

Hierarchies of Modal Verbs in Ding'an Dialect of Hainan Southern Min

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Modal verbs in Ding'an Dialect (DAD for short) are rich in number and meaning in comparison with their counterparts in MC. Take □[ve⁵⁵] for an example.

- (1) 伊 □[ve⁵⁵] 来 也 作得。 [Dynamic]
I³³ ve⁵⁵ lai³⁵ zia¹³ toh⁵⁵-ʔdit⁵.
3SG want come also do-get
'It's also OK if s/he wants to go.'
- (2) a. 宿母 天 一 暗 就 □[ve⁵⁵] 阙。 [Deontic]
Siu³⁵-mai³²⁵ hi³ zia⁵ am³¹ tsiu³⁵ ve⁵⁵ xuai⁵.
home mother sky one dark will tend.to sleep
'My mother tends to sleep as soon as it's getting dark.'
- b. 我 □[ve⁵⁵] 去!
Va³²⁵ ve⁵⁵ xu⁵!
1SG promise go
'I promise I will go this time!'
- c. 多 水 □[ve⁵⁵] 流 去 下 处。
ʔDuai¹³ ʔdui³¹ ve⁵⁵ lau³²⁵ xu⁵ e³ ʔde³⁵.
much water naturally.will flow go down place
'The water in river will naturally flow to the lower place.'
- d. 伊 □[ve⁵⁵] 稠稠 来 这里。
I³³ ve⁵⁵ tsiu³.tsiau³ lai³⁵ tse³⁵.lai³³.
3SG will frequently come here
'S/He will come here frequently.'
- (3) a. 现旦 □[ve⁵⁵] 落 雨。 [Epistemic]
Hin³²⁵-nu^{a3} ve⁵⁵ lo⁵⁵ hou³.
tomorrow possibly.will fall rain
'It will rain tomorrow possibly.'
- b. 么 天 □[ve⁵⁵] 落 雨。
Mo⁵ hi³ ve⁵⁵ lo⁵⁵ hou³.
That sky probably.will fall rain
'It will rain probably.'
- c. 么 天 □[ve⁵⁵] 落 雨 (咯)! 闪 去 宿!
Mo⁵hi³ ve⁵⁵ lo⁵⁵ hou³ (lo³³)! øem³ xu³⁵ siu³⁵!
that sky definitely.will fall rain SFP flash go home
'It's definitely going to rain soon! Let's go home!'
- (4) a. 天气 预报 讲 现旦 □[ve⁵⁵] 落 雨。 [Evidential]
Hi³-xui³⁵.zi³⁵-ʔbo³²⁵ koŋ⁵ hin³²⁵-nu^{a3} ve⁵⁵ lo⁵⁵ hou³.
weather report say tomorrow will fall rain
'It is reported that it will rain tomorrow.'
- b. 么 天 □[ve⁵⁵] 落 雨 (咯)! 闪闪 走!
Mo⁵hi³ ve⁵⁵ lo⁵⁵ hou³ (lo³³)! øem³-øem³ ʔdau³²⁵!
that sky evidentially.will fall rain SFP flash-flash go
'Evidentially, it will rain soon! Let's go immediately!'

Examples in (1-4) illustrate that the modal verb □[ve⁵⁵] in DAD can express dynamic, deontic, epistemic and evidential modality. Thus, we propose that the hierarchy of modal verbs in DAD is much more fine-grained than that in MC, with DAD modal verbs being richer in semantic interpretations and syntactic distributions than those in MC.

This research provides theoretical and empirical implications in at least two aspects. This research fills the gap in terms of the generativist theorizing, viz. the Syntactic Cartography. In particular, the division of the four-tier hierarchy of modal verbs not only helps facilitate the follow-up descriptive studies of the modal system in dialects like DAD, but also theoretically modifies the existing widely-accepted three-tier hierarchy of modal verbs in the Syntactic Cartography.

Keywords: DAD of Hainan Southern Min; modal verb; syntactic hierarchy; Syntactic Cartography