

Zhengge Yizhengge ‘It’s ALL (yi)zhengge (一整個個)’: The Emergence and Grammaticalization of (yi)zhengge in Taiwan Mandarin Chinese

Abstract

The purpose of this paper, as the subtitle suggests, is two-fold. First, it will assert the emergence of (yi)zhengge ‘(一)整個’ as an intensive/emphatic marker among young speakers in Taiwan Mandarin Chinese, e.g. *yizhengge hen youqu* ‘all very interesting, lit. one.whole.intensifier.classifier/GE.interesting’; secondly, it will proceed to trace its grammaticalization development from a corpus-based perspective.

We will argue that (yi)zhengge starts with a pre-nominal modifier, e.g. *zhengge zhetou* ‘the entire front of the vehicle’, and then assumes its anaphoric/post-nominal use pragmatically, e.g. *zhetou zhengge zhuang de niuqu bianxing* ‘the entire front of the vehicle was crashed and distorted’ (FTV News, 01/06/2001), in which *zhengge* is intended for the noun *zhetou* ‘front of the vehicle’ rather than the verb *zhuang* ‘to crash’. Post-nominal *zhengge* undergoes re-analysis into an adverb, which later-on gives rise to its use as an intensifier, e.g. *zhengge gaibian* ‘completely change’ (Sinica Corpus) and *zhengge xia* ‘totally senseless’ (Web link 1). We will conclude the paper by comparing (yi)zhengge with ALL in English (Rickford *et al.*, 2007) and *zhege yi(ge)* in Putonghua (CCL Corpus). We will also suggest that besides being an indefinite article (Liu, to appear), *yige* may be used as an intensifier in such a construction as *...dao (yige)...* ‘to (yige) ...’, where *yige*, if present, is used interchangeably with *zhengge* and *yizhengge*, e.g. *Lin Chiling mei dao (yige/zhengge/yizhengge) buxing*. ‘Chiling Lin is extremely pretty. lit. Chiling Lin is

pretty to death.’ While one may argue that *yige* in *dao yige dibu/jingjie* is an indefinite article, the parallel *dao yige buxing* suggests that *yige* contributes to the gradable/extreme reading of the construction (Gorishneva, 2009).

Because of its distribution, we hypothesize that *(yi)zhengge* is primarily a (pre-)nominal modifier. Evidence from Sinica Corpus indicates that over 95% (1397/1454) of *zhengge* is followed by nominals. Among the 45 occurrences of *zhengge* + verbal construction, 42 of them are anaphoric and refer back to a preceding nominal. No use of intensive *(yi)zhengge* is observed from Sinica Corpus, and a Conversational Corpus built at National Taiwan University. We turn to Google Twitter Search, and ‘in-site’ web search of Moble01 and FTV News for data. Evidence suggests that *(yi)zhengge* has emerged as an intensifier by 2006. Due to the failure of linguistic corpora to incorporate emerging linguistic change(s) such as the *(yi)zhengge* in question, mining linguistic data for analysis from the Internet, specifically social media, and incorporate them to build a truly balanced linguistic corpus is thus worth linguists’ efforts.

「(一)整個」程度副詞新興用法的語法化初探

中文摘要

本研究目的有二：其一，在指出「(一)整個」通行於台灣的國語(Taiwan Mandarin Chinese)新興強調的程度標誌(intensive/emphatic marker)用法，如「(一)整個很有趣」。其二，從語料庫觀點(corpus-based perspective)，討論其語法化(grammaticalization)過程。

「(一)整個」原為名詞前修飾語(pre-nominal modifier)，如「**整個**車頭撞得扭曲變形」裡「整個」所修飾指係「車頭」，而非「撞得扭曲變形」或「扭曲變形」(2001/01/06,《民視新聞》)。其後發展因結構重析(re-analysis)而有「**整個**改變」(《中研院平衡語料庫》)或「**整個**瞎」的副詞性，強調用法。準此，「林志玲美到一個不行」例，「…到(一個)」結構中的「一個」除不定冠詞用法(indefinite article)外，應已發展出程度副詞用法(Liu, to appear); Gorishneva, 2009)。除此之外，我們也在結論裡簡單列舉英語 *all* (Rickford *et al.*, 2007) 與普通話「整個一(個)」(《北京大學 CCL 語料庫》)都有相同類似的結構，值得深究。

語料庫顯示「(一)整個」主要仍為名前的修飾詞。中研院平衡語料庫顯示超過 95%(1396/1454)的「(一)整個」其後所加皆為名詞成分。在 49 個「整個+動詞結構」裡，「整個」的用法都幾乎都是回指照應(anaphoric)的用法，語料庫裡並不見「整個」程度副詞修飾的用法。觀察網路資料此一程度用法，興起於 2000—2005 年之間應為合理推測。由於傳統語料庫無法窺出此一用法之興起，新興的網路搜索引擎如 Google 或新聞資料庫，如《民視新聞》可補其不足。