

# 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

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## 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.<br>I HAVE            one-CL book            very interesting<br>“I have a book (that is) very interesting.” | (Type 1) |
| (2) | Sí nāng-ê      lāng.<br>Die two-CL men<br>“Two men died.”  | (Type 2) |
| (3) | Tshōng-tíng tó      tsit-ê      pēnnlāng.<br>Bed-top lie            one-CL patient<br>“In the bed lies a patient.” or “A patient lies in the bed.”                   | (Type 3) |
| (4) | Piah-tíng khuà tsit-tíng      bō-á.<br>Wall-top hang one-CL hat-SUFFIX<br>“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.<br>this-CL      flower      HAVE      beautiful<br>Intended: “This flower is beautiful.” | (Mandarin Chinese) |
| (6) | Tsit-luí      hue      ū      suí.<br>this-CL      flower      HAVE      beautiful<br>“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 nñg-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 lâi 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-



- (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”, *tsúüàu* “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”, *tsúüàu* “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>tsúüàu</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 examples<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup>The 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      gû      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 sítsāi.  
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”<sup>3</sup>

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 *ū* “HAVE” in AP constructions. The unacceptable examples are illustrated below, respectively.

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

In short, based on (51-53), TSM *ū* “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 *ū* “HAVE”, which syntactically behaves like TSM *tsin* “really”. The unacceptable examples are hence demonstrated below:

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

<sup>3</sup>Tsao and Cheng (1995) note that the degree adverb *tsin* “really” can occur with TSM *ū* “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 tsiänn.  
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, in 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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