

# Interface of Modality and the *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 Constructions in Southern Min: A Case Study of Their Developments from Earlier Southern Min in the Ming and Qing to Modern Taiwanese Southern Min\*

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The paper mainly focuses on examining the two major types of *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 constructions in interaction with preverbal positive or negative modals in Southern Min texts in a diachronic perspective, (1) *oe*<sup>7</sup>/*boe*<sup>7</sup> + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 會/袂 + V + 得 and (2) Neg (modal) + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得. The finding of the present endeavor is that the complex dynamic modal *oe*<sup>7</sup>/*boe*<sup>7</sup>-*hiau*<sup>2</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 會/袂曉得 and the complex deontic modals *oe*<sup>7</sup>/*boe*<sup>7</sup>-*sai*<sup>2</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 會/袂使得 as well as *oe*<sup>7</sup>/*boe*<sup>7</sup>-*eng*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 會/袂用得 have emerged as a result of grammaticalization in modern Taiwanese Southern Min from the first type of *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 constructions attested in earlier Southern Min texts. For Neg (modal) + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 as the second major type of *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 constructions, I argue for the hybrid nature of Ming and Qing playscripts and a distinction between *pu*<sup>25</sup> *tə*<sup>25</sup> 不得 as an alien modal and *boe*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 袂得 as a native modal is drawn on the strength of dialectal and colloquial textual evidence. The preverbal *pu*<sup>25</sup> *tə*<sup>25</sup> 不得 in its function of circumstantial dynamic modal is shown to be inherited from the Jianghuai dialect. The native preverbal *boe*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 袂得 also takes on the similar modal function. A noteworthy fact about the evolution of *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 constructions is that there is a competition between preverbal modals and the postverbal *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 in favour of the former since the latter is subject to formal attrition.

Key words: modal, negation, grammaticalization, Southern Min, competition

## 1. Introduction

Based on the notion of construction grammar where a construction is a pairing of form and meaning (Goldberg 1995, Jackendoff 2002), this paper aims at teasing out the

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semantic and syntactic properties of each construction and trace the path of development of each construction by correlating the distributions of these constructions in the texts of earlier and modern Taiwanese Southern Min (henceforth TSM).<sup>1</sup>

Though the Ming and Qing playscripts were written as a mixture of Quanzhou and Chaozhou dialects in native (viz., Southern Min) stratum, there are also earlier Mandarin elements, as attested in the texts, in the imported or rather alien stratum.<sup>2</sup> The stratal difference is shown in the choice of the negative elements, namely 袂 vs. 不, in the constructions involved. In cognizance of the hybrid nature of the texts, I shall discuss negative elements both in native and alien strata in the following discussion.

Between introduction and conclusion, the bulk of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 examines the construction of V + *tit*<sup>4</sup>得 featuring cognitive verbs optionally preceded by the positive or negative modal *oe*<sup>7</sup>會/*boe*<sup>7</sup>袂, as in *hiau*<sup>2</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup>曉得, *ki*<sup>3</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup>記得 and *jin*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup>認得. Section 3 deals with the construction, *oe*<sup>7</sup>會/*boe*<sup>7</sup>袂 + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup>得 where the main verb is realized by verbs other than the three cognitive verbs just mentioned. Section 4 is concerned with the constructions involving *oe*<sup>7</sup> *sai*<sup>2</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup>會使得 and *oe*<sup>7</sup> *eng*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup>會用得 and their negative counterparts. Section 5 explores a variety of Neg (modal) + *tit*<sup>4</sup>得 constructions on the basis of stratal distinction. Section 6 deals with the doubling of modals in the constructions involved.

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<sup>1</sup> The spelling of Southern Min in this paper is based on the Church Romanization codified in Douglas (1873). Some adjustments have been made. In particular, the diacritic tone marks have been superseded by numerical superscripts. The superscripts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 stand for *yin ping*, *yin shang*, *yin qu*, *yin ru*, *yang ping*, *yang qu* and *yang ru* respectively. *Ch* and *ts* and *chh* and *tsh* have been merged into *ch* and *chh* respectively as each pair does not involve phonemic contrast in modern Southern Min. Open *o* and closed *o* are represented as *oo* and *o*, as in *soo*<sup>1</sup> 疏 ‘distant’ and *so*<sup>1</sup> 梭 ‘shuttle’. Vocalic nasalization is indicated by a double *n*. The rendition of earlier Southern Min sounds is based on the Quanzhou pronunciation as a way to approximate the original sound values of earlier Southern Min. For convenience of typing /ir/ and /er/ stands for high central unrounded vowel and mid back unrounded vowel respectively (see Ang 1996 and Lin 1993). The modern Southern Min texts will be rendered in the generally accepted form of modern Taiwanese Southern Min. Pinyin spelling is used to render modern Mandarin examples.

<sup>2</sup> A piece of evidence attesting to the existence of imported Mandarin stratum is furnished by the use of 著 both as a directive (使役) verb and an agent marker in passives in earlier Mandarin texts such as the Laoqida (Dyer 1983:90-93, Xie 1991:173-177, Chung 2001, Takekoshi 2007), Yuan lyric songs, and Ming colloquial novels such as *Shui Hu Zhuang* (Water Margin) (Kousaka 1995:17-18).

## 2. The postverbal *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 constructions with the cognitive verbs

Let us consider the first type of construction. Besides its verbal and preverbal use, *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 takes on two postverbal functions, (1) resultative and (2) modal, as attested in sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth century playscripts of Southern Min (Wu 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, and Loon 1992).<sup>3</sup> Whether *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 in the construction of complex predicate V + *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 realized as three cognitive verbs is interpreted as a resultative complement or a postverbal modal of possibility depends on the kind of construction in which it co-occurs.

Since *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 developed the modal sense of possibility, there is no need of a preverbal modal of possibility. But there are a number of examples where the postverbal modal *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 co-occurs with the preverbal negative modal of possibility as a fusional element of a negative element and a modal of possibility. The modal sense of the postverbal *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 becomes redundant and depleted vis-à-vis the newly arising negative modal of possibility. When the modal sense of the postverbal *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 is eroded, the appearance of the positive preverbal modal is justified. Such a proposal accounts for why—as shown in Table 1<sup>4</sup>—there are so many instances of the negative preverbal modal *boe<sup>7</sup>* 袂/襪 but only rare if any positive preverbal modal in construction with the postverbal *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得, in the earlier stage (viz., sixteenth and seventeenth century) of the development of *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 constructions in Southern Min; viz., 2% for 會 V 得 vs. 98% for 袂/不 V 得 out of a total of 61 tokens in the *Lijing* 荔鏡 and *Lizhi* 荔枝 playscripts.<sup>5</sup> Bare V-得 without being adorned by the preverbal modal or negation accounts for 71% of the V 得 constructions whereas the V-得 preceded by the preverbal modal or negation only involves 29% out of the total tokens 212. By contrast, there is, in modern Taiwanese Southern Min (Hu 1994, etc.), no instance of bare V + *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 whereas there is a sharp increase of V + *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 preceded either by preverbal positive epistemic modal *oe<sup>7</sup>* 會 or the negative epistemic modal *boe<sup>7</sup>* 袂/襪 and the plain negative element *m<sup>7</sup>* 不.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Please see the Appendix for the code, title, edition and date of earlier Southern Min playscripts to be examined in the paper.

<sup>4</sup> The following are the abbreviations for terms of grammatical functions used in the paper: ACM (accusative marker), CL (classifier), CPM (completive phase marker), DC (directional complement), DS (diminutive suffix), GM (genitive marker), IPM (inchoative phase marker), NM (nominalizer), PRVM (preverbal modal), POVM (postverbal modal), SUF (suffix), SFP (sentence-final particle).

<sup>5</sup> There is no character for *boe<sup>7</sup>* as a fusional form of the negative form *b-* (< \*m-) and *oe<sup>7</sup>* 會. So the loan character 袂 or 襪 is used in the texts.

<sup>6</sup> *Oe<sup>7</sup>* 會 alone is ambiguous between epistemic and dynamic modal. See Palmer (2001) for the notion of epistemic and dynamic modals. For the sake of uniformity I use *oe<sup>7</sup>* and *boe<sup>7</sup>*, the Quanzhou forms, rather than *e<sup>7</sup>* and *be<sup>7</sup>*, the Zhangzhou forms, to render 會 and 袂 throughout

The two types of construction denoting irrealis situations are almost equal in frequency, viz., 51% for *boe*<sup>7</sup> 袂 + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 vs. 49% for *oe*<sup>7</sup> 會 + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 1:** The distribution of postverbal *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 constructions with cognitive verbs

No preverbal modal or negatives		JJ, WL, SZ, GX	JHN, SLN, QL	WLJC	Taiwanese folktales
曉得		88	5	14	0
記得		51	11	2	0
認得		12	3	2	0
Total		151 (71%)	19 (76%)	18 (51%)	0 (0%)
Preverbal modal or negatives		JJ, WL, SZ, GX	JHN, SLN, QL	WLJC	Taiwanese folktales
袂 V 得	曉得	15 (25%)	0	9	84 (26%)
	記得	24 (39%)	1	8	66 (20%)
	認得	3 (5%)	3	0	16 (5%)
不 V 得	曉得	10 (16%)	0	0	0 (0%)
	記得	8 (13%)	0	0	0 (0%)
	認得	0 (0%)	1	0	0 (0%)
會 V 得	曉得	0 (0%)	1	0	127 (39%)
	記得	1 (2%)	0	0	32 (10%)
	認得	0 (0%)	0	0	1 (0%)
Total		61 (29%)	6 (24%)	17 (49%)	326 (100%)
Total		212	25	35	326

The postverbal *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 in Type 1 expresses the resultative state of an activity in the case of *ki*<sup>3</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 記得 and *jin*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 認得. The difference between *ki*<sup>3</sup> 記 ‘memorize’ and 記得 ‘remember’, on the one hand, and between *jin*<sup>7</sup> 認 ‘identify’ and *jin*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 認得 ‘recognize, know’, on the other, is basically a difference of activity and state in the sense of Vendler (1957).<sup>8</sup> There are criteria for making such a distinction. For example,

the paper. The two types of pronunciation are interchangeable without affecting their grammatical status in modern TSM.

<sup>7</sup> The weakened, zero forms and variants of 得 in 袂 V 得 and 會 V 得 in modern Taiwanese Southern Min are also included in the counting of the tokens involved.

<sup>8</sup> There is a close interaction between verbal elements and mood. Thus the V-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 when occurring in a non-indicative (i.e., interrogative) mood will acquire an added sense of possibility on top of the sense of resultative state, as in *lu*<sup>2</sup> *mng*<sup>5</sup> *m*<sup>7</sup> *chhut*<sup>4</sup>, *hoo*<sup>7</sup> *m*<sup>7</sup> *jjp*<sup>8</sup>. *Cho*<sup>3</sup>-*mih*<sup>8</sup> *hiau*<sup>2</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> *i*<sup>1</sup>-*lang*<sup>5</sup> *khiap*<sup>4</sup> 你門不出, 戶不入. 做乜曉得伊人佻 (14.374-5 JJ) [you door not go.out door not enter how know he person ugly] ‘You neither go outdoors nor pay visits. How can you know that he is ugly?’.

*jin<sup>7</sup>* 認 but not *jin<sup>7</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 認得 can be preceded by the buolemic modal *ai<sup>3</sup>* 愛 ‘wish’, as in *gua<sup>2</sup> tann<sup>1</sup> ai<sup>3</sup> jin<sup>7</sup> iu<sup>7</sup> m<sup>7</sup> kann<sup>2</sup>* 我今愛認, 又不敢 (11.338 SZ) [I now wish identify nevertheless not dare] ‘I wish but dare not recognize him now’. Likewise, *ki<sup>3</sup>* 記 rather than *ki<sup>3</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 記得 can be preceded by the buolemic modal *beh<sup>4</sup>* ‘want’, as in *ke<sup>3</sup>-khi<sup>3</sup> tai<sup>7</sup>-chi<sup>3</sup> chui<sup>5</sup>-lang<sup>5</sup> beh<sup>4</sup> ki<sup>3</sup>* 過去事志, 誰人卜記 (26.398 JJ) ‘who will put the past event in mind?’. As shown in Table 1, compared with other cognitive verbs *hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 曉得 is most productive and tends to occur in negative (rather than positive) modal context, but when *tit<sup>4</sup>* is not present, *hiau<sup>2</sup>* 曉 sparingly occurs with other elements yielding *hun<sup>1</sup>-hiau<sup>2</sup>* 分曉 ‘understand’ or *hiau<sup>2</sup>-su<sup>7</sup>* 曉事 ‘know things, be sensible’. The plain *hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 曉得 meaning ‘know, understand’, though a transitive verb, is mostly followed by a gap, as the zero object of one of its argument denoting something previously mentioned in the discourse, or takes a nominal or clausal object. But a noteworthy point about *hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 曉得 in a diachronic perspective is that it has undergone a change from a lexicalized verb in Ming and Qing period to a dynamic modal in modern Southern Min in combination with *oe<sup>7</sup>* 會 and *boe<sup>7</sup>* 袂 yielding the very productive positive complex modal *oe<sup>7</sup>-hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 會曉得 and the negative complex modal *boe<sup>7</sup>-hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 袂曉得. Each of them takes on the function of dynamic modals. *Hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 曉得 can no longer be used alone; it has to be preceded by the modal *oe<sup>7</sup>* 會 and *boe<sup>7</sup>* 袂. The newly rising complex modal *oe<sup>7</sup>-hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 會曉得 or *boe<sup>7</sup>-hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 袂曉得 can only take a verb phrase (VP) rather than a noun phrase or a clause, as in *i<sup>1</sup> chin<sup>1</sup> oe<sup>7</sup>-hiau<sup>2</sup> cho<sup>3</sup> si<sup>1</sup> lah* 伊真會曉作詩啦 (94.18 Xinshexiang) [he very can make poem SFP] ‘he is quite good at composing poems’ and *goa<sup>2</sup> siau<sup>3</sup>-lien<sup>5</sup> boe<sup>7</sup>-hiau<sup>2</sup> sng<sup>2</sup> tek<sup>4</sup>-tang<sup>5</sup>* 我少年袂曉耍竹筒 (198.06 Yunlin-3) [I young cannot play bamboo tube] ‘I don’t know how to play the bamboo tube in my childhood’, although the object VP when mentioned in a previous context can very often remain unrealized. *Oe<sup>7</sup>-hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 會曉得 as a complex dynamic modal in modern Southern Min meaning ‘know how to do something’ involves an event rather than a proposition, whereas *hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 曉得 in earlier Ming and Qing texts takes an object denoting a proposition or a thing.<sup>9</sup>

### 3. The postverbal *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 constructions with other types of verbs

Now let us turn our attention to the second type of construction. The distributional asymmetry of the construction of V + *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 in construction with negative and positive preverbal modal in earlier Southern Min as manifested in the occurrence of the three

<sup>9</sup> In Palmer (2001:7) dynamic and deontic modals involve events, whereas epistemic modals concern proposition. Thus, *oe<sup>7</sup>-hiau<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 會曉得 ‘know how to’ in modern TSM is a dynamic modal denoting acquired skill.

cognitive verbs does not mean that the construction  $V + \widehat{tit^4}$  得 involving other types of verbs or constructions does not occur with positive/negative epistemic modals. In fact, the postverbal  $\widehat{tit^4}$  得 in the second construction can occur in two kinds of negative context, viz. (1) 袂 + V + 得, as in 袂食得, and (2) V + 不 + 得, as in 容不得. It can also occur in the positive context when the construct  $V-\widehat{tit^4}$  得 is preceded by the epistemic modal, viz. 會 + V + 得, as in 會放得. Although the modal sense of the postverbal  $\widehat{tit^4}$  得 in the three irrealis contexts seems to be eclipsed by the preverbal modal 袂, or 會, or the infixal negative element 不, it still retains its resilience as it cannot be deleted without affecting the overall meaning of the construction.

Post-verbal  $\widehat{tit^4}$  得 interacts with preverbal modals. The constructions may occur in either positive or negative context. Let us consider the post-verbal  $\widehat{tit^4}$  得 construction in the negative context first.

### 3.1 Negative modals + V + $\widehat{tit^4}$ 得

#### 3.1.1 $Boe^7$ 袂 + Vt + $\widehat{tit^4}$ 得 + O

The construction comprises a transitive verb sandwiched by the discontinuous sequence  $boe^7$  ---  $\widehat{tit^4}$  袂 --- 得 and followed by an object NP.  $Boe^7$  袂 as a negative modal is derived from the contraction of a negative element and the modal  $oe^7$  會.  $Oe^7$  會 is etymologically derived from 解 bearing a departing tone category and the Middle Chinese voiced velar initial 匣.<sup>10</sup>  $\widehat{Tit^4}$  得 is placed after the verb and assumed the role of a postverbal modal in this construction.  $Boe^7$  袂 occurring before the verb is a preverbal modal. It brings with it negation as well as the epistemic modal sense. Both preverbal  $boe^7$  袂 and the postverbal  $\widehat{tit^4}$  得 carry a modal sense. This gives rise to a competing situation.

- (1)  $Goa^2$   $si^7$   $li^2$   $ang^1$ - $a^2$   $to^1$   $boe^7$   $ma^7$   $\widehat{tit^4}$   $lir^2$   
 我是你翁仔都袂罵得你 (11.65 SZ)<sup>11</sup>  
 I be you husband-DS even not-can scold POVM you  
 ‘Even I cannot scold you as your husband.’

<sup>10</sup> It is often reconstructed as \*/ɣ/, but it has been lost leaving its trace in the yang tone category in a group of colloquial words bearing this initial such as  $oa^5$  何,  $oo^5$  湖,  $oe^5$  鞋,  $oah^8$  活 and  $oh^8$  學 as well as  $e^7$  解 rendered as 會 as a semantic loan character (Norman 1988:125, Lien 1997, Yang 2001).

<sup>11</sup> The numeral before the dot means the ordinal number of acts in the playscripts, and the numeral following the dot refers to the serialized item.

- (2) Goa<sup>2</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> koo<sup>3</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> lir<sup>2</sup>  
 我袂顧得你 (11.725 SZ)  
 I not-can attend.to you  
 ‘I cannot attend to you.’
- (3) U<sup>7</sup> boe<sup>2</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> choe<sup>3</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> chu<sup>2</sup>  
 有馬袂做得主 (26.404 JJ)  
 Have horse not-can do POVM master  
 ‘There is a horse. But I cannot decide myself.’
- (4) Koann<sup>1</sup>-lang<sup>0</sup> chit<sup>8</sup> loo<sup>7</sup> siu<sup>7</sup> khoo<sup>2</sup> boe<sup>1</sup> tng<sup>1</sup> tit<sup>4</sup>  
 官人一路受苦, 袂當得 (50.049 JJ)  
 Husband all.the.way suffer hardship not-can endure POVM  
 ‘He suffered hardship all the way. He cannot stand it.’
- (5) Toa<sup>7</sup> chhiu<sup>7</sup> to<sup>1</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> siu<sup>7</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> kim<sup>1</sup> to<sup>1</sup> poo<sup>2</sup>  
 大樹都袂受得金刀斧 (17.053 GX)  
 Big tree even not-can stand POVM gold knife hatchet  
 ‘Even big trees can not stand the golden hatchet.’

### 3.1.2 (O) + *boe*<sup>7</sup> 袂 + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得

The object of the transitive verb in the construction *boe*<sup>7</sup> 袂 + Vt + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 may be preposed and becomes the topic of a sentence carrying old information, as in (6). The object of a transitive verb may turn up as the topic in the first sentence, and the gap as an object of the verb in the second sentence (viz., the construction under discussion) refers back to the topic, as in (7). The object of the verb may be preposed by the preposition *kang*<sup>7</sup> 共, as in (8), and may even remain unexpressed if it has been mentioned previously, as in (9).

- (6) Thau<sup>5</sup>-chiunn<sup>7</sup>-a<sup>2</sup> ai<sup>3</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> chhi<sup>7</sup> tit<sup>0</sup>  
 頭上仔愛襪飼得 (14.114 JJ)<sup>12</sup>  
 First-born-DS inevitably not-can raise POVM  
 ‘The first baby inevitably cannot survive.’

<sup>12</sup> This sentence seems to be amenable to middle construction interpretation in that the logical object re-emerges as the grammatical subject of the sentence and it has a generic sense (for middle constructions in TSM see Lien 2010). 上 in 頭上 is a phonetic character for *chhiu*<sup>nm7</sup> 養. So *thau*<sup>5</sup> *chhiu*<sup>nm7</sup> 頭養 means a first born.

- (7) Chiu<sup>2</sup> mai<sup>3</sup> thin<sup>5</sup> goa<sup>2</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> chiah<sup>8</sup> tit<sup>0</sup>  
 酒勿斟, 我袂食得 (28.084 SZ)  
 Wine don't pour I not-can eat POVM  
 'Don't pour the wine. I cannot take it.'
- (8) Iah<sup>8</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> kang<sup>7</sup> lir<sup>2</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> tit<sup>0</sup>  
 亦袂共你鬥得 (11.296 SZ)  
 Also not-can with you match POVM  
 '(I) cannot work together with you.'
- (9) Chap<sup>8</sup>-cheng<sup>2</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> ther<sup>1</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> liau<sup>2</sup>  
 十種, 袂推得了 (5.627 SZ)<sup>13</sup>  
 Mixed.seed not-can push POVM CPM  
 'Bastard! You cannot get off scot-free.'

In rare cases, the verbs may be intransitive, as in (10).

- (10) Goa<sup>2</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> khun<sup>3</sup> tit<sup>4</sup>  
 我袂困得 (3.020 GX)  
 I not-can sleep TIT  
 'I cannot sleep.'

### 3.1.3 *Boe*<sup>7</sup> 袂 + *Vt* + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 + *O* + *C*/(*Sub*+*VP*)*cl*

*Boe*<sup>7</sup> 袂 + *Vt* + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 and its complement such as 過 may be separated by an object NP, as in (11), reflecting an earlier stage when the complement had not occurred immediately after the *vt* + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得. The same construction may be followed by an object clause consisting of subject and predicate, as in (12) and (13).

- (11) Boe<sup>7</sup> khi<sup>1</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> goa<sup>2</sup> ker<sup>3</sup>  
 袂欺得我過 (11.694 SZ)  
 Not-can bully POVM I pass  
 '...cannot bully me.'
- (12) Lang<sup>5</sup> to<sup>1</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> siu<sup>7</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> lang<sup>5</sup> lo<sup>5</sup>-so<sup>1</sup>  
 人都袂受得人嘍嘈 (10.115 SZ)  
 People all not-can endure POVM people grumble  
 'Nobody can stand others grumbling.'

<sup>13</sup> 十 'ten' is a phonetic loan character for 雜 'mixed'.

- (13) *Goa*<sup>2</sup> *si*<sup>8</sup> *si*<sup>7</sup> *boe*<sup>7</sup> *siu*<sup>7</sup> *tit*<sup>4</sup> *i*<sup>1</sup> *lang*<sup>5</sup> *sann*<sup>1</sup> *siann*<sup>1</sup> *e*<sup>7</sup>  
 我實是袂受得伊人三聲下 (10.036 SZ)  
 I really be not-can endure POVM he person three sound DC  
 ‘I really cannot stand his repeated entreaty.’

The non-fusional negative modal *put*<sup>4</sup> 不 + *leng*<sup>5</sup> 能 in construction with V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 is rare. Only one example in Jinhuanü (Wu 2002a) is found in the whole set of Ming and Qing playscripts.<sup>14</sup> But *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 in the only example as shown below seems to bear the resultative rather than modal sense.

- (14) *Lau*<sup>7</sup>-*ia*<sup>5</sup> *loo*<sup>7</sup>-*too*<sup>5</sup> *tiau*<sup>5</sup>-*oan*<sup>2</sup> *put*<sup>4</sup> *leng*<sup>5</sup> *chhiann*<sup>2</sup> *tit*<sup>4</sup> *seng*<sup>1</sup>-*oan*<sup>5</sup>  
 老爺路途迢遠, 不能請得生員 (587.008 JHN)  
 Master journey far not can invite POVM scholar  
 ‘Sir, it is far away. We cannot engage a scholar.’
- (15) *Goa*<sup>2</sup> *kang*<sup>7</sup> *lir*<sup>2</sup> *tia*<sup>1</sup>-*ma*<sup>2</sup> *ku*<sup>7</sup> *tok*<sup>8</sup>-*chu*<sup>2</sup> *ni*<sup>5</sup>-*lau*<sup>7</sup> *chai*<sup>7</sup> *leng*<sup>5</sup> *oh*<sup>8</sup> *tit*<sup>4</sup> *i*<sup>1</sup>  
 我共你, 爹媽俱獨子年老, 在能學得伊? (06.019 SLN)<sup>15</sup>  
 I and you father mother all only child old how can learn POVM he  
 ‘Our parents are old and both of us are their only children. How can we emulate him?’

### 3.2 Positive modal + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得

The construction to be discussed in this section consists of a sequence of a positive modal + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得. The positive modal can be realized as *oe*<sup>7</sup> 會 or *leng*<sup>5</sup> 能.

#### 3.2.1 *Oe*<sup>7</sup> 會 + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 + (O)

*Oe*<sup>7</sup> 會 + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 is a construction featuring circumstantial dynamic modality. The verbs in it are overwhelmingly transitive, as in (16) and (17), and rarely intransitive, as in (18). In the case of transitive verbs the object can be gapped if it is understood based on the referent in the preceding sentence, as in (19).

<sup>14</sup> Another example as shown here does not qualify as the construction featuring *put*<sup>4</sup> 不 + *leng*<sup>5</sup> 能 + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 since *chin*<sup>7</sup> is an adverb rather than a verb. *Kim*<sup>1</sup>-*toann*<sup>3</sup> *heng*<sup>7</sup> *hong*<sup>5</sup> *tang*<sup>1</sup>-*choeh*<sup>4</sup> *chhiu*<sup>2</sup>-*thau*<sup>5</sup> *khoat*<sup>4</sup>-*hoat*<sup>8</sup> *put*<sup>4</sup>-*leng*<sup>5</sup> *chin*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> *su*<sup>7</sup>-*cheng*<sup>5</sup> 今旦幸逢冬節, 手頭缺乏, 不能盡得事情 [now happily encounter winter.solstice hand.head want not can extreme POVM affair] ‘At the happy occasion of winter solstice we cannot be content with everything for want of funds’ (268.007 JHN).

<sup>15</sup> The phonetic loan character 在 is the same as 俛 meaning ‘how, why’.

- (16) Chai<sup>7</sup> oe<sup>7</sup> thoat<sup>4</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> lim<sup>5</sup> toa<sup>7</sup> pinn<sup>7</sup>  
 俾會脫得林大鼻 (15.057 SZ)  
 How can escape POVM Lim big nose  
 ‘How can I free myself from Big Nose Lin?’
- (17) Chiann<sup>3</sup> oe<sup>7</sup> bo<sup>3</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> lir<sup>2</sup> un<sup>1</sup>-cheng<sup>5</sup>  
 正會報得你恩情 (276.011 JHN)  
 Exactly can repay POVM you favor  
 ‘...just can repay your kindness.’
- (18) Lu<sup>2</sup> oe<sup>7</sup> khun<sup>3</sup> tit<sup>4</sup>, goa<sup>2</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> khun<sup>3</sup> tit<sup>0</sup>  
 你會困得, 我袂困得 (207 WLJC)  
 You can sleep POVM I cannot sleep POVM  
 ‘You can sleep, but I can’t.’
- (19) Lu<sup>2</sup> oe<sup>7</sup> chiah<sup>8</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> goa<sup>2</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> chiah<sup>4</sup> tit<sup>0</sup>  
 你會食得, 我袂食得 (33-I WLJC)<sup>16</sup>  
 You can eat POVM I cannot eat POVM  
 ‘You can eat it, but I can’t.’

### 3.2.2 *leng*<sup>5</sup> 能 + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 + O

The sequence *leng*<sup>5</sup> 能 + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 followed by an object may be an implanted construction borrowed from earlier Mandarin, as *leng*<sup>5</sup> 能 is not a modal in the colloquial stratum.

- (20) Goa<sup>2</sup> lam<sup>5</sup>-chir<sup>2</sup>-han<sup>3</sup> beng<sup>5</sup>-chiau<sup>3</sup>-ban<sup>7</sup>-li<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>1</sup> goa<sup>7</sup>  
 我男子漢明照萬里之外 (33 WLJC: Mengzheng)  
 I man shine ten.thoussand.li GM outside  
 ‘I am a man whose fame spread far and wide,’  
 khi<sup>2</sup> leng<sup>5</sup> iong<sup>5</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> lir<sup>2</sup>  
 豈能容得你? (33 WLJC: Mengzheng)  
 How can accommodate POVM you  
 ‘How can I accommodate you?’

<sup>16</sup> This is what the male lead Meng Zheng 蒙正, who returned home hungry after a futile trip on a stormy night to seek food, replied to his wife’s pleading to eat the congee she prepared. He is too proud to eat it as he suspects the food had been procured by infamous means.

### 3.3 Frequency of each construction type

To highlight what is discussed in §3.1 and §3.2, as summarized in Table 2, the V + *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 construction can be preceded by either the negative modal *boe<sup>7</sup>* 袂, as in (1abc), or the positive modal *oe<sup>7</sup>* 會, as in (2a). In rare cases, the negative modal *bu<sup>4</sup>* *neng<sup>2</sup>* 不能 or the positive modal *neng<sup>2</sup>* 能 that precedes the construction, as in (1d) and (2b) respectively, must have come from earlier Mandarin. The object can appear immediately after V+*tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 or elsewhere in the premodal position. When being mentioned previously it can simply occur as a gap. Overall, negative modals are more robust than positive modals.

**Table 2:** Distribution of negative and positive modals + V + *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得

Types of modals		Types of construction	Total
Negative modal	1a	<i>boe<sup>7</sup></i> 袂 + V + <i>tit<sup>4</sup></i> 得 + O	16
	1b	(+O) + <i>boe<sup>7</sup></i> 袂 + V + <i>tit<sup>4</sup></i> 得	28
	1c	<i>boe<sup>7</sup></i> 袂 + V + <i>tit<sup>4</sup></i> 得 + O + C	5
	1d	<i>bu<sup>4</sup></i> <i>neng<sup>2</sup></i> 不能 + V + <i>tit<sup>4</sup></i> 得	1
Positive modal	2a	<i>oe<sup>7</sup></i> 會 + V + <i>tit<sup>4</sup></i> 得 + O	19
	2b	<i>neng<sup>2</sup></i> 能 + V + <i>tit<sup>4</sup></i> 得 + O	3

### 3.4 Postverbal *tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 in interaction with phase markers or directional complements

*Tit<sup>4</sup>* 得 in the following example denotes epistemic modal of possibility in combination with the aspectual marker *tioh<sup>8</sup>* 著 denoting the instant achievement of an action.

V + *tit<sup>4</sup>* + O + ASP

(21) Goan<sup>7</sup> thai<sup>7</sup> bo<sup>5</sup> lang<sup>5</sup> liah<sup>8</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> lan<sup>2</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup>

願待無人掠得赧著 (33.031 WL)<sup>17</sup>

Wish wait have-not person catch POVM us CPM

‘I hope that no one will be able to catch us.’

(22) Ti<sup>7</sup>-lang<sup>5</sup> liah<sup>8</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> gun<sup>2</sup> tan<sup>5</sup>-sann<sup>1</sup> a<sup>1</sup>-niu<sup>5</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup>

值人掠得阮陳三阿娘著 (34.140 WL)

Which person catch POVM we Chen-san PRF-lady CPM

‘Who will be able to catch Chan San and the lady?’

<sup>17</sup> *Lan<sup>2</sup>* 赧 is the first person plural inclusive pronoun.

- (23) U<sup>7</sup> mih<sup>4</sup> thang<sup>1</sup> per<sup>5</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> lan<sup>2</sup> kiann<sup>3</sup> khi<sup>2</sup>  
 有乜通賠得懶鏡起 (19.312 JJ)  
 Have what can repay POVM we mirror DC  
 ‘What do you have to pay for our mirror?’

#### 4. The constructions featuring 會/袂 + V + 得 with verbs 做/使/用

Examples of the construction featuring 會/袂 + V + 得 with non-cognitive verbs such as 做/使/用 meaning ‘make, use, cause’ are quite scanty in earlier Southern Min, as shown in Table 3.

**Table 3:** The distribution of postverbal *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 constructions with verbs 做, 用 and 使

Types	Preverbal modal or negatives	JJ, WL, SZ, GX	JHN, SLN, QL	WLJC	Taiwanese folktales
I	會使得	2 (40%)	0	0	225 (36%)
II	會用得	0	0	0	84 (13%)
III	會做得	0	0	1 (20%)	3 (0%)
IV	袂使得	0	0	1 (20%)	188 (30%)
V	袂用得	0	0	0	124 (20%)
VI	袂做得	3 (60%)	0	3 (60%)	7 (1%)
Total		5	0	5	631
Total		641			

Unlike the robust presence of I, II, IV & V featuring the complex modals 會/袂使得 and 會/袂用得, the meager occurrence of III & VI, viz., 會/袂做得, indicates their failure to become complex modals in TSM. This situation can be accounted for in terms of dialectal variation (Quanzhou vs. Zhangzhou) in Southern Min. Quanzhou avoids 會/袂使得 in favor of 會/袂做得 as well as 會/袂用得 for reasons to be discussed immediately, whereas Zhangzhou does not shun 會/袂使得. Notwithstanding its hybrid nature encompassing both Zhangzhou 漳州 and Quanzhou 泉州 varieties of TSM as attested in a collection of Taiwanese folktales show the imprint of the Zhangzhou variety rather than the Quanzhou variety as least as far as complex deontic modals are concerned.

In our 2010 (summer) field trip to Quanzhou, we learned from our informants of the Yongchun 永春 dialect, a variety of the Quanzhou group, that they use *oe*<sup>7</sup>-*choe*<sup>3</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 會做得/*boe*<sup>7</sup>-*choe*<sup>3</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 袂做得 as preverbal modals rather than *oe*<sup>7</sup>-*sai*<sup>2</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 會使得/*boe*<sup>7</sup>-*sai*<sup>2</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 袂使得, since they think that *sai*<sup>2</sup> 使 is repulsive, the obvious reason being

that there is a homophonic clash with the taboo word *sai<sup>2</sup>* 使 in *sai<sup>2</sup> lin<sup>2</sup> nia<sup>5</sup>* 使恁娘 [use your mother] ‘copulate with your mother’. In this connection, what is recorded by Douglas (1873) is quite revealing. *Sai<sup>2</sup>* 使 ‘use’ is often used in Zhangzhou for *eng<sup>7</sup>* 用 in Amoy 廈門 (p.407), and *sai<sup>2</sup>* 使 as a taboo word is used in Jinzhou (formerly Quanzhou) (p.408). Thus *sai<sup>2</sup>* 使 is a taboo word to be avoided even in complex modals in the Quanzhou dialect (cf. Li 2007:151). In contrast to the Yongchun dialect, TSM does not avoid homophonic clash with the taboo word in question in the robust use of 會/袂使得 for the obvious reason that TSM shows the major influence of the Zhangzhou variety, but fails to inherit the use of 會/袂做得 from the Quanzhou variety.<sup>18</sup>

Below are examples of the four types of constructions, I, II, IV, & V, but not III & VI, in TSM.<sup>19</sup> Each of them can be used as a predicate showing suitability of executing an event, as in (24), (25), (26) and (27) or a bona fide complex deontic modal, as in (28).<sup>20</sup>

- (24) Beh<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> tu<sup>5</sup>-tiau<sup>7</sup> chiah<sup>4</sup> oe<sup>7</sup>-eng<sup>7</sup>-tit<sup>0</sup>  
 卜共除掉才會用得 (58.08 Daanxiang)  
 Want ACM remove then can use POVM  
 ‘It will do to get rid of it.’
- (25) Bo<sup>5</sup> kong<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>7</sup> boe<sup>7</sup>-eng<sup>7</sup>-tit<sup>0</sup> a<sup>0</sup>  
 無講麼勿會用得啊 (92.11 Daanxiang)  
 Not-have say not-can-use-POVM IPM  
 ‘It will not do if I do not confess it.’

<sup>18</sup> TSM as attested in the folktales that we use as our data base may be biased towards the Zhangzhou accent or inland Taiwanese. It is worth investigating whether there are Quanzhou accents in TSM that inherit the use of 會/袂做得 as complex deontic modals. TSM as recorded in Iwasaki (1916:114-115) and Kumagai (1931:331-332) still shows 會/袂做得 as a predicate that serves to comment on an event as to its suitability representing a stage prior to its grammaticalization as a complex modal.

<sup>19</sup> The examples are taken from a collection of Taiwanese folktales compiled by Wan-Chuan Hu (see, for example, Hu & Huang 1997 and Hu & Wang 1998-1999). The narrowing down of main verbs to two verbs, viz., *sai<sup>2</sup>* 使 and *eng<sup>7</sup>* 用, and the re-analysis of predicate as complex modal are very much in keeping with some principles of grammaticalization in particular specialization and de-categorization (Hopper 1991). 勿會, though written as two characters, stands for a fusional word *boe<sup>7</sup>*.

<sup>20</sup> I take the use of predicates here as the case of complex modals as they always have the event-denoting phrase in their scope even though they do not occur in the preverbal position.

- (26) Li<sup>2</sup> na<sup>7</sup> beh<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> goa<sup>2</sup> chioh<sup>4</sup> oe<sup>7</sup>-sai<sup>2</sup>-tit<sup>0</sup> a<sup>0</sup>  
 你若卜共我借，會使得啊 (130.24 Daanxiang)  
 You if want ACM I borrow can-cause-POVM SFP  
 ‘It is okay if you want to borrow it from me.’
- (27) Boe<sup>7</sup> sai<sup>2</sup> tit<sup>0</sup> i<sup>1</sup> e<sup>5</sup> kiann<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>7</sup> si<sup>7</sup> kang<sup>5</sup>-khoan<sup>2</sup> a<sup>0</sup>  
 勿會使得，伊的子麼是全款啊 (96.22 Daanxiang)  
 Not-can-cause-POVM he GM son also be identical SFP  
 ‘It won’t do. The same applies with his son.’
- (28) E<sup>7</sup>-eng<sup>7</sup>-tit<sup>0</sup> khoann<sup>3</sup> tioh<sup>8</sup> chit<sup>4</sup> e<sup>5</sup> tai<sup>5</sup>-tiong<sup>1</sup> chhi<sup>7</sup>-a<sup>2</sup> e<sup>5</sup> choan<sup>5</sup>-keng<sup>2</sup>  
 會用得看著这个台中市啊的全景 (46.02 Xinshexiang)  
 Can-use-POVM look CPM this CL Taichung city-DS GM entire scenery  
 ‘We can see the entire Taichung cityscape.’

Each construction can be used as a predicate to comment on the topic or as a preverbal modal. So in the latter function it belongs to the functional category of modality which is higher than predicate in hierarchical structure. The construction at this stage has undergone re-analysis as a complex modal and becomes a lexicalized chunk, viz. a freeze.<sup>21</sup> The complex deontic modals denote ‘may’, ‘may not’, ‘will do’, or ‘will not do’. It is the meaning of the core verb 用 ‘use’ and 使 ‘use, cause’ rather than occurrence of the construction that gives rise to the deontic function of the complex modal.<sup>22</sup>

The competition between the preverbal positive and negative modals *oe<sup>7</sup>會/boe<sup>7</sup>袂* and the postverbal modal *tit<sup>4</sup>得* works in favor of the preverbal modal, as evidenced in the attrition of the postverbal modal *tit<sup>4</sup>得*. *Tit<sup>4</sup>得* has undergone a high degree of weakening and even attribution realized as various types of weakened and zero forms like *leh<sup>0</sup>*, *e<sup>0</sup>* & 0, in addition to a dialectal variant, in modern TSM, as in Table 4. It is perhaps the eclipse of the modal sense of *tit<sup>4</sup>得* by both preverbal modals *oe<sup>7</sup>會/boe<sup>7</sup>袂* triggered the formal attribution of *tit<sup>4</sup>得*.

<sup>21</sup> See Brinton & Traugott (2005) for the notion of lexicalization.

<sup>22</sup> When 用 or 使 in co-occurrence with modals denoting possibility *oe<sup>7</sup>會* or impossibility *boe<sup>7</sup>袂* yields the sense of ‘usable, suitable, fitting’ or their negative counterparts. It may first start out as a predicate with the sense that doing something is suitable and then it is re-analyzed as a preverbal complex deontic modal carrying the sense of ‘can/cannot do something’. See Heine & Kuteva (2002:285-286) for the idea of ‘be suitable’ as a source for the modal sense of obligation as the target.

**Table 4:** Full and weakened forms of 得 in complex modals

Full forms and variants <sup>23</sup>	weakened, and zero forms
<i>oe</i> <sup>7</sup> <i>sai</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>tit</i> <sup>4</sup> 會使得, 會使得 <i>chit</i> <sup>4</sup>	會使咧 <sup>0</sup> <i>leh</i> , 會使哩 <sup>0</sup> <i>li</i> , 會使 <sup>0</sup> <i>e</i> , 會使 0
<i>oe</i> <sup>7</sup> <i>eng</i> <sup>7</sup> - <i>tit</i> <sup>4</sup> 會用得, 會用得 <i>chit</i> <sup>4</sup>	會用咧 <sup>0</sup> <i>leh</i> , 會用哩 <sup>0</sup> <i>li</i> , 會用 <sup>0</sup> <i>e</i> , 會用 0
<i>boe</i> <sup>7</sup> <i>sai</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>tit</i> <sup>4</sup> 袂使得, 袂使得 <i>chit</i> <sup>4</sup>	袂使咧 <sup>0</sup> <i>leh</i> , 袂使哩 <sup>0</sup> <i>li</i> , 袂使 <sup>0</sup> <i>e</i> , 袂使 0
<i>boe</i> <sup>7</sup> <i>eng</i> <sup>7</sup> - <i>tit</i> <sup>4</sup> 袂用得, 袂用得 <i>chit</i> <sup>4</sup>	袂用咧 <sup>0</sup> <i>leh</i> , 袂用哩 <sup>0</sup> <i>li</i> , 袂用 <sup>0</sup> <i>e</i> , 袂用 0

If we take into consideration all three types of the 得 construction, as in Table 5, and not confine ourselves to the construction in Table 4, we can get a better view of the big picture regarding their relative robustness.

**Table 5:** A comparison of the distribution of three types of 得 constructions

	Preverbal modal or negatives	JJ, WL, SZ, GX	JHN, SLN, QL	WLJC	Taiwanese folktales
Type 1	會 V 得	1 (2%)	1 (17%)	0	160 (49%)
	袂 V 得	42 (69%)	4 (67%)	17 (100%)	166 (51%)
	不 V 得	18 (29%)	1 (17%)	0	0
Total		61 (43%)	6 (31%)	17 (30%)	326 (30%)
Type 2	會 V 得	2 (40%)	0	1 (20%)	312 (49%)
	袂 V 得	3 (60%)	0	4 (80%)	319 (51%)
Total		5 (4%)	0	5 (9%)	631 (57%)
Type 3	會 V 得	19 (25%)	5 (38%)	14 (40%)	73 (50%)
	袂 V 得	52 (69%)	6 (46%)	20 (57%)	74 (50%)
	不 V 得	3 (4%)	2 (15%)	1 (3%)	0
	無 V 得	1 (1%)	0	0	0
Total		75 (53%)	13 (69%)	35 (61%)	147 (13%)
Total		141 (11%)	19 (1%)	57 (4%)	1104 (84%)
Total		1321			

Table 5 furnishes a holistic picture of three types of constructions, viz. Type 1 involving cognitive verbs 曉得, 認得 and 記得, Type 2 with the occurrence of the verbs 用, 使, and 做, and Type 3 encompassing all other verbs such as *kam*<sup>1</sup> 堪 ‘bear’, *phah*<sup>4</sup> 拍 ‘beat’, and *chiah*<sup>8</sup> 食 ‘eat’. Overall, there is a scale of frequency of occurrence

<sup>23</sup> *Chit*<sup>4</sup> 得 is a dialectal variant of *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得. In fact, *chit*<sup>4</sup> in this construction bears a neutral tone since the preceding verb takes on the isolation tone. Nevertheless, its segmentals (viz. initial and final) do not seem to be weakened.

of types of construction: Type 2 (57%) > Type 1 (30%) > Type 3 (13%). Both Types 2 and 3 are preverbal lexicalized complex modals, whereas Type 1 fails to be so. Thus, there is an unmistakable correlation of the rising of complex modals and high frequency. But higher frequency of occurrences of the constructions at earlier stages does not seem to provide an explanation for the genesis of complex modals at later stages. If we concentrate on Type 3, we find that the constructions 會/袂 + V + 得 are far more robust than the other constructions 不/無 + V + 得. 不 + V + 得 with 不 as the negative element should be regarded as a borrowed construction. There are on average no more than two tokens of each verb that occurs in 會/袂 + V + 得 with the exception of 學 (3 tokens) and 改 (5 tokens) in positive context, and 受 (8 tokens) and 瞞食說 (3 tokens) in negative context. One may wonder why Type 3 does not bring about complex modals. Type 3 seems to be more frequent than Type 2 in Ming and Qing periods. Nevertheless, the frequency of occurrences of the main verbs cannot be held responsible for giving rise to the complex modals, if we hypothesize that high frequency tends to produce modals. The motivating factor lies in the semantics of the verbs themselves, as put forward above.

## 5. Neg (Modal) + 得 constructions

We have been thus far concerned with types of modal + V + 得 constructions. In this section I shall explore types of Neg (Modal) + 得 constructions where Neg (modal) and 得 are not interrupted by verbs. Neg (Modal) + 得 as a unit can occur preverbally and postverbally. Before discussing each of the Neg (Modal) + 得 constructions, I shall first argue for the necessity of distinguishing two kinds of Neg (Modal) + 得, namely 不得 and 袂得, on the basis of the hybrid nature of Ming and Qing Southern Min texts.

### 5.1 Comparison of preverbal 不得 and preverbal 袂得 constructions

The difference between 不得 and 袂得 in the preverbal position is choice of negative element, namely either 不 or 袂, a fusional word featuring negation and the positive modal *oe*<sup>7</sup> 會. I propose that 袂得 is a negative modal in the indigenous stratum in Southern Min, whereas 不得 is a negative modal imported from the Jianghuai Mandarin (江淮, formerly referred to as Lower Yangtze river basin Mandarin 下江), to which the Nanjing 南京 dialect belongs. This hypothesis is based on two pieces of evidence: (1) 不得 interpreted either as *put*<sup>4</sup>-*tek*<sup>4</sup> or *m*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> is neither inherited

nor attested in modern Southern Min except in some extremely frozen forms;<sup>24</sup> and (2) 不得 takes on the function of the circumstantial dynamic modal. In terms of register *bu*<sup>4</sup>-*de*<sup>2</sup> 不得 is most often used in official documents or public notices in present-day Mandarin as in *bu*<sup>4</sup>-*de*<sup>2</sup> *yan*<sup>2</sup>-*wu*<sup>4</sup> 不得延誤 [must.not delay] ‘no delay’, and *bu*<sup>4</sup>-*de*<sup>2</sup> *ru*<sup>4</sup>-*nei*<sup>4</sup> 不得入內 [must.not enter inside] ‘no trespassing’ in prohibitive mood. Mandarin has two informal, often ambiguous uses for them. *Bu de* 不得 as a negative preverbal expression can be: (a) an epistemic modal meaning ‘cannot possibly be’, *pa*<sup>4</sup> *ta*<sup>1</sup> *bu*<sup>4</sup>-*de*<sup>2</sup> *zai*<sup>4</sup> *jia*<sup>1</sup> 怕他不得在家 [fear he cannot at home] ‘he may, I think, not be at home’ (Xu & Miyata 1999:616); or (b) a circumstantial dynamic modal denoting ‘cannot’, in particular referring to a situation in which somebody is prevented from carrying out an action under a certain circumstance, as in *bu*<sup>4</sup>-*de*<sup>2</sup> *an*<sup>1</sup>-*ning*<sup>2</sup> 不得安寧 [cannot calm] ‘cannot stay composed’ or *bu*<sup>4</sup>-*de*<sup>2</sup> *tuo*<sup>1</sup>-*shen*<sup>1</sup> 不得脫身 [cannot extricate self] ‘cannot be free’. Both uses are attested robustly in the Jianghuai Mandarin, but they seem to survive only in some limited cases of fixed expressions as illustrated above in Beijing Mandarin. Here is an example of *bu*<sup>4</sup>-*de*<sup>2</sup> used as a circumstantial dynamic modal meaning ‘cannot’, as in *yin*<sup>1</sup> *tian*<sup>1</sup> *wan*<sup>3</sup> *bu*<sup>4</sup>-*de*<sup>2</sup> *jin*<sup>4</sup> *cheng*<sup>2</sup> 因天晚不得進城 [because day late cannot enter town] ‘as it is too late to enter the town’ (Cao & Gao 2001:368-369).<sup>25</sup> The present-day Nanjing dialect (claimed to be a Jianghuai Mandarin dialect) also features such a modal function, as in *Jia*<sup>4</sup>-*shi*<sup>3</sup> *yuan*<sup>2</sup> *bu*<sup>4</sup> *lai*<sup>5</sup>, *che*<sup>1</sup>-*zi* *bu*<sup>4</sup>-*de*<sup>2</sup> *zou*<sup>3</sup> 駕駛員不來, 車子不得走 [driver not come car cannot go] ‘Unless the driver comes, we cannot go off by car’ (Liu 1995:321).<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The preverbal 不得 does not survive in modern Southern Min except in some lexicalized examples with literary flavor such as *put*<sup>4</sup>-*tek*<sup>4</sup>-*i*<sup>2</sup> 不得已 ‘have to’, *put*<sup>4</sup>-*tek*<sup>4</sup>-*liau*<sup>2</sup> 不得了 ‘serious’, *put*<sup>4</sup>-*tek*<sup>4</sup>-*put*<sup>4</sup> 不得不 ‘cannot but’ (Ogawa et al. 1931-1932:739, Flanigan 2002: 812). However, since sentences with 不得 are not in a classical literary register, 不得 can not have the sound value of *m*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup>, notwithstanding a colloquial form, either, as it only occurs in a very limited set of fixed expressions like *beh*<sup>4</sup> *khi*<sup>3</sup> *ia*<sup>7</sup> *m*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup>, *beh*<sup>4</sup> *lai*<sup>5</sup> *ia*<sup>7</sup> *m*<sup>7</sup>-*tit*<sup>4</sup> 卜去亦不得, 卜來亦不得 [want go also not suitable want come also not suitable] ‘It won’t do either to go or come’ (Ogawa et al. 1931-1932:918). The most plausible approach is to accord it an earlier Mandarin phonological form, which I argue for here based on dialectal evidence.

<sup>25</sup> A similar example featuring the circumstantial dynamic modal is cited from *Hong Lou Meng*, an eighteenth century Chinese vernacular novel (Xu & Miyata 1999:616), a comprehensive dialectal dictionary, under an entry of the Jianghuai dialect. There is an implicit implication that the novel was written in the dialect in question.

<sup>26</sup> Lujiang (廬江), another Jianghuai dialect in Central Anhui, also exhibits such usage (Zhou 2006).

## 5.2 The preverbal $pu^{25} t\partial\gamma^5$ 不得 construction

The preverbal  $pu^{25} t\partial\gamma^5$  不得 construction comprises the negative element  $pu^{25}$  不 + the preverbal modal  $t\partial\gamma^5$  得 preceding a predicate.<sup>27</sup> It takes on the circumstantial and non-inherent dynamic or the deontic sense depending on context. By circumstantial dynamic modal is meant that a certain circumstance (viz., an inanimate controller) enables someone to do something in the positive context or makes it impossible for him to do it in the negative context. Deontic modal denotes a situation in which a person can do something due to the imposition of the will of an animate controller. Since the choice of each interpretation is context-dependent, each sense of  $pu^{25} t\partial\gamma^5$  is still at the stage of conversational implicature and has not been conventionalized, as shown in (29), (30) and (31).<sup>28</sup>

- (29)  $O^3 pu^{25} t\partial\gamma^5 p^h\partial i^2 li^2 ts^h in^3 lo^0$  (circumstantial dynamic)  
 我不得陪你, 請了 (07.084 WL)  
 I not PRVM accompany you, please-IPM  
 ‘I cannot go with you. Please go ahead.’
- (30)  $Pu^{25} t\partial\gamma^5 tso^4 \xi an^1$  (deontic)<sup>29</sup>  
 不得做聲 (19.135 JJ)  
 Not PRVM make sound  
 ‘Be quiet!’
- (31)  $\epsilon i a \eta^4 -s\partial n^1 o^3 pu^{25} t\partial\gamma^5 t^h\partial o^3 t\eta^h a^2 t\eta^h i^5$  (circumstantial dynamic)  
 向生, 我不得討茶食 (06.012 WL)  
 That way I not PRVM beg tea eat  
 ‘That being so, I shouldn’t ask for tea.’

<sup>27</sup> The transliteration in this section as well as §5.4. is given in Nanjingese, a Jianghuai Mandarin dialect. It is based on Liu (1995; cf. Hemeling 1907, and Chou 1989). The tone categories are represented by numerals: 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 stand for *yin ping*, *yang ping*, *shang sheng*, *qu sheng*, and *ru sheng* respectively. Aspiration is indicated by superscript aitch. Apical vowels that occur after retroflexes or dentals are represented by /ɿ/.

<sup>28</sup> See Palmer (2001:76-79) for the notion of dynamic modals. They denote inherent ability or circumstantial possibility. The latter refers to the circumstances which enable someone to do something.

<sup>29</sup> The preverbal 不得 in its deontic function occurs in *Ru Lin Wai Shi (RLWS)*, as in  $t\eta\partial\gamma^5 si^4 ie^3 pu^{25} t\partial\gamma^5 ko^4 t\eta^h i^2$  [this matter also cannot overly late] ‘It must not be too late’ (Li 2010:208). The dialect in which the mid-eighteenth century novel *RLWS* was written is believed to be the Jianghuai Mandarin, since an example is cited from *RLWS* under the lexical item of preverbal 不得 in a dictionary of the Nanjing dialect (Liu 1995:321). This use survives in present-day Mandarin especially in the written language of official documents.

Table 6 summarizes the frequency of the deontic and non-inherent dynamic senses of the preverbal *pu<sup>25</sup> tǎ<sup>25</sup>* 不得.<sup>30</sup>

**Table 6:** Distribution of the preverbal *pu<sup>25</sup> tǎ<sup>25</sup>* 不得

不得 + V	Deontic	Circumstantial dynamic
不得 + V	koŋ <sup>4</sup> i <sup>1</sup> tsən <sup>1</sup> 共伊爭 ‘vie with him’, k <sup>h</sup> uəi <sup>1</sup> zən <sup>2</sup> 虧人 ‘be unfair to sb.’, i <sup>2</sup> 移 ‘(cannot be) undone’, t <sup>h</sup> ɔo <sup>3</sup> tʂ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>2</sup> tʂ <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>2</sup> 討茶食 ‘ask for tea to drink’, siaŋ <sup>1</sup> -suəi <sup>2</sup> paŋ <sup>4</sup> 相隨伴 ‘be with’, tso <sup>4</sup> ʂən <sup>1</sup> 做聲 ‘make sound’, lae <sup>2</sup> in <sup>4</sup> -fu <sup>4</sup> 來應付 ‘deal with’	tʂoŋ <sup>1</sup> -iaŋ <sup>3</sup> 終養 ‘give lifelong care’, xuəi <sup>2</sup> ʂu <sup>1</sup> 回書 ‘write back’, tsin <sup>4</sup> i <sup>1</sup> pien <sup>1</sup> 近伊邊 ‘get closer to her’, p <sup>h</sup> əi <sup>2</sup> li <sup>2</sup> 陪你 ‘be with you’, zu <sup>25</sup> t <sup>h</sup> əu <sup>2</sup> 入頭 <sub>2</sub> ‘(make) a favorable start’, liəu <sup>2</sup> li <sup>2</sup> tae <sup>4</sup> faŋ <sup>4</sup> 留你待飯 ‘keep you for dinner’, ioŋ <sup>2</sup> 容 <sub>2</sub> ‘accommodate’, yen <sup>3</sup> p <sup>h</sup> əi <sup>2</sup> 遠陪 ‘see (sb.) to a distant place’, ts <sup>h</sup> ien <sup>2</sup> k <sup>h</sup> i <sup>4</sup> fu <sup>4</sup> zən <sup>4</sup> 前去赴任 ‘go and assume official position’, lae <sup>2</sup> 來 <sub>2</sub> ‘come’, ʂən <sup>1</sup> li <sup>2</sup> 身離 ‘scot-free’, tɔo <sup>4</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ien <sup>1</sup> kuəŋ <sup>1</sup> 到天光 ‘until daybreak’
Total	7	15

There are two cases where 不得 falls out of the scope of the above construction. First, *pu<sup>25</sup> tǎ<sup>25</sup>* 不得 can be further negated by a preceding negative element *mien<sup>3</sup>* 免 ‘need not’ yielding *mien<sup>3</sup>-pu<sup>25</sup>-tǎ<sup>25</sup>* 免不得, a lexicalized expression ‘be unavoidable, be bound to’, as in (32).

- (32) zən<sup>2</sup> ʂo<sup>25</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ɔo<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>əu<sup>3</sup>-fu<sup>4</sup> mien<sup>3</sup>-pu<sup>25</sup>-tǎ<sup>25</sup> tɕien<sup>4</sup> koŋ<sup>1</sup>-ku<sup>1</sup>  
 人說叫: 醜婦免不得見公姑 (23.174 SZ)  
 Person say call ugly woman unavoidable see parents-in-law  
 ‘It is said, “An ugly woman can not avoid seeing her parents-in-law.”’

Second, *tit<sup>f</sup>* 得 in the construct *put<sup>f</sup>-tit<sup>f</sup>* 不得 in some rare examples retains its verbal function, as in (33).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Each subscript means the tokens of the example given. No subscript means there is only one instance.

<sup>31</sup> 得 here is a verb rather than a modal reflecting the reflex of an older use traceable to Old Chinese. Thus, 不得 is rendered in literary Southern Min rather than Mandarin.

- (33) Put<sup>4</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> i<sup>1</sup> tloh<sup>8</sup> chai<sup>7</sup> kam<sup>1</sup>-sim<sup>1</sup>  
 不得伊著佢甘心 (8.043 JJ)  
 Not get she CPM how be.content.with  
 ‘How can I be content with not getting her?’

**Table 7:** The distribution of the verbal *put<sup>4</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 不得

不得 V	obtain, get
不得	-eng <sup>5</sup> li <sup>2</sup> 閑理 ‘leisure’, i <sup>1</sup> chai <sup>7</sup> kam <sup>1</sup> -sim <sup>1</sup> 伊佢甘心 ‘How can I be content (without getting her?)’, -kang <sup>1</sup> 工 ‘time’, ku <sup>7</sup> hoan <sup>7</sup> 舊犯- ‘old offense’
Total	4

### 5.3 The preverbal *boe<sup>7</sup>-tit<sup>4</sup>* 袂得 construction

Like the preverbal *bu<sup>4</sup>-de<sup>2</sup>* 不得, *boe<sup>7</sup> tit<sup>4</sup>* 袂得 is used preverbally as a circumstantial dynamic modal as exemplified in (34), (35), and (36), but unlike *bu<sup>4</sup>-de<sup>2</sup>* 不得, it cannot be a deontic modal in the prohibitive mood.

- (34) Bo<sup>5</sup> hm<sup>5</sup>-lang<sup>5</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> kinn<sup>3</sup> i<sup>1</sup> bin<sup>7</sup>  
 無媒人袂得見伊面 (17.135 JJ)  
 Not-have match-maker cannot see he face  
 ‘Without the matchmaker I cannot see her.’
- (35) Niu<sup>5</sup>-kiann<sup>2</sup> goa<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>2</sup> koann<sup>1</sup>-si<sup>1</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> thoat<sup>4</sup>  
 娘子, 我只官司, 袂得脫 (40.140 WL)  
 Young.woman I this lawsuit cannot get.free  
 ‘Miss, I cannot free myself from this lawsuit.’
- (36) Boe<sup>7</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> thang<sup>1</sup> tho<sup>2</sup> te<sup>5</sup> chhiann<sup>2</sup> lur<sup>2</sup>  
 袂得通討茶請你 (8.09 SZ)  
 Cannot can beg tea treat you  
 ‘I cannot ask for tea on your behalf.’

### 5.4 The postverbal *pu<sup>25</sup> tǎ<sup>25</sup>* 不得 construction

The postverbal *pu<sup>25</sup> tǎ<sup>25</sup>* 不得 construction consists of a sequence of the negative element *pu<sup>25</sup>* 不 + the preverbal modal *tǎ<sup>25</sup>* 得 following a predicate. It generates non-inherent circumstantial dynamic sense in all instances except one example involving

deontic modality.<sup>32</sup> This construction may be regarded as a construction imported from Mandarin dialects.<sup>33</sup>

- (37) tɕ<sup>h</sup>un<sup>1</sup> səŋ<sup>5</sup> loo<sup>3</sup> zən<sup>2</sup> mien<sup>2</sup> pu<sup>25</sup> təŋ<sup>5</sup>  
 春色惱人眠不得 (13.001 SZ)  
 Spring scenery vex people sleep not POVM  
 ‘Vexing spring scenery makes people sleepless.’
- (38) Liaŋ<sup>2</sup>-tsi<sup>0</sup> zɿ<sup>25</sup> uaŋ<sup>3</sup> loo<sup>0</sup> ɕin<sup>2</sup> pu<sup>25</sup> təŋ<sup>5</sup>  
 娘子日晚了, 行不得 (37.048 WL)  
 Lady-DS late IPM walk not POVM  
 ‘It is too late, Miss. We are unable to proceed.’
- (39) Pu<sup>25</sup>-kan<sup>3</sup> siɔ<sup>3</sup>-ti<sup>0</sup> la<sup>5</sup> pu<sup>25</sup> təŋ<sup>5</sup>  
 不敢, 小的拿不得 (24.049 SZ)  
 Not dare little-NM take not POVM  
 ‘I dare not (take bribes). I (the humble one) cannot take them.’

Table 8 exhibits the distribution of the postverbal V + 不得.

**Table 8:** The distribution of the postverbal V + 不得

V + 不得	deontic	Non-inherent dynamic
V + 不得	la <sup>2</sup> 拿 <sub>2</sub> ‘capture’	mien <sup>2</sup> 眠 <sub>3</sub> ‘sleep’, k <sup>h</sup> i <sup>4</sup> tɔo <sup>4</sup> 去到 <sub>2</sub> ‘arrive at’, ɕin <sup>2</sup> 行 ‘proceed’, lae <sup>4</sup> 耐 ‘stand’, tɕ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>5</sup> 食 ‘eat’, ioŋ <sup>2</sup> 容 <sub>2</sub> ‘tolerate’, tɕi <sup>4</sup> 記 ‘remember’, tsin <sup>4</sup> -t <sup>h</sup> uəi <sup>4</sup> 進退 ‘to advance or retreat’, ɕəu <sup>4</sup> 受 ‘bear’
Total	2	13

<sup>32</sup> Non-inherent circumstantial modality in its negative sense means that incapability of doing something is attributed to a particular circumstance rather than the internal ability of oneself. Deontic modality in its negative sense means that an authority constitutes a barrier that prevents someone from doing something.

<sup>33</sup> The postverbal *pu<sup>25</sup> təŋ<sup>5</sup>* 不得 in its deontic sense and circumstantial dynamic sense is attested in *RLWS*, as in *tɕe<sup>4</sup> hua<sup>2</sup> tɕy<sup>1</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>2</sup> ɕi<sup>5</sup> tɕu<sup>4</sup> pu<sup>25</sup> təŋ<sup>5</sup>* [this gorgeous residence in fact live can not] ‘In fact the honorable house cannot be lived in’ (circumstantial dynamic) (Li 2010: 44), and *tɕəŋ<sup>5</sup> li<sup>3</sup> si<sup>4</sup> ti<sup>0</sup> ɕi<sup>4</sup> huan<sup>3</sup> pu<sup>25</sup> təŋ<sup>5</sup> ti<sup>0</sup>* [this install heir GM matter be postpone can not GM] ‘The matter of adopting an heir cannot be delayed’ (deontic) (Li 2010:80).

Apart from intransitive verbs, transitive verbs in the construction of  $V + pu^{25} t\alpha^{25}$  不得 very often leave the object unexpressed if it is obvious in the context or has been mentioned previously. Rarely is  $V + pu^{25} t\alpha^{25}$  不得 followed by an object NP. For each type of the data base one example is given below.

- (40)  $Si\alpha\alpha^3 lu^2-pi^4 \xi\alpha u^4 pu^{25} t\alpha^{25} \epsilon in^2-fa^{25}$   
 小奴婢受不得刑罰 (44.085 JJ)  
 Little slave-girl bear not POVM penalty  
 ‘I (the little maid) cannot bear torture.’
- (41)  $Lae^4 pu^{25} t\alpha^{25} ie^4 zu^2 lien^2$   
 耐不得夜如年 (01.042 SLN)  
 Bear not POVM night like year  
 ‘I cannot stand the night as long as a year.’
- (42)  $\xi e^3 pu^{25} t\alpha^{25} t^h\alpha\eta^2 t\eta u\alpha\eta^1 sa\eta^1 tsae^3$   
 捨不得同窗三載 (549 WLJC)  
 Give.up not POVM same window three year  
 ‘I cannot bear to part with my three-year classmate.’

The positive counterpart of  $V +$  不得 is  $V +$  得, a construction borrowed earlier from Mandarin.<sup>34</sup>

## 6. Doubling of modals

The hybrid nature of Ming and Qing playscripts is also shown in the doubling of modals comprising the native negative modal  $boe^7$  袂 / the positive modal  $oe^7$  會 and the alien modal  $leng^5$  能, probably imported from Mandarin.

The negative fusional modal  $boe^7$  袂 is added to the construction  $leng^5$  能 +  $V + tit^4$  得 + O to yield the construction  $boe^7$  袂 +  $leng^5$  能 +  $V + tit^4$  得 + O, where  $boe^7$  袂 +  $leng^5$  能 constitutes a doubling of modals, since the modal  $oe^7$  會 in  $boe^7$  袂 and  $leng^5$  能 are modals and become redundant. Here are some rare examples.

<sup>34</sup> As discussed in §5.3, parallel to the preverbal  $pu^{25} t\alpha^{25}$  不得,  $boe^7-tit^4$  袂得 can occur preverbally, but unlike the postverbal  $pu^{25} t\alpha^{25}$  不得, it cannot occur postverbally, as there are no examples of postverbal  $boe^7-tit^4$  袂得.

- (43) Lan<sup>2</sup> chhu<sup>3</sup> iah<sup>8</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> leng<sup>5</sup> chhi<sup>7</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> i<sup>1</sup>  
 赧厝亦袂能飼得伊 (19.115 WL)  
 We house also not-can can keep POVM he  
 ‘We can not keep him.’
- (44) Hu<sup>2</sup> si<sup>5</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> leng<sup>5</sup> kiu<sup>3</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> li<sup>2</sup>  
 許時袂能救得你 (370.005JHN)  
 That time not-can save POVM you  
 ‘I cannot save you then.’
- (45) San<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> boe<sup>7</sup> leng<sup>5</sup> chah<sup>8</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> thiann<sup>1</sup>  
 山高袂能遮得天 (35.057 WL)  
 Mountain high not-can can cover POVM sky  
 ‘High mountains cannot cover up the sky.’

Like the negative modal *boe*<sup>7</sup> 袂 the positive modal *oe*<sup>7</sup> 會 can also prompt the formation of doubling modals. But there is only one example where *oe*<sup>7</sup> 會 + *leng*<sup>7</sup> 能 form another case of doubling of modals.

- (46) Chia<sup>2</sup>-a<sup>2</sup> oe<sup>7</sup> leng<sup>5</sup> phien<sup>3</sup> tit<sup>4</sup> a<sup>1</sup>-niu<sup>5</sup>  
 姐子會能騙得阿娘 (10.118 WL)<sup>35</sup>  
 Older.sister can can cheat POVM -girl  
 ‘Can I cheat you?’

Thus, the doubling of modals can be taken as a result of hybridization of native and alien strata in a linguistic system. *Oe*<sup>7</sup> 會 and its negative counterpart *boe*<sup>7</sup> 袂 and *leng*<sup>5</sup> 能 can be regarded as being in native (viz. Southern Min) and alien (viz. Mandarin) strata respectively.

## 7. Closing remarks

I have examined the two major types of 得 constructions in interaction with preverbal positive or negative modals in Southern Min texts in a diachronic perspective. One can gain an understanding of the patterns of grammaticalization by comparing the occurrence of the constructions in question in Ming and Qing texts and their reflexes in modern TSM texts. The first major type of 得 constructions consists of 會/袂 + V + 得,

<sup>35</sup> According to footnote 197 in Wu (2001b:53) the character *lai*<sup>5</sup> 來 in the example is a typo, and he suggests that 騙 ‘cheat’ is the most plausible word in place of it.

where V stands for two types of verb, either cognitive or non-cognitive. The second major type of 得 construction comprises Neg (modal) + 得, which may occur preverbally or postverbally. The first major type falls into two subtypes: (1) the postverbal *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 constructions with the cognitive verbs; and (2) the postverbal *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 constructions with other types of verbs. 會/袂曉得 ‘know how to/do not know how, can/cannot’ have emerged as complex dynamic modals denoting presence or absence of ability out of the first subtype. 會/袂使得 and 會/袂用得 ‘can/cannot, may/may not’ have come into being as complex deontic modals out of the second subtype. For the second major type of 得 constructions, viz. Neg (modal) + 得, a distinction is drawn between 不得 as an alien form borrowed from earlier Jianghuai Mandarin and 袂得, a native form, based on some bits of dialectal and colloquial textual evidence. 不得 as a preverbal modal takes on the function of circumstantial dynamic modal absent in present-day Putonghua or Mandarin as a lingua franca in Taiwan but still preserved in Jianghuai Mandarin such as Nanjing, Yangzhou 揚州, and Lujiang 廬江 dialects (Zhou 2006, Liu 1995, Wang & Huang 1996). The preverbal 袂得 as a native form has also acquired the function of circumstantial dynamic modal. The postverbal 不得 which has no counterpart of the postverbal 袂得 is ambiguous between circumstantial dynamic modality and deontic modality.<sup>36</sup>

In terms of the concept of functional categories (Muysken 2008) 會/袂曉得, on the one hand, and 會/袂使得 or 會/袂用得, on the other, have assumed a structural position higher than the event-denoting verb phrase as a result of re-analysis of predicates as preverbal modals. The upshot of this development is the change of a lexical category, open-class verbs in our case, to a functional category such as preverbal complex modals as closed-class words. Another noteworthy fact is that the competition between the preverbal modal and the postverbal modal occurs in favor of the former. Its consequence is that the postverbal modal *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 is on the brink of extinction as a result of formal attribution.

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<sup>36</sup> It is striking that whereas in the formation of negative sentences where 得 can co-occur with the plain negative element 不 to yield preverbal or postverbal 不得 in Mandarin (see Ota 1988, 1991, Sun 1996, Wei 2004, Jiang 2005), *tit*<sup>4</sup> 得 in the native stratum of modern Southern Min has to occur with the fusional negative word *boe*<sup>7</sup> 袂 rather than 不 giving rise to a range of *boe*<sup>7</sup> and *tit*<sup>4</sup> collocates like *boe*<sup>7</sup> + V + *tit*<sup>4</sup>, *boe*<sup>7</sup> + *tit*<sup>4</sup> + VP, V + *boe*<sup>7</sup> + *tit*<sup>4</sup> + DC, etc.

## Appendix

Code	Title	Edition (era)	Date
JJ	Lijingji 荔鏡記	Jiajing 嘉靖	1522-1566
WL	Lizhiji 荔枝記	Wanli 萬曆	1573-1619
SZ	Lizhiji 荔枝記	Shunzhi 順治	1644-1661
GX	Lizhiji 荔枝記	Guangxu 光緒	1875-1908
JHN, SLN	Jinhuanü 金花女 Suliuniang 蘇六娘		?early 17 <sup>th</sup> century
QL	Tongchuang qin shu ji 同窗琴書記	47 <sup>th</sup> year, Qianlong 乾隆四十七年	1782
WLJC	Xin ke zengbu xidui jinqi daquan mantianchun er juan 新刻增補戲隊錦曲大全 滿天春二卷	Wanli Jiachen 萬曆甲辰	1604

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# 閩南語情態和「得」構式的互動： 明清時代早期閩南語到現代台灣閩南語的演變

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本文主要從歷時的觀點談論早期閩南文本中兩種「得」構式和肯定否定動前情態詞的互動。從早期文本的語料可以看出，現代複雜動力情態詞是從第一種構式語法化而來。第二種構式反映出明清戲文中方言混雜的現象，根據方言和口語文本的語證可以區分外來層和固有層構式。動前的情態詞「不得」充當情況動力情態詞，是承繼江淮官話的特點。從「得」構式演變可以看出，動前情態詞和動後「得」相互競爭，前者勝出，後者不斷的消耗中。

關鍵詞：情態，否定，語法化，閩南語，競爭