

Post-Verbal Markers in Taiwanese Southern Min and Fuzhounese

Szu-I Sylvia Yu
Hsuan Chuang University

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* 趕得上, ‘to be match for’). The verb e^7/e^{53} (會, ‘can’) and TIT^8/LI^{24} serves as circumfixes of verbs, and the output construction [e^7/e^{53} + Verb + TIT^8/LI^{24}] indicates potentiality (or possibility). After undergoing lexicalization, [e^7/e^{53} + Verb + TIT^8/LI^{24}] 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^7/e^{53} (‘can’) and TIT^8/LI^{24} 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^7/e^{53} (‘can’) or its negative counterpart be^7/me^{53} (‘cannot’) in front of the main predicate and to attach TIT^8/LI^{24} after the main predicate.

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1. Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM)

1.1 Post-verbal non-modal markers: $LIAU^2$, KA^4 , HOO^7 , $TIOH^8$

In TSM, there are four common post-verbal markers indicating results of action. They are $LIAU^2$ (了, ‘to end’), KA^4 (到, ‘to arrive’)¹, HOO^7 (予, ‘to give’), and $TIOH^8$ (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), $LIAU^2$ in (1) denotes the result of the race, KA^4 in (2) denotes a degree, HOO^7 in (3) denotes an expected resultant state, and $TIOH^8$ 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), KA^4 is suspected to be the allomorph of the verb kau^3 (到, ‘to arrive’).

(3) 飯愛食予飽

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, *LIAU*², *KA*⁴, *HOO*⁷ and *TIOH*⁸ all serve as result complements or degree complements. Different lexical items represent modal and aspect individually; for example *LIAU*² is a perfective aspect marker, and *TIOH*⁸ 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 1²:

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 *TIT*-constructions

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

In Lien (1997), the discussion focuses on forms and the historical evolution of *TIT*⁰. On the basis of Lien’s research, the meaning for each *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 ... *TIT*⁰] 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.³

The circumfix-like [*e*⁷ ... *TIT*⁰] 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 *sai*² (使, ‘to make’) which is ringed with the circumfix. *E*⁷-*sai*² is an equivalent modal verb to *ke-yi* in Mandarin Chinese. With the presence of *sai*², *TIT*⁰ 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

³ Mandarin Chinese [V + *DE*] and [V + *bu* + *DE*] show this ambiguity in the same way.

second type. They are *hiau*² (曉, ‘to know’)⁴, *eng*⁷ (用, ‘to use’)⁵, *sai*² (使, ‘to make’), and *kham*⁴ (堪, ‘to sustain’),⁶ and with these verbs, the [*e*⁷ + Verb + *TIT*⁰] 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, [*e*⁷-*TIT*⁰] behaves differently from the single form *e*⁷ (會, ‘can’). *E*⁷ 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
*i*¹ *e*⁷ *hiau*² *kong*² *ing*²-*gi*²
 he can know speak English
 ‘He can speak English.’

- (6) 他會來
*i*¹ *e*⁷ *lai*⁵
 he can come
 ‘He will/can come.’

Being a preverbal modal, [*e*⁷-*TIT*⁰] not only conveys epistemic possibility but also deontic permission. *E*⁷-*TIT*⁰-*khi*³ (‘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 *be*⁷ is used, but the modal meaning is still kept.

In the fourth type, [*e*⁷-(*TIT*⁰)] is a post-verbal complement which is further followed by other complements. *Tit* sometimes weakens in speech sound. [Verb + *e*⁷-*TIT*⁰ + complement] in TSM indicates only the possibility for doing an action.

According to Lien, the fifth type has only negative forms. [*Be*⁷-Verb-*TIT*⁰] is frozen (fixed) and used as an adverb of intensifier meaning ‘very’, as in *be*⁷-*kong*²-*e*⁷ *kiam*⁵ (袂講得鹹, ‘be so salty that one can not speak of it, exceedingly salty’).

The last type, [*hoat*⁸-*TIT*⁰], is a post-verbal complement. The verb *u*⁷ (有, ‘to have’) is inserted in between the main verb and complement. According to Table 1, *u*⁷-*hoat*⁸ 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.)

⁴ *E*⁷-*hiau*² (會曉) means ‘to know, to understand, and to grasp’. This modal denotes the acquired or learnt ability rather than an instinct.

⁵ *E*⁷-*eng*⁷-*TIT*⁰ (會用得) means ‘can’ and ‘be able to do’.

⁶ *E*⁷-*kham*⁴-*TIT*⁰ (會堪得) means ‘can stand’ and ‘can tolerate’.

⁷ Sometimes, the phonological alternation varies according to the dialectal variants. But *TIT*⁸ is often weakened in the final position. In this case, when *TIT*⁸ is pronounced as *e*, it means that there is another element following *TIT*⁸. See Lien (1997) for the discussion in detail.

Table 2. The meaning of TIT-constructions

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

2. Fuzhounese

2.1 Post-verbal markers: -I³¹, A²⁴², KAU²¹³, LE³¹

In Fuzhounese, there are four markers binding verbs and complements in VC-constructions. They are -I³¹ (其, ‘that’), A²⁴² (會, ‘can’),⁸ KAU²¹³ (到, ‘to arrive’), and LE³¹ (得, grammatical marker⁹). 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 [e⁵³]. 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.

adjectives, 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.¹⁰

(7) 伊起其早

i⁴⁴ khi³³-I tsa³¹
 he rise -I early
 'He gets up early.'

(8) 天清所以我穿其濟

thieng⁴⁴ tsheing³¹ suo^{242:33} i³³ nguai³³ sɔyng²⁴²-I sa²⁴²
 sky cold so I wear-I much
 'It was cold, so I wore much.'

(9) 囡仔食其少

nie⁵³ iang³³ sie³¹-I tsiu⁴⁴
 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*⁵³ (袂, 'cannot') in place of *-I*. Example is shown in (12). [Verb + *me*⁵³ + Adjective] has both potentiality and resultative reading.

Furthermore, *me*⁵³ has its own positive form *a*²⁴² (會, 'can'), so that [Verb + *me*⁵³ + Adjective] may have another positive form [Verb + *A*²⁴² + Adjective], like (13). The example in (13) has only modal reading.

¹⁰ Tone sandhi is a phonetic modification of tone languages, treated as or analogously to a phoneme (Matthews 1997:379).

(12) 囡仔食其袂濟
 nie⁵³ iang³³ sie³¹ me⁵³ sa²⁴²
 children eat cannot much
 ‘Children ate not much.’

(13) 囡仔食會濟
 nie⁵³ 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 3. [V...Adj] construction in Mandarin and Fuzhounese

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

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 *ia*²¹³ (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
 pui³³-keing⁵³-keing⁵³-LE³¹
 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
 nguai³³ thiang⁴⁴ KAU³¹ thau⁵³ du³¹ thiang²¹³ o³³
 I hear KAU head all ache perfective particle
 ‘I heard it and my head ached.’
- (19) 我熱到蜀身都是汗
 nguai³³ ie²⁴ KAU³¹ suo²⁴ ling⁴⁴ du³¹ li⁵³ kang²⁴²
 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 KAU^{213} -construction in Fuzhounese

The origin: $[V + KAU^{31} + N + du^{31} + C + o^{33}]$	
Ex. (19) 我聽到頭都疼咯 nguai ³³ thiang ⁴⁴ KAU ³¹ thau ⁵³ du ³¹ thiang ²¹³ o ³³ ‘I heard it and my head ached.’ (It means that the sound that I heard caused the headache.)	
Variation (1) $[N + du^{31} + V + KAU^{31} + C + o^{33}]$	(20) 我頭都聽到疼咯 nguai ³³ thau ⁵³ du ³¹ thiang ⁴⁴ KAU ³¹ thiang ²¹³ o ³³ ‘My head ached because I heard it.’
Variation (2) $[N + V + KAU^{31} + du^{31} + C + o^{33}]$	(21) 我頭聽到都疼咯 nguai ³³ thau ⁵³ thiang ⁴⁴ KAU ³¹ du ³¹ thiang ²¹³ o ³³ ‘My head ached because I heard it.’
Variation (3) $[du^{31} + V + KAU^{31} + NC + o^{33}]$	(22) 我都聽到頭疼咯 nguai ³³ du ³¹ thiang ⁴⁴ KAU ³¹ thau ⁵³ thiang ²¹³ o ³³ ‘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 KAU^{213} -construction is only kept in a few Chinese dialects.

The manifestation of Le^{31} in Fuzhounese 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^{31} is either a progressive marker or a durative marker. In the sentence $i^{44} le^{31} khui^{53} xui^{242}$ (他在開會, ‘he is holding a meeting’), le^{31} is a progressive marker and in $tha^{213} khui^{33} le^{31}$ (屨開著, ‘the drawer is open’), le^{31} shows duration. Le^{31} is also a perfective marker, as in $puong^{242} sie^{24} le^{33} tsiu^{31} kiang^{53}$ (飯食了就行, ‘I will leave as soon as the eating is finished’). Moreover, le^{31} can also be a locative marker, as in $tshiu^{33} le^{31} u^{31} phie^{44}$ (手上有批, ‘there is a letter in hands’).

As a part of a complement in VC-constructions, LE^{31} 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^{31} , as shown in (23), (24), and (25). LE^{31} can be omitted when it is followed by adjectives. Unlike KAU^{213} -complement indicating degrees, LE^{31} -complement denotes just result states.

- (23) 新人面塗得紅紅勢
 sing⁴⁴ nging⁵³ meing³¹ tu⁵³ LE³¹ øyng³³ øyng⁵³ e³¹
 bride face lay LE red red SC
 ‘The bride’s face was painted red.’
- (24) 他吃得蜀喙都是酒味
 i⁴⁴ sie²⁴ LE³¹ suo²⁴ tshui²¹³ du³¹ li³¹ tsiu⁴⁴ ei²⁴²
 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
 nguai³³ suong⁴⁴ LE³¹ kong⁴⁴ puo⁴⁴ khong³¹ me⁵³ kho³¹
 I think LE all night sleep cannot go
 ‘I thought of this and could not sleep all night.’

2.2 E⁵³/me⁵³ + Verb + LI²⁴

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

	Positive	Negative
1. Circumfix	<i>e + V + LI</i> <i>e sie LI</i> can eat can (‘can be eaten’)	<i>me + V + LI</i> <i>me sie LI</i> cannot eat can (‘cannot be eaten’)
2. Auxiliary	<i>[e + V (-LI)] + V</i> <i>e sai (LI) me</i> can use can buy (‘can buy (it)’)	<i>[me + V (-LI)] + V</i> <i>me sai (LI) me</i> cannot use can buy (‘cannot buy (it)’)
3. Auxiliary	<i>[u-LI] + V</i> <i>u LI kho</i> have can go (‘can go’)	<i>[mo-LI] + V</i> <i>mo LI kho</i> have not can go (‘cannot go’)
4. Complement marker	<i>V + [e-(LI)] + C1-C2</i> <i>sie e (LI) kia o</i> eat can can fall go (‘can eat (it)’)	<i>V + [me-(LI)] + C1-C2</i> <i>sie me (LI) kia o</i> eat cannot can fall go (‘cannot eat (it)’)
5. Adverb	/	<i>[kong-me-tshou-LI]</i> +adj kong me tshou LI ung-mei say not cannot out LI interesting (‘extremely interesting’)
6. Complement	<i>V + [u] + [xua-(LI)]</i> <i>kuang u xua-(LI)</i> manage have method can (‘can manage (it)’)	<i>V + [mo] + [xua-(LI)]</i> <i>kuang mo xua-(LI)</i> 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, *TIT*⁰ 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 (有, ‘to have or to exist’)¹¹ in place of the modal marker *e*⁷ (會, ‘can’) 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.

¹¹ In Fuzhounese, *ou*²⁴² (有, ‘to have or to exist’) has an allophone *u*³¹.

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 --- $[e^7 + Verb + (TIT^8)]$ and $[e^{53} + Verb + (LI^{24})]$ are still pre-verbal.

Table 6. The contrast of Taiwanese Southern Min and Fuzhounese

Taiwanese Southern Min			Fuzhounese		
(a)	Post-verbal Markers		(a)	Post-verbal Markers	
$LIAU^2$	Resultant state		LE^{31}	Resultant state	
KA^4	Extent / degree of results		KAU^{213}	Extent / degree of results	
HOO^7	Expected results		$-I^{31}$	Resultant state (assertive)	
$TIOH^8$	Potential (ability)		E^{53}	Potential (ability)	
(b)	Tit-constructions		(b)	Li-constructions	
Type	Forms	Meanings	Type	Forms	Meanings
Circumfix	$e+V+TIT$	Potential (slight permission)	Circumfix	$e+V+LI$	Potential (slight permission)
Auxiliary	$[e+V+(TIT)]+V$	Permission Potential	Auxiliary	$[e+V+(LI)]+V$	Permission Potential
	$[e+TIT]+V$	Permission Potential		$[u+LI]+V$	Permission Potential
Complement Marker	$V+[e+(TIT)]+C1+C2$	Potential (ability)	Complement Marker	$V+[e+(LI)]+C1+C2$	Potential (ability)
Adverb	$[be+V+TIT]+adj$	Intensifier	Adverb	$[be+V+LI]+adj$	Intensifier
Complement	$V+u+[hoat+TIT]$	Potential (ability)	Complement	$V+u+[xua+(LI)]$	Potential (ability)

4. Lexical modal vs. phrasal modal

In the course of discussion, we should not take the construction $[e^7/be^7 + Verb + TIT^0]$ in TSM and $[e^{53}/me^{53} + Verb + LI^{24}]$ 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 $[e^7/be^7 + Verb + TIT^0]$ is a verbal phrase: $e^7/be^7 + Verb + $TIT^0$$. One of the evolvments 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 *hiau*² (曉, ‘to know’), *eng*⁷ (用, ‘to use’), *sai*² (使, ‘to make’), and *kham*⁴ (堪, ‘to sustain’) as mentioned in 1.2. These verbs are just a few and the forms after lexicalization are somehow fixed but productive. *TIT*⁰ 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 *e*⁷ *chiah*⁸ *TIT*⁰ (會食得, ‘edible’), *e*⁷ *ma*¹ *TIT*⁰ (會罵得, ‘can be educated’), and *e*⁷ *kian*⁵ *TIT*⁰ (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 **e*⁷ *khau*⁴ *TIT*⁰ (*會哭得, ‘*can cry’) and **e*⁷ *si*² *TIT*⁰ (*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 [*e*⁷...*TIT*⁰]. Examples are shown in (26) and (27).

(26) 這款天氣會飛得

chit⁵ khoan² thiN⁷khi³ 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 *pe*¹ (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 *chau*² (走, ‘to run’) is an intransitive verb, but it undergoes the process of transitivity in comprehension.

The surface intransitive property of *pe*¹ (飛, ‘to fly’) and *chau*² (走, ‘to run’) is unchanged. The sentential subjects, the weather and road, are adjuncts and not real arguments. *Pe*¹ (飛, ‘to fly’) and *chau*² (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 [$e^7/be^7 + \text{Verb} + TIT^0$] undergoes lexicalization or remains as a verbal phrase, it resembles the middle construction. For example, *chiah*⁸ (食, ‘eat’) is a two-place predicate which is paraphrased as [*chiah*⁸(x, y)]. These two variables stand for two arguments: an agent (eater) and a patient (food). After coming into the construction [$e^7 \text{chiah}^8 TIT^0$ (會食得, ‘edible’)], the patient is preserved but the agent is omitted. The construction [$e^7 \text{chiah}^8 TIT^0$ (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 e^7 (‘can’) in TSM or a^{242} (‘can’) in Fuzhounese, they still express modal readings like *de* in Mandarin Chinese and form various kinds of constructions, for example [$e + \text{Verb} + TIT$] in TSM and [$e + \text{Verb} + LI$] 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.

Onsets	p	T	ts	k	ph	th	tsh
Examples	爬[pa ⁵³]	地[tei ²⁴²]	早[tsa ³³]	古[ku ³³]	悲[phi ⁴⁴]	替[tha ²¹³]	柴[tsha ⁵³]
Onsets	kh	m	n(l) ¹²	ng	s	h	(zero)
Examples	溪[khe ⁴⁴]	米(mi ³³)	禮[ne ³³]	牙[ngai ⁴⁴]	紗[sa ⁴⁴]	海[hai ³³]	椅[ie ³³]

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.

Fuzhounese Onsets in Isolation	Assimilated Onsets	
	After[a, e, o, ə] ¹³	After [ng] ¹⁴
p, ph	b	m
t, th, s, n	l	n
ts, tsh	z	nz
k, kh, x, 0 ¹⁵	0	ng
m, ng	No change	No change

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, ə], 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.

Tone Type	Yin-ping	Yang-ping	Shang	Yin-qu	Yang-qu	Yin-ru	Yang-ru
Pitch¹⁶	55	53	33	213	242	24	5
Tone Mark	High level	High falling	Mid-level	Falling-rising	Rising-falling	Mid-rising	High brief
Example	山[sang]	池[tie]	水[tsui]	架[ka]	路[tuo]	德[taiʔ]	合[xaʔ]

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].

Table 10.

Tones of Preceding Words	Tones of Following Words						
	Yin-ping	Yang-ping	Shang	Yin-qu	Yang-qu	Yin-ru	Yang-ru
Yin-ping	Yin-ping	Yin-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yin-ping
Yang-ping	Yin-ping	Shang	Shang	(falling)	(falling)	(falling)	Shang
Shang	(falling)	(falling)	(rising)	Yin-ping	Yin-ping	Yin-ping	(falling)
Yin-qu	Yin-ping	Yin-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yin-ping
Yang-qu	Yin-ping	Yin-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yin-ping
Yin-ru (I)	(falling)	(falling)	(rising)	Yin-ping	Yin-ping	Yin-ping	(falling)
(II)	Yin-ping	Yin-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yang-ping	Yin-ping
Yang-ru	Yin-ping	Shang	Shang	(falling)	(falling)	(falling)	Shang

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

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Department of Applied Foreign Languages
 Hsuan Chuang University
 Hsinchu, TAIWAN
 Szu-I Sylvia Yu: g894701@alumni.nthu.edu.tw

閩南語和福州方言的動詞後標記

于嗣宜

玄奘大學

本文探討帶有動詞後成分的動詞結構：閩南語「*tit*-結構」和福州方言的「*li*-結構」，是否能傳達如同普通話（國語）「得」的情態語意（如：趕得上的得）。閩南語 e^7/e^{53} （會）和 tit^8/li^{24} 被視為加在動詞前後的環綴（circumfix），加上環綴的結構 [$e^7/e^{53} + V + tit^8/li^{24}$] 傳達「能力/潛力（potentiality）」或「可能性（possibility）」的語意。經詞彙化， $[e^7/e^{53} + V + tit^8/li^{24}]$ 形成整體，能再接其他謂語，提供整體語意（constructional meaning）「許可（permission）」或「能力/潛力（potentiality）」。將 e^7/e^{53} （會）和 tit^8/li^{24} 的組合視為中綴（infix），緊接著主要動詞，引導補語。看似沒有真正典型動詞後情態詞的閩南語和福州方言，爲了傳達情態語意（potentiality），用動詞 e^7/e^{53} 或其否定式 be^7/me^{53} 在主要謂語之前，將 tit^8/li^{24} 加在主要謂語之後，是這兩大方言的重要手法。

關鍵詞：情態詞、動(詞)後、環綴、能力/潛力、結構語意