

ON THE EMERGENCE OF THE INVERTED DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION IN HAKKA


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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to explicate the emergence of the inverted double object construction in Hakka by examining diachronic and dialectal data. The uses of BUN in the Basel texts exhibit the characteristics of the ditransitive ‘give’ which is evidently traceable to a monotransitive handling verb. Pieces of evidence are presented to verify the hypothesis that the inverted double object construction was derived from the dative construction by preposition deletion. The ellipsis of the preposition was triggered by the semantic overlap between the meaning of the construction and that of the preposition, instead of by haplology or high usage frequency of the dative construction. The verbs in this construction have to keep in low in type frequency in order to achieve higher semantic coherence, which will in turn accelerate the rise of the new construction. Under this view, the limited distribution of verbs in this construction across Hakka dialects follows automatically.

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論客家話倒置雙賓式之起源

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摘要

透過歷時和跨方言的語料檢視，本文旨在探討客家話倒置雙賓式的起源。巴色會文獻中的「俾/界/奔」之用法顯現了單及物持拿義動詞的特點，本文由此出發，提出幾項證據，證明倒置雙賓式源自於介賓補語式的介詞省略，省略的動因是構式義和介詞義之間的語意冗餘，而非如文獻中所言，肇因於同音刪略或因介賓補語式高頻使用而刪略，此外，為促使此結構的產生，此結構中的動詞之類型頻率必須維持在低頻，以便達到較高的語意連貫性，這個觀點可以解釋為何出現在倒置雙賓式中的動詞普遍來說都遠不如介賓補語式來得豐富和多樣。

關鍵詞

客家話 倒置雙賓式 巴色會文獻 給予動詞 語意連貫性