

The Internal Structure of *Sha-henda*: A Morphological Perspective

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Received 19 August 2014; revised 10 September 2014; accepted 16 September 2014

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Abstract

Sha-henda (殺很大) “kill-very-big” which is coined from an advertisement of an on-line game has been being recently very popular in Taiwan society. With the effect of this slogan, people tends to analogize more and more new expressions, for example: *sheng-henda* (省很大) “save-very-big”, *shui-henda* (睡很大) “sleep-very-big”, and etc. Until 2013, the quantity of the coined expressions is still increasing. In the previous studies of Shen (2009), Xiao (2009), Liu (2010) and Liu (2012) on the structure of *X-henda* (X-很大), the structure is highly productive, involves an extreme or exaggerative meaning, is featured of rising tone, stress, and lengthening, and is initiated with a verb or an adjective. This present study argues *henda* in *X-henda* is a bound form (or a particle (助詞); Chao, 1979), similar to *qilai* (起來) in *X-qilai* or *bude* (不得) in *X-bude*, especially without objects or objects-preceding. With Distributed Morphology, a derivational analysis of the *X-henda* structure indicates that the function of *henda* intensifies the effect of *sha* to the extreme degree with rising tone, stress and lengthening to perform exaggeration on the object (in a sentence). The results may further contribute to grammaticalization analyses, verb-complement structure analyses and Chinese language teaching.

Keywords

Morphology, Distributed Morphology, Grammaticalization, Verb-Complement

1. Introduction

Sha-henda (殺很大) “kill-very-big” which is coined from an advertisement of an on-line game has been being

recently very popular in Taiwan society. With the effect of this slogan, people tend to analogize more and more new expressions, for example: *sheng-henda* (省很大) “save-very-big”, *shui-henda* (睡很大) “sleep-very-big”, and etc. Until 2013, the quantity of the coined expressions is still increasing. A few papers (such as Liu, 2009; Xiao, 2009; Huang & Lin, 2011; Liu, 2012) have discussed this topic. Especially, Xiao (2009) and Liu (2012) have viewed this structure as a construction (i.e., a form-meaning pair), regardless of derivations. However, although previous studies contributed valuable syntactic and semantic analyses to this structure, it seems none of them analyzed *X-henda* in terms of morphological perspective (especially a derivative perspective), since this structure is highly productive. This paper tries to analyze *X-henda* in two stages: First to provide a morphological observation in order to argue *henda* in *X-henda* is distinguished to be a bound form, and second to bring the bound form to a morphological analysis in *X-henda* structure with the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Harley & Noyer, 1999; Embick & Noyer, 2005).

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 is the discussion about previous studies on *sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big”. Section 3 argues *henda* as a bound form by morphological tests. Section 4 provides the theoretical background of Distributed Morphology and shows the analysis of the internal structure of *X-henda*. Section 5 shows the similarity and the difference of *X-henda* with other cases (such as *X-qilai* (X 起來) “start X” and *X-bude* (X 不得) “prohibited to X”) in Mandarin Chinese. Section 6 is the conclusion.

2. Literature Review

Xiao (2009) investigated the structure of *X-henda* with Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 1995). He discovered that *henda* in *X-henda* construction is not simply the composition of the adverbial *hen* and the adjective *da* but shows the meaning at an extreme degree. In this construction, X is the variable of a verb or an adjective, even with a metaphoric use. Moreover, the phonological property of the *X-henda* construction is with the rising tone of the variable X, stressed and lengthening. Xiao (2009) specifically analyzed the verb variable with Vendler’s (1967) four types of semantic classifications: activity, state, accomplishment and achievement, and found that *X-henda* construction appears in all the categories.

Liu (2010) revealed three linguistic properties of the structure of *X-henda* (X-很大). First, *henda* is originally a phrasal structure. *Hen* can be substituted for *feichang* (非常) “very”, or *tebie* (特別) “special”. However, *henda* in *X-henda* is unchangeable and thus indivisible. Second, *henda* is originally preceded with a noun or a noun phrase. However, categories preceding *henda* in *X-henda* can be a verb or an adjective. Third, *hen* in *henda* is, in modern Chinese, originally as a syntactic function for grammaticality, and seldom has degree indication. However, *hen* in *X-henda* has an extreme, even exaggerative, meaning and *da* in *X-henda* strengthens *hen*.

Huang and Lin (2011) observed the compounding process of *sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big” in three stages of Separation, Transition and Compounding in terms of the collected data. In the Separation stage, the meanings of *sha* are literally predictable. In the Transition stage, the meanings of *sha* are hard to predict literally. In the Compounding stage, *sha-henda* is whole viewed as an indivisible unit. In the first two stages, the syntactic category of *sha-henda* remains to be VP [*sha*]_V + [*henda*]_{ADVP}]_{VP}, while in the last stage it transform to ADJ [*sha*]_V + [*henda*]_{ADVP}]_{ADJ}. They argued that *sha-henda* in the last stage has an extreme meaning, whatever positive or negative, when joining to an expression. Moreover, they also argued the whole unit of *sha-henda* as an adjective has more extreme status than *henda*.

Liu (2012) investigated *sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big” under the framework of Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 1995). Liu pointed out that this construction of *V-henda* is not exactly new, like *du-henda* (賭很大) “gamble-very-big” and *kue-henda* (虧很大) “lose-very-big”, before *X-henda* springs up. The crucial point is that *da* has been grammaticalized from the original content meaning—i.e., describing something that is large in weight, capacity, and others related to measurement—to becoming a function which emphasizes and modifies the degree of the effects of the inserted verb (i.e., intransitive verbs), the inserted adjective, or the degree of effects on the objects of the verb (i.e., transitive verbs). Furthermore, Liu (2012) observed that the highly productive structure of *X-henda* involves the meaning of extreme, which is the primary characteristic of this structure.

In summary of Xiao (2009), Liu (2010), Huang and Lin (2011) and Liu (2012) on the structure of *X-henda* (X-很大), the structure is highly productive, involves an extreme or exaggerative meaning, is featured of rising tone, stress, and lengthening (Xiao, 2009), and is initiated with a verb or an adjective. Although they offered valuable analyses on this structure, all of the previous studies analyzing *X-henda* much more focus on the syn-

tactic/semantic perspective. However, before moving to syntactic or semantic analyses, a morphological analysis should be provided first for later advanced syntactic or semantic analyses. Furthermore, the studies (Xiao, 2009; Liu, 2012) applying Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 1995) emphasize the analyses of *X-henda* construction. In the present paper, Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Harley & Noyer, 1999; Embick & Noyer, 2005), “a constructionalist realizational approach to morphology” (Mavrogiorgos, 2010: p. 66), has been applied to dig out how *X-henda* construction is structured. This present study first argues *henda* in *X-henda* is a bound form (or a particle (助詞); Chao, 1979), in which *hen* and *da* have already lost their original meanings. *Henda* in *X-henda* should be analyzed without referring to its components¹ because it is indivisible like *qilai* (起來) in *X-qilai* or *bude* (不得) in *X-bude*, especially without objects or objects-preceding, and second applies Distributed Morphology to analyze the structure.

3. The Morphological Observations and Tests of X-Henda²

In this section, *henda* in *sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big” is argued as a bound form (or a particle) which functions intensifying the effect of the verb to an extreme extent, through morphological observations and tests. The results of the observations and tests in this section are as the basics to be integrated to the analysis of Distributed Morphology in Section 4.

First, it is prerequisite to observe the behaviors of original *henda* in Mandarin Chinese, as can be seen in (1):

- (1) a) Zhege fangzi *henda*
 這個 房子 很大
 This house is very big.
- b) Lang *henda*
 浪 很大
 The wave is very big.
- c) Nijia you *henda* de fangjian
 你家 有 很大 的 房間
 There is a very big room in your house.

In examples in (1), *henda* may serve as a predicate, like in (1a) and (1b), or as a modifier such as in (1c). In addition, *henda* in (1a) and (1b) can be transformed from sentences to phrases, such as in (2):

- (2) a) Zhege *henda* de fangzi
 這個 很大 的 房子
 This very big house.
- b) *henda* de lang
 很大 的 浪
 Very big wave.

It is very clear that *henda* in (1a), (1b), (2a), and (2b) is a phrasal structure of [adverb + adjective]. Insertions of modifiers are allowed, such as *kuan* (寬) “wide” and *ju* (巨) “huge” in (3):

- (3) a) Zhege hen kuanda de fangzi
 這個 很 寬大 的 房子
 This wide house
- b) Hen juda de lang
 很 巨大 的 浪
 Very huge wave

From examples (1), (2) and (3), *henda* is a phrasal structure. However, the examples in (4) cannot function like the behaviors in (1), (2) and (3):

¹One might still find out the occurrences of *sha-feichangda* (殺非常大), “kill-very-big” through Google Search. However, the structure of *X-henda* is not totally initiated with *sha*, but other expressions are all needed to be considered. With a broader view, productivities of *X-feichangda* are very low. In some special cases like *mei-*, *chou-* or *pang- henda*, **mei- feichangda*, **chou- feichangda*, and **pang- feichangda* are all unacceptable.

²All the examples in this article except cited data are from the Internet with Google Search during 2011 to 2014.

(4)

a. <i>du henda</i> 賭很大	e. <i>du de henda</i> 賭的很大	i. <i>du le henda</i> 賭了很大	m. * <i>du bu du henda</i> *賭不賭很大
b. <i>kui henda</i> 虧很大	f. <i>kui de henda</i> 虧的很大	j. <i>kui le henda</i> 虧了很大	n. * <i>kui bu kui henda</i> *虧不虧很大
c. * <i>henda de du</i> *很大的賭	g. <i>du henda le</i> 賭很大了	k. <i>du hen-xiao/du buda</i> 賭很小/賭不大	o. <i>du (de) henda henda</i> 賭(的)很大很大
d. * <i>henda de kui</i> *很大的虧	h. <i>kui henda le</i> 虧很大了	l. <i>du/kui (de) feichangda</i> 賭/虧 (的) 非常大	p. <i>kui (de) henda henda</i> 虧(的)很大很大

Examples in (4) show the tests of *du* and *kui*. In (4), (4a) and (4b) cannot be transformed into phrases like examples in (3), such as in (4c) and (4d)³. (4e), (4f), (4i) and (4j) are examples indicating that *du-henda* or *kui-henda* acts like the phrasal structure [verb + *de/le* + adverb (*henda*)]. Concerning the meaning of *henda*, examples in (1) to (3) conserve the original meaning of *henda*, in which *henda* refers to size, weight or others to things. However, in (4), *henda* indicates the degree of the verb rather than the same meaning in (1) to (3). Instead, it becomes the function of *henda* which intensifies the effect of the verb. The substantial difference is that *henda* modifies nouns in (1) to (3), while modifies verbs in (4). *henda* in the examples (4) may be grammaticalized because it no longer keeps its original meaning. Liu (2012) indicates that *X-henda* is not a new structure because (4a) and (4b) have already been using in Mandarin Chinese. However, the tests in (5) may contradict to Liu's statement:

(5)

a. <i>sha henda</i> 殺很大	e. <i>sha henda le</i> 殺很大了	i. * <i>sha bu sha henda</i> *殺不殺很大
b. * <i>henda de sha</i> *很大的殺	f. * <i>sha hen (kuan/guang/ju) da</i> *殺很 (廣/寬/巨) 大	j. * <i>sha de henda henda</i> *殺的很大很大
c. * <i>sha de henda</i> *殺的很大	g. * <i>sha henxiao/*sha buda</i> *殺很小/*殺不大	k. <i>sha henda henda</i> 殺很大很大
d. * <i>sha le henda</i> *殺了很大	h. * <i>sha feichangda</i> *殺 非常大	

Examples in (5) were tested like in (4). In (5), the structure is first argued to be a different structure from the ones in (1), (2), (3) and (4). The structure of *sha-henda* seems to disallow any insertion from the observation. In addition, *henda* in some of cases in (1) to (4) can be substituted for *henxiao* (很小) or others, while examples in (5) can not be. Furthermore, *henda* in (4) does not have the extreme meaning such as in (5) as well, because there is a much deeper degree modifier *feichangda* (非常大) which can replace *henda* in most of the examples in (4). As for the structure of V-not-V, V-not-V is prohibited in both (4) and (5), while both (4) and (5) accept the reduplicate form (i.e., (4o), (4p), (5j) and (5k)) of *henda*. However, any insertion is still disallowed in (5), not in (4).

Second, whether *henda* (很大) is free or bound is addressed. In examples (4), *henda* functions as an adverb which can occur freely, i.e., in any insertion, substitution or transformation. In (5), it is argued that *henda* in *X-henda* (X 很大) is not free for two reasons in (6).

(6) a) *henda* in *sha-henda* “kill-very-big” does not function as “extreme” unless a verb is inserted.

b) *henda* in *sha-henda* “kill-very-big” disallows insertion, substitution or transformation.

For (6a), if *sha* is removed, *henda* does not have function which provides the extreme extent. As for (6b), *henda* cannot behave like in (2)-(4), which indicates that *henda* must immediately follow *sha*. According to the arguments above, *sha* and *henda* are in such a conjoint structure. Comparing with examples in English in (7), it

³*kui* and *du* here are verbs.

may be able to say that *henda* is not a free form but acts like a bound form. Since *henda* in *X-henda* is not free, regarding *sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big” as an adverb incorporation compound seems to be impossible, despite the such similar syntactic structure in *sha-henda*, i.e., *henda* modifies *sha*. The brief summary about *henda* is in [Table 1](#).

- (7) a) It is able to do. e) *henda de fangzi/fangzi henda* (很大的房子/房子很大)
 b) It is do-able. f) *sha henda* (殺 很大)
 c) *It is do-very-able. g) **sha de henda* (*殺 的 很大)
 d) *It is able-do. h) **henda sha* (*很大 殺)

Third, since *sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big” is conventionally coined in the society, it is indispensable to consider whether *sha-henda* is an idiomatic phrase⁴. [Chen \(1991\)](#) indicates that the properties of idioms are now multi-perspectives, but it may still be possible to have an examination given the following aspects ([Chen 1991](#)):

- (8) a) Given the structure, idioms have the property of stability.
 b) Given the meaning, idioms have the property of alternation.
 c) Given the function, idioms are equivalent to words.

Take *kaiyieche* (開夜車) “stay up late”, from [Chen \(1991\)](#) as an example. In (8a), the stability is a shared property among idiom phrases and set phrases. However, the idiom phrases are more flexible than set phrases such as in (9) (adopted from [Chen 1991](#)):

- (9) a) *kaiyieche* -> kai le zhengzheng yigeyue de yieche
 開夜車 -> 開 了 整整 一個月的 夜車
 b) *kaiyieche* -> yieche buyao kai de taiduo
 開夜車 -> 夜車 不要 開 的 太多
 c) tuo houtue -> che houtue -> la houtue
 拖後腿 -> 扯後腿 -> 拉後腿

In (9), the idiom phrase *kaiyieche* can be inserted with other expressions, even putting a partial to a distant position as in (9b). Although idiom phrases can be flexibly used, they still have the fixed forms (i.e., *kaiyieche* is the fix form and others in (9a) or (9b) are the flexible use). In (8b), this particularly refers to the compositionality. The meaning of an idiomatic phrase cannot be interpreted from its literal meaning. For example in (9a), *kaiyieche* (開夜車) exactly does not refer to “driving a car in the night” but “processing or working for due time of a purpose”. In (8c), idioms are used as words in a sentence. According to (8), *sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big” seems not to be idiom-phrase-like.

Analogizing by considering (8) and (9), *sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big” may fit (8a), may not be used as in (9a) and (9b), but may be possibly used like in (9c). (10) is the illustrations:

- (10) a) *sha henda* -> sha le yizhizhu henda
 殺 很大 -> 殺 了 一隻豬 很大
 b) *sha henda* -> *henda buyao sha de taiduo
 殺 很大 -> * 很大 不要 殺 的 太多
 c) *sha henda* -> sheng *henda* -> shui *henda*
 殺 很大 -> 省 很大 -> 睡 很大

Table 1. The brief summary of different *henda* in Mandarin Chinese.

	<i>henda</i> 1	<i>henda</i> 2	<i>henda</i> 3
Category	Adjective	Adverb	Bound form
Modification	Noun	Verb	Verb
Content/function	Content	Function	Function
Distribution Free/restricted	Free	Free	Restricted
Meaning	Description of size, weight and other measurements.	Description of a gradual degree of the verb.	Description of a non-incrementally extreme (or exaggerative) degree of the verb

⁴In this paper, for the purpose of distinction between the English usage of “idiom phrases” for both *guanyongyu* (慣用語) and *chengyu* (成語), the term “idiom phrase” refers to *guanyongyu* and “set phrase” refers to *chengyu/shuyu* (熟語).

As for (8b), *sha-henda* still conserves its literal meaning, i.e., the meaning of *sha* does not change either⁵, such in (11):

- (11) a) *xianshi xiaji sha henda* (限時 夏季 殺 很大).
 b) *gongchengshi que henda* (工程師 缺 很大).

Regarding (8c), *sha-henda* is also used as a word in a sentence. In summary, *sha-henda* totally conforms with (8c), half conforms with (8a), and does not conform with (8b). It seems there are few differences between *sha-henda* and idiomatic phrases. However, the high productivity may determine the most important difference between the two. The bound form *henda* can be initiated with verbs or adjectives to coin many expressions, but idiomatic phrases like *kaiyieche* do not have the obvious property.

Fourth, the structure of *sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big” may also resemble to the verb-complement structure in Mandarin Chinese. For example, *jian-bude* (講不得) or *qiao-buqi* (瞧不起) is mentioned as “it seems therefore also plausible to consider these lexemes as having disyllabic suffixes”⁶ (Yip, 2000: p. 85), such as *jian-de* (講得)/*jian-bude* (講不得), and *qiao-deqi* (瞧得起)/*qiao-buqi* (瞧不起). Yip (2000) also mentions that this is not an economical analysis. However, it is still possible for *sha-henda* to be analyzed as a V-bound form. As can be seen in (12), both *chi-bude* and *sha-henda* are indivisible (i.e., (12c), and (12f)). More comparisons are in Section 5.

(12)

a. zhegeku ni <u>chibude</u> 這個苦 你 吃 <u>不得</u>	d. xiaji dianqi sha <u>henda</u> 夏季 電器 殺 <u>很大</u>
b. ni <u>chibude</u> zhegeku 你 吃 <u>不得</u> 這個苦	e. *sha <u>henda</u> xiaji dianqi *殺 很大 夏季 電器
c. *ni chi zhegeku bude *吃這個苦不得	f. *xiaji sha dianqi henda *夏季 殺 電器 很大

Fifth, the structure of *X-henda* allows inserting adjectives such as examples in (13):

- (13) a) *mei-henda* 美很大;
 b) *chou-henda* 醜很大;
 c) *pang-henda* 胖很大.

In (13), *henda* in *mei-henda*, *chou-henda* and *pang-henda* does not change the meaning of *mei*, *chou* or *pang*. By inserting *mei*, *chou* or *pang*, *X-henda* provides the function extending the effect of *mei*, *chou* or *pang* to an extreme or exaggerative degree. The new examples, however, seem to demolish V+*henda*. According to Chomsky (1974), verbs and adjectives have [+v] category feature. It may be better to call this structure as +V-*henda*. Consequently, the structure of *sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big” or *X-henda* may be generalized as follows in (14). After discussing the properties of the *X-henda* structure, it is further analyzed with Distributed Morphology in later sections.

- (14) The generalization of [+V-*henda*]
 [category [+v] + bound form (*henda*)]_{verb/adjective (extreme or exaggerative)}

(Any category which has a feature [+v] and is inserted to the bound form *henda* becomes a verb or an adjective with extreme or exaggerative effects).

4. The Analyses with Distributed Morphology

Distributed Morphology “a constructionalist realizational approach to morphology” (Mavrogiorgos, 2010: p. 66), has been applied to dig out how the construction of *X-henda* is structured.

Considering a word is assembled by syntactic operations, the syntax-driven approach Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Harley & Noyer, 1999; Embick & Noyer, 2005), henceforth DM, has three lists as

⁵The fruitful meanings of *sha* are not only presented in *X-henda* structure, but also in any other structures.

⁶Liu (2010) also mentions *henda* in *X-henda* is a fixed suffix. However, a disyllabic bound form analyzed to be a suffix is very rare in Mandarin Chinese. Thus, the preset article still terms *henda* in *X-henda* is a bound form.

theoretical basics as in **Figure 1** (reedited from Embick & Noyer, 2005: p. 10).

DM hypothesizes the nonexistence of a lexicon or word. Consequently, any formative (equivalent to a word) is composed with three lists: derived from syntactic derivations with Syntactic Terminals, spelt out with The Vocabulary with Vocabulary Items to Syntactic Terminals and generated with the combining the two derivations mentioned with The Encyclopedia for interpretations. The three lists are explained below (15) with **Figure 2** (reedited from Harley & Noyer, 1999: p. 3).

(15) List A. The Syntactic Terminals: Roots, Abstract Morphemes

List B. The Vocabulary: Vocabulary Items

List C. The Encyclopedia: Features of semantic information or non-linguistic knowledge

In Embick and Noyer (2005), Roots, also l-morpheme (Harley & Noyer, 1999), are items such as $\sqrt{\text{CAT}}$, $\sqrt{\text{DOG}}$ and others, with phonological features but without any syntactic features. The Abstract Morphemes, also f-morpheme⁷ (Harley & Noyer, 1999), are items with syntactic but non-phonetic features such as [Past] or [pl]. The Vocabulary Items are the phonological exponents which are assigned to the Syntactic Terminals. As for The Encyclopedia, the features of non-linguistic knowledge are assigned to the combination of LF and PF, as in **Figure 2**.

With DM, *X-henda* can thus be analyzed as in **Figure 3**.

In **Figure 3**, (from left to right), the first v^8 is formed by inserting *sha* (as a v category). Then, the v of *sha* is merged with *henda* to form another v , in which *henda* intensifies the effect of *sha*. Third, *henda* moves to DegP and acquires the features [+extreme] and [-comparative] because it does not have a comparative form. These features like [+intensive], [+extreme] and [-comparative] are later spelt out with phonological observations as in Xiao (2009): the structure of *X-henda* has phonological features of rising tone, stress and lengthening. Thus, the function of *henda* intensifies the effect of *sha* to the extreme degree (The first stage: Access to Syntactic Terminals) with rising tone, stress and lengthening (The second stage: Access to The Vocabulary) to perform exaggeration (The third stage: Access to The Encyclopedia) on the object (in a sentence). The construction of *X-henda* can thus be outline as (16):

(16) $\sqrt{\text{Root(-henda)}}\text{-[+intensive]-henda-[+extreme,-comparative]}$

In addition, several differences between Construction Grammar and Distributed Morphology need to be clarified. The meaning is formed at different stages. For Construction Grammar, it is the construction itself that has a meaning. For Distributed Morphology, the meaning is formed after PF and interpreted in the Encyclopedia. Therefore, (16) has formed the meaning in Construction Grammar, while (16) has as well if Vocabulary Items are inserted in Distributed Morphology.

5. Comparison to *X-qilai* (X起來) and *X-bude* (X不得)⁹

After the DM analysis of the structure of *X-henda*, the present study further finds that the structure of *X-henda* is

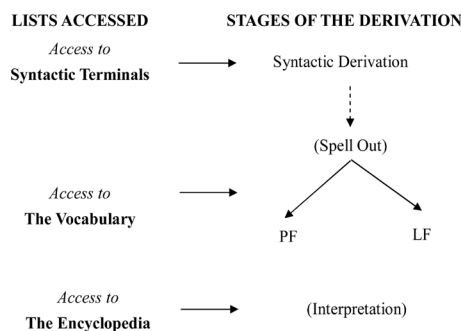


Figure 1. The Grammar and the Lists in Distributed Morphology.

⁷L-morpheme is for the lexical morphemes, while f-morpheme is for the functional morphemes.

⁸The little v here refers to categories with the feature [+v]. In other words, roots inserted in this structure become only verbs or adjectives. This prevents false predictions of [-v] insertion, such as *fangzi henda* (房子很大), “the house is big”.

⁹This article lightly addresses *qilai*, and *bude* because the purpose is only to prove the similarity among *X-henda*, *X-qilai* and *X-bude* with the productivity and the position when receiving an object in syntax.

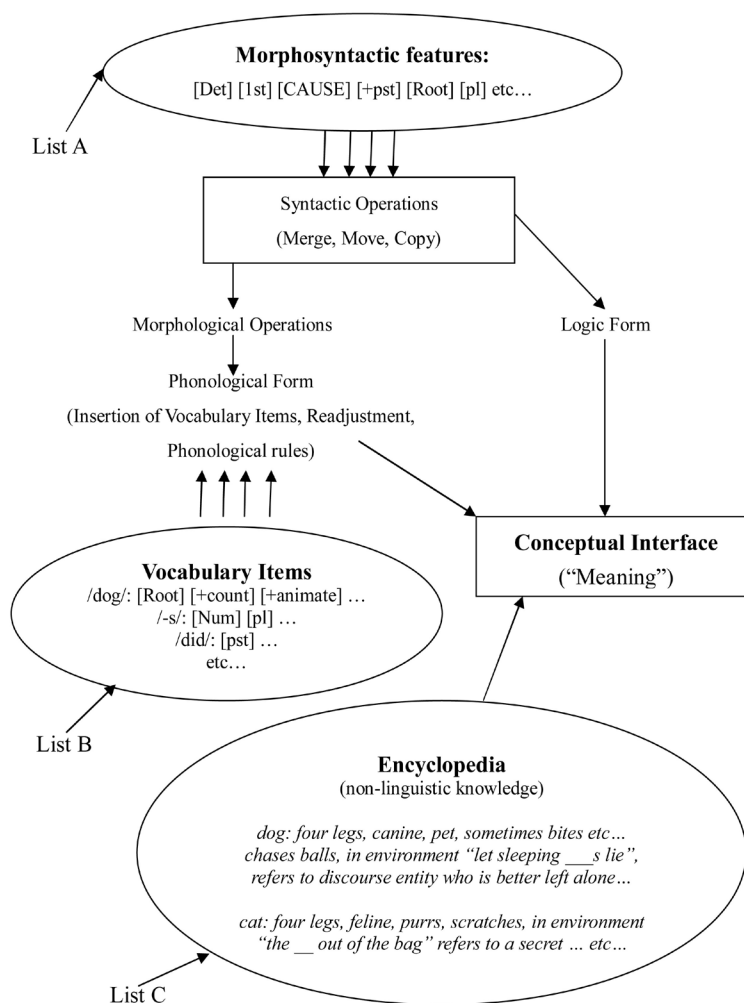


Figure 2. The theoretical structure of Distributed Morphology.

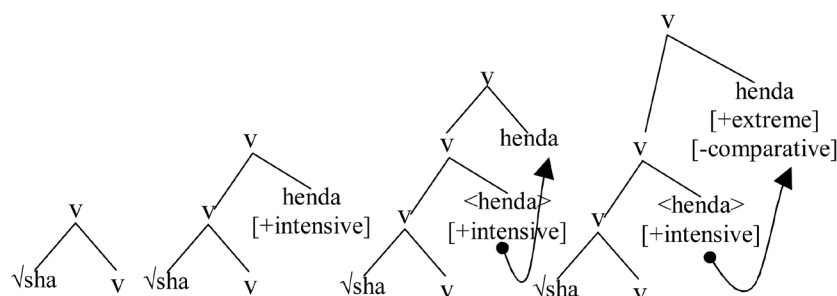


Figure 3. The syntactic derivations of *sha-henda* (殺很大) "kill-very-big" with DM.

very similar to the verb-complement structure, such like *X-qilai* or *X-bude* as in Table 2¹⁰.

Qilai, *bude* and *henda* are all grammaticalized from their original meanings to functions. In addition, all of them are from free to bound to become verb-complement structures. In Table 2, all the three bound forms accept a verb or an adjective to be the variable X. *X-qilai* does not accept SOV or SVO when there is an object following. The object is inserted between *qi* and *lai*, such as *chi-qi fan lai* (吃-起飯來) "start eating rice". As for *X-bude*, Shen (2010) has argued that *bude* is grammaticalized in four stages: a negative form of *de*, a modal aux-

¹⁰This article does not address the question of SOV or SVO deeply. See detail discussions in Zhu (1982), Lu (2002) and Lü (2010) for *qilai*.

Table 2. The comparison of *X-qilai*, *X-bude* and *X-henda*.

	X as verb	X as adjective	SOV	SVO
<i>X-qilai</i>	Yes	Yes	No	No
<i>X-bude</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
<i>X-henda</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

iliary, a particle and a word. For example, they are *bude dajia zhichi* (不得大家支持) “does not obtain the support from people”, *bude chifan* (不得吃飯) “unable to eat” or “prohibited to eat”, *la de dongxi chibude* (辣的東西吃不得) “spicy food is unable to eat” or “spicy food is prohibited to eat”, and *guaibude* (怪不得) “no wonder”. In **Table 2**, *bude* in *X-bude* refers to the particle stage, so it does not accept SVO. In all, *X-bude* and *X-henda* are much more similar than *X-qilai* and *X-henda*.

From the analyses above, **Liu (2012)** argued that *henda* in *X-henda* refers to large quantity being much closer with the objects in a discourse context, especially when X is a transitive verb. However, from the comparisons of *X-qilai*, *X-bude* and *X-henda*, it can be found that the bound forms *qilai*, *bude* and *henda* are much closer with the inserted verbs or adjectives. It is the cause-effect phenomenon that brings the two viewpoints. In the example, *dianhuafei sheng-henda* (電話費省很大) “save a lot of call fees”, *henda* intensifies the effect of *sheng* to the extreme degree on the object *dianhuafei*, and the quantity of saving is thus enlarged.

6. Conclusion

This current paper contributes morphological observations and analyses to the structure *X-henda* incorporating Distributed Morphology. *Sha-henda* (殺很大) “kill-very-big” or *X-henda* has been argued to be a different structure from **Liu (2012)** suggested. The structure of *sha-henda* seems not identical to the structures of *du-henda* (賭很大) “gamble-very-big” or *kui-henda* (虧很大) “lose-very-big”. In addition, *henda* is analyzed and argued to be a bound form which intensifies the effect of the inserted verb or adjective to an extreme degree on objects. Moreover, *henda* in *X-henda* is a similar structure of *X-qilai* or *X-bude*. The results further contribute to grammaticalization analyses, verb-complement structure analyses and Chinese language teaching.

Acknowledgements

The earlier version of this paper was presented in National Conference on Linguistics (NCL), held at National Hsinchu University of Education, Hsinchu, Taiwan on 2010/11/12-13. Many thanks go to audience who gave valuable suggestions or comments. Many thanks go to anyone who has ever reviewed this paper for me. Special thanks also go to the anonymous reviewers of the Open Journal of Modern Linguistics for their comments. I am personally responsible for any insufficiency.

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