

Restructuring Taiwan Southern Min ū “HAVE” in Adjectival Predicate Constructions

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Abstract

It has been widely discussed that Taiwan Southern Min ū “HAVE” (hereafter TSM ū “HAVE”) allows adjectival predicates as its complements, such as *Kaka ū suí* “Kaka is beautiful”. Besides, TSM ū “HAVE” in this kind of construction is analysed as an emphatic-assertive marker; however, there are quite few studies concerning whether it can select any adjectival predicates as its complements or has any restrictions. I hence investigate whether TSM ū “HAVE” has any restrictions by five tests: (a) mono/disyllabic adjectives, (b) reduplicated adjectives, (c) degree adverbs, (d) comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP/more” and (e) measure phrases with adjective phrases. Finally, I claim that TSM ū “HAVE” cannot select closed-scale adjectives, non-predicative adjectives and the reduplicated adjectives as its complements. Also, TSM ū “HAVE” is incompatible with degree words, which express the intensified readings, whereas the comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP/more” can repair those ungrammatical sentences by means of denoting a comparative reading. Finally, the adjectival predicates can be modified by measure phrases like Mandarin Chinese. In conclusion, TSM ū “HAVE” actually cannot select any types of adjectives and it does have the restriction incompatible with the intensified degree adverbs.

Keywords

Taiwan Southern Min, Syntax, Dialect, Adjectival Predicate, Restriction, Degree Words

1. Introduction

The kind of existential constructions in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM) is generally divided into four types, and

these are (1) sentences with existential verb *ū* “HAVE”, (2) those with a verb of appearance or disappearance, (3) those with a locative verb, and (4) those with a verb expressing the existence of an event or experience (Huang, 1987; Tang, 2010). Each type of existential sentences is briefly illustrated, respectively, below.

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------|
| (1) | Guá ū tsit-pún tshéh tsiok tshùbī.
I HAVE one-CL book very interesting
“I have a book (that is) very interesting.” | (Type 1) |
| (2) | Sí nāng-ê lāng.
Die two-CL men
“Two men died.” | (Type 2) |
| (3) | Tshōng-tíng tó tsit-ê pēnnlāng.
Bed-top lie one-CL patient
“In the bed lies a patient.” or “A patient lies in the bed.” | (Type 3) |
| (4) | Piah-tíng khuà tsit-tíng bō-á.
Wall-top hang one-CL hat-SUFFIX
“On the wall hangs a hat.” or “A hat lies on the wall.” | (Type 4) |

I however focus on TSM *ū* “HAVE” constructions (Type 1), and aims to further investigate in that adjectival predicative construction (hereafter AP construction) which TSM *ū* “HAVE” occurs. TSM *ū* “HAVE” syntactically differs from that with Mandarin Chinese *you* “HAVE”. TSM *ū* “HAVE” can take APs as its internal argument, a complement, whereas Mandarin Chinese *you* “HAVE” cannot. The compared examples between Taiwan Southern Min and Mandarin Chinese are illustrated below, respectively.

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------|
| (5) | *Zhe-duo hua you mei.
this-CL flower HAVE beautiful
Intended: “This flower is beautiful.” | (Mandarin Chinese) |
| (6) | Tsit-luí hue ū suí.
this-CL flower HAVE beautiful
“This flower is beautiful.” | |

However, previous studies seldom analyse TSM *ū* “HAVE” in AP construction, and rarely note whether TSM *ū* “HAVE” can take all kinds of APs or not; therefore, the current study aims to investigate whether or not TSM *ū* “HAVE” can take those of APs in the existential construction.

In brief, thus, Section 2 plans to review three relevant studies, and points out the research gaps. Then, in Section 3, there are five tests to be examined: (i) mono/disyllable APs, (ii) reduplicate APs, (iii) degree adverbs *tsin/tsiok/tsiân* “really/extremely/very”, (iv) comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP” and (v) measure phrases (MPs) with APs, so as to explore whether TSM *ū* “HAVE” can take all kinds of APs in the existential construction. Finally, the present study, in section 3, briefly concludes what kind of APs that TSM *ū* “HAVE” can take and also provides a generalisation that TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot co-occur with the degree adverbs, expect for TSM comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP”. TSM *ū* “HAVE” can take measure phrases with APs as its complement.

2. Previous Claims

In this section, there are three previous studies, concerning TSM *ū* “HAVE” in existential construction, to be respectively reviewed: (i) Cheng (1979), (ii) Tsao and Cheng (1995) and (iii) Chen and Wang (2010).

2.1. Cheng (1979)

As Cheng notes, TSM *ū* “HAVE” shares certain properties with Mandarin Chinese *you* “HAVE”, that is, TSM *ū* “HAVE” can take noun phrases (NPs) and verbal phrases (VPs) in order to represent at least four functions: (i) existential use, (ii) possessive use, (iii) identified use and (iv) up-to-the-standard use. The examples are given below, respectively.

- (7) Ennàm ū lāngkheh. (Existential use)
tonight HAVE guest
“There is a guest tonight.”
- (8) Guá ū n̄ng-khoo gîn. (Possessive use)
I HAVE two-CL dollar
“I have two dollars.”
- (9) I ū lâi bô? (Identified use)
he HAVE come NEG
“Has he come yet?”
- (10) Tsit-tiâu lōo ū tsit-pah tshioh. (Up-to-standard use)
this-CL road HAVE one-hundred meter
“This road is one hundred meter.”

Besides, Cheng notes that TSM *ū* “HAVE” still syntactically differs from Mandarin Chinese *you* “HAVE” in that TSM *ū* “HAVE” can take APs as its argument. Cheng argues that TSM *ū* “HAVE” refers to an auxiliary verb, which is treated as an emphatic-assertive marker, as shown in (11).

- (11) I ū sú.
She HAVE beautiful
“She is beautiful.”

Moreover, in addition to adjectives, TSM *ū* “HAVE” can take stative verbs as its argument, as shown in (12).

- (12) I ū liáukái guá.
he HAVE understand I
“He understood me.”

Finally, in a word, Cheng claims that TSM *ū* “HAVE” is an emphatic-assertive auxiliary verb as it takes stative verbs/APs as its complement. TSM *ū* “HAVE” syntactically behaves like English *to be* or Mandarin Chinese *shi* “BE” (Longacker, 1978; Cheng, 1979).

2.2. Tsao & Cheng (1995)

Tsao and Cheng claim that there are five uses of TSM *ū* “HAVE” in the existential construction, and these are (i) existential use, (ii) possessive use, (iii) appearance use, (iv) existential marker use and (v) emphasized use; thus, the examples are respectively illustrated below.

- (13) Tshù-lāi ū lāngkheh. (Existential use)
house-in HAVE guest
“There are guest in the house.”
- (14) Guá ū sann-khoo gîn. (Possessive Use)
I HAVE three-CL dollar
“I have three dollars.”
- (15) Ū lâng lâi-a. (Appearance Use)
HAVE people come ASP
“Some people are coming.”
- (16) Guá ū bé Tiō kausiū ê tshéh. (Existential Marker Use)
I HAVE buy Tiō professor DE book
“I (have) bought Prof. Tiō’s book.”
- (17) Hue ū âng. (Emphasized Use)
flower HAVE red
“Flowers are red enough.”

Then, degree adverbs can modify (17) but not in (14), illustrated in (18) and (19), so as to argue that degree adverbs only modify verbs. It thus shows TSM *âng* “red” has the feature of adjectives (or stative verb). In addi-

tion, Tsao and Cheng agree with what Cheng (1981) names as an emphatic-assertive maker, pointing to emphasize/confirm a condition that an adjective expresses.

- (18) *Guá ū tsin sann-khoo gîn.
I HAVE really three-CL dollar
Intended: “I do/really have three dollars.”
- (19) Hue ū tsin âng¹.
flower HAVE really red
“Flowers are very/really red.”

In short, Tsao and Cheng argue that TSM ū “HAVE” in AP construction should be analysed as a model verb instead of an auxiliary verb (Cheng, 1979) whereas Tsao and Cheng agree with that TSM ū “HAVE” is an emphatic-assertive marker in order to confirm or emphasize the situation of APs/Stative verbs.

2.3. Chen & Wang (2010)

Chen and Wang mention that TSM ū “HAVE” has the multiple functions, and they argue that TSM ū “HAVE” can be divided into the main four functions: (i) to affirm an event (E), (ii) to affirm a state (S), (iii) to affirm the reality of a state (RS), and (iv) to affirm a change of state/an accomplished state (CS/AS). The examples are also demonstrated, respectively, below.

- (20) Tsaàm i ū lâi. (E)
yesterday he HAVE come
“He came yesterday.”
- (21) Tsit-siang ê ū suí. (S)
this-CL shoe HAVE beautiful
“A pair of these shoes is beautiful.”
- (22) I ū khì khuànn tiāniánn. (RS)
he HAVE go see movie
“He has been to see movies.”
- (23) Tsuí ū ling bô? (CS/AS)
water HAVE cold NEG
“Is water cold?”

Chen and Wang argue that TSM ū “HAVE” is a perfect aspect as affirming an event or a reality of an event; by contrast, TSM ū “HAVE” refers to a resultative aspect as affirming a change of state or a reality of a state; that is, TSM ū “HAVE” functions either a perfect aspect or a resultative aspect as affirming different conditions rather than argue that TSM ū “HAVE” is an emphatic-assertive marker, an auxiliary verb or a model verb in AP constructions.

2.4. Summary

So far, previous works only indicate that TSM ū “HAVE” in the existential construction can take APs as its complement; in addition, Cheng, Tsao and Cheng mention that TSM ū “HAVE” is an emphatic-assertive marker. Cheng claims that TSM ū “HAVE” is an auxiliary verb whereas Tsao and Cheng argue that TSM ū “HAVE” is a model verb. Furthermore, Chen and Wang argue that TSM ū “HAVE” can be either a perfect aspect or a resultative aspect as respectively affirming an event/reality of an event or affirming a change of state/accomplished state.

However, these relevant studies do not further point out the fact whether TSM ū “HAVE” has the limited contribution in AP construction or not. The current study hence aims to investigate whether the existential verb ū “have” in TSM can take all kinds of APs. Indeed, several counterexamples are found in AP construction, as in (24).

¹Tsao and Cheng claims that degree adverbs can co-occur with TSM ū “HAVE” in AP constructions; however, I asked for 17-old-generalisation native speakers, about above 55 years old, junior-high or lower educated.

- (24) *Lōo ū tit.
road HAVE straight
Intended: “The road is straight.”

3. Taiwan Southern Min Ū in AP Constructions

Based on (24), it shows that TSM ū “have” cannot any AP as its complement, so this study plans to further explore why the phenomenon exists in AP construction; therefore, there are five tests to be examined: (1) mono/disyllable APs, (2) reduplicate APs, (3) degree adverbs *tsin/tsiok/tsiân* “really/extremely/very”, (4) comparative morpheme *khah* and (5) measure phrases (MPs) with APs. Furthermore, before investigating AP constructions with TSM ū “have”, this section plans to first introduce the basic classification of AP in Mandarin Chinese, and the way of classification will be applied into APs in TSM.

3.1. Classifications of Adjectival Predicates

3.1.1. Predicative/Non-Predicative Adjectival Predicates

As Liu et al. (2001) state, Mandarin Chinese adjectives can be in general divided into two groups: (i) predicative adjectives and (ii) non predicative adjectives. For instance, predicative adjectives roughly include *gao* “tall”, *ai* “short”, *pang* “fat”, *shuo* “thin” and *leng* “cold” and so on. Besides, non predicative adjectives generally contain *zheng* “square”, *daxing* “major”, *yei* “wild” and *quan* “whole” and so on.

Compared to TSM Adjectives, it can be also divided into (i) predicative adjectives and (ii) non predicative adjectives. Based on predicative classification, predicative adjectives are *tuā* “big”, *kuân* “tall”, *khang* “empty” and *lahsap* “dirty” and so on. Non predicatives are *tsiänn* “square”, *íá* “wild”, *tsuân* “whole”, *tsúiau* “main” and *sittsāi* “practical” and so on. The examples are given in Table 1 below.

3.1.2. Scale/Non-Scale Adjectival Predicates

Besides to Liu et al., Mandarin Chinese adjectives can be in general divided in to (i) scale adjectives and (ii) non-scale adjectives (Lin & Peck, 2013; Chu, 2013). Based on the scale classification, scale adjectives include *mei* “pretty”, *da* “big”, *kong* “empty” and *ai* “short” and so on. Non-scale adjectives include *guoli* “national”, *biaozhun* “standard”, and *mingpai* “brand” and so on.

Hence, compared to TSM Adjectives, it can be grouped into (i) scale adjectives and (ii) non scale adjectives as well. Moreover, grounded on scale classification, scale adjectives also include *tuā* “big”, *kuân* “tall”, *khang* “empty” and *lahsap* “dirty” and so on. Non scales are *tsiänn* “square”, *íá* “wild”, *tsuân* “whole”, *tsúiau* “main” and *sittsāi* “practical” and so on. The compared examples are shown in Table 2.

In addition, the classification of scale APs in TSM can further be classified into (i) open scale APs and (ii) closed scale APs (Lin & Peck, 2013). Hence, open scale APs in TSM generally involve *tuā* “big”, *kuân* “tall”, *é* “short” and *puí* “fat” and closed scale APs include *lahsap* “dirty”, *khang* “empty”, *kiâu* “smart”, and *hng* “far”. The examples are illustrated in Table 3.

In short, predicative adjectives involve scale adjectives, including open-scale adjectives and closed-scale adjectives, that is, non-predicative adjectives is similar to non-scale adjectives. Thus, the whole table is in general shown below. The current study aims to investigate whether TSM ū “HAVE” can take all kinds of APs, pointed out above, by means of mono/disyllabic APs test, reduplicate APs test, degree adverbs test, comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP” test, and MPs with APs.

Table 1. Predicative & Non-predicative APs.

	Predicative APs	Non Predicative APs
MC	a. <i>gao</i> “tall” b. <i>ai</i> “short” c. <i>pang</i> “fat” d. <i>shuo</i> “thin” e. <i>leng</i> “cold”	a. <i>zheng</i> “square” b. <i>daxing</i> “major” c. <i>yei</i> “wild” d. <i>quan</i> “whole”
TSM	a. <i>tuā</i> “big” b. <i>kuân</i> “tall” c. <i>khang</i> “empty” d. <i>lahsap</i> “dirty”	a. <i>tsiänn</i> “square” b. <i>íá</i> “wild” c. <i>tsuân</i> “whole” d. <i>tsúiau</i> “main” e. <i>sittsāi</i> “practical”

Table 2. Scale & non-scale APs.

	Scale APs	Non Scale APs
MC	a. <i>mei</i> “pretty” b. <i>da</i> “big” c. <i>kong</i> “empty” d. <i>ai</i> “short”	a. <i>guoli</i> “national” b. <i>biaozhun</i> “standard”, c. <i>mingpai</i> “brand”
TSM	a. <i>tuā</i> “big” b. <i>kuân</i> “tall” c. <i>khang</i> “empty” d. <i>lahsap</i> “dirty”	a. <i>tsiànn</i> “square” b. <i>íá</i> “wild” c. <i>tsuân</i> “whole” d. <i>tsúuàu</i> “main” e. <i>sittsāi</i> “practical”

Table 3. Open vs closed APs.

	Open Scale APs	Closed Scale APs
TSM	a. <i>tuā</i> “big” b. <i>kuân</i> “tall” c. <i>é</i> “short” d. <i>puí</i> “fat”	a. <i>lahsap</i> “dirty” b. <i>khang</i> “empty” c. <i>kiâu</i> “smart” d. <i>hng</i> “far”

Table 4. An integrated category of APs.

Scales	Predicative APs		Non-Predicative APs
	Open Scale APs	Closed Scale APs	Non Scale APs
TSM	a. <i>tuā</i> “big” b. <i>kuân</i> “tall” c. <i>é</i> “short” d. <i>puí</i> “fat”	a. <i>lahsap</i> “dirty” b. <i>khang</i> “empty” c. <i>kiâu</i> “smart” d. <i>hng</i> “far”	a. <i>tsiànn</i> “square” b. <i>íá</i> “wild” c. <i>tsuân</i> “whole” d. <i>tsúuàu</i> “main” e. <i>sittsāi</i> “practical”

3.2. Mono/Disyllabic APs

Grounded on **Table 4**, monosyllabic APs involve *kuân* “tall”, *suí* “beautiful”, *tng* “long”, *âng* “red”, *bái* “bad”, *tít* “straight”, *khang* “empty” and so on. The acceptable examples² of TSM *ū* “HAVE” in monosyllabic AP construction are illustrated, respectively, below:

- (25) Tsit-tòng tshù ū kuân.
this-CL house HAVE tall
“This building is tall.”
- (26) Sióbí ū suí.
Sióbí HAVE beautiful
“Sióbí is beautiful.”
- (27) Tsit-tiunn pñgtoh ū tñg.
this-CL table HAVE long
“This table is long.”
- (28) Tsit-luí hue ū âng.
this-CL flower HAVE red
“This flower is red.”

Based on the examples (25-28), TSM APs *kuân* “tall”, *suí* “beautiful”, *tng* “long”, and *âng* “red” are predicative APs, and they also belong to open-scale APs; however, the following examples show that TSM *ū* “HAVE” actually cannot take closed-scale APs, as shown in (29-31)

- (29) *I ê simtsîng ū bái.
s/he DE mood HAVE bad

²The given examples in the current study are judged by native TSM speakers, approximately over 55 years old, junior-high or lower educated.

- Intended: “His/her mood is bad.”
- (30) *Lōo ū tít.
road HAVE straight
Intended: “The road is straight.”
- (31) *Tsit-king pângking ū khang.
this-CL room HAVE empty
Intended: “This room is empty.”

According to unacceptable sentences in (29-31), it shows the evidence that TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot take closed-scale APs as its complement in the existential construction; besides, TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot take non-predicative APs (non-scale APs), such as *tsiànn* “square”, *íá* “wild”, and *tsuân* “whole”, either. The ungrammatical examples are shown below, respectively:

- (32) *Tsit-tiunn pñgtoh ū tsiànn.
this-CL table HAVE square
Intended: “This table is square.”
- (33) *Tsit-tsiáh gū ū íá.
this-CL cow HAVE wild
Intended: “This is a wild cow.”
- (34) *Tsia-ê kakū ū tsuân.
these furniture HAVE whole
Intended: “Pieces of furniture are complete.”

In addition to TSM monosyllabic APs, the disyllabic APs in TSM also permit open-scale predicative APs rather than closed-scale predicative APs and non-scale predicative APs. Open-scale disyllabic APs involve *iântâu* “handsome”, *bílē* “pretty”, and *kóotsui* “cute”, as shown in (35-37).

- (35) I ū iântâu.
he HAVE handsome
“He is handsome.”
- (36) I ū bílē.
she HAVE pretty
“She is pretty.”
- (37) I ū kóotsui.
s/he HAVE cute
“S/he is cute.”

Closed-Scale disyllabic APs in TSM includes *tshoolóo* “rude”, *subûn* “gentle” and *tshìntshái* “casual”, and the ungrammatical examples are briefly illustrated below.

- (38) *Sióbîng ū tshoolóo.
Sióbîng HAVE rude
Intended: “Sióbîng is rude.”
- (39) *Sióbîng ū subûn.
Sióbîng HAVE gentle
Intended: “Sióbîng is gentle.”
- (40) *Sióbîng ū tshìntshái.
Sióbîng HAVE casual
Intended: “Sióbîng is casual.”

Besides to closed-scale disyllabic APs, TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot also take non-scale APs, such as *tsúitàu* “main” and *sittsāi* “honest”. The examples are given in (41-42):

- (41) *Tsit-tiâu tēbók ū tsúitàu.
this-CL topic HAVE main

- Intended: “This is a main topic.”
- (42) *I ū síttsāi.
he HAVE honest
Intended: “He is honest.”

In a word, TSM *ū* “HAVE” can take open-scale monosyllabic predicative APs and open-scale disyllabic predicatives; however, TSM *ū* “HAVE” takes neither closed-scale predicative APs nor non-scale/predicative APs; in other words, TSM *ū* “HAVE” actually cannot all kinds of APs.

3.3. Reduplicate APs

The reduplicate forms in TSM APs can be generally divided into (i) AA, (ii) AAA, and (iii) AABB. In TSM, monosyllabic APs can be reduplicated into AA form and AAA form, such as *ângâng* “red a little bit”, *ângângâng* “much redder”, *tīngtīng* “harder” and *tīngtīngtīng* “much harder”, respectively. The reduplicate forms of TSM APs are illustrated in **Table 5** and the examples are given below as well:

- (43) *Tsit-luí hue ū ângâng.
this-CL flower HAVE red-RED
Intended: “This flower red a little bit.”
- (44) *Thôokha ū tīngtīng.
floor HAVE hard-RED
Intended: “The floor is hard a little bit.”
- (45) *Tsit-luí hue ū ângângâng.
this-CL flower HAVE red-RED-RED
Intended: “This flower is redder.”
- (46) *Thôokha ū tīngtīngtīng.
floor HAVE hard-RED-RED
Intended: “The floor is harder.”

Besides, disyllabic closed-scale reduplicative APs can be reduplicated into AABB, such as *huann-huann hí-hí* “very happy”, reduplicated from *huannhí* “happy”, as shown below; however, disyllabic open-scale cannot be reduplicated into AABB form (Kho, 2000; Yang, 2007; Lu, 2003).

- (47) *I ū huann-huann hí-hí.
s/he HAVE happy-RED glad-RED
Intended: “S/he is very happy.”

Shortly speaking, based on (43-44), TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot take reduplicate AA forms of TSM APs as its complement. In addition, TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot take reduplicate AAA forms of APs as its complement, either. Moreover, in (47), it shows that TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot also take reduplicate AABB forms of APs; that is, TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot take reduplicate forms of APs no matter what open-scale, closed-scale and non-scale APs in TSM.

3.4. Degree Adverbs

In this section, there are three TSM degree adverbs to be tested, and these are (1) *tsin* “really”, (2) *tsiok* “extremely” and (3) *tsiân* “very”. Besides, these three degree adverbs plan to be investigated in scale AP and non-scale AP constructions (predicative and non-predicative constructions).

Table 5. The reduplicate forms of APs.

	Predicative APs		Non-Predicative APs
	Open-Scale	Closed-Scale	Non-Scale
AA		<i>ângâng</i> “red a little bit”	<i>tīngtīng</i> “hard a little bit”
AAA		<i>ângângâng</i> “much redder”	<i>tīngtīngtīng</i> “much harder”

3.4.1. Tsin “Really”³

TSM *tsin* “really” syntactically functions Mandarin Chinese *zhen* “really”, that is, TSM *tsin* “really” can modify predicative APs, as shown in (48-49), but not non-predicative APs, as illustrated in (50).

- (48) I *tsin* *iântâu*.
 he really handsome
 “He is really handsome.”
- (49) *Tsit-king* *pângking* *tsin* *khang*.
 this-CL room really empty
 “This room is really empty.”
- (50) **Tsit-king* *pângking* *tsin* *tsiànn*.
 this-CL room really square
 Intended: “This room is really square.”

According to (48-49), TSM *tsin* “really” can modify predicative APs whereas it is not permitted to co-occur with TSM *ũ* “HAVE” in AP constructions. The unacceptable examples are illustrated below, respectively.

- (51) **Tsit-tông* *tshù* *ũ* *tsin* *kuân*.
 this-CL house HAVE really tall
 Intended: “The house is really tall.”
- (52) *I *ũ* *tsin* *iântâu*.
 he HAVE really handsome
 Intended: “He is really handsome.”
- (53) **Tsit-king* *pângking* *ũ* *tsin* *khang*.
 this-CL room HAVE really empty
 Intended: “This room is really empty.”

In short, based on (51-53), TSM *ũ* “HAVE” cannot co-occur with TSM *tsin* “really” in AP constructions.

3.4.2. Tsiok “Extremely”

TSM *tsiok* “extremely” syntactically functions Mandarin Chinese *jidu/ji* “extremely”, namely, TSM *tsiok* “extremely” can also modify predicative APs, as shown in (54-55), but not non-predicative APs, as illustrated in (56).

- (54) I *tsiok* *iântâu*.
 he extremely handsome
 “He is extremely handsome.”
- (55) *Tsit-king* *pângking* *tsiok* *khang*.
 this-CL room extremely empty
 “This room is extremely empty.”
- (56) **Tsit-king* *pângking* *tsiok* *tsiànn*.
 this-CL room extremely square
 Intended: “This room is extremely square.”

Because of (54-55), TSM *tsiok* “extremely” can also modify predicative APs while it is not allowed occurring with TSM *ũ* “HAVE”, which syntactically behaves like TSM *tsin* “really”. The unacceptable examples are hence demonstrated below:

- (57) **Tsit-tông* *tshù* *ũ* *tsiok* *kuân*.
 this-CL house HAVE extremely tall

³Tsao and Cheng (1995) note that the degree adverb *tsin* “really” can occur with TSM *ũ* “HAVE” in AP construction; however, based on the intuition of my participants, the examples are seen as ungrammatical ones in this study.

- Intended: “The house is extremely tall.”
- (58) *I ū tsiok iântâu.
he HAVE extremely handsome
Intended: “He is extremely handsome.”
- (59) *Tsit-king pângking ū tsiok khang.
this-CL room HAVE extremely empty
Intended: “This room is extremely empty.”

In a word, based on (57-59), TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot co-occur with TSM *tsiok* “extremely” in AP constructions, either.

3.4.3. *Tsiân* “Very”

The third degree adverb is *tsiân* “very”, and it syntactically functions as Mandarin Chinese *hen* “very”, which modifies predicative APs as the same as TSM *tsin* “really” and *tsiok* “extremely”, that is, TSM *tsiân* “very” can only modify predicative APs, as in (60-61), instead of non-predicative APs, as in (62).

- (60) I tsiân iântâu.
he very handsome
“He is very handsome.”
- (61) Tsit-king pângking tsiân khang.
this-CL room very empty
“This room is very empty.”
- (62) *Tsit-king pângking tsiân tsiànn.
this-CL room very square
Intended: “This room is very square.”

However, TSM *tsiân* “very” is syntactically forbidden to occur with TSM *ū* “HAVE” in AP construction as the same as TSM *tsin* “really” and *tsiok* “extremely”. The examples are hence shown in (63-65), respectively:

- (63) *Tsit-tông tshù ū tsiân kuân.
this-CL house HAVE very tall
Intended: “The house is very tall.”
- (64) *I ū tsiân iântâu.
he HAVE very handsome
Intended: “He is very handsome.”
- (65) *Tsit-king pângking ū tsiân khang.
this-CL room HAVE very empty
Intended: “This room is very empty.”

In brief, based on (63-64), TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot co-occur with TSM *tsiân* “very” in AP constructions, as well.

3.4.4. Summary

Grounded on the analyses above, the degree adverbs *tsin* “really”, *tsiok* “extremely” and *tsiân* “very” are not permitted to occur with TSM *ū* “HAVE” in all kinds of AP constructions; therefore, TSM *ū* “HAVE” is an emphatic-assertive auxiliary verb/model verb, in term of semantic account, so it can emphasize/confirm a reality of events/states; in other words, the degree adverbs *tsin* “really”, *tsiok* “extremely” and *tsiân* “very” modify APs in order to emphasize the reality of events/states as well (2000).

Then, the current study infers the reason that TSM *ū* “HAVE” and the degree adverbs cannot co-occur in AP constructions for TSM *ū* “HAVE” functions similarly to TSM degree adverbs; thus, AP constructions permit either TSM *ū* “HAVE” or the degree adverbs to grammatically occur so as to modify/emphasize the conditions of APs.

3.5. Comparative Morpheme *khah*

TSM *khah* “COMP” refers to a comparative morpheme and it indicates a comparative reading, that is to say, TSM *khah* “COMP” syntactically functions as Mandarin Chinese *bijiao* “COMP” in order to note a comparative reading. Thus, the examples are illustrated in (66-68)

- (66) a. I iântâu.
 he handsome
 “He is more handsome.”
 b. I khah iântâu.
 he COMP handsome
 “He is more handsome.”
- (67) a. Tsit-king pângking khang.
 this-CL room empty
 “This room is emptier.”
 b. Tsit-king pângking khah khang.
 this-CL room COMP empty
 “This room is emptier.”
- (68) a. *Tsit-king pângking tsiànn.
 this-CL room square
 Intended: “This room is squarer.”
 b. *Tsit-king pângking tsiànn.
 this-CL room square
 Intended: “This room is squarer.”

Based on (66-67), (66a) and (67a) can indicate comparative readings without a comparative morpheme as well as (66b) and (67b) can also point out comparative readings with the comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP”. by contrast, in (68), the comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP” cannot occur in non-predicative AP constructions.

Besides, the current study investigate that TSM comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP” can repair ungrammatical AP constructions of TSM *ū* “HAVE”, especially in closed-scale predicative APs. Hence, the examples are illustrated below, respectively.

- (69) a. Tsit-luí hue ū âng.
 this-CL flower HAVE red
 “The flower is red.”
 b. Tsit-luí hue ū khah âng.
 this-CL flower HAVE COMP red
 “The flower is redder.”
- (70) a. Tsit-tông tshù ū kuân.
 this-CL house HAVE tall
 “The building is tall.”
 b. Tsit-tông tshù ū khah kuân.
 this-CL house HAVE COMP tall
 “The building is taller.”

In addition to (69-70), compared to (71-73), TSM comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP” repairs those ungrammatical AP constructions of TSM *ū* “HAVE”. The compared examples are also shown below, respectively.

- (71) a. *Lōo ū tit.
 road HAVE straight
 Intended: “The road is straight.”
 b. Lōo ū khah tit.
 road HAVE COMP straight
 “The road is straighter.”

- (81) Tsit-tòng tshù ū tsít-tshioh kuân.
 this-CL house HAVE one-meter tall
 “This building is one-meter tall.”
- (82) *Tsit-tòng tshù tsít-tshioh kuân.
 this-CL house one-meter tall
 Intended: “This building is one-meter tall.”
- (83) Tsit-tòng tshù, tsít-tshioh kuân.
 this-CL house, one-meter tall
 “This building, it is one-meter tall.”

Grounded on (81-83), actually, TSM *ū* “HAVE” syntactically behaves like Mandarin Chinese you “HAVE”, compared to (78-80); however, TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot take any APs with MPs, such that in (84) and (85), contra to (86) and (87), respectively.

- (84) Kinájit ū gōo-tsáp tōo kuân.
 today HAVE fifty degree tall
 “Today is 50 degrees Celsius high.”
- (85) I ū gōo-tsáp-kongkin tāng.
 s/he HAVE fifty-CL heavy
 “S/he is 50 kilos weight.”
- (86) *Kinájit ū gōo-tsáp tōo luáh.
 today HAVE fifty degree hot
 Intended: “Today is 50 degrees Celsius high.”
- (87) *I ū gōo-tsáp-kongkin puí.
 s/he HAVE fifty-CL fat
 Intended: “S/he is 50 kilos weight.”

Based on (86) and (87), it can infer that TSM *ū* “HAVE” selects APs, which can be calculated by numeral phrases in MP constructions; therefore, TSM adjectives *kuân* “tall” and *tāng* “heavy” can be modified by numeral phrases (NumPs) while TSM adjectives *luáh* “hot” and *puí* “fat” cannot. In brief, TSM *ū* “HAVE” selects the APs, which can be modified by NumPs, as it complements.

4. Conclusion

As previous studies seldom further note whether TSM *ū* “HAVE” can select all kinds of APs as its complements, the current study hence investigates the limited distribution of TSM *ū* “HAVE” in AP constructions via the following five tests: (i) mono/disyllabic APs, (ii) reduplicate APs, (iii) degree adverbs, (iv) comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP” and MPs with APs.

Based on the above diagnoses, the present study provides a description of the general properties exhibited in TSM *ū* “HAVE” with AP constructions, and further investigates what kind of APs that TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot select in AP constructions. Namely, it can briefly conclude that TSM *ū* “HAVE” select mono/disyllabically open-scale predicatives but not closed-scale and non-scale predicatives. Besides, TSM *ū* “HAVE” cannot select reduplicate APs as its complement; moreover, TSM *ū* “HAVE” and the degree adverbs *tsin/tsiok/tsiân* “really/extremely/very” are not permitted to co-occur in TSM *ū* “HAVE” with AP constructions. This study further infers that TSM *ū* “HAVE” and the degree adverbs *tsin/tsiok/tsiân* “really/extremely/very” syntactically/semantically behave similarly so either the degree adverbs or TSM *ū* “HAVE” is permitted in AP constructions. However, the comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP” has a syntactic/semantic function to repair TSM *ū* “HAVE” constructions with closed-scale predicative APs; also, the comparative morpheme *khah* “COMP” indicate the comparative readings to both open-scale and closed-scale predicatives. Finally, TSM *ū* “HAVE” syntactically/semantically functions as Mandarin Chinese you “HAVE”, which select MPs with APs as its complements.

Furthermore, Cheng (1979) argues that TSM *ū* “HAVE” is an emphatic-assertive auxiliary verb while Tsao and Cheng (1995) claim that TSM *ū* “HAVE” is an emphatic-assertive modal verb; in addition, Chen and Wang (2010) argue that Southern Dialect *ū* “HAVE” is a resultative aspect in AP constructions.

The future study hence aims to further analyse what syntactic status TSM \bar{u} “HAVE” actually is to be in AP constructions in order to argue for/against whether the previous analyses are right or not, and further to account for why TSM \bar{u} “HAVE” only select open-scale predicatives in AP constructions. Finally, the future study farther investigate whether TSM \bar{u} “HAVE” can select any kind of stative verbs through these five tests as well.

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