Post-Verbal Markers in Taiwanese Southern Min and Fuzhounese

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This paper deals with the post-verbal markers in two Min dialects—TIT-construction in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) and LI-construction in Fuzhounese. The objective is to see if these markers have modal meanings, like de (得) in Mandarin Chinese (e.g., gan-DE-shang 赶得上, ‘to be match for’). The verb e’/e53 (會, ‘can’) and TIT8/ LI24 serves as circumfixes of verbs, and the output construction [e’/e53 + Verb + TIT8/ LI24] indicates potentiality (or possibility). After undergoing lexicalization, [e’/e53 + Verb + TIT8/ LI24] turns into an integral (a unity) and can be followed by other predicates. The constructional meaning is interpreted as either permission or potentiality. The combination of e’/e53 (‘can’) and TIT8/ LI24 can also be an infix-like element which tails after the main verb and directs to complements. There is no real post-verbal modal word in TSM and Fuzhounese. In order to convey modality (potentiality), it is necessary to attach e’/e53 (‘can’) or its negative counterpart be’/me53 (‘cannot’) in front of the main predicate and to attach TIT8/ LI24 after the main predicate.

Keywords: modal, post-verbal, circumfix, potentiality, constructional meaning

1. Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM)

1.1 Post-verbal non-modal markers: LIAU2, KA4, HOO7, TIOH8

In TSM, there are four common post-verbal markers indicating results of action. They are LIAU2 (了, ‘to end’), KA4 (到, ‘to arrive’)1, HOO7 (予, ‘to give’), and TIOH8 (著, an adverbial particle).

Yang (1991:298) claims that those post-verbal markers are not only complements but also second predicates which indicate semantic relations between main predicates and their complements. According to Yang (1991:298), LIAU2 in (1) denotes the result of the race, KA4 in (2) denotes a degree, HOO7 in (3) denotes an expected resultant state, and TIOH8 in (4) means the ability of someone’s walking. Yang (1991:298) also notes that those post-verbal words are gradually grammaticalized, and their concrete meanings are blurred.

(1) 伊走了傷慢
    i1 cau2 LIAU2 siun1 ban7
      he run LIAU too slow
    ‘He ran too slowly.’

(2) 伊做到真認真
    i1 co3 KA4 cin1 lin7 cin1
      he do KA really conscientious
    ‘He was really conscientious.’

1 According to Yang (1991:298), KA4 is suspected to be the allomorph of the verb kau3 (到, ‘to arrive’).
(3) 饭愛食予飽
  png7 ai3 ciaq8 HOO7 pa2
  rice should eat HOO full
  ‘(You) should eat to your heart’s content.’

(4) 伊走著真緊
  i1 cau2 TIOH8 cin1 kin2
  he run TIOH very fast
  ‘He ran very fast.’

In TSM, with different interpretations, LIAU2, KA4, HOO7 and TIOH8 all serve as result complements or degree complements. Different lexical items represent modal and aspect individually; for example LIAU2 is a perfective aspect marker, and TIOH8 is an achievement marker.

1.2 $e^7$/be$^7$ + Verb + TIT$^0$

There is only one modal verb $e^7$ (on a par with hui in Mandarin Chinese) showing potentiality in TSM, and the construction [$e^7$/be$^7$ + Verb + TIT$^0$] is quite different.

Lien (1997:183) states that in order to express various aspects of modal meanings, TSM has to rely on syntagmatic means to denote the subtlety of meanings. The circumfix-like $e^7$/be$^7$…TIT$^0$ is a potential marker. It is an important mean for TSM to express modal meanings, and it is rather productive and frequent in use.

Lien (1997:168) groups the construction linked by $e$/be$^7$ and TIT$^0$ into six types as shown in Table 1:

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$L^2$ For the history of TIT-construction in TSM, please refer to Lien (1997). The tone marks are omitted for the convenience of reading.
### Table 1. Six types of the \textit{TIT}-constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Circumfix | \[e + V + \textit{TIT}\]  
  \textit{e chiah \textit{TIT}}  
  can eat can  ('can be eaten') | \[be + V + \textit{TIT}\]  
  \textit{be chiah \textit{TIT}}  
  cannot eat can  ('cannot be eaten') |
| 2. Auxiliary | \[e + V (-TIT)] + V \textit{e sai (TIT) boe}\]  
  can use can buy  ('can buy (it)') | \[be + V (-TIT)] + V \textit{be sai (TIT) boe}\]  
  cannot use can buy  ('cannot buy (it)') |
| 3. Auxiliary | \[\textit{e-TIT} + V\]  
  \textit{e TIT khi}\]  
  can can go  ('can go') | \[\textit{be-TIT} + V\]  
  \textit{be TIT khi}\]  
  cannot can go  ('cannot go') |
| 4. Complement marker | \[V + \{e-\textit{TIT}\} + \text{C1-C2}\]  
  \textit{chiah e (TIT) loh khi}\]  
  eat can can fall go  ('can eat (it)') | \[V + \{\textit{be-\textit{TIT}}\} + \text{C1-C2}\]  
  \textit{chiah be (TIT) loh khi}\]  
  eat cannot can fall go  ('cannot eat (it)') |
| 5. Adverb | \[\textit{be-V-TIT} + \text{adj}\]  
  \textit{be kong \textit{TIT sim-sek}\]  
  cannot say can interesting  ('extremely interesting') |  |
| 6. Complement | \[V + \{u\} + \{\textit{hoat-\textit{TIT}}\}\]  
  \textit{koann u hoat-\textit{TIT}}\]  
  lift have method can  ('can lift (it)') | \[V + \{\textit{bo}\} + \{\textit{hoat-\textit{TIT}}\}\]  
  \textit{koann bo hoat-\textit{TIT}}\]  
  lift have-not method can  ('cannot lift (it)') |

In Lien (1997), the discussion focuses on forms and the historical evolution of \textit{TIT}°. On the basis of Lien’s research, the meaning for each \textit{TIT}-construction can be reanalyzed. In other words, the meaning of the whole construction is not the sum of the meaning of each character.

The first type \[e^{7} \ldots \textit{TIT}^{\theta}\] forms a circumfix for verbs. As in Table 1, the construction, whether positive or negative, indicates the possibility for an action to take place (potentiality). It also shows an inference which comes from estimating objective conditions of all possible worlds. In some cases, slight permission or prohibition is involved also.\footnote{Mandarin Chinese \[V + \textit{DE}\] and \[V + \textit{bu} + \textit{DE}\] show this ambiguity in the same way.}

The circumfix-like \[e^{7} \ldots \textit{TIT}^{\theta}\] marker in the second and the third types forms a pre-verbal modal word. The differences between these two types lie in two aspects. The first is the presence of the verb \textit{sai}^2 (使，‘to make’) which is ringed with the circumfix. \textit{E}^{7}-\textit{sai}^2 is an equivalent modal verb to \textit{ke-yi} in Mandarin Chinese. With the presence of \textit{sai}^2, \textit{TIT}° is unstressed and can be omitted. The ambiguity between permission and potentiality is still tangible in these two. The second aspect is that the restriction on the selection of verbs in the construction is not the same in Type 2 and Type 3. According to Lien (1997:178), only a small set of verbs can be used in the
second type. They are *hiau*² (曉, ‘to know’), *eng*⁷ (用, ‘to use’), *sai*² (使, ‘to make’), and *kham*⁴ (堪, ‘to sustain’), and with these verbs, the *e⁷ + Verb + TIT⁰* has been reanalyzed as a tri-syllabic word. The tri-syllabic word functions like an auxiliary which can be followed by other verbs (predicates), and it also clarifies the constructional meaning.

In the third type, *e⁷-TIT⁰* behaves differently from the single form *e⁷* (會, ‘can’). *E⁷* in TSM has both ability and inference readings. Example (5) is the ability reading and (6) is epistemic.

(5) 他會曉講英文

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e⁷</th>
<th>hiau²</th>
<th>kong²</th>
<th>ing²-gi²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>can</td>
<td>speak English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He can speak English.’

(6) 他會來

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e⁷</th>
<th>lai⁵</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>can come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He will/can come.’

Being a preverbal modal, *e⁷-TIT⁰* not only conveys epistemic possibility but also deontic permission. *E⁷-TIT⁰-khï³* (‘can go’) in Table 1 expresses either the epistemic meaning ‘there is nothing to bar his way for going’ or the deontic meaning ‘after receiving the permit, he will go’. The epistemic reading shows ‘the possibility that something will come true’. The meaning is reversed when negative *be⁷* is used, but the modal meaning is still kept.

In the fourth type, *e⁷-(TIT⁰)* is a post-verbal complement which is further followed by other complements. *Tit* sometimes weakens in speech sound. [Verb + *e⁷-TIT⁰* + complement] in TSM indicates only the possibility for doing an action.

According to Lien, the fifth type has only negative forms. [Be⁷-Verb-TIT⁰] is frozen (fixed) and used as an adverb of intensifier meaning ‘very’, as in *be⁷-kong*-e⁷ *kiam*³ (袂講得鹹, ‘be so salty that one can not speak of it, exceeding salty’).

The last type, *hoat⁸-TIT⁰*, is a post-verbal complement. The verb *u⁷* (有, ‘to have’) is inserted in between the main verb and complement. According to Table 1, *u⁷-hoat⁸* means ‘be able to do something’ and it is rendered as ‘to have methods’. While the construction indicates potentiality, it also indicates ability.

To sum up, Table 1 is revised as Table 2 which includes the meaning for the six constructions. (For convenience, the tone in the table is omitted at this stage.)

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4 *E⁷-hiau²* (會曉) means ‘to know, to understand, and to grasp’. This modal denotes the acquired or learnt ability rather than an instinct.

5 *E⁷-eng⁷-TIT⁰* (會用得) means ‘can’ and ‘be able to do’.

6 *E⁷-kham⁴-TIT⁰* (會堪得) means ‘can stand’ and ‘can tolerate’.

7 Sometimes, the phonological alternation varies according to the dialectal variants. But TIT⁸ is often weakened in the final position. In this case, when TIT⁸ is pronounced as *e*, it means that there is another element following TIT⁰. See Lien (1997) for the discussion in detail.
### Table 2. The meaning of TIT-constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Circumfix</td>
<td>e + V + TIT</td>
<td>be + V + TIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e chiah TIT can eat can</td>
<td>be chiah TIT cannot eat can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(‘can be eaten’)</td>
<td>(‘cannot be eaten’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Auxiliary</td>
<td>[e + V (-TIT)] + V</td>
<td>[be + V (-TIT)] + V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e sai TIT boe can use can buy</td>
<td>be sai TIT boe cannot use can buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(‘can buy (it)’)</td>
<td>(‘cannot buy (it)’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e TIT khi can can go</td>
<td>be TIT khi cannot can go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(‘can go’)</td>
<td>(‘cannot go’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Complement marker</td>
<td>V + [e-(TIT)] + C1-C2</td>
<td>V + [be-(TIT)] + C1-C2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chiah e (TIT) loh khi</td>
<td>chiah be (TIT) loh khi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eat can can fall go</td>
<td>eat cannot can fall go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(‘can eat (it)’)</td>
<td>(‘cannot eat (it)’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Adverb</td>
<td>[be-V-TIT] + adj</td>
<td>be kong TIT sim-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cannot say can interesting</td>
<td>(‘extremely interesting’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Complement</td>
<td>V + [u] + [hoat-TIT]</td>
<td>V + [bo] + [hoat-TIT]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>koann u hoat-TIT lift have method can</td>
<td>koann bo hoat-TIT lift have-not method can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(‘can lift (it)’)</td>
<td>(‘cannot lift (it)’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2. Fuzhounese

#### 2.1 Post-verbal markers: -I[^31], A[^242], KAU[^213], LE[^31]

In Fuzhounese, there are four markers binding verbs and complements in VC-constructions. They are -[^31] (其, ‘that’), A[^242] (會, ‘can’),[^8] KAU[^213] (到, ‘to arrive’), and LE[^31] (得, grammatical marker[^9]). Each of them has different functions, interpretations, as well as constructions. Although TSM and Fuzhounese are both major Min dialects, they follow their own divergent paths of development.

First, semantically, the construction [Verb + -I + Adjective] indicates the state or condition that results from some actions. The description is mainly a stative assertion. Second, from the structural viewpoint, complements which follow -I are mainly

[^8]: The modal verb a[^242] (會, ‘can’) in Fuzhounese has an allophone [e[^53]]. The meaning is the same.
[^9]: Many researchers have kept an eye on the close relation between the complement of state and the perfective marker. Yue (1984:10-30) concludes that the Mandarin Chinese verb de2 means originally ‘to obtain’, and then developed the meaning of ‘completeness’, from which the complement-DE is grammaticalized.
adjetives, in particular monosyllabic adjectives. Verbs that occur before -I are also monosyllabic verbs. Chen (2001:61) says that the three-morpheme-form cannot be inserted by any other morpheme. He also states that in this construction, -I is a bound morpheme, and its onset may vary according to different finals of the preceding morphemes. Examples are shown in (7), (8), and (9). The phonetic transcriptions show the tone sandhi.\(^\text{10}\)

(7) 伊起其早
i\(^4\) khi\(^3\) -I tsa\(^3\)
he rise -I early
‘He gets up early.’

(8) 天清所以我穿其济
thieng\(^4\) tsheing\(^3\) su\(^2\) i\(^3\) nguai\(^3\) soyng\(^2\) -I sa\(^2\)
sky cold so I wear-I much
‘It was cold, so I wore much.’

(9) 囝仔食其少
nie\(^5\) iang\(^3\) sie\(^3\) -I tsiu\(^4\)
children eat-I less
‘Children ate not much.’

Those examples show that the constructional meaning of [Verb + -I + Adjective] in Fuzhounese is perfectly matched with the one of [Verb + DE + Adjective] in Mandarin Chinese. However, there are differences between them.

One of the differences is shown in negative constructions. There are two negative forms of [Verb + DE + Adjective] in Mandarin Chinese: [Verb + bu + Adjective] in (10) and [Verb + DE + bu + Adjective] in (11). (10) has a potential reading (modal reading) and (11) shows a result.

(10) 他的書法寫不好
ta-de shu-fa xie-bu-hao
his penmanship write not good
‘He cannot write the calligraphy well.’

(11) 他的書法寫得不好
ta-de shu-fa xie-DE-bu-hao
his penmanship write PVDE not good
‘His calligraphy was not good.’

On the other hand, the negative of Fuzhounese [Verb + -I + Adjective] uses the negative modal me\(^5\) (袂, ‘cannot’) in place of -I. Example is shown in (12). [Verb + me\(^5\) + Adjective] has both potentiality and resultative reading.

Furthermore, me\(^5\) has its own positive form a\(^2\) (會, ‘can’), so that [Verb + me\(^5\) + Adjective] may have another positive form [Verb + A\(^2\) + Adjective], like (13). The example in (13) has only modal reading.

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\(^{10}\) Tone sandhi is a phonetic modification of tone languages, treated as or analogously to a phoneme (Matthews 1997:379).
(12) 囝仔食其袂濟
nie₃₃ iang₃₃ sie₃₁ me₅₃ sa²₄₂
children eat cannot much
‘Children ate not much.’

(13) 囝仔食會濟
nie₃₃ iang₃₃ sie₃₁ E₅₃ sa²₄₂
children eat can much
‘Children can eat much.’

The intricate relation between positive and negative forms and their reading in Mandarin Chinese and Fuzhounese can be summarized in Table 3 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin Chinese</td>
<td>吃得多</td>
<td>Result Potential</td>
<td>吃得不多</td>
<td>‘eat not much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chi-DE-duo</td>
<td>(<code>(can) eat much</code>)</td>
<td>chi-DE-bu-duo</td>
<td>(<code>eat not much</code>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>吃不多</td>
<td>Result Potential</td>
<td>吃不多</td>
<td>‘cannot eat much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>che-bu-duo</td>
<td>(<code>cannot eat much</code>)</td>
<td>che-bu-duo</td>
<td>(<code>cannot eat much</code>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuzhounese</td>
<td>食其濟</td>
<td>Result Potential</td>
<td>食袂濟</td>
<td>(<code>cannot eat much</code>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sie²¹-I-sa²₄₂</td>
<td>(<code>eat much</code>)</td>
<td>sie³¹-me₅₃-sa²₄₂</td>
<td>(<code>cannot eat much</code>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>食會濟</td>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>食會濟</td>
<td>(<code>can eat much</code>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sie²¹-E₅₃-sa²₄₂</td>
<td>(<code>can eat much</code>)</td>
<td>sie³¹-me₅₃-sa²₄₂</td>
<td>(<code>cannot eat much</code>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another difference between Mandarin Chinese and Fuzhounese is the intensification of adjectives. When Mandarin Chinese speakers say the utterance in (14), Fuzhounese speakers would simply say the utterance in (15). DE in (14) is retained and coexists with the intensifier adverb hen (很, ‘very’), but in (15), -I is replaced by the intensifier adverb ia²¹³ (野, ‘very’).

(14) 飛機飛得很高
fei-ji     fei-DE-hen-gao
airplane fly PVDE very high
‘The plane flew very high’

(15) 飛機飛野懸
xi₄₄-ki₄₄ pui³₃-ia²¹³-keing⁵₃
airplane fly very high
‘The plane flew very high.’

The same situation is found in (16) and (17). When the monosyllabic adjective is reduplicated for intensification, Mandarin Chinese speakers say the utterance in (16), while Fuzhounese speakers say the one in (17). Again, DE is kept, but -I is omitted.
The intensification of adjective may evolve from “speaker-oriented” modality which conveys the will and intention of the speaker. It would be understandable that the speaker reduplicates the adjective to enhance the degree. In sentence (17), when $LE^{31}$ is a part of a complement in VC-constructions, it is regarded as an equivalent to $DE$ in Mandarin Chinese, and has mainly a descriptive reading.

(16) 飛得高高的
fei-DE-gao-gao-de
fly PVDE high high de
‘To fly high’

(17) 飛懸懸勢
pui keiing 53 -keiing 53 -LE 31
fly high high LE
‘To fly high’

As seen in TSM, [Verb + KA 7 + Adjective] indicates an extent of a result. The cognate in Fuzhounese, $KAU^{213}$ (到, ‘to arrive’), also denotes degree. According to Chen (2001:62), an quantifier $du^{31}$ (都, ‘all’) is always found in $KAU^{213}$-construction after a noun, and a perfective particle $o^{33}$ (咯, ‘to finish’) in sentence final to show degree. The construction is [Verb + $KAU^{31}$ + Noun + $du^{31}$ + Complement + $o^{33}$], like (18) and (19).

(18) 我聽到頭都疼咯
nguai 33 thiang 44 KAU 31 thau 53 du 31 thiang 213 o 33
I hear KAU head all ache perfective particle
‘I heard it and my head ached.’

(19) 我熱到蜀身都是汗
nguai 33 ie 24 KAU 31 suo 24 ling 44 du 31 li 53 kang 242
I hot KAU one body all be sweat
‘It was so hot that I sweated all over.’

In addition, what Chen does not mention is that there are three constructional variations for [Verb + $KAU^{31}$ + Noun + $du^{31}$ + Complement + $o^{33}$]. Table 4 shows the variations of (19).
Table 4. The variations of *KAUT*<sup>213</sup>-construction in Fuzhounese

| Variation (1)                      | (20) 我頭都聽到疼咯  
| [N + *du*<sup>31</sup> + V + *KAUT*<sup>31</sup> + C + O<sup>33</sup>] | nguai<sup>33</sup> thau<sup>53</sup> thiang<sup>44</sup> KAU<sup>31</sup> thiang<sup>213</sup> O<sup>33</sup>  
|                                | ‘My head ached because I heard it.’ |
| Variation (2)                      | (21) 我頭聽到都疼咯  
| [N + V + *KAUT*<sup>31</sup> + *du*<sup>31</sup> + C + O<sup>33</sup>] | nguai<sup>33</sup> thau<sup>53</sup> thiang<sup>44</sup> KAU<sup>31</sup> du<sup>31</sup> thiang<sup>213</sup> O<sup>33</sup>  
|                                | ‘My head ached because I heard it.’ |
| Variation (3)                      | (22) 我都聽到頭疼咯  
| [ *du*<sup>31</sup> + V + *KAUT*<sup>31</sup> + NC + O<sup>33</sup>] | nguai<sup>33</sup> du<sup>31</sup> thiang<sup>44</sup> KAU<sup>31</sup> thau<sup>53</sup> thiang<sup>213</sup> O<sup>33</sup>  
|                                | ‘My head ached because I heard it.’ |

Though the four sentences in (19), (20), (21), and (22) have roughly the same meaning (that is, the truth value remains unchanged), they may have different foci which can result in different information structures. For example, unlike the more neutral tone in (19), (20), and (21) may have a focus or stress on the *head*, and (22) may have the stress on *I*. It seems that it is the focuses in sentences (20), (21), and (22) that are to be described and emphasized. Moreover, sentences (20), (21) and (22) also convey the cause-effect relation between the two predicates ‘hear’ and ‘ache’.

The degree reading is not affected in variations. To mean the degree by *KAUT*<sup>213</sup>-construction is only kept in a few Chinese dialects.

The manifestation of *Le*<sup>31</sup> in Fuzhouese is multi-faceted. It seems to be a case of homophony. It bears on the issue of modality as well as the issue of aspect and locative particle. Being an aspect marker, *le*<sup>31</sup> is either a progressive marker or a durative marker. In the sentence *i*<sup>44</sup> *le*<sup>31</sup> thui<sup>53</sup> *xut*<sup>242</sup> (he is holding a meeting’), *le*<sup>31</sup> is a progressive marker and in *thu*<sup>213</sup> thui<sup>33</sup> *le*<sup>31</sup> (the drawer is open’), *le*<sup>31</sup> shows duration. *Le*<sup>31</sup> is also a perfective marker, as in *puong*<sup>242</sup> *sie*<sup>24</sup> *le*<sup>33</sup> *tsiu*<sup>31</sup> kiang<sup>53</sup> (飯食了就行，‘I will leave as soon as the eating is finished’). Moreover, *le*<sup>31</sup> can also be a locative marker, as in *tsiu*<sup>33</sup> *le*<sup>31</sup> *u*<sup>31</sup> *phie*<sup>44</sup> (手上有信，‘there is a letter in hands’).

As a part of a complement in VC-constructions, *LE*<sup>31</sup> is regarded as an equivalent to *DE* in Mandarin Chinese. In this construction, it is acceptable for adjectives, clauses, and verbs (or verb phrases) to follow *LE*<sup>31</sup>, as shown in (23), (24), and (25). *LE*<sup>31</sup> can be omitted when it is followed by adjectives. Unlike *KAUT*<sup>213</sup>-complement indicating degrees, *LE*<sup>31</sup>-complement denotes just result states.
(23) **新人面塗得紅紅勢**

sing
ing
tu
 LE
 ōyng
 ōyng
 e

bride
face
lay
LE
red
red
SC

‘The bride’s face was painted red.’

(24) **他吃得蜀喙都是酒味**

i
 sie
 LE
 suo
 tshui
 du
 li
 tsiu
 ei

he
eat
LE
one
mouth
all
be
wine
smell

‘He drank and his mouth was full of the smell of wine.’

(25) **我想得整晡睡袂去**

nguai
 suong
 LE
 kong
 puo
 khong
 me
 kho

I
think
LE
all
night
sleep
cannot

‘I thought of this and could not sleep all night.’

### 2.2 **E**\(^{53}/**me**^{53}\) + **Verb** + **LI**\(^{24}\)

To homologize *tit*-constructions in TSM, Fuzhounese has a correspondent construction \([e^{53}/**me**^{53}\) + **Verb** + **LI**\(^{24}\)] featuring the modal verb \(e^{53}\) (會, ‘can’) and the final **LI**\(^{24}\). However, a perusal of Table 1 shows the differences between TSM and Fuzhounese. Table 5 shows the types of **LI**-construction in Fuzhounese. (For the convenience of reading, tones in the table are omitted at this stage.)
Table 5. Types of the LI-construction in Fuzhounese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Circumfix   | e + V + LI  
                  e sie LI  
                  can eat can  
                  (‘can be eaten’)  
                  me + V + LI  
                  me sie LI  
                  cannot eat can  
                  (‘cannot be eaten’)  |
| 2. Auxiliary   | [e + V (-LI)] + V  
                  e sai (LI) me  
                  can use can buy  
                  (‘can buy (it)’)  
                  [me + V (-LI)] + V  
                  me sai (LI) me  
                  cannot use can buy  
                  (‘cannot buy (it)’)  |
| 3. Auxiliary   | [u-LI] + V  
                  u LI kho  
                  have can go  
                  (‘can go’)  
                  [mo-LI] + V  
                  mo LI kho  
                  have not can go  
                  (‘cannot go’)  |
| 4. Complement marker | V + [e-(LI)] + C1-C2  
                  sie e (LI) kia o  
                  eat can can fall go  
                  (‘can eat (it)’)  
                  V + [me-(LI)] + C1-C2  
                  sie me (LI) kia o  
                  eat cannot can fall go  
                  (‘cannot eat (it)’)  |
| 5. Adverb      | [kong-me-tshou-LI] +adj  
                  kong me tshou LI  
                  ung-mei  
                  say not cannot out LI  
                  interesting  
                  (‘extremely interesting’)  
                  |
| 6. Complement   | V + [u] + [xua-(LI)]  
                  kuang u xua-(LI)  
                  manage have method  
                  can  
                  (‘can manage (it)’)  
                  V + [mo] + [xua-(LI)]  
                  kuang mo xua-(LI)  
                  manage have-not method  
                  can  
                  (‘cannot manage (it)’)  |

According to Tables 2 and 5, Types 1, 2 and 4 in Fuzhounese are parallel with the cases in TSM. For these three types, modal verbs which mean ‘can’ and ‘cannot’ form positive and negative forms. Moreover, one point to be noted is that in type two, $LI^{24}$ is mostly omitted in everyday language.

In type six, constructions are identical in TSM and Fuzhounese. Nevertheless, $LI^{24}$ is parenthesized because it is seldom heard, but in Table 2, $TT^{24}$ is not parenthesized.

The distinctions are found in type three and five between TSM and Fuzhounese. In type three, Fuzhounese manipulates the aspectual marker $ou^{242}$  

$LI^{11}$ in place of the modal marker $e^{7}$  

(‘to have or to exist’)  

in TSM. Whether the aspectual marker or the modal marker is used, the epistemic reading remains unchanged. They both indicate ‘the possibility for taking action’.

These two dialects show different constructions in type five. Being an adverbial constituent, they have similar interpretation, but the word order is altered.

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$^{11}$ In Fuzhounese, $ou^{242}$  

(‘to have or to exist’) has an allophone $u^{11}$.  

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3. The contrast of TSM and Fuzhounese

Table 6 synthesizes the discussion of TSM and Fuzhounese in post-verbal marker expressions. The table displays the contrast of post-verbal words and the corresponding $TIT^8$ and $LI^{24}$ constructions in TSM and Fuzhounese respectively.

From (b) part of Table 6, it seems that there is no “real post-verbal modal” in TSM in and Fuzhounese. As expressions are formed, there is always a verb meaning ‘ability’ in front of $TIT^8 / LI^{24}$, and even when the construction undergoes lexicalization and turns into a multi-syllabic auxiliary verb, it is still followed by another predicate. The whole constructions --- $[e^7 + \text{Verb} + (TIT^8)]$ and $[e^{53} + \text{Verb} + (LI^{24})]$ are still pre-verbal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taiwanese Southern Min</th>
<th>Fuzhounese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(a) Post-verbal Markers</strong></td>
<td><strong>(a) Post-verbal Markers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$LIAU^2$</td>
<td>Resultant state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$KA^4$</td>
<td>Extent / degree of results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$HOO^7$</td>
<td>Expected results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$TIOH^8$</td>
<td>Potential (ability)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>(b) Tit-constructions</strong></th>
<th><strong>(b) Li-constructions</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumfix</td>
<td>$e+V+TIT$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
<td>$[e+V+(TIT)] + V$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement Marker</td>
<td>$V+[e+(TIT)] + C1+C2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>$[be+V+TIT] + ad]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement</td>
<td>$V+u+[hoat + TIT]$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Lexical modal vs. phrasal modal

In the course of discussion, we should not take the construction $[e^7/be^7 + \text{Verb} + TIT^0]$ in TSM and $[e^{53}/me^{53} + \text{Verb} + LI^{24}]$ in Fuzhounese for granted. This construction evolves in two ways: one undergoes lexicalization and the other sticks to the phrasal construction. Take the case in TSM as an example.

The original form of $[e^7/be^7 + \text{Verb} + TIT^0]$ is a verbal phrase: $e^7/be^7 + \text{Verb} + TIT^0$. One of the evolvements as discussed in Lien (1997:167) is that $[e^7/be^7...TIT^0]$ becomes a circumfix which rings (circles) a verb, and the whole construction is reanalyzed to be a tri-syllabic modal word. Only a small set of verbs can partake in the process of
lexicalization. These verbs are hiau² (曉, ‘to know’), eng⁷ (用, ‘to use’), sai² (使, ‘to make’), and kham⁴ (堪, ‘to sustain’) as mentioned in 1.2. These verbs are just a few and the forms after lexicalization are somehow fixed but productive. TIT⁰ in the final position is much likely to be weakened. The multi-syllabic output serves as a modal word (secondary order modal), and it can be followed by other predicates. The construction is used with high frequency in everyday language.

In another evolvement, the construction remains as a verbal phrase and discontinuous form which can tolerate mostly transitive verbs such as e⁷ chiah⁸ TIT⁰ (會食得, ‘edible’), e⁷ ma¹ TIT⁰ (會罵得, ‘can be educated’), and e⁷ kiaN⁵ TIT⁰ (會行得, ‘can go’). The slot of verb is open as long as there is a target for the action. The phrase suggests a slight passive which means that something can be done with.

Most intransitive verbs are unacceptable in this construction, as in *e⁷ khau⁴ TIT⁰ (*會哭得, ‘*can cry’) and *e⁷ si² TIT⁰ (*會死得, ‘*can die’). However, since contexts are crucial when decoding the modal readings, in proper contexts and certain semantic processes (reanalysis), the constructional meaning is still comprehensible by filling in some intransitive verbs in [e⁷ ... TIT⁰]. Examples are shown in (26) and (27).

(26) 這款天氣會飛得
  chit⁵ khoan² thiN³khi³ e⁷ pe¹ TIT⁰
  this kind weather can fly TIT
  ‘This kind of weather is suitable to make a flight.’

(27) 這款路會走得
  chit⁵ khoan² lo⁷ e⁷ chau² TIT⁰
  this kind road can go TIT
  ‘The condition of the road is okay for driving.’

(26) is accountable though pe¹ (飛, ‘to fly’) is an intransitive verb. It is reanalyzed semantically and involves a patient ‘plane’ so that the propositional meaning can indicate ‘the flight is possible due to the fair weather’. (27) is another example where chau² (走, ‘to run’) is an intransitive verb, but it undergoes the process of transitivity in comprehension.

The surface intransitive property of pe¹ (飛, ‘to fly’) and chau² (走, ‘to run’) is unchanged. The sentential subjects, the weather and road, are adjuncts and not real arguments. Pe¹ (飛, ‘to fly’) and chau² (走, ‘to run’) are still one-place predicates. The presence of the agents does not affect the interpretation, for the real agents are identifiable and readily recoverable in conversations.

Similar cases are found in Mandarin Chinese, as in (28). If xiao (銷, ‘to sell’) is analyzed as a transitive verb, then shu (書, ‘books’) can be construed as a logical object of the verb, xiao. The logical object can become the grammatical subject in middle constructions. In such a case, shu will be the theme (as a type of complement). However, xiao is rarely in daily usage. Moreover, the theoretical issue of whether chang-xiao (暢銷, ‘sell well’) is to be analyzed as a case of transitive verbs used in middle constructions remains open.
(28) 這些書很暢銷
zhe-xie shu hen chang-xiao
those book very well sell
‘Those books sell well.’

Whether [e/Verb + TIT] undergoes lexicalization or remains as a verbal phrase, it resembles the middle construction. For example, chiah⁸ (食, ‘eat’) is a two-place predicate which is paraphrased as [chiah⁸ (x, y)]. These two variables stand for two arguments: an agent (eater) and a patient (food). After coming into the construction [e chiah⁸ TIT (會食得, ‘edible’)], the patient is preserved but the agent is omitted. The construction [e chiah⁸ TIT (0, y)] means eatable or edible. However, there is no such construction in Mandarin Chinese.

5. Closing words

In this paper we discussed several semantic issues about modal particulars in two major Chinese dialects in Min district: Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) and Fuzhounese. This paper deals mainly with the VC-construction of post-verbal modal words in these dialects. From the discussion we know that these two dialects manifest different modal readings through the use of different complement markers. Though these post-verbal markers are not generally treated as typical modal words like e⁷ (‘can’) in TSM or a⁴² (‘can’) in Fuzhounese, they still express modal readings like de in Mandarin Chinese and form various kinds of constructions, for example [e+Verb+TIT] in TSM and [e+Verb+LI] in Fuzhounese. Furthermore, the construction undergoes the process of lexicalization and become a unity which has unique reading. Lien (1997:183) comments that the important difference between Taiwan Mandarin and TSM is the form and the number of complement markers that each dialect chooses to indicate possibility, result, and degree. This standpoint is also valid in the case of Fuzhounese.

Appendix: The phonological properties in Fuzhounese

A syllable in Chinese is made up of three parts: (1) onset, (2) final, and (3) tone. Tone sandhi concerns the phonetic alternation of these three parts in combination with their neighboring elements. This appendix gives a broad outline of phonological phenomenon in Fuzhounese. Data on variations and changes in tone sandhi are subsequently presented.

1. The onsets in isolation

In Table 7 there are 13 isolated onsets and a zero-onset in Fuzhounese:
Table 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onsets</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Onsets</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n(l)12</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Phonetic alternation of onsets

The phenomena of phonetic alternation in Fuzhounese are varied and are manifested in the change of onset, rhyme and tone. The phonetic alternation of onsets is named “onset assimilation”; that is, in a string of words, the rhyme of preceding words may assimilate in part or in full the following onsets, and the mechanism contributes a conditioned regular sound change of onsets.

Onset assimilations yield some weakened sounds that may be new or the same as phonemes in the inventory of consonants, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fuzhounese Onsets in Isolation</th>
<th>Assimilated Onsets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After [a, e, o, a] 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p, ph</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t, th, s, n</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts, tsh</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k, kh, x, 0 15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m, ng</td>
<td>No change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The places of articulation come into contact so fleetingly that the airstreams in oral cavity cannot be controlled completely. Hence, the place of articulation is hard to define and the speech sounds are blurred. Several examples are given below:

船票 (ship ticket) sung53, phiu213 → sung31, miu213
花店 (flower shop) hua44, taing213 → hua53, laing213

3. Tone sandhi in Fuzhounese

The sub-tonal categories of Fuzhounese, viz., the distinction between yin and yang sub-tones, have a rather neat and tidy correspondence to the voicing of onsets in Middle Chinese: voiceless onsets yield yin tones and voiced onsets produce yang tones. Given that each of the Middle Chinese four tones has two sub-tones there will

12 According to Chen (1998:7), [n] and [l], which used to be distinguishable, are fused to some extent nowadays. As Chen’s research on 196 Fuzhounese native speakers (30 of them are aged and retirees) reveals, no one can tell the difference between these two phonemes. Some of them consider these two onsets to be as one as time goes on, though [n] occurs mostly in colloquialism. Moreover, the fusion of [n] and [l] is detected outside Fuzhou City.
13 When words end up with vowels like [a, e, o, a], they are so-called “yin-rhyme group (陰聲韻”).
14 When words end up with velar nasal [ng], they are so-called “yang-rhyme group (陽聲韻”).
15 Zero-onset.
be eight tones. However, the yang shang tones have merged into the yang-qu tones, there are only seven tones left. Seven basic isolation tones in Fuzhounese are tabulated as follows:

Table 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone Type</th>
<th>Yin-ping</th>
<th>Yang-ping</th>
<th>Shang</th>
<th>Yin-qu</th>
<th>Yang-qu</th>
<th>Yin-ru</th>
<th>Yang-ru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pitch 16</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone Mark</td>
<td>High level</td>
<td>High falling</td>
<td>Mid-level</td>
<td>Falling-rising</td>
<td>Rising-falling</td>
<td>Mid-rising</td>
<td>High brief</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Fuzhounese, the phenomena of Tone Sandhi are quite rich and perplexing. In a string, the tone of the preceding word varies on the basis of the tone of its following word. Variations are illustrated in Table 10 (Yin=陰, Yang=陽; Ping=平, Shang=上, Qu=去, Ru=入):

---

16 The pitch shape is idealized. The actual pitch in speech would deviate slightly from the cardinal pitch. For example, the third person singular pronoun “伊” has cardinal tonal pitch [i55], but the real pitch which is realized in natural speech may be no more than [i44].

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Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tones of Preceding Words</th>
<th>Tones of Following Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yin-ping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yang-ping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yin-qu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yang-qu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yin-ru</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yang-ru</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yin-ping</td>
<td>Yin-ping</td>
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<td>Shang</td>
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<td>(falling)</td>
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<td>(rising)</td>
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<td>Yin-ping</td>
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<td>Yin-ping</td>
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<td>Yin-jing</td>
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<td>Yang-ping</td>
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<td>Yin-jing</td>
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<td>Yin-ping</td>
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<td>Yin-ru (I)</td>
<td>(falling)</td>
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<td>Yin-ru (II)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yang-ping</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yin-ping</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
(1) The five tones that occur after tone sandhi are: yin-ping, yang-ping, shang, falling-tone, and rising-tone. Among them, the falling-tone and rising-tone are new and not independent tones (shade-marked in Table 4).
(2) The words in the second class of yin-ru are rare. They are normally colloquial reading (白讀音). When tone sandhi functions, the final glottal stop would be weakened, and causes the onset-assimilation of following words.

Ex. 客廳 (living room): kha?⁵ tiang⁴⁴ → kha⁵ liang⁴⁴

References


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閩南語和福州方言的動詞後標記

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關鍵詞：情態詞、動(詞)後、環綴、能力/潛力、結構語意