</sup> him/her hit
'He/She was hit by the teacher'
i<sup>1</sup> hoo<sup>7</sup> lau<sup>3</sup> su<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> He/She hoo<sup>7</sup> teacher ka<sup>7</sup> hit 'He/She was hit by the teacher.'

Essentially, the author viewed ka7 and  $hoo^7$  constructions as similar ones. The following discussion is presented either ka7 or  $hoo^7$  construction alternatively.

#### 4. Analysis

The taxonomy shows that verbs of hitting in TSM can be divided into two major categories: the verbs with hands and the verbs with instruments. Each category has two subgroups: the action with the palm and the action with the fist, which consist category of the verbs with hands; the action with things that are thin, long and light (e.g., whip) and the action with things that are heavy and thick (e.g. stick) which consist category of the verbs with instrument. Like the arrow indicates, the verbs are in the scale from the weakest in strength to the strongest. The verbs in the same parenthesis are roughly equal in force.



#### 4.1 Patient--animate

Based on Talmy's analyses, verbs of hitting in TSM seem to have more characteristics of Type III Verb: Action + Intention + Implicature of Fulfillment of Intention. A verb represented in  $S + ka^7 + O + V + Complement$  expresses that an agent intends to perform the action of hitting

combined with the intention that the hitting will lead to a certain desired result and it also conveys a particular implicature: the intention to bring about the result has been fulfilled.

(6) a<sup>1</sup> hua<sup>1</sup> hoo<sup>7</sup> in<sup>1</sup> lau<sup>3</sup> pe<sup>7</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ ka<sup>7</sup> ang<sup>5</sup> ang<sup>5</sup>
Name hoo<sup>7</sup> his father \_\_\_\_\_ ka<sup>7</sup> red red
'A-hua was hit by his father turning to be red. '

In example 6, the 25 verbs of hitting can be inserted in the blank space, except tah<sup>4</sup> that follows the resultative statement-  $ka^7$  ang<sup>5</sup> ang<sup>5</sup>, which indicates how the action affects the Patient in<sup>1</sup> lau<sup>3</sup> pe<sup>7</sup>.

Talmy (2000:268) claims the implicature associated with the implied-fulfillment type of verb behaves as on a cline with different degrees of strength. Thus, verbs of hitting in TSM demonstrate the increasing scales of implicature of the fulfillment of an intention to hurt.

(7) a<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> (verbs except \*tiap<sup>8</sup>, \*tah<sup>4</sup>, \*piak<sup>8</sup>) si<sup>2</sup> a<sup>1</sup> Name ka<sup>7</sup> name die aspect-marker 'A-san to cause a-bin die.'

7 is an example to show a degree of the fulfillment of the implicature in TSM. There are three verbs \*tiap<sup>8</sup>, \*tah<sup>4</sup>, \*piak<sup>8</sup> among 26 that cannot occupy the blank in 7. If the construction adopted is  $S + ka^7 + O + V + Complement and the complement indicates a severe result like si<sup>2</sup>, verbs denote weak strength (*tiap<sup>8</sup>, *tah<sup>4</sup>, *piak<sup>8</sup>) are forbidden to occupy the verb position. Because of the weakness of the hitting, there is no way to yield a severe result like death. In short, 6 and 7 show that the complement should be in harmony with the information contained by implied-fulfillment verbs. The Verb-Complement counterpart comes to the decision as to whether the sentence is acceptable.$ 

- (8) a. a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> a<sup>1</sup> hua<sup>1</sup> chit<sup>8</sup> kang<sup>1</sup> saN<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> (a<sup>1</sup> hua<sup>1</sup>) khia<sup>7</sup> beh<sup>4</sup> chai<sup>7</sup>
   Name ka<sup>7</sup> name one day three times ka<sup>7</sup> name (a-hua) stand neg-marker
   'A-bin hit a-hua three times a day and caused a-hua incapable to stand.'
  - b.  $a^{1}$  beng<sup>5</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> a<sup>1</sup> hua<sup>1</sup> chit<sup>8</sup> kang<sup>1</sup> saN<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> (a<sup>1</sup> hua<sup>1</sup>) giong<sup>5</sup> beh<sup>4</sup> si<sup>2</sup> khi<sup>3</sup> Name ka<sup>7</sup> name one day three times ka<sup>7</sup> name (a-hua) almost die 'A-bin hit a-hua three times a day and caused a-hua almost die.'
  - c. a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> a<sup>1</sup> hua<sup>1</sup> chit<sup>8</sup> kang<sup>1</sup> saN<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> (a<sup>1</sup> hua<sup>1</sup>) beh<sup>4</sup> si<sup>2</sup> khi<sup>3</sup> Name ka<sup>7</sup> name one day three times *ka*<sup>7</sup> name (a-hua) die 'A-bin hit a-hua three times a day and caused a-hua die.'

Thus, if frequency phrase (chit<sup>8</sup> kang<sup>1</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ saN<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>2</sup>) is added like (8), the presentation is more prominent. (8) demonstrates the resultative complement following the verb, with the copy of the verb plus  $ka^7$ . Sine it is still a complement, it is still sensitive to the implicature of the levels of strength. In other words, the stronger the degree that the verbs imply, the stronger the complement describing the resultative statement. Compare giong<sup>5</sup> beh si<sup>2</sup> khi<sup>3</sup> and beh<sup>4</sup> si<sup>2</sup> khi<sup>3</sup> the former shows that the Patient almost cannot stand the impulse from the Agent; the latter describes the situation that the Patient has died after the force executed by the Agent. Thus, it seems that verbs of hitting in TSM also have some characteristics like Type II, the moot-fulfillment verb, which needs a Satellite to indicate the intention to bring about a particular goal, which has in fact been fulfilled, and the goal achieved. The complement, functioning as a Satellite, is sensitive to the action's strength. (9)  $a^1$  hua<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup>  $a^1$  beng<sup>5</sup> (verbs with palm \*verbs with fist, \* with instruments), m<sup>7</sup> ko<sup>1</sup>  $bo^5 iau^3 kin^1$ Name ka7 name , but it is OK. 'A-hua a-bin but it is OK.'

(9) is only acceptable when the implicature of the strength is weak since basically the action is executed with the hands. However, if the implicature of the strength is greater, such as the action with fist or with instruments, the sentence is not acceptable.

The above examples show that verbs not only refer to the execution of the action. They are also sensitive to Agent's implicature of fulfillment of the verbs' intention. How much weight the hittee can bear and how severe the result is, depends on which words the speaker chooses. When the speaker describes the situation, the verb carries the implicature of the speaker's educated guess of strength that the hitter performed. If the speaker chooses the wrong verb combined with the inappropriate resultative complement, the sentence turns out to be unacceptable.

(10)  $a^1 beng^5 hoo^7 in^1 lau^7 pe^7$  (verbs expect \*tah<sup>1</sup>, \*tiap<sup>5</sup>), ka<sup>1</sup> chai<sup>3</sup> bo<sup>5</sup> iau<sup>3</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> Name  $hoo^7$  his father , but he is OK. 'A-beng's father \_\_\_\_ him but it is OK.'

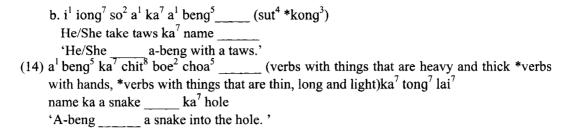
A different second clause might also decide the strength of hitting. Take (10) for example, 26 verbs except  $\star tah^1$ ,  $\star tiap^5$  are able to occupy the blank, because both verbs imply little strength, contradictory to the presupposition of the second clause: the verb denotes an action that might cause damage to Patient.

A line needs to be drawn between the verb complement and the second clause following the main sentence. To the author, the distinction depends on the former, as in (6), (7) and (8), which are complements, and which can possibly combine with the duplicate verb. The latter, like (9) and (10) cannot. In addition, the second clause also evaluates the Event that Agent hit Patient under the speaker's judgment. The second clause not only denotes how the Patient is affected, like the complement, but also denotes how the speaker evaluates the whole Event.

- (11)  $a^1 beng^5 hoo^7 in^1 lau^7 pe^7$  \_\_\_\_\_ (verbs expect \*tah<sup>1</sup>, \*tiap<sup>5</sup>) bin<sup>7</sup>, ka<sup>1</sup> chai<sup>3</sup> bo<sup>5</sup> an<sup>1</sup> choaN<sup>2</sup>
  - Name  $hoo^7$  his father face, but it is OK.
- 'A-bin's father \_\_\_\_\_him on the face but it is OK.' (12)  $a^1 beng^5 hoo^7 in^1 lau^7 pe^7$  \_\_\_\_ (verbs expect \*tah<sup>1</sup>, \*tiap<sup>5</sup>) bin<sup>7</sup>, \_\_\_\_\_ (verbs expect \*tah<sup>1</sup>, \*tiap<sup>5</sup>) ka<sup>7</sup> ang<sup>5</sup> ang<sup>5</sup>, ka<sup>1</sup> chai<sup>3</sup> bo<sup>5</sup> an<sup>1</sup> choaN<sup>2</sup> Name  $hoo^7$  his father \_\_\_\_\_ face red, but it is OK. 'A-bin's father him on the face, which turns out to be red but it is OK.'

Like (11), the O +  $hoo^7$  + S + V + Goal (bin<sup>7</sup>) + necessary pause(, ) + Second clause also adds the Goal after verb. In (12),  $O + hoo^7 + S + V + Goal + Complement + necessary pause (, ) + Octave (, ) + Octav$ Second clause shows that it is possible to combine V, Goal, complement (modify how the patient is) and the second clause (evaluate the hitting event) together. When the verb is selected, the Goal, Complement, and the Second clause should be corresponded with the lexicon information contained.

(13) a.  $i^1 iong^7 so2 a^1$  (sut<sup>4</sup> \*kong<sup>3</sup>)  $i^1 bin^7$ He/She take taws \_\_\_\_\_ his/her face 'He/She \_\_\_\_\_ his/her face with a taws.'



On the other hand, when the verbs indicate an action occurs with an instrument (so<sup>2</sup> a<sup>1</sup>), they are expressed like (13a) or (13b). Note that the equipment should correspond with the verb-- sut<sup>1</sup> employs a whip to hit'; kong<sup>3</sup> 'employs a stick to hit'. This illustrates that the Means of hitting should check the equipment presented in the structure; otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. In addition, if the Patient is a snake, the verb can only be the one with things that are heavy and thick, like stick. The following also indicates the Location where the Patient has been led (ka<sup>7</sup> tong<sup>7</sup> lai<sup>7</sup>).

Like (15) and (16), if the same verb is chosen and the second clause is different, the information expressed by the speaker is regarded as different. 15 means that  $a^1$  beng<sup>5</sup> is fine even though  $a^1$  hoa<sup>5</sup> struck him with the fist heavily, which implies that  $a^1$  beng<sup>5</sup> is strong. On the other hand, 16 reveals the information that  $a^1$  hoa<sup>5</sup> did not have enough strength when he struck heavily on  $a^1$  beng<sup>5</sup> is still fine.

Analyzed so far, it seems still unclear how to categorize verbs of hitting in TSM according to Talmy's framework. The second clause seems to play an important role in the hit verb selection as well as the complement selection. Here are some examples (17) to (20) that the ungrammaticality results from the second clause and the complement.

- (17) \*a<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> phah<sup>4</sup>, phah<sup>4</sup> bo<sup>5</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup> name ka<sup>7</sup> name hit, hit neg achieved-marker. 'a-sam failed to hit a-beng.'
- 'a-sam failed to hit a-beng.'
  (18) \*a<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> siong<sup>1</sup>, phah<sup>4</sup> bo<sup>5</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup> name ka<sup>7</sup> name hit hurt, hit neg achieved-marker
  'a-sam hit a-beng and caused a-beng hurt, but a-sam failed.'
- (19) \*a<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> phah<sup>4</sup>, bo<sup>5</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup> name ka<sup>7</sup> name hit, neg hit achieved-marker 'a-sam failed to hit a-beng.'
- (20) \*a<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> siong<sup>1</sup>, bo<sup>5</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup> name ka<sup>7</sup> name hit hurt, neg hit achieved-marker
  'a-sam hit a-beng and caused a-beng hurt, but a-sam failed.'

Furthermore, verbs of hitting in TSM sometimes function not like Type III but Type I: verb specifies simplex action of intrinsic-fulfillment and Satellite specifies the change of state. Because

the following clause states the occurrence of the action ta which did not happen, bo<sup>5</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup> makes this sentence ungrammatical. In other words, if the sentence is understood correctly, the undefeasible characteristic shown in (17) denotes that hit verbs of TSM are not qualified to Talmy's terms, lexcialized implicature, in which the verbs associated with a lexical item can be denied. If his assumption is correct, the verb ta is regarded as an Agent volitionally throwing a impact into a Patient, where Agent has intended the entire sequence but not necessarily any consequences beyond it, which is more like TYPE I. If Satellite siong<sup>1</sup> is added, the verb ta is viewed as the CAUSE to change the state—from the state not hurt to hurt.

Thus it is interesting to examine how much weight the resultative complement stands. If comparing (17), (18) and (19), (20), the former bo<sup>5</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup> is the negate of the verb phah<sup>4</sup> and the latter denotes the negation of phah<sup>4</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup>. The difference is subtle and no further conclusion can be drawn now but it really indicates an interesting phenomenon that verbs of hitting in TSM seem more complex than has been previously assumed.

(21) a<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup>, phah<sup>4</sup> bo<sup>5</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup>(\*bo<sup>5</sup> phah<sup>4</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup>) name hit name hit neg achieved-marker 'a-sam failed to hit a-beng.'

However, 21 is grammatical and acceptable. The SVO ordering forces verbs of hitting in TSM to behave unlike English; some verbs are intrinsic fulfillment ones, like kicked for example. This may give us a hint; probably certain syntactic structure goes with certain semantic components. In other words, semantic information must match the syntactic construction or syntactic construction must match the semantic information.

To suspect verbs of hitting in TSM is not just verbs denoting a simplex action, and convey no further implicature, just like in Mandarin Chinese or in Hakka to Lai is that there is no way to add another clause to specify the actions' failure, just like what we showed in the previous discussion. Verbs of hitting in TSM state that the Agent intends to execute the simplex action. It also functions like the Type II and Type III that the Satellite is sensitive to the verb or the Satellite confirms the verbs' execution. The above analyses show that the verbs of hitting in TSM only do not belong to TYPE IV, which imply they do not function like Attained-Fulfillment ones. They can be more complex than the previous arguments.

#### 4.2 Patient –inanimate

- (22) a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> mng<sup>5</sup>(\*chhiu<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>2</sup>) long<sup>3</sup> phoah name ka<sup>7</sup> door (\*ring) hit broken
  'a-beng hit the door (\*ring) broken.'
- (23) a<sup>1</sup> beng<sup>5</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> mng<sup>5</sup> long<sup>3</sup> (\*tiap<sup>5</sup>) phoah name ka<sup>7</sup> door hit broken 'a-beng hit the door broken.'

(22) shows that if the verb is fixed,  $\log^3$  for example, verbs' properties are entitled to decide the Goal(mng<sup>5</sup>) is where the verb could execute. Long<sup>3</sup> should act on the place where the area is large. The Goal, like a ring, not being selected by the verb properties causes the sentence to be ungrammatical. On the other hand, if the Goal(mng<sup>5</sup>) is fixed, only the strong degree of hit verbs, like long<sup>3</sup>, is qualified. Because of its weak strength, tiap<sup>5</sup> for example, cannot choose the Goal (mng<sup>5</sup>) in (23).

#### 5. Conclusion

The study categorizes verbs of hitting in TSM based on Means and Force of hitting. The

author adopts Talmy's and Lai's analyses to form an implicational cline, based on the degree of force that is used in hitting. The semantic components of verbs also influence not only the features of its Complement (termed Satellite by Talmy) but also the following second clause. The study illustrates that an appropriate choice of lexical semantic components is helpful in identifying the subtle differences in the following word selection.

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# 台灣閩南語"打"動詞的詞彙化模式

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- **提要**本文試圖檢視台灣閩南語中表示"打"的動詞,在 Talmy 的四種動詞架構中的分佈。研究顯示出動詞的語意組成要素,決定了其後的句法架構。
  - 關鍵詞 Talmy 架構、"打"動詞、台灣閩南語