

## The Emergence of the Evaluative Adverb *ho2ded4* (好得) in Taiwan Hakka: An Integrated Approach of Grammaticalization and Lexicalization

Chiou-shing Yeh & Huei-ling Lai  
National Chengchi University

Taking an integrated approach of grammaticalization and lexicalization, the study investigates the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic development of *ho2ded4* 'fortunately; thankfully' in NCCU Hakka corpus. As illustrated from (a) to (c), the combination of *ho2* and *ded4* can be grammaticalized from a verb to a modal adverb via metonymization, giving rise to three different linguistic manifestations. The sequence *ho2* and *ded4* can be either a verb and a modal verb or a lexicalized modal adverb. In (a), *ho2* functions as a stative verb meaning 'to get well' and *ded4*, a modal verb meaning 'can'. In (b), *ho2* functions as a modal verb meaning 'can' and *ded4*, a verb meaning 'to obtain'. In (c), *ho2ded4* is lexicalized into an evaluative modal adverb denoting the meaning of 'fortunately; thankfully'. While *ho2ded4* in (c) is a lexicalized simplex, *ho2* and *ded4* in (a) and (b) are sequentially next to each other but do not form a syntactic unit.

With regard to the observations, we claim that *ho2ded4* has grammaticalized into a modal meaning 'fortunately; thankfully', following Traugott's view of grammaticalization as a reanalysis of morphosyntactic strings. While examples (a) and (b) profile the subjects of the sentences as *piang33ngin5* 'patient' in *piang33ngin5 ho2 ded4 mo5* and *gi5* 'he' in *(gi5) rhiu1 vang5coi5 ho2 ded4*, it is the speaker instead that is profiled in case (c) *ho2ded4 gi5 cied4 rhiu3rhiu3er5*. In other words, *ho2ded4* has changed from coding an observable objective state of affairs to coding a speaker's belief or attitude towards what is said. What is depicted accords with Nuyts' (2005) proposal of subjectivity, in which subjective evaluation is defined as the issuer presenting a state of affairs as being strictly his/her own responsibility. As an evaluative modal adverb, *ho2ded4* expresses a speaker's attitude toward the proposition of the sentence (Quirk et al. 1995). In (c), the premise *zhu1ngiug4 ngiong2 an2 ngiun7* 'how can the pork be so tough' lays out the speaker's judgment of the situational background, leading to two possible inferable propositions: one negative 'the children were not able to chew', and the other positive, 'the children were able to chew'. However, the further expressed conditional proposition *ho2ded4 gi5 cied4 rhiu3rhiu3er5* 'thankfully, he minced the pork into small pieces' excludes the negative proposition, and consequently the positive proposition can be successfully obtained as the discourse unfolded.

Demonstrating a case of integration of grammaticalization and lexicalization, the analysis of *ho2ded4* presents its evolutionary path, semantic change, and pragmatic functions in actual usages. The intriguing grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic functions are plausibly teased out through the account of the interaction of syntactic constructions, semantic meanings, and pragmatic presuppositions.

### Examples:

- (a) *M5 di1 gai5 gai3 piang7ngin5 ho2 ded4 mo5.*  
NEG know that CL patient get-well can PART  
'It not sure whether that patient can get well or not.'

- (b) *Son3miang7 sin1sang1 son3 gi5 gong2 (gi5) rhiu1 vang5coi5 ho2 ded4.*  
fortune-telling master tell he say (he) have windfall can get  
'A fortune teller told him that he could get a windfall.'

- (c) *Zhu1ngiug4 ngiong2 an2 ngiun7, ho2ded4 gi5 cied4 rhiu3rhiu3er5,*  
pork how so tough thankfully he mince finely  
*se3ngin5-er5 zhang3 ngau1-e4-log8.*  
children-SF only-then chew-PM-fall  
'How could the pork be so tough! Thankfully, he minced the pork into small pieces;  
the children were only then able to chew.'