

國立台灣師範大學英語學系

碩 士 論 文

Master Thesis

Graduate Institute of English

National Taiwan Normal University

國語「真是」與「實在是」的強調功能及詞匯化研究

*Zhenshi* and *Shizaishi* in Taiwan Mandarin:

Intensification and Lexicalization

指導教授：畢永峨博士

Advisor: Dr. Yung-O Biq

研 究 生：吳曜任

Aaron Yao-Ren Wu

中華民國九十九年六月

June, 2010



## 摘要

本研究探討中文「真是」及「實在是」的詞匯化歷程。兩者皆融合副詞(「真」及「實在」)以及判斷詞/焦點標記(「是」)，並進一步因應言談需要，發展出新的詞意。文中先確立「真的」及「實在」的三類語意:描摹特性，表達情意，及人際互動。描摹特性方面，「真的」描述事物真實不假。表達情意方面，「真的」強化說話者對所言內容的支持。人際互動方面，「真的」經常出現在兩種構式。第一種是「說真的」，用於強調說話者對所言內容認真的態度，因為內容可能聽起來不真實，或由於說話者想引起聽話者的注意。第二種是「真的」加上各種語尾助詞，用於達到各式互動功能，如提問，回覆等。另一方面，描摹特性的「實在」描述物體紮實不虛，並可藉由譬喻及轉喻表達可靠，務實等特性。情意表達方面，「實在」與「真的」類似，用於強調說話人對所言內容的肯定。人際互動而言，「實在」經常以「說實在的」的形式出現，其語意和英文的 *frankly* 類似，暗示以下所言將不符合聽話者的預期或偏好。

「真的」及「實在」的三類語意中，情意表達的功能和「真是」及「實在是」的詞匯化最為相關。「真是」及「實在是」皆融合了副詞(「真」，「實在」)以及判斷詞/強調標記(「是」)。這種副詞和判斷詞/強調標記融合的例子，在當代漢語中十分常見。「真是」與「實在是」字面上和「真的」和「實在」情意表達的語意類似，皆用於強調說話者對所言內容(通常是某種評價)的肯定。不過，由於說話人認知能力的限制及為避免不禮貌的言語，「真是」及「實在是」所強化的評價經常隱而不言。即便如此，由於兩者經常和表達評價的語句一同出現，即使未直接點明，聽者聽到「真是」與「實在是」仍能透過轉喻機制了解說話人意圖表達評價。而「真是」的評價功能從另一短語「真是的」中，更獲彰顯。

本研究透過探索「真是」及「實在是」的詞匯化歷程，說明語言中的詞語並列，文化上的禮貌原則，以及認知層次的語用推論，如何互動，促成了新詞彙的浮現，進而凸顯句法/詞彙動態的本質。



## Abstract

This study explores the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*. They originate as a fusion of an adverb (*zhen(de)* and *shizai* respectively) and the copula/focus marker (*shi*), and further develop an idiomatic meaning through discourse interaction. Three types of *zhen(de)* and *shizai* are first identified: descriptive, expressive, and interactive. Descriptive *zhen(de)* denotes something as real/true. Expressive *zhen(de)* intensifies the speaker's advocacy about a statement. Interactive *zhende* typically appears in two constructions: *shuozhende* emphasizes the speaker's seriousness about a subsequent utterance, signaling that the following speech may sound less believable or worthy of the addressee's extra attention; *zhende* followed by a particle demonstrates various interpersonal functions like questioning or responding. On the other hand, descriptive *shizai* denotes something as strong and full of content, which can metaphorically and metonymically represent the quality of being reliable and realistic. Expressive *shizai*, similar to expressive *zhen(de)*, also emphasizes the speaker's support for a statement. Finally, interactive *shizai* typically appears in the construction *shuoshizaide*, which, like its English equivalent, *frankly*, signals an unexpected or non-preferential upcoming utterance.

Of all the polysemous meanings of *zhen(de)* and *shizai*, the expressive meaning is most pertinent to the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*. They start out as a fusion of an adverb, *zhen* and *shizai* respectively, and the copula/focus marker, *shi*, which is a common morphological trend in Modern Mandarin. The compositional meaning of the fused forms, *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*, is similar to the expressive *zhen* and *shizai*, i.e. to intensify a statement, typically an evaluation. However, the speech carrying the evaluation is often truncated due to limitation on cognitive processing and avoidance of social impropriety. Still, with the frequent co-occurrence of *zhenshi/shizaishi* and an evaluative speech, the speaker's evaluative intent can be readily inferred by the addressee through metonymy. The evaluative

meaning of *zhenshi* is also supported by another evaluative expression *zhenshide*.

In exploring the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*, this study thus illustrates the emergent nature of grammar/lexicon by showing how the interaction among language (syntagmatic co-occurrence), culture (communicative politeness), and cognition (pragmatic inference) contributes to the emergence of novel lexical items.

## Acknowledgements

As is familiar to the linguistic students who know anything about metaphor, ‘Life is a journey’. For me, writing a thesis most certainly spices up the trip. Granted, the path is not paved with rose buds. Nevertheless, with the following people, writing this thesis has become one of my most unforgettable memories.

First and foremost is my advisor, Prof. Yung-O Biq. Under her tutelage, I cannot feel more secure. Like a beacon, she lights up my way whenever I get sidetracked. She has been a great mentor for me since I was an undergraduate student. Among all the invaluable lessons from her, the most critical one for my thesis writing is to decide on a theme and focus on it. Amidst the countless drafts before the final result, I was often overwhelmed by the profuse ideas that surfaced all the time. It was Prof. Biq’s constant reminders that kept me on track. Without her wisdom, this thesis can never be finished in time.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to my committee members, Prof. Ing Cherry Li and Prof. Hsueh-o Lin. I am fortunate enough to be in both of their classes. Their insights have greatly nourished me along my way of study. More importantly, their critical comments on my study reflect their roles as perfect gatekeepers, pushing me to make my thesis a legitimate work with some contribution to the field.

I am grateful for the training in the linguistics program at NTNU, especially for the professors who provide me with all the amazing courses: Prof. Shiao-hui Chan, Prof. Miao-ling Hsieh, Prof. Shu-Kai Hsieh, Prof. Jen-I Li, Prof. Kwok-Ping Tse, and Prof. Joy Wu. Their wonderful lectures have opened up my eyes to the diverse facets of the linguistics world. I am especially indebted to Prof. Miao-Hsia Chang, not only for her countless help in the past two years, but more importantly because her course, Discourse Analysis, fostered some original ideas of this thesis. Special thanks also go to Prof. Hao-Jan Chen, who has offered me an enjoyable job and endless heart-warming encouragement.

Of course, I can never forget the companionship of my friends. In school, I relish the fervent discussions with my classmates: Frank Chen, Patricia Huang, Carolin Kuo, Hui-chuan Lee, Sui-lin Lee, Yi-Lun Li, Hsiu-hui Liu, Sally Tsai, Yu-Chia Tung, Yi Wang, and Elvis Yang. Back in dorm, I indulge in the fraternity of my roommates: Gary Chang, Raymond Cheng, Frank Chen, and Steve Po-han Yang. Their company has illuminated my life in graduate school.

I also want to show my appreciation to my colleagues in National Singang Senior High School of Arts. I appreciate their embracing me as a part of the team, so I can be free from the affliction of job hunting and thus be fully devoted to my research. It is also because of their empathy for my avid interest in linguistics that I can come back to school and pursue my dream.

Finally, my innermost gratitude is dedicated to my parents. Although they are not always physically at my side, their unconditional love has always been the source of my courage. They never give me any pressure but always quietly back me up with faith. Being my strongest safety net, they are also the most important reason that drives me to confidently walk down the path of life, rain or shine.

Indeed, life is a journey, and my thesis writing has become one of the most rewarding experiences along the way. Despite all the obstacles, I have never felt lost, because I know I am loved and well supported. Thanks to all the people whom I love and love me and thanks to the training I received while working on this thesis, I am ready to embark on the next stage of my journey, embracing and enjoying all the challenges along the way.



## Table of Contents

|  |      |
|--|------|
| <b>Chinese Abstract</b> .....  | i    |
| <b>English Abstract</b> .....  | ii   |
| <b>Acknowledgements</b> .....  | iv   |
| <b>Table of Contents</b> .....   | vi   |
| <b>List of Tables</b> .....  | viii |
| <b>List of Abbreviations</b> .....   | ix   |
| <b>Chapter One Introduction</b> .....  | 1    |
| 1.1. Motivation and Aims.....  | 1    |
| 1.2. Data Collection .....   | 5    |
| 1.3. Method .....  | 5    |
| 1.4. Organization of the Thesis .....  | 6    |
| <b>Chapter Two Theoretical Framework</b> .....                                     | 7    |
| 2.1. Semantic Change.....  | 7    |
| 2.1.1. Metaphor .....  | 8    |
| 2.1.2. Metonymy .....  | 8    |
| 2.1.3. Pragmatic Strengthening .....   | 9    |
| 2.1.4. Subjectification & Intersubjectification.....                               | 11   |
| 2.1.5. Semantic Change and Syntactic Variation .....                               | 12   |
| 2.1.6. Minimization and Meaning Change.....  | 13   |
| 2.1.7. Interim Summary .....   | 15   |
| 2.2. Lexicalization.....   | 15   |
| 2.2.1. Brinton & Traugott (2005).....  | 15   |
| 2.2.2. Dong (2004).....  | 16   |
| 2.2.3. Interim Summary .....   | 20   |
| <b>Chapter Three Literature Review</b> .....                                       | 22   |
| 3.1. Relevant Studies of <i>Zhen(de)</i> and Other Truth-intensifying Adverbs..... | 22   |
| 3.2.1. Studies on Truth-intensifying Adverbs in English and French .....           | 22   |
| 3.2.2. <i>Zhen</i> and <i>Zhende</i> in Mandarin Chinese .....                     | 25   |
| 3.2.3. Interim Summary .....   | 30   |
| 3.2. Relevant Studies of <i>Shizai</i> .....                                       | 30   |
| 3.3. Chapter Summary .....   | 33   |
| <b>Chapter Four The Lexicalization of <i>Zhenshi</i></b> .....                     | 34   |
| 4.1 The Polysemous Meaning of <i>Zhen(de)</i> .....                                | 34   |
| 4.1.1 The Descriptive Meaning of <i>Zhen</i> and <i>Zhende</i> .....               | 35   |
| 4.1.2 The Expressive Meaning of <i>Zhen</i> and <i>Zhende</i> .....                | 36   |

|  |   |     |
|--|---|-----|
| 4.1.3  | The Interactive Meaning of <i>Zhende</i> .....                                  | 41  |
| 4.1.4  | Interim Summary .....   | 48  |
| 4.2  | Analysis of <i>Zhenshi</i> .....  | 49  |
| 4.2.1  | Discussion of the Data .....  | 51  |
| 4.2.2  | <i>Zhenshi</i> as a Word .....  | 52  |
| 4.2.2.1  | Evidence for <i>Zhenshi</i> as a Word .....                                     | 53  |
| 4.2.2.2  | Differences between <i>Zhen</i> and <i>Zhenshi</i> .....                        | 55  |
| 4.2.2.3  | Motivation for <i>Zhenshi</i> without an Immediately Ensuing Evaluation .....   | 57  |
| 4.2.2.4  | Patterns of <i>Zhenshi</i> without an Immediately Ensuing Evaluation.....       | 61  |
| 4.2.2.5  | From Intensification to Evaluation .....  | 64  |
| 4.2.2.6  | Interim Summary .....   | 66  |
| 4.2.3  | From <i>Zhenshi</i> to <i>Zhenshide</i> .....                                   | 67  |
| 4.2.4  | Section Summary .....   | 69  |
| 4.3  | Chapter Summary .....   | 70  |
| <b>Chapter Five The Lexicalization of <i>Shizaishi</i></b> ..... |   | 72  |
| 5.1.   | The Polysemous Meaning of <i>Shizai</i> .....                                   | 72  |
| 5.1.1  | The Descriptive Meaning of <i>Shizai</i> .....                                  | 72  |
| 5.1.2  | The Expressive Meaning of <i>Shizai</i> .....                                   | 74  |
| 5.1.3  | The Interactive Meaning of <i>Shuoshizaide</i> .....                            | 78  |
| 5.1.4  | Section Summary .....   | 80  |
| 5.2.   | Analysis of the Emerging Lexical Unit <i>Shizaishi</i> .....                    | 81  |
| 5.2.1  | Evidence for <i>Shizaishi</i> as an Independent Unit .....                      | 82  |
| 5.2.2  | Differences between <i>Shizai</i> and <i>Shizaishi</i> .....                    | 84  |
| 5.2.3  | Motivation for <i>Shizaishi</i> without an Immediately Ensuing Evaluation.....  | 86  |
| 5.2.4  | Patterns of <i>Shizaishi</i> without an Immediately Ensuing Evaluation.....     | 88  |
| 5.2.5  | From Intensification to Evaluation: A Nascent Meaning of <i>Shizaishi</i> ..... | 95  |
| 5.2.6  | Section Summary.....  | 100 |
| 5.3.   | Chapter Summary .....   | 101 |
| <b>Chapter Six Conclusion</b> .....                              |   | 103 |
| 6.1.   | Summary of the Findings .....   | 103 |
| 6.2.   | Implications of the Study .....   | 106 |
| 6.3.   | Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research .....                          | 108 |
| <b>References from Books and Journal Articles</b> .....          |   | 110 |
| <b>Reference from Dictionaries</b> .....                         |   | 113 |

## List of Tables

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Table 1 Types of <i>zhenshi</i> without an immediately ensuing evaluation.....                             | 64 |
| Table 2 Percentage of <i>shizai</i> and <i>shizaishi</i> without an immediately following evaluation ..... | 86 |
| Table 3 Types of <i>shizaishi</i> without an immediately following evaluation.....                         | 95 |

## List of Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses are as follows:

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| ASSOC | associative <i>de</i> (的)                  |
| BA    | <i>ba</i> (把)                              |
| BEI   | <i>bei</i> (被)                             |
| C/F   | copula/focus marker <i>shi</i> (是)         |
| CLF   | classifier                                 |
| CMP   | complementizer <i>shuo</i> (說)             |
| CRS   | current relevant state <i>le</i> (了)       |
| CSC   | complex stative construction <i>de</i> (得) |
| DU    | durative aspect <i>zai, zhe</i> (在, 著)     |
| EVI   | evidential marker                          |
| EXP   | experiential aspect <i>guo</i> (過)         |
| GEN   | genitive <i>de</i> (的)                     |
| LK    | linking adverb <i>jiu</i> (就)              |
| NEG   | negative marker                            |
| NM    | nominalizer <i>de</i> (的)                  |
| MAS   | manner adverb suffix <i>de</i> (地)         |
| PF    | perfective aspect <i>le</i> (了)            |
| PN    | person/place name                          |
| PT    | particle                                   |
| SUO   | particle <i>suo</i> (所)                    |



# Chapter One

## Introduction

### 1.1. Motivation and Aims

In daily communication, people frequently utilize language denoting degree, especially that of a high or even excessive one, to show their evaluation towards an event or to increase the vividness of their description. In Chinese, there are in general two strategies to depict a high degree. On the one hand, a high degree can be expressed through verbal complement construction, e.g. 熱死了 *resi le* ‘**extremely** hot’, which has already been widely discussed in literature (Chao 1968; Liu 2006; Liu 2008). On the other hand, it can also be manifested by a degree adverb, e.g. 很熱 *hen re* ‘**very** hot’, 非常努力 *feichang nuli* ‘**very** hard working’, 十分好看 *shifen haokan* ‘**very** good looking’. *Shizai* and *zhen(de)*, the two lexical items closely related to this study, can also enhance the degree of a quality, as in (1):

- (1) 這 件 事 做 得 實 在 / 真 (的) 漂 亮  
zhe jian shi zuo de **shizai/zhen(de)** piaoliang  
this CLF thing do CSC SHIZAI/ZHEN(DE) pretty  
‘This thing is done in a **really** good manner.’

Unlike degree adverbs in general, they also demonstrate other polysemous meaning. In (2) and (3), *shizai* and *zhen(de)* do not reinforce a property but denote a property themselves.

- (2) 這 顆 鑽 石 是 真 的  
Zhe ke zuanshi shi **zhende**  
This CLF diamond C/F ZHENDE  
‘This diamond is **real**.’

- (3) 一 碗 八 寶 冰 只 要 二 十 五 元 ， 料 多 又 實 在

yi wan babaobing zhi yao ershiwu yuan liao duo you **shizai**  
 one CLF shaved ice only cost twenty-five dollars content much and SHIZAI  
 ‘One bowl of shaved ice only costs twenty five dollars. It has much and **compact**  
 content.’

In addition to their polysemous meaning, *shizai* and *zhen(de)* also differ from degree adverbs like 很/非常 *hen/feichang* ‘very’ in that they often collocate with the copula/focus marker<sup>1</sup> *shi*.

(4) 他 **實在** /**真的** 是 個 好 學生  
 ta **shizai** /**zhen(de)** shi ge hao xuesheng  
 he SHIZAI/ZHEN(DE) COP CLF good student  
 ‘He **really** is a good student.’

In (4), *shizai/zhen(de)* functions as an adverb, increasing the speaker’s/writer’s (hence forth SP/W’s, as opposed to AD/R, i.e. addressee/reader) degree of endorsement toward a sentence where *shi* functions as a copula.

Interestingly, sometimes *zhenshi/shizaishi* may appear in an utterance/clause final position.

(5) SC24  
 16400 24B 我 發覺 東方 人 都 會 鑽 法律漏洞。  
 wo fajue dongfang ren dou hui zuan falu loudong  
 I find oriental people all will find legal loophole  
 ‘I found that all Oriental people would try to find legal loopholes.’  
 16401 24A 對丫！  
 dui a  
 Right  
 ‘You’re right’  
 16402 > 東方 人 真是。

<sup>1</sup> Actually, as will be discussed later, in many cases, *shi* is no longer a copula/focus marker but a word internal element without specific meaning. However, for ease of reference, we will still follow the tradition and refer to it as a copula/focus marker.

dongfang ren     **zhenshi**  
oriental   people ZHENSHI

‘Oriental people **are really (unethical)**’

- 16403   24B 那 澳洲 他們 就 真的     比較一步一步 來，  
na   aozhou tamen jiu   zhende    bijiao yibu yibu lai  
DM Australia they   LK ZHENDE more step step come  
‘Australians really will do things step by step.’

(6) Wstudent

- 8991    A 沒有 @ 每次     都 被 煩    的 要死要活 的，  
meiyou   meici     dou bei fan   de yaosiyahuo de  
DM    every-time   all BEI bother CSC extreme    EVI  
‘No, she was bothered to an extreme extent everytime.’

- 8992    > 實在是.  
**shizaishi**  
‘**How bothering**’

- 8993    C 沒有，  
meiyou  
DM  
‘No’

- 8994     她 也有 被 那個 誰   XXX<sup>2</sup> 煩。  
ta   yeyou bei nage shei XXX fan  
she also   BEI that who PN   bother  
‘She has also been bothered by XXX.’

As a copula/focus marker, *shi* is typically followed by further speech. However, in both (5) and (6), there is no follow up utterance after *shi*. More importantly, in both examples, another speaker takes over the turn after *shi*, which suggests that he thinks the previous speaker has finished his turn. An obvious question here is how the AD/R interprets the meaning of the utterance when the speech presumed to be following *shi* is absent. One possible solution is to interpret the utterance as an ellipsis. Consider an ellipsis case with 確實是 *queshi shi* ‘indeed’ in the following example.

---

<sup>2</sup> For privacy concern, the name is replaced with pseudonyms.

(7) 這些地區的民眾... 可到施打醫師診所查明，  
 zhexie diqu de minzhong...ke dao shida yishi zhensuo chaming,  
 these region ASSOC people can go injection doctor clinic check  
 是否使用的 是「問題」批號製劑，  
 shifou shiyong de shi 「wenti」 pihaozhiji,  
 whether use NM C/F problematic injection  
 如**確實**是，仍可以抽血檢驗做為參考。  
 ru **queshi shi**, reng keyi chou xie jianyan zuowei cankao  
 if QUESHI C/F still can draw blood examine as reference  
 ‘People from these regions...can go to the clinic where they received the injection and  
 check whether the injection they received belongs to the problematic batch. If it is  
**indeed so**, they can still have their blood drawn to be examined for their reference.’

In (7), the elided speech after *shi* can be literally recovered from the foregoing discourse. The presumed following speech, i.e. the injection used was problematic, is elided to avoid surplus repetition. However, (5) and (6) cannot be interpreted as ellipsis. It is not possible to literally recover the absent speech after *zhenshi* in (5). The utterance in line 16402 cannot be interpreted as ‘Oriental people are really good at finding legal loophole.’ Instead, *zhenshi* is used by the SP/W here to express a negative evaluation, a meaning that has been documented in dictionaries. For example, *The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary* (Chinese-English Edition), includes *zhenshi* as a lexical entry, which is ‘used in complaints’, e.g. 雨下了兩天還不住，真是 *yu xia le liang tian hai bu zhu, zhenshi* ‘What a shame! The rain has continued for two days without a let-up.’ It is thus interesting to investigate how the collocation of an adverb, *zhen*, and a copula/focus marker, *shi*, becomes a word denoting the SP/W’s complaint. Similarly, *shizaishi* in (6) seems to express an evaluative meaning. Although it has not yet been included as a lexical entry, its similar meaning/use to that of *zhenshi* deserves further investigation.

Thus, this thesis aims to investigate *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*. They attract our attention because, unlike most of the other adverb plus copula/focus marker *shi* constructions, they can be used at the end of an utterance. Moreover, they are not elliptical like **確實是** *queshi shi*



‘indeed so’, but express an non-compositional evaluative meaning.

## 1.2. Data Collection

The study investigates both written and spoken data. The written data is selected from the Chinese Word Sketch Engine<sup>3</sup>, which takes as its input Chinese Gigaword Corpus (second edition) released by the Linguistic Data Consortium at University of Pennsylvania. The corpus includes about 1.4 billion Chinese characters in total from three prominent Chinese newspapers published in 1990s and 2000s: 500 million from Xinhua News Agency in Mainland China, 800 million from Central News Agency in Taiwan, and 30 million from Zaobao Newspaper in Singapore. The oral data is collected and transcribed by two research teams coordinated by Prof. Shuan-Fan Huang and Prof. Yung-O Biq respectively<sup>4</sup>. It consists of 147 stretches of conversations (mainly face-to-face conversations and some interviews on radio programs), which last about 30 hours in total. When data is cited in this thesis, the oral data will be headed with the title of the respective stretch of conversation whereas the written data will be presented without a title.

## 1.3. Method

The study explores the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* from a synchronic perspective. We view grammar as an ever evolving system constantly under construction through interaction and negotiation in discourse (Hopper 1998; Huang 1998; Tao 2003). Within the system, newly developed form/meaning often coexists with the earlier one, which accounts for the complex polysemy, non-discrete categories, and fluctuated structure in synchronic data. We also believe that to more thoroughly investigate the lexicalization of

---

<sup>3</sup> See <http://wordsketch.ling.sinica.edu.tw>

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Hsueh-o Lin, a member of the group coordinated by Prof. Shuan-Fan Huang, and to Prof. Yung-O Biq, for availing me of the access to the data. I would also like to express my appreciation to the members of both groups for their efforts in collecting and transcribing the data.

*zhenshi* and *shizaishi*, some understanding is required for their constituent parts respectively, i.e. *zhen(de)* and *shizai*. Thus we will first describe the polysemous meaning of *zhen(de)* and *shizai*, and then demonstrate how negotiation and interaction in discourse leads to the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*.

#### **1.4. Organization of the Thesis**

In the following, Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework adopted in our study. Chapter 3 reviews relevant studies on *shizai* and *zhen(de)*. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 investigate the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* respectively. Finally Chapter 6 concludes this thesis.



## Chapter Two

# Theoretical Framework

The current study aims to investigate the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*. To have a more comprehensive discussion, it is necessary to first explore the meaning/use of *zhen(de)* and *shizai*. As mentioned in Chapter 1, *zhen(de)* and *shizai* demonstrate interesting polysemy. Based on Hopper (1991), polysemy is essentially a residue of semantic change, where older meaning coexists with the one developed later. Thus, 2.1 will include review on relevant studies regarding different aspects of semantic change. Since the main objective of this thesis is to explore the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*, 2.2 will then review studies relevant to lexicalization.

### 2.1. Semantic Change

From a synchronic perspective, semantic change is the source of polysemy. When new meaning emerges, old meaning often does not just disappear. The coexisting meaning variants, termed ‘layering’ by Hopper (1991), thus become polysemous in a given synchronic period. Following Traugott & Dasher (2002), we hold that semantic change follows predictable tendencies, which are similar in different languages. Based on these tendencies, we can therefore sensibly piece together the polysemous meanings of the target words of our study, i.e. *shizai* and *zhen(de)*.

In the following, we will review previous works on semantic change relevant to our study. Section 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 discuss two major mechanisms underlying semantic change, metaphor and metonymy respectively. 2.1.3 further discusses how metonymic association may gradually develop into semantic meaning through pragmatic strengthening. 2.1.4

introduces two processes typically accompanying semantic change, subjectification and intersubjectification. 2.1.5 illustrates another phenomenon frequently co-occurring with semantic change, i.e. change in syntactic position. 2.1.6 introduces an interesting case of meaning change in Taiwan Southern Min through the interaction of sequence truncation and metonymy, which is directly relevant for our discussion on the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*. Finally, 2.1.7 summarizes the various findings regarding semantic change.

### **2.1.1. Metaphor**

Ever since Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) ground breaking work, *Metaphors We Live By*, metaphor has attracted much attention in linguistics. Essentially, it pertains to the conceptualization of a more abstract idea in the target domain through a more concrete idea in the source domain. For example, in the sentence *I need to borrow a minute*, time, an abstract notion, is conceptualized as a concrete, valuable commodity that can be transferred.

Traditionally, metaphor plays an important role in studies of semantic change. For example, Sweetser (1990) identifies the metaphor "mind as body" as an important mechanism in the historical development of polysemy. She shows that overtime, verbs of perception in many Indo-European languages tend to develop their meanings from physical to mental domain. For example, *see* in contemporary English has two polysemous meanings, i.e. regarding physical perception as in *I saw a dog* and regarding mental understanding as in *I see what you meant*.

In short, metaphorical mappings between the source and target domains enable the development of new abstract meanings from old concrete meanings.

### **2.1.2. Metonymy**

Although metaphor used to be viewed as the most dominant force behind semantic change, metonymy has received much research interest recently. Traditionally, metonymy is a

referential strategy through which SP/W can name an entity with something associated with it, e.g. *the White House* for the US presidency. However, metonymy is not restricted to real world association. It can also arise from contiguity in linguistic context, which Hopper & Traugott (1993: 81-2) term '(conceptual) metonymy'. Citing Anttila (1989 [1972]: 141-2), they identify metonymy as a 'semantic transfer through contiguity and "indexical"', i.e. it points to ('indexes') contextual relations.

One widely discussed example related to metonymy is the English futurity construction, *be going to*. From the perspective of metaphor, it is just a mapping from the trajectory through space to the trajectory through time. However, Hopper & Traugott (1993: 84) argue that the metaphor account does not explain why the construction involves the progressive aspect and especially *to*. They propose that the primary mechanism motivating the future meaning is actually metonymy. When somebody goes somewhere, it is inferred that he will arrive at a later time. On the other hand, the purposive *to*, followed by the speech denoting an event, invites a conversational inference that someone intends the event to take place. Thus, the future sense of the construction, *be going to*, is hypothesized to be 'derived by the semanticization of the dual inferences of later time indexed by *go* and purposive *to*' (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 82).

To summarize, metonymy can be construed as a conceptual mechanism through which invited inferences associated with the speech/writing become semanticized over time. Since the semanticization of inferences plays an important part in our analysis on *shizaishi* and *zhenshi*, we will review it in more detail in the next section.

### **2.1.3. Pragmatic Strengthening**

In 2.1.2, we show that semantic change of a linguistic element often arises metonymically out of the associative inference accompanying it. This change is a gradual one, typically from an instantaneous inference to a semanticized meaning, which can be mapped

to the three levels of meaning proposed by Levinson (1995).

Based on Grice's (1975) study, Levinson (1995) distinguishes three levels of meaning: semantic meaning, utterance-type meaning, and utterance-token meaning. Semantic meaning is the convention of a language at a given time, which can be explicated by the general theory of grammar. Utterance-type meaning is the preferred meaning associated with certain words or constructions. For example, as a preposition, *after* can implicate causality. Thus, *After the trip, she felt very tired* can be interpreted as 'Because of the trip, she felt very tired'. However, causality is not the semantic meaning of *after* and can be cancelled: *After the trip, she felt very tired. It turned out she had been sick for quite some time.* Finally, utterance-token meaning is situation specific, deriving through encyclopedic knowledge and some general conversation maxims. For example, in response to the question *What time is it*, the answer *Some of the guests are already leaving*, might express the utterance-token meaning 'It must be late'. However, since it is also not the coded meaning of the sentence, the utterance-token meaning can also be cancelled: *Some of the guests are already leaving, but it's only seven o'clock!* (Levinson 1995; Traugott & Dasher 2002)

Building upon Levinson's (1995) three levels of meaning, Traugott & Dasher (2002) develop the Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change (IITSC). To draw attention to the SP/W who is the one evoking implicatures and invites the AD/R to infer them, they adopt the term generalized invited inference (GIIN) for utterance-type meaning and invited inference (IIN) for utterance-token meaning. IITSC suggests a pathway of change from the semantic meaning to IIN to GIIN and finally to a new semantic meaning. For certain communicative purposes, typically to be creative, a SP/W may innovate a novel use of language. The use is often instantaneous and situation-specific (characteristics of an IIN), which does not spread across language community. However, the use may sometimes acquire social value and become salient in a community. It is then used by other SP/Ws in other linguistic contexts and gradually becomes a GIIN. Eventually, the original semantic meaning disappears or

becomes merely a trace in certain contexts, and the GIIN becomes semanticized as a new polysemy or coded meaning.

In short, semantic change through pragmatic association is a gradual process. Based on Levinson's (1995) three levels of meaning, Traugott & Dasher's (2002) IITSC delineates how pragmatic inference may overtime be conventionalized into semantic meaning.

#### **2.1.4. Subjectification & Intersubjectification**

Subjectification and intersubjectification are two processes often observed with semantic change. Subjectification is defined as a process whereby '[m]eanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition' (Traugott 1989: 35). Various examples are introduced in Traugott (1995) to illustrate the role of subjectification, e.g. from temporal *while* to concessive *while*, imperative *let us* to hortative *let's* and manner adverb to degree modifier, e.g. *pretty*, *awfully*. These examples originally express concrete, objective meanings with minimal concern with the interlocutors' perspective. Gradually, they develop abstract, SP/W oriented meaning, including the epistemic attitude toward the proposition, the evaluation regarding the discourse/textual structure, etc. In other words, subjectification can be viewed as a recruitment of linguistic elements with objective meanings to express the SP/W's perspective toward the speech content or discourse context. It facilitates the SP/W's attempt to communicate the relevance of what is said.

Intersubjectification, on the other hand, is a 'process whereby meanings become over time to encode or externalize implicatures regarding SP/W's attention to the "self" of AD/R in both an epistemic and a social sense' (Traugott 2003b: 130). It involves SP/W's viewing AD/R as a participant in the speech event, not in the described situation. For example, in *I'll bring you some food*, even though the AD/R, i.e. you, is explicitly verbalized, the SP/W only refers to him as a part of the discussed issue, expressing little attention toward his role as an

interlocutor in the speech event. Alternatively, in *Actually, I'll bring you some food*, the SP/W indexes his evaluation of AD/R's attitude toward the proposition, 'I'll bring you some food', with the word *actually*. The word addresses or anticipates AD/R's belief inconsistent with the proposition, e.g. 'someone else will bring the food'. The communicative function is to mitigate a potential or actual disagreement. Thus, intersubjectification fulfills the need of the SP/W to express his attention to the AD/R as a participant in the communication.

In short, subjectification and intersubjectification are motivated by the need of the SP/W to address the epistemic and interpersonal aspect of meaning. Subjectification recruits meanings that encode the SP/W's attitude toward the speech content while intersubjectification enables the SP/W to express his attention to the AD/R as an interlocutor in communication.

### **2.1.5. Semantic Change and Syntactic Variation**

In 2.1.4, we have reviewed that in the process of semantic change, meaning tends to become increasingly based on the SP/W's attitude towards the speech content (subjectification) or the AD/R as a participant in the speech event (intersubjectification). When a linguistic element encodes the SP/W's evaluation towards the content of his speech, it is natural for it to have a semantic scope over the whole proposition. Such wide semantic scope is often iconically accompanied by a wide syntactic scope.

By investigating how *indeed* developed historically from a prepositional phrase, *in deed*, to modern discourse marker use, Traugott (2003a) illustrates how its syntactic scope iconically increases with its semantic scope. *Indeed* starts out as the routinization of a prepositional phrase meaning 'in action'. It is used sentence internally, often in contrast to other prepositional phrase, like *in speche* 'in speech', and *in þohut* 'in thought'. By the beginning of the early Modern English period, *indeed* is endowed with an epistemic meaning,



refuting an earlier claim or hypothesis. In this stage, its semantic scope covers the whole proposition, and syntactically, it is also raised to a clause-initial, post-Complementizer position (*if indeed they want to go...*). Finally, *indeed* develops into a discourse marker by the seventeenth century, with the intent of elaboration and clarification. It signals additivity, somewhat like *what's more*. As a discourse marker, *indeed* connects two propositions and it appears outside of a clause, in a clause-initial, pre-Complementizer position (*indeed, if they want to go...*).

In short, as argued by Traugott & Dasher (2002), along with the semantic-pragmatic change of subjectification, a linguistic unit, most typically an adverbial, also often obtains a wider semantic and syntactic scope. The increase in scope will also be discussed in our investigation of the polysemous meaning of *shizai* and *zhen(de)*.

#### **2.1.6. Minimization and Meaning Change**

In 2.1.2, we have introduced metonymy as an important mechanism leading to meaning change. In this section, we will review Li (2002), a study directly relevant to our discussion on the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*, and shows how metonymy can interact with minimization and lead to the emergence of several particles in Taiwan Southern Min (henceforth TSM).

Minimization, according to Levinson (1987), refers to two types of linguistic preferences: (1) semantically more general expressions over more specific ones, and (2) shorter expressions (with less units of speech production) over longer ones. Focusing on Levinson's (1987) second sense of minimization, i.e. shorter expressions in preference to longer ones, Li (2002) further investigates how it brings about a number of TSM particles, e.g. *kah*, *li*, and *koh*. In the following, we will review one of her examples, *kah*, in more detail to illustrate how minimization leads to the emergence of particles in TSM.

Li (2002) argues that *kah* originates as an extent marker, typically introducing an extraordinary/excessive extent. She points out that the speech denoting the extent may be truncated due to cognitive limitation and social concern. The cognitive limitation is closely related to the nature of the turn taking system. Under the pressure of rapid turn transition, the speaker may not be able to instantly come up with a precise description of the extent following *kah*, and may even give up verbalizing the extent-denoting speech. From the social perspective, Li observes that the speech following *kah* typically denotes an extraordinary extent, which is expressed by exaggerated expressions like 欲死 *be si* ‘about to die’. These exaggerated expressions often include taboo elements, e.g. death, and might be elided by the speaker to avoid being socially inappropriate.

When *kah* is truncated of the following speech, either resulting from cognitive limitation or social concern, it is left in the utterance-final position, which paves its path of development into a sentence final particle. Moreover, *kah* frequently collocates with speech denoting excessive state. Gradually, the linguistic context is metonymically associated with *kah*. The association is so strong that even when the speech is elided, *kah* is still inferred to carry the excessive sense. The minimization, resulting in *kah*'s sentence final position, and the metonymic association, bringing about *kah*'s excessive sense, eventually lead to the emergence of *kah* as a sentence final particle indicating an excessive state.

To summarize Li's (2002) study, due to cognitive limitation and social concern, the speech following certain TSM words, e.g. the extent marker *kah*, may be truncated, leaving these words in the sentence final position. In terms of meaning, these words often assume the discourse function of the elided speech through metonymic association. Gradually, the interaction of minimization and metonymy brings about syntactic reanalysis and semantic change, leading to the emergence of sentential particles in TSM.

### **2.1.7. Interim Summary**

In this section, we have reviewed previous studies regarding various aspects of meaning change. We have identified metaphor, and more importantly metonymy with pragmatic strengthening, as key mechanisms for semantic change. We have also introduced how meaning change of a linguistic element is often accompanied by (inter)subjectification and leads to an increase in its semantic and syntactic scope. Finally, we have reviewed an interesting case study of how minimization and metonymy interact and results in the grammaticalization and meaning change of linguistic elements.

## **2.2. Lexicalization**

This section reviews previous studies on lexicalization, the key concept of this thesis. 2.2.1 introduces Brinton & Traugott's (2005) definition of lexicalization. 2.2.2 reviews Dong's (2004) study on Chinese morphology, particularly her observation that many copula/focus marker *shi* is becoming a lexical internal element. Finally, 2.2.3 is a short summary.

### **2.2.1. Brinton & Traugott (2005)**

The broadest sense of lexicalization has been understood as an 'institutionalized adoption of elements into the lexicon'(Brinton & Traugott 2005: 143), which covers a wide range of different mechanisms, including clipping (e.g. *fridge* from *refrigerator*), blending (e.g. *skyjacker* from *sky* + *(hi)jacker*), back formation (e.g. *emote* from *emotion*), etc. However, the all-encompassing notion masks the differences among the types and functions of these forms and also obscures the processes by which they come to be structured within the lexical inventory.

To better distinguish the differences, Brinton & Traugott (2005) argues for a more

specific sense of lexicalization:

“Lexicalization is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern. Over time there may be further loss of internal constituency and the item may become more lexical.” (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 96)

Under such framework, lexicalization refers to a specific type of development of new lexical items. It is not just an adoption of unchanged form into the inventory, so simple borrowing without formal or meaning change cannot be viewed as lexicalization. The input of lexicalization may be compounds (e.g. OE *furh* ‘furrow’ + *lang* ‘long > *furlong* ‘unit of measure’) or syntactic constructions (e.g. *run-of-the-mill* ‘ordinary’); its output is semantic contentful items that must be learned by speakers, though their form can be of any complexity, from idiomatic phrases to lexical simplex. The process of lexicalization is gradual, which advances with overlapping and sometimes indeterminate steps. It often involves semantic and pragmatic idiomatization, resulting in highly idiosyncratic, sometimes abstract meaning, e.g. *black market*, which refers to neither a market nor anything literally black.

In short, in Brinton & Traugott’s (2005) more specific definition, lexicalization is reserved for a gradual process whereby a grammatical combination undergoes semantic/pragmatic idiomatization (and also often formal reanalysis), which results in idiosyncratic contentful meaning of a new lexical item.

### **2.2.2. Dong (2004)**

In her in-depth investigation of the lexicon and morphology in Chinese, Dong (2004) points out several interesting characteristics unique to Chinese morphology. She observes that

the predominant morphological mechanism in Chinese is compounding whereas derivation and inflection, which are significant for many Indo-European languages, are peripheral. She also proposes the ‘semi-free morpheme’ in addition to the free and bound morphemes in the Western linguistic tradition. A semi-free morpheme refers to a morpheme that ‘can occupy a syntactic slot as a word when combined with some monosyllabic word’ (Dong 2004: vi). Historically, semi-free morphemes began as free morphemes. As time went by, they gradually lost their flexibility, though could still function as a word under certain contexts. For example, synchronically, 校 *xiao* ‘school’ cannot be used as a subject, e.g. \*校是學生學習的好地方 *xiao shi xuesheng xuexi de hao difang* ‘school is a good place students study’. However, when following monosyllabic deictic words like 此 *ci* ‘this’ or 該 *gai* ‘that’, 校 *xiao* ‘school’ can appear in the subject position, as in 該校是學生學習的好地方 *gai xiao shi xuesheng xuexi de hao difang* ‘that school is a good place students study’.

Of particular relevance to the current study is Dong’s (2004) investigation on the lexicalization of *X-shi* (where *X* is typically an adverb or a conjunction). Traditionally, *shi* is analyzed as a copula verb (Li & Thompson 1981: 147). It typically links a subject with the following elements. Based on the relation between the subject and the following elements, Ding et al. (1999) identifies four types of *shi*<sup>5</sup>, illustrated in the following examples.

- (8) 他 哥哥 是 志願 軍  
 ta gege shi zhiyuan jun  
 his brother C/F volunteer army  
 ‘His brother is a volunteer army’
- (9) 窗子 前面 是 一 個 小小 的 花園  
 chuangzi qianmian shi yi ge xiaoxiao de huayuan  
 window front C/F one CLF small NM garden  
 ‘In front of the window is a small garden.’
- (10) 既 不能 給 我 分 憂, 又 不能 給 我 解 愁,

---

<sup>5</sup> Ding et al. (1999) also introduce two instances where *shi* does not link a subject with the following utterance, which are not relevant to our discussion, and are thus not included here.

ji buneng gei wo fen you, you buneng gei wo jie chou,  
also cannot give me share worries, also cannot give me ease grief,

你 是 什 麼 意 思 哪?

ni shi sheme yisi na

you C/F what purpose PT

‘You cannot share my worries and cannot ease my grief. What is your purpose?’

(11) 他 是 聰 明

ta shi congming

he C/F smart

‘He is smart.’

(Ding et al. 1999)

In (8), *shi* introduces a description, i.e. being a volunteer soldier, which characterizes the subject, i.e. his brother. In (9), *shi* is used to denote existence. In other words, it means that an object expressed by the utterance after *shi* is located in the place represented by the subject. In (10), *shi* is practically empty in semantic content, just linking the subject and the following speech. Finally, in (11), *shi* is used to show the speaker’s emphasis.

Dong (2004) observes that many instances of *shi* have ceased to function as a copula verb but gradually become a word-internal element. She reports many disyllabic X-*shi* constructions, where a conjunction/adverb (X) fuses with *shi*, e.g. 但是 *danshi* ‘but’, 要是 *yaoshi* ‘if’, 總是 *zongshi* ‘always’. She shows that these instances of disyllabic X-*shi* are uttered with no pause between the two syllables and are already included as lexical entries in dictionaries. As for the trisyllabic X-*shi*, she argues that they are in a transition phase, changing from ‘conjunction/adverb plus *shi*’ to a unitary item.

(12) 他 如 果 是 好 人 ， 就 不 會 做 這 種 事 了 。

ta ruguo shi hao ren, jiu buhui zuo zhe zhong shi le

he if C/F good person then will-not do this CLF thing CRS

‘If he were a good person, he would not have done this kind of thing.’

(13) 他 如 果 是 做 錯 了 ， 你 就 批 評 他 。

ta ruguo **shi** zuocuo le, ni jiu piping ta

he if C/F mistaken CRS, you then criticize him

‘If he did make a mistake, you criticize him.’ (emphasis from the original author)

- (14) 如果是他們都不能來，我們的會就要推遲一天了  
ruguoshi tamen dou buneng lai, women de hui jiu yao tuichi yi tian le  
if they all cannot come, our GEN meeting then need delay one day CRS  
‘If none of them can come, our meeting has to be delayed.’

(Dong 2004: 166)

In (12) and (13), *shi* is independent of the conjunction 如果 *ruguo* ‘if’. In the former, *shi* is a copula verb, linking the complement that identifies the subject as a good person. In the latter, *shi* is pronounced with stress<sup>6</sup> (possibly separated by a pause from 如果 *ruguo* ‘if’) to show emphasis. On the other hand, *shi* in (14) behaves like a lexical internal element<sup>7</sup>. It is not a copula that links a subject and complement, nor does it show emphasis. Historically, *shi* has developed from a determiner to a copula verb and then to a focus marker. Here, becoming a lexical internal element is a further development of *shi*, from an independent unit to a phonologically unstressed element attached to another lexical item.

To account for the fusion of X-*shi*, Dong (2004) points out three possible motivations. Syntactically, the frequent collocation between *shi* and conjunctions/adverbs motivates a reanalysis for them to become a single unit. Semantically, since neither the copula *shi* nor the focus marker *shi* has specific meaning, it is not surprising that *shi* gradually loses its independency as a single lexical unit. Finally, the lexicalization of X-*shi* can also be motivated by its appearance in a propositionally less important linguistic segment. For example, in 無論 X 都 Y *wulun X dou Y* ‘no matter X always Y’, the *dou Y* part is typically the focus of the whole construction. On the other hand, the segment *wulun X* is propositionally less important. Since it is not in the focus of the speaker’s attention, the boundary between its elements is more likely to be blurred (Dong 2002). It is thus reasonable

<sup>6</sup> *Shi* can also be pronounced without stress, in which case *shi* is more like a lexical internal element.

<sup>7</sup> Dong (2004) concedes that *shi* may not be viewed as an inflectional affix, but argues that it has already become a lexical internal element that cannot be separated from the other members of the unit.

that when *shi* appears in such propositionally less important segment, its boundary with the neighboring conjunction becomes less clear, which leads to its reanalysis as a part of the conjunction.

In addition to explaining the possible motivation for the fusion of *X-shi*, Dong (2004) also compares it with the original *X*. She observes that there is no difference in truth condition between *X-shi* and *X*. However, in real use, *X-shi* tends to be followed by a longer linguistic element whereas *X* is more preferable when the following element is short.

- (15) a. 雖然 他 笨 , 可 還 不 至 於 連 這 一 點 也 不 明 白 。  
suiran ta ben, ke hai bu zhiyu lian zhe yi dian ye bu mingbai  
Although he dumb but still NEG as-far even this one CLF also NEG understand  
'Although he is dumb, he is not dumb to the extent of not understanding this.'  
b. ?? 雖 然 是 他 笨 , 可 還 不 至 於 連 這 一 點 也 不 明 白 。  
suiranshi ta ben, ke hai bu zhiyu lian zhe yi dian ye bu mingbai  
Although he dumb but still NEG as-far even this one CLF also NEG understand  
'Although he is dumb, he is not dumb to the extent of not understanding this.'  
(Dong 2004: 177)

Dong suspects such preference to be related to phonological concerns, for a short element following the longer *X-shi* (compared with the bare *X*) will make the beginning sounds 'too heavy'.

To sum up, Dong's (2004) work points out many interesting features of Chinese lexicon and morphology. Especially pertinent to the current study is her observation on the construction, *X-shi*, wherein *shi* develops from a copula/focus marker to a word-internal element.

### 2.2.3. Interim Summary

In this section we have reviewed two important studies on lexicalization. Brinton & Traugott (2005) establish a more specific definition for lexicalization, whereby structurally



juxtaposing elements combine together and undergo semantic/pragmatic idiomaticization (and also often formal reanalysis), resulting in a new lexical item with idiosyncratic contentful meaning. On the other hand, Dong (2004) points out a general trend in Modern Mandarin Chinese involving compounding with semi-free morphemes. The copula/focus marker, *shi*, is one of such morphemes, serving as a word-internal element in the lexicalization of *X-shi*. The lexicalization of *X-shi* will be further pursued in our investigation of *shizaishi* and *zhenshi* in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 respectively.



## Chapter Three

### Literature Review

In 2.2.2, we have reviewed Dong's (2004) study on *shi*, which is often no longer a copula/focus marker but a lexical internal element. In this chapter, we will review studies on the other component of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*, i.e. *zhen(de)* and *shizai*. For *zhen(de)*, we will also include literature concerning its equivalents in other languages to illustrate that its polysemous meaning is not an language specific idiosyncrasy but actually follows a general pattern.

#### 3.1. Relevant Studies of *Zhen(de)* and Other Truth-intensifying Adverbs

There are many studies related to *zhen(de)* and other truth-intensifying adverbs. In the following, 3.2.1 reviews truth-intensifying adverbs in different languages to illustrate a similar pattern in the various polysemous meanings of these adverbs. Then, 3.2.2 presents a more focused review on *zhen(de)* in Mandarin Chinese. Finally, 3.2.3 is a brief summary.

##### 3.2.1. Studies on Truth-intensifying Adverbs in English and French

This section reviews studies on various truth-intensifying adverbs: Paradis (2003), which identifies three types of *really* in Modern English, Lenker (2007), which investigates several truth-intensifying adverbs in the history of English, and Willems & Demol's (2006), which compares *vraiment* in French with the English counterpart, *really*. These studies show that the intensifying function of these truth verifying adverbs is not an accident, but actually a natural and general development.

Paradis (2003) identifies three readings of *really*: truth attesting *really*, degree

reinforcing *really*, and emphasizing *really*. Truth attesting *really* can appear in any adverbial positions in an utterance. It objectively reports the truth of a proposition especially when it is not consistent with the AD/R's assumption. For example, the natural context for *Linda really came* is when the AD/R does not expect Linda's attendance. Degree reinforcing *really* appears adjacent to an adjective and enhances the degree of the scalar property denoted by the adjective as in *she's really pretty*. Finally, emphasizing *really* appears adjacent to a verb that denotes a situation that is attitudinal in character and expresses the SP/W's emphasis. For example, in *It really does annoy me*, *really* expresses the SP/W's emphasis on the situation, i.e. something bothers him. Importantly, the verb, *annoy*, denotes an either-or situation and cannot be graded. This non-gradable property of the modified element distinguishes the emphasizing *really* from the reinforcing *really*.

Lenker (2007) investigates the polysemous meaning of *soplice/soothly*, *forsoothe*, and *truly*, and argues that the similar pattern of the polysemous meaning of these truth-related lexemes is natural in view of Grice's (1989) Conversational Maxims. *Soplice* and *soothly* in Old and Middle English respectively may be employed in different coexisting functions. They can function as a manner adverb that modifies verbs of communication to explicitly point out the truth of a clause and thus strengthen the assertion. They can also function as a sentence adverb and express the epistemic evaluation of the narrator towards a proposition. Finally, they can be used as a discourse marker, globally signaling the beginning of a new episode in a text or locally marking the end of a quotation. Similar meanings are observed in *forsooth* in the Middle English. It is mainly used as an emphasizer or intensifier, but can also collocate with conjunctions to mark the end of an episode in discourse. A final similar example is *truly* in the Present Day English (developed from *treowlice* in Old English). It originates as a manner adverb meaning 'loyally' or 'accurately' and is endowed with epistemic meaning in the thirteenth century to express the speaker's subjective evaluation. Collocating with conjunctions like *for* and *but*, it also carries the metatextual function as a

discourse marker.

Lenker (2007) points out that all the adverbs discussed above share the pragmatic-semantic tendencies established in Traugott & Dasher (2002: 40)

|                          |   |                        |   |                      |
|--------------------------|---|------------------------|---|----------------------|
| truth-conditional        | > | non-truth-conditional  |   |                      |
| non-subjective           | > | subjective             | > | intersubjective      |
| content                  | > | content-procedural     | > | procedural           |
| scope within proposition | > | scope over proposition | > | scope over discourse |

She further applies the Gricean Maxims (Grice 1989) to argue that the development from the referential meaning to the emphasizing and discourse organizing functions is motivated by the propositional meaning of these adverbs. According to Grice (1989: 26-27), people tend to say what they believe to be true (the Maxim of Quality), and do not contribute more information than necessary (the Maxim of Quantity). This predicts that that expressions indicating the veracity or factuality of a proposition should be less frequently used, probably only in highly emotional or negative contexts to emphasize SP/W's commitment to the truth of a proposition for fear of the non-acceptance of the AD/R, to refute the truth of a proposition, or to hedge a proposition (as in *I'm not sure whether it is true but...*). However, the truth related adverbs can be used in contexts other than the ones discussed above. In these cases, it is natural for AD/R to infer that the meaning pertaining to truth has to be interpreted elsewhere other than the propositional level. On the epistemic level, the AD/R conceptualizes the truth-intensifying adverbs as emphsizers, through which the SP/W directly identifies the propositional content of a phrase/clause as true and thus strengthens the assertion. When the emphasizing meaning on the epistemic level still does not make sense, the AD/R turns to the textual level, understanding these adverbs as discourse markers that indicate the structure of a text.

Willems & Demol (2006) show an interesting similarity between the French *vraiment*

and the English *really*. They classify three major uses of *vraiment*. On the phrase level, *vraiment* can modify a noun phrase to verify it as real, or a gradable adjective to intensify its degree. On the clausal level, *vraiment* can qualify a predicate as true (especially when the situation described by the predicate is unexpected or may seem exaggerated to the AD/R), or express doubt regarding the validity of the propositional content. On the discourse level, *vraiment*, prosodically separated from the rest of the sentence, expresses the SP/W's sincerity in uttering the following message. In dialogues, it can function as a response that gives or seeks validation to the previous message. Citing Simon-Vandenberg(1988) and Stenström (1986), Willems & Demol (2006) show that the polysemous meaning of *vraiment* overlaps almost perfectly with that of *really*.

In this section, we have reviewed studies on different truth-intensifying adverbs. In addition to locally verifying an object/concept as real, they can also express the SP/W's attitude toward a clause, function as response in dialogues, or even organize the discourse. These studies suggest that the similar polysemy as demonstrated in these truth-intensifying lexemes is not a language idiosyncrasy and thus it will be interesting to explore whether their Chinese counterpart, *zhen(de)*, shares similar meaning extension.

### **3.2.2. *Zhen* and *Zhende* in Mandarin Chinese**

Previous studies of *zhen(de)* in Mandarin Chinese generally follow two directions: one focuses on describing the meaning and use of *zhen* and *zhende*; the other investigates their meaning development. For example, both Miyashita (2002) and Liu (2003) categorize different uses of *zhen* and *zhende*. In general they observe that *zhen* and *zhende* can be used to validate something as real, or express the SP/W's emphasis toward the content of a clause. On the other hand, with a synchronic approach, Yan (2006) hypothesizes the development path of *zhende*: from objectively verifying something as real to subjectively expressing the SP/W's emphasis on a proposition to intersubjectively attracting the AD/R's attention for the

following discourse. In the following, we will have a more detailed review of Li (2003), which both synchronically describes the meaning and use of *zhen* and *zhende* and investigates the development of *zhende* from a diachronic perspective.

Based on distribution, Li (2003) proposes three types of *zhen*. The first type, *zhen1*, modifies adjectives or mental verbs to highlight and intensify the degree, e.g. 真好 *zhen hao* ‘really good’, 真渴望 *zhen kewang* ‘really desire’. The second type, *zhen2*, modifies a noun phrase and distinguishes it from something fake, e.g. 真情 *zhenqing* ‘real emotion’. The third type, *zhen3*, modifies a predicate and describes the state of an event, e.g. 真來過 *zhen laiguo* ‘really has come’.

Based on meaning and part of speech, Li (2003) proposes two types of *zhende*, *zhende1* and *zhende2*. *Zhende1* originates from *zhen2* (which verifies a noun as real, not fake) plus the nominalizer/associative 的 *de*. It can be used as a subject, e.g. 真的假不了 *zhende jia bu liao* ‘a real thing cannot become a fake one’ or more typically, as an object, e.g. 這會兒成真的，你就麻煩囉 *zhehuier cheng zhende, ni jiu mafan luo* ‘Now this becomes a real thing. You’re in trouble.’ It can also function as a nominal/adjectival modifier, as in 真的金子 *zhende jinzi* ‘real gold’ and 真的快樂 *zhende kuaile* ‘really happy’.

On the other hand, *zhende2* is an adverbial, which can appear in various syntactic positions.

(16) 馬林生 真的 很 生 自己的 氣，非常 非常 生氣  
 malinsheng zhende hen sheng ziji de qi, feichang feichang shengqi  
 PN ZHENDE very act self GEN angry very very angry  
 ‘Malinsheng is really angry at himself, very very angry.’

(17) 真的 他 得 哭 一場  
 zhende ta de ku yi chang  
 ZHENDE he must cry one CLF  
 ‘Really, he must cry.’

(18) 真的，我 真是 不 忍 看 您 這麼 熬 憔悴 了  
 zhende, wo zhenshi bu ren kan nin zheme aoqiaocui le

ZHENDE I ZHENSHI NEG bear see you this pallid CRS

‘Really, I cannot bear seeing you being so pallid.’

- (19) 我無所謂，星期天待家裡也可以不一定非去，真的  
wo wusuowei, xingqitian dai jiali ye keyi bu yiding fei qu, zhende  
I don’t-mind Sunday stat home also alright NEG must must go, ZHENDE  
‘I don’t mind. It’s alright to stay at home on Sunday. It’s not necessary to go out, really.’

- (20) 問：真的？ 答：真的  
wen: zhende? da: zhende  
question: ZHENDE? answer: ZHENDE  
‘Question: Really? Answer: Really.’  
(Li 2003: 18)

*Zhende2* can appear in a clause, either between the subject and the predicate, as in (16) or in front of a whole clause, as in (17). It can also be separated from a clause, which makes it seem like an individual clause itself as in (18) and (19). Finally, in conversation, it can appear on its own, without any preceding or following clause in the same speaker’s turn, as in (20).

Li (2003) also shows that the meaning of *zhende2* is slightly different in different positions.

- (21) 直到抗日的戰爭發生，她才真的關切著一山  
zhidao kang ri de zhanzheng fasheng, ta cai zhende guanqie zhe yishan  
until fight PN NM war happen, she only ZHENDE care DU PN  
‘Only after the war against Japan broke out did she truly care about Yishan.’

- (22) 真的，直到抗日的戰爭發生，她才關切著一山  
zhende, zhidao kang ri de zhanzheng fasheng, ta cai guanqie zhe yishan  
ZHENDE until fight PN NM war happen she only care DU PN  
‘It is true that she cared about Yishan only after the war against Japan broke out.’  
(Li 2003: 18)

In (21), *zhende2* appears within a clause and modifies the following verb, 關切 *guanqie* ‘care’. It emphasizes that the care is real, in contrast to a presumably less sincere one before.

In (22), *zhende2* appears outside of a clause and modifies the whole sentence, consist of two

clauses. It emphasizes that the situation denoted by the sentence is true.

In addition to discussing the syntactic position and the modifying scope of *zhende2*, Li (2003) also introduces its two typical meanings.

(23) 我 真的 很 喜歡 這 部 電影

wo zhende hen xihuan zhe bu dianying

I ZHENDE very like this CLF movie

‘I truly like this movie very much.’

(24) 他 說 要 去 北京， 今 年 他 真的 去 過 北京 了

ta shuo yao qu beijing, jin nian ta zhende qu guo beijing le

he say want go PN this year he ZHENDE go EXP PN CRS

‘He said he wanted to go to Beijing, and indeed he has been there this year.’

(Li 2003: 21)

The first type of meaning is exemplified by (23). Here, *zhende2* emphasizes the speaker’s assertion to the clause where it appears. The second type of meaning is illustrated by (24). Here, the emphasizing function of *zhende2* is less prominent. Instead, it mainly links the current clause, i.e. that he has been to Beijing, to a previous discourse, i.e. that he would go to Beijing.

After investigating the three types of *zhen* and the two types of *zhende* from a synchronic perspective, Li (2003) moves on to explore the diachronic development of *zhen* to *zhende1* to *zhende2*. As reviewed earlier, *zhende1* originates from *zhen2*, the nominal modifier, plus the nominalizer/associative *de*. Gradually, the collocation becomes more and more conventionalized and typically follows the copula, *shi*, in the pattern ‘*shi zhende*’. From the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century, *zhende* in the pattern ‘*shi zhende*’ tends to have a clear referent, but since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the referent has become less and less clear.

(25) 黃文炳 搖 頭 道：“這 封 書 不 是 真的。”

huangwenbing yao tou dao: “zhe feng shu bu shi zhende.”



PN                    shake head say    this CLF letter NEG C/F ZHENDE  
 ‘Huang Wen-bing shook his head and said, “This letter is not real.”’

(26) 風四老爹    回到家 裡，一氣 走進 書房，  
 fengsilao die huida o jia li, yiqi zoujin shufang  
 PN                    return home in directly enter room  
 只 見 萬中書      在 椅子上 坐 著 望 哩。  
 zhi jian wanzhongshu zai yizi shang zuo zhe wang li  
 only see PN                    on chair top sit DU look PT  
 風四老爹    道，“恭喜，      如今 是 真的 了。”  
 fengsilao die dao, “gongxi,      rujin shi zhende le.”  
 PN                    said congratulation now C/F ZHENDE PT  
 ‘Returning home, Fengsilao die entered the room directly and saw Wanzhongshu sitting  
 on the chair and looking at him. Fengsilao die said, “Congratulations! It is real now.”’  
 (Li 2003: 30)

In (25), the referent of *zhende*, i.e. the letter, is explicitly expressed in the clause. In (26), on the other hand, *zhende* refers to a situation in general, which does not occur in the clause. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the copula *shi* still tends to collocate with *zhende* even when the subject denoting a general situation is omitted. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, *zhende* began to be used in dialogues without *shi*, as a question or response. With the increasing use of *zhende* without *shi*, the syntactic independence of *zhende* is gradually established. From the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it began to be used within a clause, and slowly became the adverbial *zhende2*.

To summarize, Li’s (2003) study is the most comprehensive one among the studies of *zhen(de)*. It identifies three types of *zhen*, (1) the one that subjectively reinforces a quality or an action, (2) the one that verifies something as real, and (3) the one that attests to a state. It also classifies two types of *zhende*, (1) as a noun that denotes something as real or a modifier describing something as real and (2) as an adverbial. Finally, she argues that the adverbial *zhende2* is the fossilized form of the nominal modifier *zhen2* plus the particle *de* into the nominal *zhende1* and gradually acquires the adverbial function through the ‘*shi zhende*’ construction.

### 3.2.3. Interim Summary

In this section, we have reviewed studies on several truth-intensifying adverbs, which illustrate a similar pattern of polysemy shared by these lexemes: from verification to emphasis and intensification. This pattern has also been identified and discussed in earlier studies of *zhen(de)*. However, none of these studies touch upon its co-occurrence with the copula/focus marker, *shi*, in *zhen(de) shi*. As we have discussed in Chapter 1, at least for *zhenshi*, it can be used as a single lexical item with evaluative meaning. The meaning and use of *zhenshi* as a word will be the focus of Chapter 4.

## 3.2. Relevant Studies of *Shizai*

Earlier studies of *shizai* mainly focus on its use as an adverb, describing the structural restriction that reflects its meaning. In this section, we will first review Chen (2008) and Xiao (2007), which illustrate the meaning and use of *shizai* by comparing it with its synonym, then Li (2007), which describes the meaning and structural restriction of *shizai*, and finally, Jia (2008), which explores the pattern ‘*shizai* + *shi* + X’.

Chen (2008) and Xiao (2007) illustrate the meaning and use of *shizai* by comparing it with its synonym 確實/的確 *queshi/dique* ‘indeed’. Structurally, only *queshi/dique* can be used outside of a clause, as in 的確, 她很聰明 *dique, ta hen congming* ‘Indeed, she is very smart’. Moreover, they collocate more naturally than *shizai* with aspect markers like 了 *le*, 著 *zhe*, and 過 *guo*. On the other hand, *shizai* mainly appears in three contexts: (1) before 太 *tai* ‘too’ plus an adjective, e.g. 實在太累了 *shizai tai lei le* ‘really too tired’, (2) before a verbal complement construction, e.g. 實在累壞了 *shizai lei huai le* ‘really exhausted’, and (3) before a negated form, e.g. 實在不明白 *shizai bu mingbai* ‘really don’t understand’. Semantically, 確實/的確 *queshi/dique* ‘indeed’ objectively reports the truth of an event and often connects the current clause to the previous discourse whereas *shizai* subjectively

expresses the SP/W's emphasis toward the current clause.

- (27) 他 號招 我 務必 要 把 菸癮 徹底 剷除，  
ta haozhao wo wubi yao ba yanyin chedi chanchu,  
he urge I must need BA tobacco-addiction thoroughly quit  
就像 他已 做過 的 那樣。  
jiu xiang ta yi zuo guo de nayang.  
just like he already do EXP NM that-kind  
我 說 我 確實 戒 過，但是， 戒不掉，實在 是 無奈。  
wo shuo wo qeshi jie guo, danshi, jiebudiao, shizai shi wunai.  
I said I indeed quit EXP, but cannot-quit, SHIZAI C/F helpless  
'He urged that I must quit smoking like him. I said I did try to quit, but did not succeed.  
I was really helpless.'  
(Xiao 2007: 77)

Here, quitting smoking is mentioned in the beginning of the discourse and *qeshi* is used by the SP/W to emphasize that he really did try quitting. By confirming the attempt of quitting smoking, *qeshi* links the current clause to the previous discourse. On the other hand, *shizai* emphasizes the content of the current clause, stressing the fact that there is nothing that could be done.

Using contemporary literary works as database, Li (2007) discusses the semantic patterns and structural restrictions of *shizai* as an adverb. Semantically, *shizai* mainly occurs in the pattern: '(originally -q), (because) *shizai* p, (so q)', where both -q and q are optional.

- (28) 我本來 已經 發誓不 再 和司徒聰 拗勁兒(-q)，  
wo benlai yijing fashi bu zai he situcong aojiner，  
I originally already vow NEG again with PN talk  
但 此時實在 忍不住(p)，  
dan cishi shizai renbuzhu，  
but now SHIZAI cannot-help  
又 不由自主 的 抬起槓(q).  
you buyouzizhu de taiqigang

again helplessly MAS began-bantering

‘Originally, I have made a vow not to talk to Situcong again, but now I really cannot help but banter with him again.’

(Li 2007: 42)

In (28), the person originally decided not to talk to 司徒聰 *Situcong* (the original state -q), but because he really could not sustain the decision (the cause p), he talked to him anyway (the result q). Li (2007) argues that the typical meaning of *shizai* is to subjectively highlight the extremity of a state denoted by p, which leads to a peculiar result denoted by q.

Li (2007) further argues that the meaning of *shizai* is reflected in its structural restriction. *Shizai* can freely modify adjectives, but for verbal elements, only mental verbs that show subjective evaluation, e.g. 認為 *renwei* ‘consider’, 覺得 *juede* ‘think’, and some modal verbs like 應該 *yinggai* ‘should’ can be modified by *shizai* without restriction. Other types of verbs need to be negated before being modified by *shizai*. Li (2007) explains that this is because adjectives, mental verbs, and modals mentioned above pertain to degree that can be highlighted by *shizai*; negated statements are typically used to contrast a false belief/assumption of the AD/R, which pertains to strong subjective evaluation that can also be highlighted by *shizai*.

Jia (2008) explores *shizai* as an adverb in the pattern ‘*shizai* + *shi* + X’. She first proposes two types of *shi* based on the following X. When X is a nominal predicate, *shi* is a copula verb, which cannot be omitted; when X is a non-nominal predicate, *shi* is an adverb modifying the following predicate and can be omitted.

She then argues that only expressions pertaining to subjective evaluation can be used as X in ‘*shizai* + *shi* + X’. Thus 好學生 *hao xuesheng* ‘good student’ and 喜歡她 *xihuan ta* ‘like her’ are legitimate Xs while 學生 *xuesheng* ‘student’ and 說故事 *shuo gushi* ‘tell a story’ are not because only the former involve subjective evaluation.

In this section, we have reviewed four studies of *shizai*. In general, they identify *shizai*’s

predilection to collocate with other degree intensifying adverbs like 太 *tai* ‘too’. They also point out the elements that can be modified by *shizai*: adjectives, a small set of verbs, and negated forms. Based on these structural observations, the studies above suggest that the meaning of *shizai* involves a strong indication of the subjective attitude of the SP/W.

Although Jia (2008) identifies ‘*shizai* + *shi* + X’ as a dominant pattern, her analysis on *shi* is less than satisfactory. First of all, the status of *shi* preceding non-nominal X is unclear. Jia’s analysis of *shi* as an adverb seems to be merely based on the fact that it modifies a non-nominal element, which appears to be rather ad hoc since *shi* in this case does not have any clear syntactic or semantic function similar to a typical adverb. More importantly, her analysis does not explain why many instances of *shizai* plus *shi* appear in the utterance final position without any follow-up speech as shown in 1.1. The meaning and use of *shizai* plus *shi* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

### 3.3. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, we have reviewed earlier studies relevant to *zhen(de)* and *shizai*. For *shizai*, previous investigation mainly focuses on its use as an adverb that expresses the SP/W’s strong subjective attitude while for *zhende*, earlier studies have more comprehensively explored its various polysemous meanings. However, no study on *shizai* and *zhen(de)* has carefully investigated their frequent collocation with the copula/focus marker, *shi*, and, in particular, why *shizaishi* and *zhen(de)shi*, two presumed intensifying expressions, can appear in utterance final position. Thus, the meaning and use of *shizaishi* and *zhen(de)shi* will be investigated in more detail in Chapter 4 and 5 respectively. To explore the research question more comprehensively, the first half of the two chapters will briefly describe the different meanings of *shizai* and *zhen(de)*. Then a more careful analysis will be carried out on *shizaishi* and *zhen(de)shi*.



## Chapter Four

### The Lexicalization of *Zhenshi*

This chapter explores the lexicalization of *zhenshi*. To have a more comprehensive discussion, Section 4.1 first illustrates the polysemous meaning of *zhen(de)*. Then, 4.2 argues for the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and in particular, how its evaluative meaning paves the way for yet other evaluative expression, *zhenshide*. Finally, 4.3 summarizes the chapter.

#### 4.1 The Polysemous Meaning of *Zhen(de)*

In Chapter 3, we have reviewed several studies on *zhen(de)*, which cover most of its polysemous meaning. However, to facilitate our discussion on the lexicalization of *zhenshi*, we will categorize the meaning of *zhen(de)* into three types: descriptive, expressive, and interactive. The descriptive meaning is roughly equivalent to ideational, conceptual, propositional, or referential meaning (Crystal 2008: 235). It includes meaning related to the external world and often constitutes the core of the SP/W's description. Expressive meaning refers to meaning with high subjectivity in the sense of Traugott (2003b). It is used to show the SP/W's attitude or belief to a descriptive proposition. For example, adverbs like *clearly*, *obviously*, can subjectively express the SP/W's attitude or evaluation toward a descriptive content. Finally, interactive meaning is related to the concept of intersubjectivity (Traugott 2003b; Traugott 2007). Through expression with interactive meaning, the SP/W includes the AD/R as an active participant in the communication. For example, hedging discourse markers like *well* mitigate potential threat against the addressee's face; tags like clause-final *right?* invite the addressee to take over the speaking turn. In the following, the descriptive, expressive, and interactive meaning of *zhen(de)* will be described in 4.1.1, 4.1.2, and 4.1.3

respectively. Among them, the expressive meaning of *zhen(de)* will be especially relevant to the discussion of *zhenshi*.

#### 4.1.1 The Descriptive Meaning of *Zhen* and *Zhende*

The descriptive meaning of *zhen/zhende* verifies something (either a physical object or abstract concept) as real/true. For *zhen*, it often forms a compound with the entity it verifies, e.g. 真鈔 *zhenchao* ‘real paper money’, 真情 *zhenqing* ‘real emotion’. It is also often used in the pattern ‘假 X 真 Y’ *jia X zhen Y* ‘fake X real Y’ to contrast something not real.

(29) 高市 警方 偵破 假 車禍            真 強盜 案  
gaoshi jingfang zhenpo jia chehuo        **zhen** qiangdao an  
PN police detect fake car-accident real robbery case  
‘Police of Gaoxiong detected a case that appeared to be a car accident but was **actually** a robbery.’

In (29), the car accident is not really an unintentional incident but a plotted robbery. Here *zhen* is used to show the true nature of an event in contrast to what it appears to be.

On the other hand, *zhende* can be used either attributively or predicatively to verify something as real/true.

(30) 我 用 的 是 真的 玫瑰 花瓣  
wo yong de shi **zhende** meigui huaban  
I use NM C/F ZHENDE rose petal  
‘What I used was **real** rose petal.’

(31) 梁肅戎 的 學歷證件 應該 是 真的  
liangsurong de xuelizhengjian yinggai shi **zhende**  
PN Nom diploma should C/F ZHENDE  
‘Liangsurong’s diploma should be **real**.’

Here, *zhende* attributively modifies the noun denoting rose petals in (30) and predicatively modifies the noun denoting education certificate in (31).

In short, both *zhen* and *zhende* can be used as an adjective, verifying something as real. *Zhen* typically functions on the morphological level, being part of a compound or syntactically in paired contrastive constructions such as ‘假 X 真 Y’. *Zhende*, on the other hand, is typically used on the syntactic level, attributively or predicatively modifying a noun.

#### 4.1.2 The Expressive Meaning of *Zhen* and *Zhende*

In 4.1.1, we have introduced that *zhen/zhende* can be used as an adjective, with the descriptive meaning of verifying something as true/real. In addition to the adjectival use, *zhen/zhende* can also be used as an adverb to show the SP/W’s subjective assessment toward a statement. Literally, it describes the truth value of the statement, which is especially useful when its truth needs to be negotiated. Thus, it can be used in a non-affirmative clause, typically when there is a mismatch between the SP/W and the AD/R in their understanding about a situation, and the SP/W intends to express a reserved attitude or even challenge about the truth of the situation. For example, *zhen/zhende* can be used in a hypothetical clause and tentatively confirms a situation.

- (32) 連戰 在 墨國 訪問 期間 是否 會 與 墨國 總統 會面？  
 lianzhan zai moguo fangwen qijian shifou hui yu moguo zongtong huimian?  
 PN at PN visit period whether will with PN president meet  
 胡志強... 說， 如果 連戰 **真** 有 和墨國 總統 會面，  
 huzhiqiang...shuo, ruguo lianzhan **zhen** you he moguo zongtong huimian,  
 PN say if PN ZHEN have with PN president meet  
 外 交 部 會 通知 他 向 新聞 界 說明。  
 wai jiao bu hui tongzhi ta xiang xinwen jie shuoming  
 foreign affair ministry will notify him to news field explain  
 ‘Will Lianzhen meet the president of Mexico during his visit in the country?  
 Huzhiqiang...said, if Lianzhan **really** met the president of Mexico, the Ministry of  
 Foreign Affair would notify him to explain to the press.’



In (32), the interviewee, Hu Zhi-Qiang, is asked about the possibility of a meeting, and replies that if the meeting really took place, he would inform the press. Often, a tentative confirmation instead of a full scale one implies the SP/W's reluctance to endorse the validity of the statement. The SP/W's doubt about the statement is even clearer in (33).

(33) 一 名 北愛爾蘭 司機在 街頭 接受 訪問 時 表示，  
 yi ming beiaierlan siji zai jietou jieshou fangwen shi biaooshi,  
 one CLF PN driver at street accept interview when express  
 如果 這 項 和平 宣言 真 能 為 他們 帶來 和平，  
 ruguo zhe xiang heping xuanyan zhen neng wei tamen dailai heping,  
 if this CLF peace declaration ZHEN can for them bring peace  
 他們 將 表示 歡迎， 但是 他 對 此 感到 懷疑。  
 tamen jiang biaooshi huanying, danshi ta dui ci gandao huaiyi  
 they will express welcome but he for this feel doubtful  
 ‘One driver from North Ireland expressed his opinion when interviewed in the street. If this declaration of peace could **really** bring them peace, they would welcome it. However, he doubted this.’

Here, an Irish driver expresses his willingness to welcome a declaration if it really brings forth peace. By explicitly highlighting the truth of the arrival of peace as the premise of his welcome, the driver implies his doubts towards its possibility. In fact, the suspicion is revealed in the following clause.

Similarly, *zhen* in an interrogative clause also implies the speaker's doubt regarding the validity of a statement.

(34) 但 藉著 嚴 刑 峻 法， 真 能 改善 治安 嗎？  
 dan jiezhe yan xing jun fa, zhen neng gaishan zhian ma?  
 but through severe punishment strict law ZHEN can improve security PT  
 陳俊宏 強調... 問題 絕 非 刑度 輕 重 問題，  
 chenjunhong qiangdiao...wenti jue fei xingdu qing zhong wenti,  
 PN stress problem absolutely NEG punishment mild severe problem  
 ‘However, can public security **really** be improved through strict law and severe punishment?’

Chenjunhong stresses that the problem absolutely is not about whether the punishment is severe.’

In (34), *zhen* works with an interrogative clause to challenge the truth of a statement, i.e. severe penalties can improve public security. Challenging the truth of a statement implies the speaker’s disbelief about the statement, which is actually explicitly expressed in the following clause.

Finally, *zhen* in a clause with negation refutes a statement that is seemingly true.

(35) 打 電話 勒索 贖金 是 為了 掩人耳目， 並不是 真 想 勒索。  
da dianhua lesuo shujin shi weile yanrenermu, bingbushi **zhen** xiang lesuo  
call phone extort money C/F for deceive-people NEG ZHEN want extort  
‘Calling for extortion is just to deceive people, not **really** for extortion.’

In (35), the sentence explains that the reason for the kidnapper to call is not for extortion but to distract attention. In general, extorting money is a plausible purpose when a kidnapper calls. To confute this seemingly valid account, *zhen* is used in a negative clause to show that the presumed situation is actually not true. In short, the examples above show that when *zhen/zhende* is used in a non-affirmative clause, it typically suggests a mismatch between the SP/W and AD/R in their understanding about a situation, and thus the truth of the situation needs to be negotiated.

The expressive use of *zhen/zhende* is not restricted to a non-affirmative clause. *Zhen/zhende* can also appear in an affirmative clause. A common context is when a description might sound exaggerated or less believable, and thus the SP/W feels the need to emphasize its truth.

(36) 她全 身 處 於靜止 狀態，  
ta quan shen chu yu jingzhi zhuangtai,

her whole body situated at static state

一動也不動，與石膏像無異。

yi dong ye bu dong, yu shigaoxiang wu yi

one move also NEG move, with sculpture NEG difference

如果眼睛不眨，還真看不出是真人。

ruguo yanjing bu zha, hai **zhen** kanbuchu shi zhen ren

if eyes NEG blink still ZHEN cannot-tell is real person

‘Her whole body was static. She did not move at all, just like a sculpture. If she did not blink, it was **really** impossible to tell that she was a real person.’

(37) 我們無話不談，真的與兄弟一般。

women wu hua bu tan, **zhende** yu xiongdi yiban

we NEG speech NEG talk, ZHENDE with brothers alike

‘We talk about everything. We’re **really** like brothers.’

In (36), the SP/W describes that the pose of a street performer as a statue is so successful that it is impossible to tell that she is actually a living person. The description here, i.e. ‘unable to tell whether a performer is a living person’, is less intuitive for the AD/R because in general it should not be too difficult to distinguish a live person and a sculpture. Thus, *zhen* is used here to emphasize the truth of the statement. In (37), the SP/W illustrates his strong bonding with his friend. Similarly, the description, ‘be like brothers’, is not the feeling that we have easily. Thus, *zhende* is used to highlight the SP/W’s endorsement toward this statement.

However, the emphasizing meaning of *zhen/zhende* is not restricted to the context when there is potential different interpretation between the SP/W and the AD/R regarding the truth of a description. They can often be used in an affirmative clause just to express the SP/W’s strong commitment toward the situation described. For example, in (38) and (39), *zhen/zhende* emphasizes the SP/W’s strong assertiveness that ‘the clothes is pretty’ and ‘purchasing is convenient’ respectively.

(38) 他們的衣服真漂亮

tamen de yifu **zhen** piaoliang

- they NM clothes ZHEN pretty  
 ‘Their clothes are **really** pretty.’  
 (39) 採購 生活 必需品 真的 很 方便  
 caigou shenghuo bixupin **zhende** hen fangbian  
 buy daily necessity ZHENDE very convenient  
 ‘Buying daily necessity is **really** very convenient.’

Interestingly, when immediately preceding a gradable quality, the emphasis expressed by *zhen/zhende* seems to focus on the degree of the quality. Thus in (38) and (39), *zhen/zhende* can be practically interpreted as intensifying the degree of the following quality.

Notice that although *zhen* and *zhende* are practically the same in meaning, they are not always interchangeable. First, *zhende* appears in more diverse syntactic position. Specifically, only *zhende* can be used in clause periphery, e.g. 真\*(的), 我現在可沒想到錢的問題 *zhen\*(de)*, *wo xianzai kemei xiangdao qian de wenti* ‘**Really**, I haven’t thought about the money issue now.’ or 我現在可沒想到錢的問題,真\*(的) *wo xianzai kemei xiangdao qian de wenti*, *zhen\*(de)* ‘**Really**, I haven’t thought about the money issue now.’ Second, the adjectival phrase following *zhen* and *zhende* seems to differ in structural complexity: *zhen* sounds more natural when the following quality is represented by a simple adjective, as in 真棒 *zhen bang* ‘**really** good’, 真漂亮 *zhen piaoliang* ‘**really** pretty’; *zhende* is preferred when the quality is represented by a structurally more complex adjectival phrase, e.g. a modifier plus an adjective as in 真的很棒 *zhende hen bang* ‘**really** very good’, or an adjective plus a complement as in 真的棒極了 *zhende bangjile* ‘**really** good to the extreme’.

In this section, we have discussed the expressive use of *zhen/zhende*. In a non-affirmative clause, it negotiates the truth of a statement, often when the SP/W intends to express a reserved attitude or even challenge about a situation. In an affirmative clause, *zhen/zhende* expresses the SP/W’s emphasis about a description, often when the description may appear to be less believable or exaggerated. However, the exaggerated description is not

a necessary context for the use of *zhen/zhende*. It can be used whenever the SP/W feels the need to express his emphasis.

### 4.1.3 The Interactive Meaning of *Zhende*

In 4.1.2, we have introduced the expressive meaning of *zhen/zhende*, i.e. to express the SP/W's emphasis about a statement. While both *zhen* and *zhende* can appear clause internally with an expressive meaning, only *zhende* can be used in clause periphery and even independent of a clause with interactive functions. In this section, we will investigate various interactive meanings of *zhende* in the construction *shuozhende* and *zhende* plus a particle.

Sometimes, *zhende* collocates with *shuo* and forms a set phrase *shuozhende*. Out of context, *shuozhende* can be analyzed in two ways. It can be viewed as the elliptical form of the clause 我說真的話 *wo shuo zhende hua* 'I say something that is **true**'<sup>8</sup>. Under such analysis, *zhende* is an attributive adjective, denoting the utterance as real/true. Alternatively, since the elided object 話 *hua* 'speech' is seldom explicit, it is not impossible for people to view *zhende* as an adverb that modifies the utterance verb. It denotes the manner with which the act of speaking is performed, indicating that the speaker is talking in a truthful manner.

No matter *zhende* functions as an attributive adjective modifying the elided 話 *hua* 'speech' or as an adverb modifying the verb *shuo*, the phrase *shuozhende* as a whole behaves like an adverbial. According to Jiang's (2010: 85) categorization, it is an illocutionary adverbial, introducing a following utterance. Literally, it means that the speaker is telling the truth; communicatively, it is often used to emphasize the seriousness of the speaker (Jiang 2010: 114-16). Sometimes, the seriousness of the speaker is highlighted because the following utterance might sound unexpected.

---

<sup>8</sup> An example of similar structure might be (你)拿紅的(傘) (*ni na hong de(san)* '(you) take the red (umbrella)').

(40) F05 Hua Jiang

- 52385 B 也 不 敢 再 去 第 二 次 吧,  
ye bu gan zai qu dier ci ba,  
also NEG dare again go second CLF PT  
'She doesn't dare to go again, right?'
- 52386 A 不 知 道 耶,  
bu zhidao ye,  
NEG know PF  
'I don't know'
- 52387 可 是,  
keshi,  
but  
'But'
- 52388 > 說 真 的 我 還 有 點 好 奇 耶.  
**shuozhende** wo hai you dian haoqi ye.  
SHUOZHENDE I still have little curious PT  
'**Seriously**, I'm still a bit curious.'

In (40), A is sharing a story with B about her mother's visit to a psychic. Despite the scary atmosphere, the mother asked the psychic to summon A's deceased grandmother. Unfortunately, the procedure was not successful. In line 52385, B offers her evaluation for the story. By saying that A's mother probably will not dare to go to the psychic again, B shows that she can empathize with the frightening situation. In contrast, the situation appears to be less terrifying for A and she expresses her curiosity for the situation. Here, A uses *shuozhende* in line 52388 to show that the following speech, i.e. that 'I'm curious about the psychic', is uttered in a serious manner although it might seem unreasonable because the whole story sounds very scary.

Sometimes, the SP/W uses *shuozhende* to highlight his serious attitude so he can catch the addressee's attention.

(41) Ping-Pong

34 H:..好, \_

- ..hao,\_  
OK  
'OK'
- 35 ..那 打 雙打 好 不 好,\_  
..na da shuangda hao bu hao,\_  
then play double good NEG good  
'Then, let's pair up, OK?'
- 36 ..好不好?/  
..hao bu hao?/  
good NEG good  
'OK?'
- 37 Y:...跟 數學 系 那[個]—  
...gen shuxue xi na[ge]--  
with math department that  
'With the one from the math department'
- 38 > H: [ey] 說真的 啦.\  
[ey] **shuozhende** la.\  
PT SHUOZHENDE PT  
'**Seriously,**'
- 39 ..我們 打 雙打,\_  
..women da shuangda,\_  
we play double  
'Let's pair up,'
- 40 ..好不好?/  
..hao bu hao?/  
good NEG good  
'OK?'

In (41), H asks Y to pair up with her in a table tennis tournament. However, Y does not answer after H's initial invitation and H asks her again. Here *shuozhende* appears in line 38 before H's second invitation for Y. By emphasizing that the following speech is uttered in a truthful and serious manner, the communicative intention is to catch the addressee's attention.

In addition to forming the phrase *shuozhende*, which highlights the speaker's serious attitude in anticipation of the addressee's suspicion or to catch the addressee's attention,

*zhende* also frequently collocates with particles and demonstrates various interactive meaning. For example, it can be used to question the truth of a statement.

(42) KTV

- 479 B: (0)就是你--  
 (0)jiushi ni--  
 just you  
 ‘It’s just that you
- 480 ..即使 走 到 旁邊 看到 她,\_  
 ..jishi zou dao pangbian kandao ta,\_  
 even walk to side see her  
 ‘Even if you walk to her side and see her’
- 481 ..都 認不<@出來@>,\_  
 ..dou renbu<@chulai@>,\_  
 all not-recognize  
 ‘you can’t recognize that’
- 482 ..[<@她是=藍心湄@>].\  
 ..[<@ta shi =lanxinmei@>].\  
 she C/F PN  
 ‘she is Lanxinmei’
- 483 A: [她 就是 藍心]--  
 [ta jiushi lanxin]--  
 she just PN  
 ‘She is Lanxin’
- 484 > .. 真的 嗎?/  
 .. **zhende** ma ?/  
 ZHENDE PF  
 ‘Really?’
- 485 .. 這麼 誇張 嗎?/  
 .. zheme kuazhang ma?/  
 this exaggerated PF  
 ‘Is this really so?’

Here, A and B are talking about a celebrity. B says that the celebrity looks so different without makeup that people cannot recognize her. In line 484, *zhende* is used to express



speaker A's reaction toward the truth of such statement.

When questioning the truth of a statement, the speaker often implies his disbelief for that statement.

(43) SC18

- 14776 18B [喔!可是我是覺得女生的沒什麼好看的，  
[o! keshi wo shi juede nusheng de mei sheme hao kan de,  
PT but I C/F feel girl NM NEG what good look NM  
'But I feel that the ones for girls are not very good looking.'
- 14777 > 18A 真的 嗎?  
**zhende** ma?  
ZHENDE PT  
'Really?'
- 14778 不會，  
buhui,  
NEG  
'No'
- 14779 其實你可以去看，  
qishi ni keyi qu kan,  
actually you can go look  
'Aactually, you can go have a look.'
- 14780 我覺得不錯，  
wo juede bu cuo,  
I feel NEG bad  
'I think they're not bad.'

In (43), A and B are talking about a place where the clothes are on sale. B thinks that the clothes for women there are not attractive while A thinks that they are actually pretty nice. Here, *zhende ma* literally questions the truth of B's statement in line 14776. However, without waiting for an answer, A rejects B's statement in line 14778. In other words, *zhende* here is not really intended as a true question but as a means to express doubt or even disagreement.

Besides being used as a question, *zhende* can also function as an answer.

(44) 03Fa School

- 38129 B 102 公斤 ?  
102 gongjin ?  
102 Kg  
'102 Kg?'
- 38130 A 對 啊 。  
dui a  
right PT  
'Right.'
- 38131 B 真的 假 的 。  
zhende jia de  
ZHENDE fake NM  
'Really?'
- 38132 > A 真的 啊 。  
**zhende** a  
really PT  
'**Really.**'

Here, A and B are talking about one of their classmates who is very heavy. B is very surprised at the weight of that classmate and asks whether it is true. In line 38132, A uses *zhende* to confirm the information.

Furthermore, *zhende* can also show the speaker's agreement toward the preceding statement.

(45) SC17

- 14608 17A 可是 ,  
keshi,  
but  
'But'
- 14609 還好 不會 冷場 啊 !  
haihao buhui lengchang a !  
fortunately NEG boring PT  
'Fortunately, it is not boring.'
- 14610 17B 嗯 ,

en,  
 PT  
 14611 > 真的。  
**zhende**  
 ZHENDE  
**‘Indeed’**

Early in this stretch of conversation, A and B are talking about a movie. B points out that the shark in the movie is obviously a prop rather than a real one. In line 14608 and 14609, A points out that at least the storyline is not boring and B uses *zhende* in line 14611 to show his agreement.

Finally, *zhende* can be a minimal response to the previous stretch of talk.

(46) 00FaHospital

24359 B (0)女性 肥胖 超過 四十 歲 然後 什麼，  
 (0)nuxing feipang chaoguo sishi sui ranhou sheme  
 female fat over forty year-old then what  
 ‘Fat women over forty years old and’  
 24360 生 過 很 多 小孩 這 都 是 高 危 險 因 子，  
 sheng guo hen duo xiaohai zhe dou shi gao weixian yinzi,  
 give-birth EXP very many kids this all C/F high dangerous factor  
 ‘having given birth to many kids, these are all dangerous factors.’  
 24361 不 知 道 為 什 麼。  
 bu zhidao weisheme  
 NEG know why  
 ‘Nobody knows why’  
 24362 > A 真 的 喔，  
**zhende** o,  
 ZHENDE PT  
**‘Really’**  
 24363 那 怎 麼 辦 呢？  
 na zenme ban ne?  
 then what do PT  
 ‘Then what can be done?’

In (46), after B's comment that women over forty and have given birth to many children are more likely to have a certain kind of disease, A responds with *zhende o*. Then, she carries on the talk by asking what can be done about the susceptibility for the disease. Here, *zhende* functions as a response token, signaling that the speaker has received the previously uttered information.

To sum up, *zhende* can be used independently of a clause, serving various interactive functions:

- (1) as a question about statement (often implying the speaker's doubt or even disagreement),
- (2) as an answer to a question about the truth of a statement,
- (3) as a confirmation about the truth of a statement, or
- (4) as a response token signaling the receipt of information.

In 4.1.3, we have discussed two constructions of *zhende* with interactive function, i.e. *shuozhende* and *zhende* plus particle. *Shuozhende* emphasizes the seriousness of the SP/W's about the following speech, typically when the SP/W anticipates that the AD/R might be suspicious about the utterance, or when the SP/W wants to attract the AD/R's attention. On the other hand, *zhende* also often collocates with a particle in conversation to serve different interactive functions, e.g. as a question or a response token.

#### **4.1.4 Interim Summary**

In section 4.1, we have explored the polysemous meaning of *zhen* and *zhende*. The descriptive meaning of both *zhen* and *zhende* verifies an object/concept as real, though *zhen* tends to functions on morphological level, appearing in compounds or paired contrastive constructions such as '假 X 真 Y' *jia X zhen Y* 'fake X real Y', while *zhende* typically functions on syntactic level, attributively or predicatively modifying a noun.

The expressive meaning of *zhen/zhende* presents the SP/W's emphasis toward a statement. In a non-affirmative clause (hypothetical, interrogative, or negative), *zhen/zhende* negotiates the truth of a statement due to a potential mismatch between the SP/W and the AD/R' belief about the truth of the statement. In an affirmative clause, *zhen/zhende* can also affirm the truth of a statement, especially when it appears to be less believable. By explicitly indicating the truth of the statement, SP/W also demonstrates a strong assertiveness about it. Finally, when preceding a gradable property, the emphasizing meaning focuses on the property, making *zhen/zhende* practically a degree intensifier.

*Zhende* can also be used in the construction, *shuozhende* and *zhende* plus particle, to serve various interactive functions. *Shuozhende* highlights the SP/W's seriousness in uttering the following speech, often because the speech may sound unusual or that the SP/W is trying to attract the AD/R's attention. On the other hand, *zhende* can be used with a particle in a conversation to serve various interactive functions, e.g. as a rhetoric question, a confirmation towards the previous question, an agreement token to a statement, or a response token signaling the receipt of information.

In short, this section explores the descriptive, expressive, and interactive meaning of *zhen/zhende*. Among them, the expressive meaning that indicates the speaker's emphasis will be especially important for our discussion of *zhenshi* in the next section.

#### **4.2 Analysis of *Zhenshi***

In 2.2.2, we have reviewed the grammaticalization of the copula/focus marker *shi* into a word-internal element, which forms a new morphological form X-*shi* (Dong 2004). We have also briefly shown *zhenshi* as an especially interesting case in 1.1, because it has been included in the dictionary as a lexical entry with a non-compositional meaning. Potentially, *zhendeshi* is also a viable candidate for lexicalization. However, a quick survey of our data

reveals a different degree of lexicalization between *zhenshi* and *zhendeshi*. One clear criterion determining the degree of lexicalization of X-*shi* is to check whether *shi* still perform syntactic function. The ideal function of *shi* is to link a noun to a subject. However, of all the 120 tokens of *shi* collocating with *zhen*, only 6% (n=7) are followed by a noun and demonstrate a clear copula function. The fact that *shi* after *zhen* usually does not have a clear syntactic function is a sign that it is becoming a word-internal element. In like fashion, of all the 117 tokens of *shi* collocating with *zhende*, only 19% (n=22) is followed by a noun. The frequency is still very low, but it seems that *zhendeshi* is less lexicalized than *zhenshi*.

Lexicalization is also reflected by meaning change. The typical function of *zhendeshi* and *zhenshi* is to reinforce the speaker's evaluation represented by the following speech. However, there are 13% (n=16) of *zhenshi* occurring at the end of an utterance without any relevant follow up speech. In these cases, *zhenshi* is no longer an adverbial intensifier, but expresses the SP/W's complaint about a situation, which is listed as an independent entry in the dictionary. More interestingly, there are another 20 instances of *zhenshi* followed by 的 *de* in the clause final position. We will argue that *zhenshide* is yet another evaluative expression deriving from the evaluative *zhenshi*. On the other hand, although there are also 9% (n=10) of *zhendeshi* occurring at the end of an utterance, the percentage is considerably lower than *zhenshi(de)*, showing that it is still more typically used as an intensifier.

In short, a quick survey of our spoken data shows that (1) *shi* in *zhenshi* is more often syntactically superfluous than *shi* in *zhendeshi* and (2) *zhenshi* is more often used in a sense other than just an intensifier than *zhendeshi*. This suggests that *zhenshi* is more lexicalized than *zhendeshi*, which is in line with the fact that only *zhenshi* is listed in the dictionary as a lexical entry. Thus, in the following, we will focus on the more lexicalized *zhenshi* and investigate how it develops into a single unit with its own meaning. 4.2.1 discusses some general statistical information about the data to be discussed. 4.2.2 describes *zhenshi* as a single word with its meaning not deducible from *zhen* plus *shi*. 4.2.3 further explores how the

lexicalization of *zhenshi* paves the path for the emergence of *zhenshide*. Finally, 4.2.4 is a summary for the section.

#### 4.2.1 Discussion of the Data

In this section, we will report some general statistical information of our data. There are in total 120 tokens of *zhenshi* in our spoken data. There is one token of *zhenshi* whose meaning and use is not interpretable and one token discarded by the speaker and replaced with *zhen*. These two tokens will not be included in the following discussion. Of the remaining 118 tokens of *zhenshi*, the majority (62%, n=73) function as an intensifier similar to the expressive *zhen* in the construction ‘X *zhenshi* Y’ where Y denotes an evaluation about X and *zhenshi* expresses the speaker’s emphasis on such evaluation. There are also 40 (34%) tokens of *zhenshi* that do not follow this general pattern. 20 tokens of them are followed by a delayed evaluation, or more typically without an evaluation, which will be further investigated in 4.2.2; the other 20 tokens are followed by 的 *de*, also without a following evaluation, which will be explored in 4.2.3. Finally, there are five tokens of *zhenshi* in the transitional phase between *zhenshi* as an intensifier and *zhenshi* with a new meaning, which will be discussed in the following.

The 5 tokens of *zhenshi* are considered to be in the transitional phase between the intensifier *zhenshi* and the novel *zhenshi*, because it is not followed by an evaluation though still retains the emphasizing function.

(47) Windia

|       |    |   |
|-------|----|---|
| 10303 | A  | 烽火台，<br>fenghuotai,<br>beacon<br>‘Beacon’ |
| 10304 | Mm | a，  |

|       |   |                |     |
|-------|---|----------------|-----|
|       |   | PT             | PT, |
| 10305 |   | 好 漂亮，          |     |
|       |   | hao piaoliang, |     |
|       |   | very pretty    |     |
|       |   | ‘very pretty’  |     |
| 10306 | > | 真是.            |     |
|       |   | <b>zhenshi</b> |     |
|       |   | ZHENSHI        |     |
|       |   | ‘Really’       |     |

In (47), A sees a picture of a beacon tower. In line 10305, she comments that the tower is beautiful, and reiterates the evaluation with *zhenshi* in line 10306. Here, *zhenshi* still retains its intensifying function, showing the speaker’s emphasis on an evaluation. However, since the evaluation, ‘that the beacon tower is beautiful’, has been uttered in the previous speech, it is not repeated after *zhenshi*. The example shows that it is syntactically possible for *zhenshi* to be without following speech when the context is clear, which is the first step for *zhenshi* to develop its own meaning.

#### 4.2.2 *Zhenshi* as a Word

As has been shown in 1.1, the status of *zhenshi* as a word is fully established and has been included in the dictionary as a lexical entry. According to Dong (2004), the meaning of the new morphological form X-*shi* is semantically the same with X. Indeed, *zhenshi* is generally similar in meaning to *zhen*. Of all the 118 tokens of *zhenshi*, 62% (n=73) is used in the construction ‘X *zhenshi* Y’, where *zhenshi* emphasizes the SP/W’s assertiveness toward the following evaluation Y, a meaning similar to the expressive *zhen*. However, according to the dictionary definition and our observation on the spoken data, *zhenshi* can also be used to express the SP/W’s evaluation, or, more specifically, complaint, in addition to emphasizing an evaluation. Thus, it will be interesting to investigate how it develops an evaluative



meaning from the emphasizing meaning. In the following, 4.2.2.1 explains why *zhenshi* should be analyzed as a single word. 4.2.2.2 contrasts *zhenshi* with *zhen* without *shi*, showing that only *zhenshi* can appear without an evaluation in the same IU. 4.2.2.3 explores the motivation for such lack of evaluation and 4.2.2.4 further displays the different patterns of IUs without an evaluation. Based on these observations, 4.2.2.5 then explains why the examples of *zhenshi* without a following evaluation are crucial for the development of *zhenshi* from emphasizing an evaluation to an evaluation. Finally, 4.2.2.6 summarizes this section

#### 4.2.2.1 Evidence for *Zhenshi* as a Word

In our data, there are still, though not many, instances where *zhen* has not completely merged with the copula/focus marker *shi* to become a single word.

(48) Reporter

252. ..台北--台北 真是 國際 都市 啊.\  
 .. taibei—taibei **zhenshi** guoji doushi a.\  
 PN PN ZHENSHI international city PT  
 ‘Taipei, Taipei **really** is an international city.’

Here, *zhen* is used to enhance the speaker’s assertion about a sentence where *shi* functions as a copula.

On the other hand, in most cases, *shi* in *zhenshi* is impossible to be separated from *zhen*, which is shown in the following three aspects. First, *zhen* and *shi* form a tight unit, which can hardly be separated by other linguistic elements. In contrast, *zhenshi* as a whole is often separated from the following speech by a pause or other linguistic elements.

(49) 02SpBTG

29940 我 真的 覺得-

- wo zhende juede-  
 I ZHENDE feel  
 ‘I really feel’
- 29941 > 世界 真是-  
 shijie zhenshi-  
 world ZHENSHI  
 ‘The world is **really**’
- 29942 我 我 可以 講 不 公平 嗎?  
 wo wo keyi jiang bu gongping ma?  
 I I can say NEG fair PT  
 ‘Can I say unfair?’

In (49), the speaker is complaining that the world is not fair, using *zhenshi* to intensify the unfairness. Here, the speaker is uncertain whether the evaluation, i.e. being unfair, can aptly capture the situation, and thus inserts a softener 我可以講 *wo keyi jiang* ‘if I may say so’ between the intensifying *zhenshi* and the evaluation.

Second, *shi* in *zhenshi* usually carries no semantic or syntactic function. Example (49) is semantically complete and syntactically well formed even without *shi*. The only function for *shi* here seems to be prosodic. Without it, the lengthy speech that follows (compared to the monosyllabic *zhen*) will make the whole utterance sound imbalanced. Without the lengthy softener, the utterance 真不公平 *zhen bu gongping* ‘so unfair’ sounds perfectly natural. Lacking specific semantic meaning and syntactic function, *shi* should not be analyzed as an independent word, but should be viewed as a part of *zhenshi*.

Finally, the copula/focus marker *shi* without *zhen* has a more specific meaning than the one in *zhenshi*, especially when the following element is not nominal. According to Li & Thompson (1981: 151-54), when *shi* links a subject and a non-nominal element, it often carries a special sense of affirmation.

- (50) 他是 沒 錢  
 ta shi mei qian

he SHI no money  
'It's true that s/he doesn't have any money.'  
(Li & Thompson 1981: 151)

Here, (50) can only be naturally used to 'affirm what had been said earlier or what had been suspected or inferred by the speaker and the hearer.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 151). However, this is seldom the case when *shi* co-occurs with *zhen*. For example, in (49) the quality after *zhenshi*, i.e. being unfair, has never been mentioned in the preceding discourse. The fact that *shi* with and without *zhen* tend to appear in different contexts is a further illustration that *shi* in *zhenshi* is distinct from the copula/focus marker *shi* that functions independently.

In short, there are three features of *zhenshi* that reflects its status as a word. First, *zhen* and *shi* are never separated. Second, *shi* in *zhenshi* does not have clear semantic meaning or syntactic function. Finally, *shi* in *zhenshi* often does not have the same meaning as *shi* as an independent copula/focus marker.

#### 4.2.2.2 Differences between *Zhen* and *Zhenshi*

In 4.2.2.1 we have discussed the three aspects that reflect the status of *zhenshi* as a single word. One natural question is how it is different from *zhen* without *shi*. The most obvious difference follows Dong's (2004) observation reviewed in 2.2.2 that, to harmonize the rhythm, a long utterance tends to be preceded by *X-shi*. This prosody concern is clearly important for the choice between *zhen* and *zhenshi*. For example, when the following speech is short, like 乾淨 *ganjing* 'clean', both *zhen* and *zhenshi* can be used. However, for a longer utterance like 乾淨極了 *ganjing ji le* 'clean to the extreme', only the longer form *zhenshi* sounds natural before it.

In addition to the prosodic concern, another difference is observed between *zhen* and *zhenshi*: only *zhenshi* can appear in an intonation unit (IU) without a following evaluative

expression. In conversation, the most typical function of *zhen* and *zhenshi* is to intensify a quality that represents the speaker's evaluation toward a preceding topic.

(51) Homo

369 ..像 這 種 謠言 可 真 多 呢,  
..xiang zhe zhong yaoyan ke **zhen** duo ne,  
like this CLF rumor can ZHEN many PT  
'There is **really** much rumor like this.'

(52) Matchmaking

873. M: 妳 真是 鏗而不捨  
ni **zhenshi** qieerbushè  
you ZHENSHI persistent  
'You **really** are persistent.'

In (51), *zhen* enhances the degree of the following quality, i.e. large in number. Similarly, *zhenshi* in (52) intensifies the following quality, i.e. persistent. However, while *zhen* is always followed by a quality within the same IU, of all the 118 tokens of *zhenshi*, 34% (n=40) are not followed by the speaker's evaluative speech within the same IU.

(53) 01SpPop Music

26880 B 有 的 真的是 很有 真才實學，  
you de zhendeshi hen you zhencaishixue  
some NM ZHENDESHI very have real-talent  
'Some are really with real talents'  
26881 > 但 有些 真是 ts-  
dan youxie **zhenshi** ts-  
but some ZHENSHI ts  
'But some are **really**'  
26882 只是 被 包裝 出來，  
zhishi bei baozhuang chulai，  
only BEI promote out  
'just a result of promotion.'

In (53), B is assessing singers. Some of them are really talented, while some rely on effective promotion. Here, the evaluative expression to be intensified by *zhenshi* does not immediately follow it in line 26881, but is delayed until the next IU in line 26882.

In summary, *zhenshi* differs from *zhen* in two aspects. First, *zhenshi* tends to be followed by longer speech than *zhen*. Second, only *zhenshi* is observed to appear at the end of an IU prosodically separated from the presumably ensuing evaluation.

#### **4.2.2.3 Motivation for *Zhenshi* without an Immediately Ensuing Evaluation**

In 4.2.1, we propose that the typical function of *zhenshi* in oral interaction is to strengthen an evaluation denoted by the following speech. In other words, only after the evaluation is uttered will the meaning be completed. However, 34% of *zhenshi* do not have a corresponding evaluation within the same IU, which seems to mean that these IUs are not semantically complete. One obvious question, then, is what motivates these semantically incomplete IUs. As reviewed in 2.1.6, Li (2002) observes that certain types of sequences in Taiwanese Southern Min are often truncated by the speaker. Citing Levinson (1987), she attributes such sequence truncation to two driving forces: ‘the turn-taking system and the cognitive-psychological limitation of the speaker on the one hand, and the speaker’s avoidance of social impropriety, on the other’ (Li 2002: 119). Such account for the truncation in Taiwanese Southern Min also neatly explains the examples of *zhenshi* without an immediately following evaluation.

From the perspective of cognitive limitation, the absence of an immediately ensuing evaluation after *zhenshi* results from the pressure of constant turn transition in conversation. The function of *zhenshi* is to intensify the speaker’s evaluation about a topic. To accurately evaluate such topic, he needs time to come up with a specific expression. Consider (49) repeated in the following as (54).

(54) 02SpBTG

- 29940 我 真的 覺得-  
wo zhende juede-  
I ZHENDE feel  
'I really feel'
- 29941 > 世界 真是-  
shijie zhenshi-  
world ZHENSHI  
'The world is **really**'
- 29942 我 我 可以講 不 公平 嗎?  
wo wo keyi jiang bu gongping ma?  
I I can say NEG fair PT  
'Can I say unfair?'

In (54), the speaker is talking about her evaluation of the world. It seems that she cannot find a precise expression in line 29941. Although in the next line, she finally utters the evaluative expression, i.e. unfair, it is expressed through a rhetorical question 我可以講...嗎 *wo keyi jiang...ma* 'may I say so', showing that she is still not totally certain about the adequacy about such expression. Sometimes, the speaker may even find it too difficult to come up with a proper evaluative expression and give up uttering it.

(55) Curfew

- 043L: .. 你 為什麼 現在 可以 跟 我們 打 電話 呢.-  
..ni weisheme xianzai keyi gen women da dianhua ne.-  
you why now can to us make phone-call PT  
'Why can you call us now?'
- 044P: ... ei,-  
... ei,-  
PT  
'Well'
- 045P: .. 我 現在= 休假\  
.. wo xianzai=xiujia\  
I now on-vacation  
'I'm currently on vacation'

- 046L: .. 喔,\n  
 .. o,\n  
 PT  
 ‘Oh’
- 047L: .. 你 現在 休假 啊.\n  
 .. ni xianzai xiujia a.\n  
 you now on-vacation PT  
 ‘You’re now on vacation.’
- 048P: (0) 對 啊,-  
 (0) dui a,-  
 right PT  
 ‘Right.’
- 049P: .. 沒 錯.\n  
 .. mei cuo.\n  
 NEG wrong  
 ‘That’s correct.’
- 050L: .. 喔=-,  
 .. o=-,  
 ‘Oh’
- 051L: .. 那 你 這個=-,  
 .. na ni zhege=-,  
 then you this  
 ‘Then, you, well’
- 052L: > ... 真是 這個=-,  
 ... zhenshi zhege=-,  
 ZHENSHI this  
 ‘really is, well’
- 053L: .. 你 這個 這個,-  
 .. ni zhege zhege,-  
 you this this  
 ‘you, well, well’
- 054L: .. 勸導 了 兩 天,-  
 .. quandao le liang tian,-  
 advise PF two days  
 ‘have been giving advice for two days’
- 055L: .. 有 什麼 樣 的^ 感想 呢.-  
 .. you sheme yang de ^ganxiang ne.-  
 have what kind NM feelings PT

‘How do you feel?’

In (55), P is a policeman calling into a radio show hosted by L. Earlier in the talk, P is sharing how he counseled juvenile delinquents. Then L asks P why he is able to call in at this period of time and P replies that he is currently having a break. On hearing this, it seems that L tries to give a comment on line 51 but cannot find an appropriate expression and thus puts in a deictic filler. In line 52, *zhenshi* is uttered by L, perhaps to intensify her evaluation. However, such evaluative expression is never explicitly uttered. After several deictic fillers, L finally gives up completing the evaluation and moves on to ask P how he feels about his counseling with the juvenile delinquents.

In addition to the cognitive limitation, the absence of an immediately ensuing evaluation after *zhenshi* can also be a ramification of social concern. In general, when criticizing a person/situation, people tend to be implicit instead of giving an overt attack.

(56) SC24

- 16400 24B 我 發覺 東方 人 都 會 鑽 法律漏洞。  
wo fajue dongfang ren dou hui zuan falu loudong  
I find oriental people all will find legal loophole  
‘I found that all Oriental people would try to find legal loopholes.’
- 16401 24A 對丫！  
dui a  
Right  
‘You’re right’
- 16402 > 東方 人 真是。  
dongfang ren zhenshi  
oriental people ZHENSHI  
‘Oriental people **are really (unethical)**’
- 16403 24B 那 澳洲 他們 就 真的 比較 一步 一步 來，  
na aozhou tamen jiu zhende bijiao yibu yibu lai  
DM Australia they LK ZHENDE more step step come  
‘Australians really will do things step by step.’



In (56), B is sharing her experience in Singapore. Despite the stringent law there, people still sometimes manage to find a loophole. Her evaluation for this is that Oriental people always take advantage of legal loopholes. In line 16401, A agrees with B's evaluation and in line 16402, she uses *zhenshi*, presumably to enhance her evaluation about Eastern people. However, the evaluative expression is never explicitly uttered. From the context, it is clear that A is having a negative evaluation. The absence of a specific utterance denoting this evaluation may be due to the speaker's reluctance to directly speak out her criticism.

To sum up, the absence of an immediately following evaluation after *zhenshi* is often a result of cognitive limitation or avoidance of social impropriety. Cognitively, the rapid turn transition often does not grant the speaker enough time to come up with an expression that adequately expresses his evaluation, leading to delay or even truncation of such evaluation. From a social perspective, an expression after *zhenshi* with negative evaluation is often left unsaid due to the speaker's reluctance of uttering an unmitigated criticism. In the following, we will further display the different patterns of the examples of *zhenshi* without an immediate following evaluation in more detail.

#### **4.2.2.4 Patterns of *Zhenshi* without an Immediately Ensuing Evaluation**

In the previous section, we have explained why sometimes *zhenshi* is not immediately followed by an evaluation. As discussed in 4.2.1, there are in total 40 instances of *zhenshi* without an immediately following evaluative remark, with half of them followed by 的 *de*, and the other half does not. In this section, we will further investigate the 20 instances of *zhenshi* without *de* and display their various patterns. When an evaluative expression does not follow *zhenshi* within the same IU, it may appear in the following IU. Consider (53) repeated as (57).

(57) 01SpPop Music

- 26880 B 有的 真的是 很有 真才實學，  
you de zhendeshi hen you zhencaishixue  
some NM ZHENDESHI very have real-talent  
'Some are really with real talents'
- 26881 > 但 有些 真是 ts-  
dan youxie **zhenshi** ts-  
but some ZHENSHI ts  
'But some are **really**'
- 26882 只是 被 包裝 出來，  
zhishi bei baozhuang chulai，  
only BEI promote out  
'just a result of promotion.'

In (57), B's second evaluation, i.e. some singers are just a result of promotion, does not appear with its intensifier *zhenshi* in line 26881, but is uttered in the next IU after a pause.

On the other hand, sometimes the speaker will continue with his speech without uttering the evaluative expression.

(58) Factory

- 699 F: ... 你 想 想 看，\  
... ni xiang xiang kan，\  
you think think see  
'Think about this'
- 700 F: .. 為 什 麼 那 個 = 那 個 = 大 樓 啊，-  
.. weisheme nage = nage = dalou a，-  
why that that building PT  
'Why are, well, well, the buildings?'
- 701 F: .. 空 屋 率 會 那 麼 高。-  
.. kong wu lu hui name gao.-  
empty house rate is that high  
'with such high empty rate?'
- 702 > F: .. 真 是，-  
.. **zhenshi**，-

- .. ZHENSHI  
‘What a shame.’
- 703 F: .. 起碼 你 晚上 去 看 hoN,\  
.. qima ni wanshang qu kan hoN,\  
at-least you night go see PT  
‘At least, when you see the buildings at night’
- 704 F: ... 他 不 是 說 幾 個 月 啊,-  
... ta bu shi shuo ji ge yue a,-  
it NEG C/F CMP several CLF months PT  
‘It’s not just several months’
- 705 F: .. 好 幾 年 都 是 黑 的 ne.\  
.. hao ji nian dou shi hei de ne.\  
many several years all C/F dark NM PT  
‘But for many years, the buildings are dark.’

In (58), F asks the question why so many houses are not dwelled by people. Then, *zhenshi* is uttered. Instead of continuing with an explicit evaluative expression, the speaker moves on to say that no people have lived in these houses for years.

Finally, after *zhenshi* is uttered, another speaker may take over the turn. Consider (56) repeated here as (59).

(59) SC24

- 16400 24B 我 發覺 東方 人 都 會 鑽 法律漏洞。  
wo fajue dongfang ren dou hui zuan falu loudong  
I find oriental people all will find legal loophole  
‘I found that all Oriental people would try to find legal loopholes.’
- 16401 24A 對丫！  
dui a  
Right  
‘You’re right’
- 16402 > 東方人 真是。  
dongfang ren zhenshi  
oriental people ZHENSHI  
‘Oriental people are really (unethical)’
- 16403 24B 那 澳洲 他們 就 真的 比較 一步一步來，

na aozhou tamen jiu zhende bijiao yibu yibu lai  
 DM Australia they LK ZHENDE more step step come  
 ‘Australians really will do things step by step.’

In (59), after A utters *zhenshi* in line 16402, B takes over the turn and the evaluative expression that is supposed to follow *zhenshi* never occurs.

In short, among the 20 examples of *zhenshi* without an immediately subsequent evaluation, sometimes the evaluative speech appears in the IU following the one with *zhenshi*. However, at times, the evaluative speech may not be uttered at all. In this case, the same speaker may continue with the speech or another speaker may take over the turn. Table 1 displays the distribution of different types of *zhenshi* without an immediately ensuing evaluation.

Table 1 Types of *zhenshi* without an immediately ensuing evaluation

|  | Tokens | Percentage |
|--|--------|------------|
| 1. The evaluation is delayed but completed in the following IU | 4      | 20%        |
| 2. The evaluation is never uttered and                         |        |            |
| 2.1 the same speaker carries on                                | 7      | 35%        |
| 2.2 another speaker takes over the turn                        | 9      | 45%        |
| Total  | 20     | 100%       |

#### 4.2.2.5 From Intensification to Evaluation

In 4.2.1, we have proposed that the major function of *zhenshi* is to intensify the speaker’s evaluation of a topic. However, Table 1 shows that there are 16 examples where an evaluative expression is never uttered. In particular, in over half (9 out of 16) of them, *zhenshi* is followed by speaker change. If the function of *zhenshi* is indeed just to reinforce an evaluation, why would an interlocutor consider it appropriate to take over the turn before the

evaluation itself is uttered?

One clear answer is that *zhenshi* in these contexts is not just an intensifier, but has its own evaluative meaning, i.e. expressing the SP/W's complaint. Thus, the real question is how the intensifying *zhenshi* becomes the evaluative *zhenshi*. Recall in 2.1.6, we have reviewed Li's (2002) observation that several sentence final particles in Taiwanese Southern Min arise out of sequence truncation and metonymic inference in conversation. For example, due to cognitive limitation of the speaker and the speaker's avoidance of social impropriety, the speech after the extent marker *kah* is often elided, leaving *kah* in a position typical for a sentence final particle. Moreover, since the elided speech after *kah* typically denotes an excessive extent, the excessive meaning is gradually associated with *kah* through metonymy. Thus, when the speech is truncated, the left behind *kah* can still be inferred to indicate the high degree of a state.

Li's (2002) analysis on these emerging sentence final particles can also be applied to our case of *zhenshi*. We contend that the meaning change of *zhenshi* is also a ramification of the interaction between sequence truncation and metonymic inference. As discussed in 4.2.1, the typical meaning of the pattern 'X *zhenshi* Y' is to express an evaluation (denoted by Y) on X, and *zhenshi* intensifies such evaluation. The frequent collocation between *zhenshi* and the evaluation gradually associates the two through metonymy. Thus, even when the evaluation is not explicitly uttered due to cognitive limitation and social concern discussed in 4.2.2.3, the AD/R can still infer the evaluative meaning through *zhenshi*. Eventually, this inference is semanticized as a meaning of *zhenshi* and is included as one of its lexical meaning.

In fact, *zhenshi* as a pragmatically inferred linguistic element that carries the speaker's evaluation is especially helpful when the speaker is expressing a negative evaluation. As discussed in 4.2.2.3, people generally avoid giving out unmitigated criticism. In this sense, *zhenshi* as an evaluative device is a perfect candidate to express negative evaluation. It helps to mitigate the speaker's criticism because its evaluative meaning emerges from its frequent

collocation with negative evaluative expressions and the real negative evaluation is never uttered.

In short, we have argued that when *zhenshi* is not followed by an evaluative expression, it is no longer just an intensifier but expresses an evaluation. The evaluative meaning emerges as a metonymic inference and has been semanticized as the lexical meaning of *zhenshi*.

#### 4.2.2.6 Interim Summary

In 4.2.2, we have investigated how *zhenshi* develops an evaluative meaning not compositional of its component, i.e. the intensifier *zhen* and the copula/focus marker *shi*. Similar to Dong's (2004) observation on *X-shi*, *zhenshi* should be analyzed as a single word because, (1) no linguistic element is observed inserted between *zhen* and *shi*; (2) *shi* in *zhenshi* usually does not have clear function on the semantic/syntactic level; (3) the meaning of *shi* in *zhenshi* is not the same as *shi* without *zhen*, implying that *shi* in *zhenshi* is not the same as a independent copula/focus marker *shi*. Unlike Dong's (2004) observation that *X-shi* are semantically similar to *X*, we have found that in addition to the intensifying meaning of *zhen*, *zhenshi* also has an evaluative meaning. To further explore how *zhenshi* developed an evaluative meaning, we first showed that the evaluation that is presumed to be intensified by *zhenshi* is often truncated due to cognitive limitation and social concern. We then argued that since *zhenshi* typically appears in the construction 'X *zhenshi* Y', where Y is an evaluation, the frequent collocation of *zhenshi* and the evaluation leads to a strong association between the two. Thus, when the evaluation is not explicitly uttered, the AD/R can still metonymically infer the evaluation through *zhenshi*. Eventually, the evaluative meaning is semanticized as the lexical meaning of *zhenshi* and is documented in dictionaries. In short, this section has shown how the fusion of *zhen* and *shi* (which instantiates Dong's (2004) observation that many instances of the copula/focus marker *shi* in modern Mandarin has become a word-internal element) further develops an evaluative meaning through sequence truncation

and metonymic inference.

### 4.2.3 From *Zhenshi* to *Zhenshide*

In 4.2.2, we have shown why *zhenshi* is analyzed as a single word. In particular, we have shown how the intensifying *zhenshi* develops an evaluative meaning through truncation and metonymy in interaction. In this section, we will further describe how the evaluative *zhenshi* is combined with the evidential *de*, forming another evaluative expression, *zhenshide*.

In our spoken data, there are in total 20 tokens of *zhenshide*.

(60) Actor

- 322M: ... 他 說 這 禮 拜 沒 辦 法 啊.-  
... ta shuo zhe libai mei banfa a.-  
she say this week NEG way PT  
'She said she couldn't do it this week'
- 323M: ... 你 看.\n... ni kan.\nyou see  
'See'
- 324F: ... 那 就 下 禮 拜 的 意 思 啊.-  
... na jiu xia libai de yisi a.-  
then just next week ASSOC meaning PT  
'Then that just meant you should ask her next week.'
- 325F: .. 你 怎 麼 那 麼 <MRC 笨 MRC> 哪.\n.. ni zenme name <MRC ben MRC> na.\nyou how that stupid PT  
'Why are you so stupid?'
- 326F: > .. 真 是 的.\n.. **zhenshide.**\nZHENSHIDE  
'Geez'

In (60) M is sharing with his friend, F, how he failed to ask a girl out. Earlier in the discourse, M mentions that he asked a girl to go out on a date. The girl replied that she would

not be available during the week in line 322, and M interpreted it as a rejection to any follow up invitation. However, F says that the girl's reply actually suggested that F should set the date in another week. She then criticizes M as being dumb and insensitive and utters *zhenshide*. From the context, *zhenshide* cannot be interpreted to intensify an evaluation because there is no other evaluative expression following it. Instead, *zhenshide* here is a lexical unit with evaluative meaning at the end periphery of a clause. One natural question thus is how *zhenshide* develops such evaluative meaning. To answer this question, we first need to pinpoint the meaning/use of *de*.

Li et al.(1998) argue that *de* can appear at the end of a clause, marking the SP/W's evidential belief. They propose two types of evidential system. In a narrow sense, evidentiality encodes how the SP/W obtains a piece of knowledge, e.g. with direct/indirect evidence, or through inference. In a more general sense, evidentiality can also express the SP/W's assertiveness of a statement. They argue that clause final *de* represents this general sense of evidential belief from the SP/W.

Similarly, Liu et al. (2001) describes that *de* can be used in the *shi...de* construction to mark the SP/W's evaluation/description. For example, in (61) below, *de* expresses the SP/W's assertiveness about an evaluation/description, i.e. monkeys are very smart.

- (61) 猴子 是 很 聰明 的。  
houzi shi hen congming de  
monkey C/F very smart EVI  
'Monkeys are very smart.'  
(Liu et al. 2001: 771-72)

Following these studies on clause final *de*, we propose that *zhenshide* develops from the evaluative *zhenshi* followed by the evidential *de*. As argued in 4.2.2.5, *zhenshi* itself can express the speaker's evaluation. It is thus not surprising for *zhenshi* to be followed by and gradually merged with the evidential *de*, which expresses the SP/W's assertiveness about the



evaluation. The merge of *zhenshi*, an emerging evaluative expression on its own, and *de*, a marker of evidentiality and assertiveness, thus further consolidates the meaning of the resulting expression as ‘the speaker’s (negative) evaluation’.

To summarize, we propose that *zhenshide* arises from the evaluative *zhenshi* plus the evidential *de*, and expresses the speaker’s mild complaint, or ‘mitigated negative evaluation’.

#### 4.2.4 Section Summary

In section 4.2, we have investigated the lexicalization of *zhenshi*. Structurally, it is a morphological fusion of *zhen* and *shi*. It is analyzed as a unit because *shi* in *zhenshi* is (1) inseparable from *zhen*, (2) weak in semantic/syntactic function, and (3) different from the copula/focus marker *shi*. According to Dong (2004), the merged form X-*shi* tend to have a similar meaning to the original X. However, we found that in addition to the intensifying meaning of *zhen*, *zhenshi* can also represent an evaluation. To account for this additional meaning, we first showed from our oral data that *zhenshi* differs from *zhen* in that it can occur in an IU without an evaluative expression following it. We argued that the lack of an immediately following evaluation is a result of cognitive limitation and social concern. We also contended that even when the evaluation is not explicitly uttered, the evaluative intent can still be metonymically inferred through *zhenshi*, and such inference is eventually semanticized as its lexical meaning. More interestingly, the lexicalization of *zhenshi* that brings forth a non-compositional evaluative meaning paves the way for yet another evaluative expression. *Zhenshi* can be combined with the *de* in the (*shi*)...*de* construction, forming *zhenshide*, which expresses a mild/mitigated negative evaluation. The lexicalization of *zhenshi* through truncation and metonymy, which are closely related to talk-in communication, strongly suggests that language is not a static system but is constantly evolving through interaction and negotiation.

### 4.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter investigated the lexicalization of *zhenshi*. To facilitate the discussion, we first explored the polysemous meaning of *zhen(de)*. The descriptive meaning of *zhen(de)* verifies something as real/true. The expressive meaning *zhen(de)* shows the speaker's subjective attitude toward a statement. In a non-affirmative clause, it negotiates the truth of a situation, typically because there is a potential mismatch between the SP/W and the AD/R in their belief regarding the situation. In an affirmative clause, it typically strengthens the SP/W's endorsement toward a statement, especially when the content might sound less believable. While *zhen* and *zhende* are practically interchangeable within a clause, only *zhende* is used in the construction *shuozhende* and *zhende* plus particle to express interactive meaning. *Shuozhende* highlights the speaker's seriousness in uttering the following speech, often in anticipation of the AD/R's potential suspicion about the speech or as a means of catching the AD/R's attention. The construction of *Zhende* plus a particle, on the other hand, serves various interactive functions, e.g. as a rhetorical question, an answer confirming a previously provided information, an agreement token to a statement, or a response token signaling the receipt of information. Among the three types of meaning of *zhen(de)*, we argued that the expressive meaning is the most relevant one to our discussion of *zhenshi*.

Although *zhendeshi* and *zhenshi* are both potential candidates for lexicalization, only *zhenshi* has been included as a lexical entry in dictionaries. Since our data also confirmed the more lexicalized status of *zhenshi*, we focused our investigation on it. We contended that *zhenshi* started out as a fusion of *zhen* and *shi*, an instantiation of the X-*shi* construction observed by Dong (2004). We showed that the presumed copula/focus marker *shi* in *zhenshi* has typically become a lexical internal element because it (a) cannot be separated from *zhen*, (b) does not have clear syntactic/semantic function, and (c) does not have the same meaning/function as the copula/focus marker in general. Unlike the other X-*shi* constructions

(which according to Dong (2004), are semantically similar to the original X), *zhenshi* has an additional evaluative meaning that cannot be expressed by *zhen*. To account for this additional meaning, we showed that *zhenshi* are sometimes used without an immediately following evaluative speech, a result of cognitive limitation and social propriety concern. Despite the absence of the explicitly uttered evaluation, the AD/R can still metonymically infer the evaluative meaning through *zhenshi*. Over the time, the inferred evaluative meaning of *zhenshi* not only be semanticized as its lexical meaning but also paves the way for yet another evaluative expression, *zhenshide*.

In short, this chapter has investigated how *zhenshi* started out as a morphological fusion and developed an evaluative lexical meaning. In the next chapter, we will explore the meaning of *shizaishi*. Although it has not yet been included as a lexical entry, it shows a similar path of lexicalization with the case of *zhenshi*.



## Chapter Five

### The Lexicalization of *Shizaishi*

In Chapter 4, we have discussed how *zhen* and *shi* fuse into a single word and further develop an evaluative meaning. In this chapter, we will discuss how *shizaishi* follows a similar path of lexicalization. Similar to the organization of Chapter 4, we will first portray the polysemous meaning of *shizai* in 5.1 then explore the lexicalization of *shizaishi* in 5.2 and finally summarize the chapter in 5.3.

#### 5.1. The Polysemous Meaning of *Shizai*

Following the categorization discussed in 4.1, we will describe three types of meaning of *shizai*: the descriptive meaning (which pertains to the core of a description), the expressive meaning (which shows the SP/W's attitude toward a description), and the interactive meaning (which highlights the AD/R as an active participant in communication). The three types of meaning will be discussed in 5.1.1, 5.1.2, and 5.1.3 respectively. Similar to the discussion of *zhenshi*, the expressive meaning of *shizai* is the most relevant one for the follow up discussion of *shizaishi*.

##### 5.1.1 The Descriptive Meaning of *Shizai*

The descriptive meaning of *shizai* describes an object as sturdy and full of content.

- (62) 一 碗 八 寶 冰 只 要 二 十 五 元 ， 料 多 又 實 在  
yi wan babaobing zhi yao ershiwu yuan liao duo you **shizai**  
one CLF shaved-ice only cost twenty-five dollars content much and SHIZAI  
'One bowl of shaved ice only costs twenty five dollars. It has much and **compact**

content.’

Here, *shizai* describes the shaved ice as substantial with abundant ingredients.

The use of adjectival *shizai* is not limited to describing the physical feature of inanimate objects. It can also be used to profile a person’s characteristic.

- (63) 林炳坤 就 像 這 個 菜 頭 一 樣 實 在 ，  
linbingkun jiu xiang zhe ge caitou yiyang **shizai** ，  
PN just like this CLF turnip same SHIZAI  
值得 大 家 選 他 當 立 委 。  
zhide dajia xuan ta dang liwei  
worthy everyone elect him be legislator  
‘Linbingkun is very **reliable**, just like this turnip is sturdy. It is worthwhile for everyone to elect him as a legislator.’

In (63), *shizai* is used to denote the trait of a person as honest and down to earth, an extension of its basic meaning through metaphor and metonymy. Here, the speaker attempts to show that a person is worthy of being elected as a legislator. He compares the person to a turnip, which bears the feature of *shizai*’s basic sense, i.e. being sturdy and full of content. However, such mapping alone does not make much sense, because the trait of being sturdy in physical form can hardly explain why the person under discussion is suitable to be elected. This is where metonymy comes into play. Based on our daily experience, something sturdy and full of content is reliable, in contrast to the one with just illusory appearance but no real substance. In other words, the physical sturdiness denoted by *shizai* in (63) is first metaphorically mapped from the traits of an object to the feature of a person, and then metonymically linked to the personality of being reliable and down to earth.

In addition to describing a person, the feature of being down to earth can also be applied to a more abstract concept.

(64) 這句 口號，絕 不是 空 的，而 相當 實在。  
 zhe ju kouhao , jue bushi kong de , er xiangdang **shizai**  
 this CLF slogan absolutely not empty NM, but very SHIZAI  
 ‘This slogan is absolutely not empty, but very **substantial/practical**.’

Here the slogan is metaphorically construed as an object, which is full of content. Furthermore, the feature of being full of content can be metonymically interpreted as being down to earth and realistic, not just with some impractical appearance.

Moreover, the descriptive *shizai* can also function as a complement, delineating the manner with which an activity is carried out.

(65) 根據 他 長期 觀察，黃八野 做人 實在，  
 genju ta zhangqi guancha, huangbaye zuoren **shizai**  
 based-on his long-term observation, PN behave SHIZAI  
 絕 不是 做 表面 的 人，  
 jue bu shi zuo biao mian de ren  
 absolutely NEG C/F make surface NM person  
 ‘Based on his long-term observation, Huangbaye behaves in a **reliable** manner. He is absolutely not a person who works for things with only surface effects.’

In (65), *shizai* illustrates that the manner with which this person conducts himself is down to earth, not just aiming for superficial effects.

In short, the descriptive meaning of *shizai* denotes something (concrete or abstract) as having the property of ‘full of content’. This meaning can be metaphorically and metonymically extended to describing something/someone as ‘sturdy’, ‘down to earth’, or ‘practical’.

### 5.1.2 The Expressive Meaning of *Shizai*

In 5.1.1, we have discussed the descriptive meaning of *shizai*, describing something as

‘full of content’, ‘sturdy,’ or ‘practical’. In addition to describing objects in the external world, *shizai* can also subjectively express the SP/W’s attitude toward a statement.

- (66) 這實在不是他所能負責的  
 zhe **shizai** bushi ta suo neng fuze de  
 this SHIZAI NEG he SUO can hold-responsibility EVI  
 ‘This **really** is not something he can be responsible for.’

In (66), *shizai* represents the SP/W’s strong advocacy toward the statement, i.e. that he cannot be responsible for the situation. Here, *shizai* is not related to the quality of anything in the external world. Instead, it describes the SP/W’s subjective attitude about the statement as ‘being full of content’ and thus is very strong and certain. In other words, it intensifies the SP/W’s support for the statement.

The intensifying *shizai* in (66) illustrates a mismatch between syntax and semantics. Syntactically, *shizai* is positioned before the negator, 不是 *bushi* ‘not’. Semantically, on the other hand, the modifying scope of *shizai* is not restricted to the negator. As discussed above, it covers the whole clause, showing the speaker’s strong assertiveness towards the situation described by the sentence. Thus, it is natural the semantic wide scope is sometimes iconically reflected in a wider syntactic modifying scope.

- (67) 如選阿扁,不表示一定如以前,選宋也有變數,  
 ru xuan abian, bu biao shi yiding ru yiqian, xuan song ye you bian shu  
 if elect PN, NEG mean necessary like before, elect PN also have unpredictability  
 選連應會繼續善待榮民、榮眷啊!  
 xuan lian ying hui jixu shan dai rongmin、rong juan a!  
 elect PN supposedly will continue well treat veteran veteran family PT  
 實在想不透這些人中為什麼有的非宋不挺!?  
**shizai** xiangbutou zhexie ren zhong weisheme you de fei song bu ting!?  
 SHIZAI not-understand these people in why some NM NEG PN NEG support  
 ‘If Abian is elected, the situation is not necessarily going to be the same as before. If

Song is elected, there is also some unpredictability. If Lian is elected, supposedly he will continue treating the veterans and their family well. I **really** cannot understand why some of these people have to support Song?’

- (68) 兩 人 相 談 熱 烈, 不 知 不 覺 間 已 過 了 七、 八 十 分 鐘,  
liang ren xiangtan relie, buzhibujue jian yi guo le qi、 bashi fenzhong,  
two people interact fervently, unaware between already pass PF seventy eighty minutes  
**實在** 因 為 李 總 統 接 著 還 有 行 程, 才 「不 捨 的」 分 手,  
**shizai** yinwei li zongtong jie zhe hai you xingcheng, cai bushe de fenshou,  
SHIZAI because Li president after still have plan, only reluctant MAS separate  
但 是 相 約 將 來 還 要 再 見 面。  
danshi xiangyue jianglai hai yao zai jianmian  
but agree future still want again meet  
‘The two people interacted fervently, unaware that seventy or eighty minutes had past. It was **really** because President Li had other plans that they said goodbye reluctantly, but agreed to set up a meeting in the future.’

- (69) 所 以 這 次 出 去 可 說 是 承 諾 後,  
suoyi zhe ci chuqu ke shuo shi chengnuo hou,  
so this CLF go-out can say COP promise after  
一 再 順 延 至 今 才 能 夠 實 現,  
yizai shunyan zhi jin cai nenggou shixian,  
again delay until now only can realize  
**實在** 我 跟 大 家 講, 邀 請 函 真 是 一 大 疊 無 法 處 理,  
**shizai** wo gen dajia jiang, yaoqinghan zhenshi yi da die wufa chuli,  
SHIZAI I with everyone tell, invitation ZHENSHI one many CLF cannot handle  
有 的 是 幾 次 三 番 拖 了 三、 四 年 之 久,  
you de shi ji ci san fan tuo le san、 si nian zhijiu,  
some NM C/F several CLF three CLF delay PF three four year long  
‘So going out this time is actually after a long delay since I made the promise. **Really**, I would say, there are really so many invitations that it is hard to handle them. Some of them are not replied for three or four years.’

All the *shizai* examples here expressively intensify the SP/W’s advocacy about the situation denoted by the clause and show an increase in structural modifying scope from (67) to (69). In (67), the subject is dropped and *shizai* appears clause initially. In (68), the ‘fronting’ of *shizai* is even clearer because it is now situated outside of a subordinate clause starting with 因為 *yinwei* ‘because’. In other words, *shizai* here is placed at the clause-initial position, a



site typical for sentential adverbial. Finally, in (69), *shizai* appears in the pre-subject position of a matrix clause. This outermost structural position clearly matches its semantic scope, which covers the proposition expressed by the whole clause.

Similar to *zhen(de)*, when preceding an gradable quality, the intensifying scope of *shizai* seems to focus on the quality. For example, *shizai* can be naturally interpreted as a degree intensifier in (70) and (71), enhancing the degree for the following quality, dangerous and tiring, respectively.

(70) 開辦 一項 新 制度，實在 很 危險

kaiban yi xiang xin zhidu, **shizai** hen weixian  
start one CLF new system SHIZAI very dangerous  
'Starting a new system is **really** very dangerous.'

(71) 中 小 學 生 天天 要 考試，實在 太辛苦

zhong xiao xue sheng tiantian yao kaoshi, **shizai** tai xinku  
middle elementary school student everyday must test SHIZAI too tiring  
'Middle school and elementary school students have to take tests every day. Their work is **really** too tiring.'

In particular, when intensifying a property, *shizai* frequently co-occurs with other intensifying adverbs like 很 *hen* 'very' in (70) and 太 *tai* 'too' in (71). In other words, *shizai* often works with other intensifiers to amplify the speaker's evaluation expressed through the following adjective.

To sum up, the expressive meaning of *shizai* reinforces the SP/W's endorsement toward a statement. Its semantic wide scope (which covers the whole statement) can be iconically mirrored by its structural shift from a clause internal position as in (66) to a clause external position as in (69). Moreover, when *shizai* precedes a gradable quality, its intensifying meaning seems to focus on the quality, making *shizai* like a degree intensifier.

### 5.1.3 The Interactive Meaning of *Shuoshizaide*

In our data, the most frequent verbal collocate with *shizai* is 說 *shuo* ‘speak’, forming various phrases like 說實在的 *shuoshizaide*, 說句實在話 *shuo ju shizai hua*, 實在說起來 *shizai shuoqilai* ‘to speak in a honest manner’. Similar to *shuozhende* discussed in 4.1.3, they indicate the SP/W’s interactive intent to more actively involve the AD/R as a participant of the communication. In the following, we will focus on the phrase *shuoshizaide*, which has the highest frequency among all other variants, and investigate its meaning and function.

Similar to *shuozhende*, *shuoshizaide* may be viewed as the elliptical form of 我說實在的話 *wo shuo shizai de hua* ‘I say something that is reliable’. However, in our data, it behaves more like a set phrase, functioning as an adverbial. Similar observation is presented in Jiang (2010) who analyzes *shuoshizaide* as an illocutionary adverbial. She carries out a detailed investigation on 老實說 *laoshishuo* ‘frankly’, a synonym of *shuoshizaide*. Structurally, 老實說 *laoshishuo* ‘frankly’ occurs most typically at the clause initial position. Functionally, Jiang (2010) explains that it does not just literally shows that ‘the following proposition is uttered in a frank and truthful manner’ because it will be superfluous based on the Maxim of Quality (Grice 1975). Instead, 老實說 *laoshishuo* ‘frankly’ often introduces a proposition that is unexpected by the addressee or hedges a potentially dispreferred utterance. It is used by the speaker to show the addressee that ‘the following utterance might not be expected or might even be offensive, but I need to say it to remain frank and truthful’.

Jiang’s (2010) finding on 老實說 *laoshishuo* ‘frankly’ is also applicable for the case of *shuoshizaide*. Structurally, it tends to appear at the clause initial position. For example, *shuoshizaide* in (72) precedes a clause, i.e. ‘they do not know whether their children can be counted as indigenous people’.

(72) 在 精英村 裡, 也 有 婦女 嫁 給 了 漢人 榮民,  
zai jingyingcun li, ye you funu jia gei le hanren rongmin,

at PN in, also have woman married to PF Chinese veteran  
 說實在的, 她們也不清楚小孩子算不算原住民  
**shuoshizaide**, tamen ye bu qingchu xiaohaizi suan bu suan yuanzhumin  
 SHUOSHIZAIDE, they also NEG know kid count NEG count native-people.  
 ‘In Jingying Village, there are also women who married Han Chinese veterans. **Frankly**,  
 they are not sure whether their kids can be counted as native people.’

Functionally, *shuoshizaide* interactively forecasts to the AD/R that the following proposition might be unexpected. In example (72), some indigenous women married to non-indigenous veterans are not sure whether their children are legally counted as indigenous or not. In general, a mother should be clear about their children’s identity. Due to the complex situation, however, the mothers are not sure about their children’s legal identity, which is contrary to general expectation. Here *shuoshizaide* is used to preface such contrary-to-expectation proposition.

Moreover, *shuoshizaide* can also be used to hedge a piece of negative statement.

(73) 說實在的, 本人過去並非台灣的朋友,  
**shuoshizaide**, benren guoqu bingfei Taiwan de pengyou,  
 SHUOSHIZAIDE, I past NEG PN ASSOC friend  
 因為過去台灣的政治不夠民主, 禁忌太多,  
 yinwei guoqu Taiwan de zhengzhi bu gou minzhu, jinji tai duo,  
 because past PN ASSOC politics NEG enough democratic, taboo too much  
 壓力大, 有政治犯, 而且言論受到限制  
 yali da, you zhengzhi fan, erqie yanlun shoudao xianzhi  
 pressure big, have political prisoners, also speech subject-to control  
 ‘**Frankly**, I was not a friend of Taiwan in the past, because Taiwan was not democratic enough, had too many taboos, was with much pressure, punished political prisoners, and controlled speech.’

In (73), *shuoshizaide* is used as a hedge against a negative evaluation, i.e. Taiwan is not diplomatic enough in the past. It takes the AD/R’s face into consideration and interactively indicates that ‘the following statement might sound harsh and unpleasant, but to truthfully

express my thought, I need to tell you this’.

In brief, though *shuoshizaide* structurally appears as a clausal fragment, it is most typically used as a conventionalized phrasal expression. The SP/W uses it to interactively involve the AD/Rs into the communication, informing them that the following utterance might contrast with their expectation/preference.

#### 5.1.4 Section Summary

In section 5.1, we have discussed the descriptive, expressive, and interactive meaning of *shizai*, which exemplifies a general trend of semantic change. First of all, the three types of meaning is an instantiation of (inter)subjectification (Traugott 2003b). The descriptive meaning of *shizai* describes an entity in the external world as sturdy/full of content and can metonymically be linked to being strong and reliable. The expressive meaning of *shizai* subjectively intensifies the speaker’s assertion toward a proposition, which demonstrates an increase in subjectivity. Finally, *shizai* can be combined with *shuo*, forming *shuoshizaide* with an interactive function. It prefaces an utterance contrasting with the addressee’s expectation/preference, which displays an increase in intersubjectivity.

The increase in (inter)subjectivity of *shizai* is also iconically reflected in its increase in the syntactic modifying scope. When descriptively modifying a object/concept in the external world, *shizai* is juxtaposed with the elements it modifies, e.g. (62) to (65). When expressing the speaker’s appraisal towards a proposition, it can appear at clause peripheral position, as in (69). When interactively forecasting the information status of the following speech, e.g. in (72) and (73), its clause peripheral position is not just possible but typical.

In short, our discussion on the polysemous *shizai* demonstrates variegated (inter)subjectivity, and syntactic scope, which attests to the ever developing linguistic system where older meanings/uses of a linguistic element coexist with the later ones (Hopper 1991).

In the next section, we will move on to explore the lexicalization of *shizaishi*, which is closely related to the expressive/intensifying meaning of *shizai*.

## 5.2. Analysis of the Emerging Lexical Unit *Shizaishi*

In 5.1.2, we have mentioned that *shizai* often collocates with other intensifiers, like 很 *hen* ‘very’ and 太 *tai* ‘too’. This is natural given their similar function of intensification. However, a survey of our written data shows that the most frequent collocate following *shizai* is actually the copula/focus marker *shi*, accounting for 5531 (15.7%) of the 35163 *shizai* examples. The collocation of *shizai* and *shi* is even more prominent in our oral data, accounting for 55 (60.4%) of all the 91 *shizai* examples. One obvious question is, are there any reasons behind such strong collocation between an intensifier and a copula/focus marker? Recall in chapter two, we have reviewed Dong’s study (2004), showing a general trend in present day Mandarin Chinese, wherein the copula/focus marker *shi* has become a word-internal element of many lexical items. Based on this observation, we will argue that the presumed copula/focus marker *shi* has also merged with *shizai* to become a new lexical item *shizaishi*. In the following, section 5.2.1 explains why our data suggest that *shizaishi* has become an independent unit and further contrasts it with *shizai* without *shi* in 5.2.2. We will show that it is more likely for *shizaishi* than *shizai* to be used without an immediately following evaluative remark and explain such tendency with cognitive limitation and social concern in 5.2.3. 5.2.4 then displays different patterns of *shizaishi* used without an immediately following evaluation. 5.2.5 argues that despite the absence of an evaluative speech, the addressee can still infer the speaker’s evaluative intent through *shizaishi*. Finally, 5.2.6 is a summary of the section.

### 5.2.1 Evidence for *Shizaishi* as an Independent Unit

As reviewed in Chapter 2, the lexicalization of trisyllabic X-*shi* is in a transitional phase with varying degrees of bonding between *shi* and the preceding adverb/conjunction. This different degree of lexicalization is also observed in the examples of *shizaishi*. In some cases, *shizai* can be analyzed as an adverb modifying a predicate headed by *shi*.

- (74) 那 我 實 在 是 一 個 太 優 良 的 好 國 民  
na wo **shizai** shi yi ge tai youliang de hao guomin  
then I SHIZAI C/F one CLF too excellent NM good citizen  
'Then, I **really** am a good citizen that is too excellent.'

Here, *shizai* is used as an adverb. It strengthens the speaker's assertion towards a proposition in which *shi* links the following elements to the subject.

However, in many cases, the boundary between *shizai* and *shi* seems less clear. Following our analysis on *zhenshi* in 4.2.2, we will argue for the strong unity of *shizai* and *shi* with the following three aspects<sup>9</sup>. First, the connection between *shizai* and *shi* is so strong that no element is observed to intervene between the two in our data. Conversely, *shizaishi* as a whole is often observed to be separated from the following speech.

(75) Gamble

- 210H: .. 能 每 天 收 到 一 封 情 書,-  
.. neng mei tian shoudao yi feng qing shu,-  
.. can every day receive one CLF love letter  
'Being able to receive one love letter every day  
211H: > .. 實 在 是 =,-  
.. **shizaishi** =,-  
SHIZAISHI  
'Really is'

---

<sup>9</sup> Phonological feature can be another important indication that *shi* is dependent on *shizai*. Although our database does not include sufficient phonological coding, a general observation in daily life confirms that *shi* in *shizaishi* is typically pronounced in an unstressed manner, reflecting the weakened status of *shi*.

- 212H: ... 喔,-  
 ... o,-  
 PT  
 ‘Oh’
- 213H: .. 這個,-  
 .. zhege,-  
 this  
 ‘this’
- 214H: .. 很--  
 .. hen--  
 very  
 ‘very’
- 215H: .. 很 難得,-  
 .. hen nande,-  
 very precious  
 ‘very precious’

Here, *shizaishi* is separated from the quality it intensifies, i.e. 很難得 *hen nande* ‘very precious’ by a particle, 喔 *o*, and a deixis, 這個 *zhege* ‘this’.

Second, the presumed copula/focus marker, *shi*, usually shows no specific semantic meaning or syntactic function. In (75), the utterance remains meaningful without *shi*.

Finally, in most cases, the copula/focus marker, *shi*, without *shizai* has a more specific meaning than that with *shizai*. As reviewed in 4.2.2.1, the copula/focus marker *shi* carries a special sense of affirmation on the previously uttered speech when the following element is not nominal (Li & Thompson 1981: 151-54). However, no such affirmation is generally involved when the presumed copula/focus marker *shi* collocates with *shizai* forming *shizaishi*. For example, in (75), the proposition after *shizaishi*, i.e. that ‘the chance of getting a love letter every day is very rare’, does not need to and typically is not mentioned earlier. The fact that *shi* does not carry the sense of affirmation when occurring with *shizai* is another indication that it is not a typical copula/focus marker.

In short, similar to our analysis of *zhenshi*, we argue that many instances of *shizaishi* should be analyzed as an individual unit because

- (1) *shizai* and *shi* are never separated
- (2) *shi* in *shizaishi* does not have clear semantic meaning or syntactic function, and
- (3) *shi* in *shizaishi* often does not have the same meaning as *shi* as an independent copula verb.

### 5.2.2 Differences between *Shizai* and *Shizaishi*

In 5.2.1, we have argued that *shizaishi* should be analyzed as an independent unit. Here, we will further explain how it is different from *shizai* without *shi*. As reviewed in 2.2.2, Dong (2004) observes that X-*shi* tends to be followed by a longer linguistic element, which is generally true with *shizaishi*. More importantly, we observe that it often takes more than one intonation unit (IU) to complete the clause containing *shizaishi*. Consider the following examples

(76) 06Fa linguistics

54389 A 你 阿姨身材 實在 太 好。  
ni ayi shencai **shizai** tai hao.  
your aunt figure SHZAI too good  
'your aunt's figure **really** is too good.'

(77) 03SpTeachers

37523 因為 我 記得 以前 有 個 老師 跟我 講 啊，  
yinwei wo jide yiqian you ge laoshi gen wo jiang a,  
because I remember past have CLF teacher to me tell PT  
'Because I remember a teacher once told me,'

37524 > 有些 小孩 實在是 太 平凡，  
youxie xiaohai **shizaishi** tai pingfan,  
some kids SHIZAISHI too ordinary  
'Some kids are **really** too ordinary.'

(78) Xiangshen



485. B:eh.\  
 PT.\  
 ‘eh’
486. > ...這 實在是,  
 ...zhe **shizaishi**,  
 this SHIZAISHI  
 ‘This **really** is’
487. ..蠻...^悲痛的一件事情 .\  
 ..man...^beitong de yi jian shiqing.\  
 rather sad NM one CLF thing  
 ‘rather a sad thing.’

The most typical function of *shizaishi* is related to the expressive meaning of *shizai* i.e. to intensify the speaker’s evaluation denoted by the following speech. Ideally, the evaluative speech follows its intensifier, *shizai* or *shizaishi*, within the same IU as in (76) and (77). However, especially for *shizaishi*, the evaluative speech and its intensifier may not co-occur in the same IU. For example, the evaluation in (78), i.e. this is a sad story, does not immediately follow *shizaishi*, but appears in the next IU on line 487. In the following, Table 2 displays the percentage of *shizai* and *shizaishi* in our conversation data that co-occur with an immediately following evaluation. It shows that over 80 percent of the *shizai* examples are followed by an immediately ensuing evaluation, whereas only slightly more than half of the *shizaishi* have one. This difference between *shizai* and *shizaishi* further supports the argument that *shizaishi* should be viewed as a distinct lexical unit.

Table 2 Percentage of *shizai* and *shizaishi* without an immediately following evaluation

|                    | <i>Shizai</i> <sup>10</sup> |            | <i>Shizaishi</i> |            |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------|------------------|------------|
|                    | Tokens                      | Percentage | Tokens           | Percentage |
| With evaluation    | 21                          | 80.8%      | 29               | 52.7%      |
| Without evaluation | 5                           | 19.2%      | 26               | 47.3%      |
| Total              | 26                          | 100.0%     | 55               | 100.0%     |

### 5.2.3 Motivation for *Shizaishi* without an Immediately Ensuing Evaluation

We have shown in 5.2.2 that, in almost half of the examples of *shizaishi*, there is no evaluative expression following it immediately in the same IU. Similar to the discussion on *zhenshi*, we attribute the absence of an immediately ensuing evaluation to the limitation on cognitive processing and concern for social propriety.

From the perspective of cognitive limitation, the absence of an immediately following evaluation can be viewed as a repercussion of the rapid turn transition in talk-in-interaction. One important function of *shizaishi* is to intensify a stretch of speech denoting the speaker's strong evaluation. To aptly portray such intense feelings, the speaker often needs to resort to some vivid expressions. However, the successive turn taking does not grant him too much time to come up with an expression that can accurately illustrate this emotion. To withhold the turn while trying to think of an appropriate way to express the evaluation, the speaker may insert elements with little semantic contents like 喔 *o* 'oh' or 這個 *zhege* 'this'<sup>11</sup> between *shizaishi* and the following complement, as shown in (75). Sometimes, the speaker may find it too difficult to fully convey his evaluation through the speech after *shizaishi*, because the speech is syntactically restricted by *shizaishi*. In this case, he may opt for a re-start with a new clause to more accurately depict the evaluation. Consider (79).

<sup>10</sup> *Shizai* here only include the ones with an expressive/intensifying meaning.

<sup>11</sup> In fact, the presumed copula/focus marker *shi* itself is also an element low in semantic content, which is added to buy the speaker more time to design an appropriate evaluative expression.

(79) Gamble

017H: .. 對不起.\  
.. duibuqi.\  
sorry  
'Sorry.'  
018D: .. @@  
019H: > ... <@這 實在是= @>,-  
.. <@ zhe **shizaishi**= @>,-  
this SHIZAISHI  
'This is **really**'  
020H: .. 這個=-,  
.. zhege=-,  
this  
'this'  
021H: > .. 這個 節目 實在是 太爛 了,\  
.. zhege jiemu **shizaishi** tai lan le,\  
this program SHIZAISHI too awful CRS  
'This program is **really** too awful.'

In (79), H is hosting a call-in radio program and is receiving a call from the listener D. Earlier in the discourse, D says that she has been listening to the program for a long time and then complains that she has never been able to call in on the show before. H then apologizes in line 017 and comments that the show is really awful. Since the evaluation, i.e. 這個節目實在是太爛了 *zhege jiemu shizaishi tai lan le* 'this program is really too awful', cannot fit into the slot after *shizaishi* on line 19, the speaker restarts with a new clause to better express the evaluation.

In addition to cognitive limitation, social consideration also plays an important role leading to the absence of an immediately ensuing evaluation after *shizaishi*.

(80) Wstudent

8497 > A 老師 也 在 玩 實在是，

- laoshi ye zai wan **shizaishi** ,  
 teacher also DU play SHIZAISHI  
 ‘The teacher is also playing (computer games). (You’re) really  
 (misbehaving)’
- 8498 那 還 說 我 ,  
 na hai shuo wo ,  
 then still say I  
 ‘Then how can you still say that I’
- 8499 有問題 ,  
 you wenti ,  
 have problem  
 ‘have a problem?’

In (80), A is a student who found out that there is a video game installed in his teacher’s computer and complains to the teacher that she is not setting up a good role model. Here, the context suggests a negative evaluation after *shizaishi*. However, it may seem disrespectful for a student to explicitly criticize his teacher, which is in conflict with the social norm. Therefore, the student elides the negative evaluation and implicitly shows his complaint through context.

In summary, similar to our discussion on *zhenshi* in 4.2.2.2, the absence of an immediately following evaluation after *shizaishi* can be attributed to two driving forces. Psychologically, the absence reflects cognitive limitation under the pressure of rapid turn transition. Socially, the absence is utilized as a strategy to avoid explicit violation against social propriety.

#### 5.2.4 Patterns of *Shizaishi* without an Immediately Ensuing Evaluation

In 5.2.2, we have discussed two possible motivations leading to the absence of an immediately following evaluation after *shizaishi*. In this section, we will further explore the different patterns of these *shizaishi* examples. Sometimes, the evaluation appears in the IUs following the one with *shizaishi*. The IUs may follow without speaker change as in (75) and

(78).

The IUs may be rephrased. Considered (79), repeated here as (81).

(81) Gamble

- 017H: .. 對不起.\  
.. duibuqi.\  
sorry  
'Sorry.'
- 018D: .. @@
- 019H: > ... <@這 實在是= @>,-  
... <@ zhe **shizaishi**= @>,-  
this SHIZAISHI  
'This is **really**'
- 020H: .. 這個=-,  
.. zhege=-,  
this  
'this'
- 021H: .. 這個 節目 實在是 太爛 了,\  
.. zhege jiemu **shizaishi** tai lan le,\  
this program SHIZAISHI too awful CRS  
'This program is **really** too awful.'

In (81), the clause with *shizaishi* in line 019 is not immediately followed by an evaluation. After using a deixis, the speaker rephrases the whole clause to better express the evaluation.

The IUs expressing the speaker's evaluation modified by *shizaishi* may also be resumed after another speaker's turn.

(82) Study

- 143 K: .. 我 這 次 考 完 覺得=-,  
.. wo zhe ci kao wan juede=-,  
I this CLF test over feel  
'After the test this time, I feel'
- 144 K: > ... 題目 實在是=-,  
... timu **shizaishi**=,-

- questions SHIZAISHI  
 ‘the questions are **really**’
- 145 D: ... 怎樣.\
- ... zenyang .\
- what
- ‘What?’
- 146 K: ... 很簡單.\
- ... hen jiandan .\
- very easy
- ‘Very easy’

Here K is describing a test and D interrupts before K utters the evaluation toward the test.

In addition to instances in which the evaluation reinforced by *shizaishi* appears in the following IUs, there are also many cases where such evaluation is never explicitly uttered. Sometimes, the same speaker continues the discourse without uttering the evaluation, consider (80), repeated in (83).

(83) Wstudent

- 8497 > A 老師 也 在 玩 實在是，  
 laoshi ye zai wan **shizaishi**，  
 teacher also DU play SHIZAISHI  
 ‘The teacher is also playing (computer games). (You’re) **really**  
 (misbehaving)’
- 8498 那 還 說 我，  
 na hai shuo wo，  
 then still say I  
 ‘Then how can you still say that I’
- 8499 有問題，  
 you wenti，  
 have problem  
 ‘have a problem?’

In (83), *shizaishi* is followed by 那 *na*, a topic succession marker (Biq 1990), and the student’s further complaint. However, none of these can fit into the slot after *shizaishi* as an

evaluation. In other words, the evaluation that should follow *shizaishi* is never explicitly uttered here.

Sometimes, another speaker takes over the turn after the IU with *shizaishi*, and the evaluation is never resumed.

(84) Department

364. M:..哦. 這幾天都在煩這個,\_  
...o. zhe ji tian dou zai fan zhe ge,\_  
PT this several day all DU worry this CLF  
'Oh, I have been worrying about this these past few days.'
365. > ..實在是--  
..**shizaishi**--  
SHIZAISHI  
'Really...'
366. ..哎\  
..ai\  
PT
367. F: ...可是,\_  
...keshi,\_  
but  
'But'
368. ..你已經很不錯了\  
..ni yijing hen bu cuo le\  
you already very NEG bad CRS  
'You are already pretty good.'
369. ..都可以想得蠻那個--  
..dou keyi xiang de man nage--  
all can think CSC pretty that  
'You already have thought of certain'
370. ...(1)三樓,\_  
...(1)san lou,\_  
third floor  
'third floor'
371. ..三樓實驗室,\_  
..san lou shiyanshi,\_  
third floor laboratory

- ‘the laboratory on the third floor’
372. ..是 包括 全部 裡 外,\_  
 ..shi baogua quanbu li wai,\_  
 C/F include all inside outside  
 ‘includes both the inside and outside’
373. ..是不是,\_  
 ..shibushi,\_  
 right  
 ‘Right?’
374. M: ...沒有 啦.\  
 ...meiyou la.\  
 NEG PT  
 ‘No’
375. ..只有 外面 啦.\  
 ..zhiyou waimian la.\  
 only outside PT  
 ‘Only the outside.’

In (84), M is complaining about a problem troubling him recently. After the complaint, he uses *shizaishi* followed by a particle 哎 *ai*<sup>12</sup>, presumably to introduce an evaluation. However, before the evaluation is uttered, F takes over the turn in line 367 to show her support for M by complimenting on his work. When M takes back the turn in line 374, he humbly declines the compliment and the evaluation that is supposed to be reinforced by *shizaishi* is never uttered.

In (84), the absence of an evaluation after *shizaishi* seems to be a result of interruption. However, there are also instances where it seems that the speaker intends to end the speech with *shizaishi*.

(85) Wstudent

---

<sup>12</sup> Alternatively, instead of being a particle inserted between *shizaishi* and the following complement, 哎 *ai* may represent a sigh, showing M’s helplessness regarding the situation, which can be viewed as a device that ends the turn. In this way, the absence of an utterance after *shizaishi* is not because the speaker is interrupted, but because he actually intends to end his turn with 哎 *ai*, the sigh.



- 8983 A XXX 她現在跟一個跟那 YYY ,  
 XXX ta sianzai gen yi ge ge na YYY,  
 PN she now with one CLF with that PN  
 ‘XXX is now with YYY,’
- 8984 他們 以前 ,  
 tamen yician,  
 they before  
 ‘Before, they’
- 8985 他們 在 傳說 他跟 那個  
 tamen zai chuanshuo ta gen nage  
 they DU rumor she with that  
 一 個 網友 叫 YYY 發生 戀情 ,  
 yi ge wangyou jiao YYY fasheng liancing,  
 one CLF cyber-pal called PN happen relationship  
 ‘They had a rumor that she and one of her cyber-pal were having a  
 relationship.’
- 8986 然後 我們 就 每次 都 一直 逼 問 ,  
 ranhou women jiou meicih dou yijhih bi wun,  
 then we then everytime all keep force ask  
 ‘Then we kept forcing her to answer’
- 8987 一直 逼 問 她 ,  
 yijhih bi wun ta,  
 keep force ask her  
 ‘Kept forcing her to answer’
- 8988 問 她 說 到底 有 沒 有 ,  
 wun ta shuo daodi you mei you,  
 ask her CMP whether have NEG have  
 ‘Asked her whether she was having a relationship’
- 8989 然後 她 都 說 沒有 ,  
 ranhou ta dou shuo meiyou,  
 then she all say NEG  
 ‘Then, she always said no’
- 8990 沒有 ,  
 meiyou,  
 NEG  
 ‘No’
- 8991 沒有@ 每次 都 被 煩 的 要死要活 的 ,  
 meiyou@meicih dou bei fan de yaosihyaohuo de,

- NEG      everytime all BEI bothered CSC live-or-die      EVI  
 ‘No, she was always bothered to an extreme state’
- 8992 > 實在是.  
**shihzaishih.**  
**‘How bothering’**
- 8993 C 沒有，  
 meiyou,  
 NEG  
 ‘No’
- 8994 她也 有 被 那個 誰 ZZZ 煩。  
 ta ye you bei nage shei ZZZ fan.  
 she also have BEI that who PN bother  
 ‘She was also bothered by ZZZ.’

In (85), A is sharing a piece of gossip about a third person. Rumor has it that the person is having a relationship with someone she met online, and A and her friends keep asking the person if the rumor is true. Despite the constant harassment of such inquiry, the person never admits the relationship. At the end of this piece of gossip, *shizaishi* is used by A, presumably to introduce her evaluation of the situation, which should have been manifested through the following speech. However, it seems that the speech is never intended to be explicitly uttered, because *shizaishi* is said in a falling intonation contour without any lengthening, a typical feature of the end of an utterance. Moreover, C also seems to perceive that A has finished her turn and takes over the floor.

From the above discussion, the cases in which *shizaishi* lack an immediately following evaluation can be divided into two broad categories, the ones where the evaluation is uttered in the following IUs and the ones where the evaluation is never explicitly uttered. When the evaluative speech is uttered, it may occur in the IUs following *shizaishi* without speaker change. It may be rephrased. It may also be resumed after another speaker’s interruption. On the other hand, the evaluative expression may not be explicitly uttered. Sometimes, the speaker continues his speech, and sometimes another speaker takes over the turn. In the

following, Table 3 displays the distribution of different types of *shizaishi* without an immediately ensuing evaluation.

Table 3 Types of *shizaishi* without an immediately following evaluation

|  |   | Tokens | Percentage |
|--|---|--------|------------|
| 1. the evaluation is uttered           | 1.1 in the following IUs without speaker change | 7      | 26.9%      |
|  | 1.2 by a restarted speech                       | 1      | 3.8%       |
|  | 1.3 after another speaker's turn                | 2      | 7.7%       |
| 2. the evaluation is never uttered and | 2.1 the speaker continues with the speech       | 11     | 42.3%      |
|  | 2.2 another speaker takes over the turn         | 5      | 19.2%      |
| Total                                  |   | 26     | 100.0%     |

So far, we have analyzed *shizaishi* as a device reinforcing an evaluation. Without the evaluative remark uttered, the speaker's message should presumably be incomplete. However, Table 3 shows that there are 16 examples of *shizaishi* that do not have an immediately following evaluation which account for almost 30 percent of all the 55 *shizaishi* examples. However, there seems to be no communication difficulties. It seems that *shizaishi* in these instances is not merely an intensifier, but expresses a different meaning, which will be further explored in 5.2.5.

### 5.2.5 From Intensification to Evaluation: A Nascent Meaning of *Shizaishi*

As shown in Table 3 above, over half of the *shizaishi* examples do not have a following utterance that explicitly expresses the speaker's evaluation. We will argue that in these instances, *shizaishi* is no longer just an intensifier, but can be interpreted as an evaluation on

its own.

Following Li's (2002) analysis of several emerging particles in Taiwanese Southern Min, we have argued in 4.2.2.5 that *zhenshi* develops an evaluative meaning through sequence truncation and metonymic inference. Similar analysis can also be applied to *shizaishi*. Similar to *zhenshi*, the basic pattern of *shizaishi* is 'X *shizaishi* Y'. Here, *shizaishi* is used to intensify the speaker's endorsement about Y, which typically denotes the speaker's evaluation towards X. The frequent collocation of *shizaishi* and the evaluative Y thus brings forth a strong association between the two. As shown in Table 3, 16 examples of *shizaishi* never have a following Y part, which is over one fourth of all the 55 examples of *shizaishi*. However, there seems to be no communication problem in these cases. One plausible explanation for this is that even when Y, the evaluation, is absent in these examples, the addressee can still metonymically infer the speaker's intent to express an evaluation through *shizaishi*. In particular, of all the 16 cases where Y is truncated by the speaker, 68.7% (n=11) are due to the social propriety concern discussed in 5.2.3. In other words, *shizaishi* can often express an inferential meaning of negative evaluation when the speaker feels reluctant to explicitly utter the negative evaluation itself in avoidance of social impropriety.

If *shizaishi* can be inferred as an evaluation instead of merely an intensifier of an evaluation, it is not surprising why interlocutors have no difficulty in communication even when there is no other evaluative speech after *shizaishi*. In the following example, the evaluative function of *shizaishi* is apparently perceived by the hearer. More interestingly, it appears to interact with the turn taking mechanism.

(86) Wstudent

|      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 8146 | A | e4 ,  |
|      |   | e4,   |
|      |   | PT    |
| 8147 |   | 我跟你講， |

- wo gen ni jiang,  
I to you tell  
'Let me tell you.'
- 8148 > 那 XXX 實在是 有夠 是 不要臉 的。  
na XXX **shizaishi** yougou shi buyaolian de.  
that PN SHIZAISHI very C/F shameless EVI  
'That XXX is **really** very shameless.'
- 8149 AC @
- 8150 B XXX 怎麼了?  
XXX zenme le?  
XXX what CRS  
'What happened to XXX?'
- 8151 C 你 有 找 他 是 不 是。  
C ni you zhao ta shi bu shi.  
C you have find him C/F NEG C/F  
'C, you have asked him (for help), right?'
- 8152 C 沒有。  
meiyou.  
NEG  
'No.'
- 8153 A (0)沒有，  
(0)meiyou,  
NEG  
'No.'
- 8154 XXX 和 YYY，  
XXX han YYY,  
PN and PN  
'XXX and YYY'
- 8155 就 直接 把 他們 名字 寫 在 那 個 單子 上面，  
jiu zhijie ba tamen mingzi xie zai na ge danzi shangmian,  
then directly BA their name write on that CLF sheet top  
'directly wrote their names on the sheet.'
- 8156 然後 也是 那 個 獎狀 發下來 就 C，  
ranhou yeshi na ge jiangzhuang faxialai jiu C,  
then also that CLF certificate delivered LK C  
'then when the certificates of merit were delivered, they were given to C, '
- 8157 XXX，

- XXX,  
PN  
'XXX'
- 8158 YYY ,  
YYY,  
PN  
' (and) YYY'
- 8159 他們 兩 個 都 沒 幫 忙 ,  
tamen liang ge dou mei bangmang,  
they two CLF all NEG help  
'Both of them did not help.'
- 8160 > 實在是.  
**shizaishi.**  
SHIZAISHI  
'Shame on them.'
- 8161 B 你 自 己 一 個 人 做 .  
ni ziji yi ge ren zuo.  
you self one CLF person make  
'(toward C) You made it by yourself.'
- 8162 C [ 嗯 . ]  
[ en . ]  
PT  
'Em (Yes).'
- 8163 A [ 對 a . ]  
[ dui a . ]  
yes PT  
'Yes'
- 8164 C 他 也 有 幫 我 a .  
ta ye you bang wo a .  
he also have help me PT  
'He (A) has also helped me.'
- 8165 B 你 幫 忙 貼 ,  
ni bangmang tie,  
you help paste  
'(toward A) You helped with the pasting.'
- 8166 對 不 對 .  
dui bu dui .  
right NEG right

8167            A 對 a ,  
                   dui a,  
                   right PT  
                   ‘Right.’

In (86), B is a teacher while A and C are her students. Earlier, A is telling B that C won an award decorating their classroom. Then he moves on to complain that two other students take undeserved credits for the award. Here, (86) illustrates neatly Levinson’s (1983: 323-24) observation on how a longer stretch of utterance is fit in the rapid turn transition. As discussed in 5.2.3, in conversation, there are constant turn transitions, with each turn typically short and brief. To suspend one’s turn in order to tell a story or to explain a situation that takes longer time, one will utilize a story announcement device. At the end of the story, a recognizable story ending will be provided to resume the normal mechanism with rapid turn transition. In (86), before starting his story, A uses *shizaishi* to strengthen his negative evaluation towards another student. By asking A to elaborate on such strong evaluation in line 8150, B accedes to the story announcement by A to suspend the turn. At the end of A’s extended turn, another *shizaishi* is uttered in line 8160. Then, B jumps in to ask a question, partly for clarification and partly as an appreciation for the story, which is most typically expected from the recipient after hearing a story (Levinson 1983: 331). From line 8161 on, the typical rapid turn taking system resumes. In other words, B seems to take *shizaishi* as the closing remark of A’s narrative.

One obvious question here is how B deduces *shizaishi* as the end of the story. The question can be answered if *shizaishi* in line 8160 is interpreted as an evaluation instead of the intensifier of an evaluation. According to McCarthy (1991: 134) a general evaluation on what has been discussed is a typical closing move for a sub-topic in a stretch of discourse. If B views *shizaishi* as A’s evaluation towards the foregoing narrative, it is reasonable for her to

infer that such evaluation also signals the end of the story.

In this section we have explored the cases of *shizaishi* that are not followed by an utterance expressing evaluation. We argue that in these examples, *shizaishi* takes over the evaluative function. The evaluative *shizaishi* may even interact with the turn taking system and be inferred as a closing move of a narration.

### 5.2.6 Section Summary

In section 5.2, we have investigated the lexicalization of *shizaishi*. We proposed it as an emerging lexical unit, which instantiates the general trend in Modern Chinese whereby the copula/focus marker, *shi*, becomes a word-internal element in many lexical items (Dong 2004). To argue for the fusion of *shizai* and *shi* into a single lexical unit, we demonstrated three characteristics of *shi* in *shizaishi*: (1) its inseparability from *shizai*, (2) its weak semantic/syntactic function, and (3) its difference from *shi* without *shizai*. Moreover, we have contrasted *shizai* and *shizaishi*, showing that *shizaishi* is less likely to occur with an immediately following evaluation. We attributed the absence of an evaluative speech to limitation on cognitive processing and concern for social propriety. In particular, we have shown that though in many instances, the utterance with *shizaishi* is never finished, it seldom results in communication problem. We suggested that in these circumstances, *shizaishi* is no longer merely an intensifier reinforcing an evaluation, but is interpreted as an evaluation itself. Such evaluative function is well perceived by the addressee and may even interact with the turn taking mechanism as shown in example (86). Our findings on the new meaning of *shizaishi* arising from the interaction of truncation and metonymy attests to the view that language is flux and negotiable, constantly being reshaped and restructured through interaction (Hopper 1998).



### 5.3. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, we have described the lexicalization of *shizaishi*. We started by reporting the three types of polysemous meaning of *shizai*: descriptive, expressive, and interactive. The descriptive *shizai* denotes an object as strong and full content. It can also metaphorically/metonymically portray a person or a concept as reliable and realistic. The expressive *shizai* shows the SP/W's strong support for a statement. It is often interpreted as a degree intensifier when preceding a gradable quality. Finally, *shizai* can form the set phrase, *shuoshizaide*, which interactively signals to the AD/R that the following speech may be counter to expectation/preference. The polysemous meaning of *shizai* is in line with the general trend of language change: from descriptive to subjective to intersubjective, from clause internal to clause peripheral to clause external.

Following the illustration of the polysemous meaning of *shizai*, we investigated the lexicalization of *shizaishi*. We argued that many cases of *shizaishi* is not just a combination of the expressive *shizaishi* and a copula/ focus marker *shi*, but is under the process of lexicalization into a new word. Structurally, *shizaishi* should be analyzed as a single lexical unit. The presumed copula/focus marker *shi* is actually a lexical internal element because it (1) cannot be separated from *shizai*, (2) does not have clear syntactic/semantic function, and (3) does not have the same meaning/function as the copula/focus marker *shi* in general. Further evidence for *shizaishi* as a lexical unit can be shown from its difference from *shizai*, i.e. *shizaishi* is more likely to be used without an immediately following evaluative expression. We attributed this absence of evaluation to cognitive limitation and social propriety concern. We then argued that the frequent collocation of *shizaishi* and evaluation has metonymically associated the two. Thus, even when the evaluation is not explicitly uttered, the addressee can still infer the evaluation through metonymy. In other words, *shizaishi* can not only intensifies an evaluative remark, but can also express the evaluation itself through pragmatic inference

as well. Finally, we have provided an example, where the evaluative function of *shizaishi* interacts with the turn taking system, leading *shizaishi* to be inferred as a story ending signal. Compared with our discussion of *zhenshi*, with an established meaning of expressing evaluation, the lexicalization of *shizaishi* can thus be viewed as an on-going process exemplifying how an intensifying expression may develop an evaluative meaning through interaction and negotiation in discourse.



## Chapter Six

### Conclusion

#### 6.1. Summary of the Findings

This thesis has investigated the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizai*. To have a more thorough analysis, we first described the different meanings of *zhen(de)* and *shizai*. For *zhen(de)*, its descriptive meaning verifies something as real/true. Similar to other truth pertaining words reviewed in Chapter 3, *zhen(de)* typically has an expressive meaning in addition to the verifying meaning. It shows the SP/W's emphasis toward a statement, especially when the SP/W's belief about a situation is not in line with the belief of the AD/R. When *zhen(de)* modifies a gradable quality, the emphasizing meaning leads to the interpretation of enhancing the degree of the quality. Finally, *zhende* can also express meanings in the interactive domain. On the one hand, it can form the construction *shuozhende* to show the SP/W's seriousness to the following speech, often because the speech may sound less believable or when the SP/W wants to catch the AD/R's attention. On the other hand, *zhende* can also collocate with various particles, serving different interactive functions, e.g. as a rhetorical question or an agreement token to a statement.

As for *shizai*, its descriptive meaning profiles something as full of content and strong. Through metaphor and metonymy, it can also represent the property of being reliable and realistic. The expressive meaning of *shizai* reinforces the degree of the SP/W's assertiveness toward a statement. Similar to *zhen(de)*, when *shizai* modifies a gradable quality, the communicative effect of its assertiveness intensification practically equals to enhancing the degree of the quality. Finally, *shizai* can also form the construction *shuoshizaide*. It expresses an interactive meaning, indicating that the following speech may contrast to the expectation

or preference of the AD/R.

Inspired by Dong's (2004) observation that many instances of the copula/focus marker *shi* has become a lexical internal element, we further explored the lexicalization of *zhen(de)shi* and *shizaishi*. For *zhenshi* and *zhendeshi*, only the former has been included in the dictionary as a lexical entry. Further examination of our spoken data shows it is slightly more frequent for *zhen* and *shi* to merge into a lexical unit than *zhende* and *shi*. Moreover, more instances of *zhenshi* express an idiomatic meaning than *zhendeshi*. We thus focus our investigation on *zhenshi*. Our spoken data shows that *zhenshi* should be analyzed as a single word because the presumed copula/focus marker *shi* in *zhenshi* (1) is never separated from *zhen*, (2) often does not have clear semantic meaning or syntactic function, and (3) often does not have the same meaning with the typical copula/focus marker *shi*. We further distinguished *zhenshi* and *zhen*, showing that the former tends to precede longer speech than the latter and is more likely to be absent of an immediately following evaluative expression. We argued that the absence of evaluative expression is due to cognitive limitation and social propriety concern. We then contended that the frequent collocation of *zhenshi* with an evaluation, typically a negative one, metonymically associates the two. Thus, even when the evaluative expression is not explicitly uttered, the hearer can still infer the evaluation through *zhenshi*. Finally we showed that the evaluative *zhenshi* can be followed by the evidential *de*, forming yet another evaluative expression *zhenshide*.

Although not yet included in a dictionary, our spoken data shows that *shizaishi* follows a path of lexicalization similar to that of *zhenshi*. We showed that, similar to the case of *zhenshi*, *shizaishi* is also developing into a single lexical unit. Just as *zhenshi*, it also often occurs without a following evaluation, which we attributed to cognitive limitation and social concern. We then contended that *shizaishi* can also be metonymically inferred as an evaluation like *zhenshi*. Finally, we provided an interesting example where the evaluative meaning of *shizaishi* interacts with the turn taking system and is interpreted as an ending move of a story.

Our study of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* reveals some interesting similarities and differences between the two cases. On the one hand, *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* share a similar path of lexicalization. In terms of morphology, they both instantiate Dong's (2004) observation that many cases of the presumed copula/focus marker *shi* is becoming a lexical internal element. In terms of meaning, they both typically carry an expressive meaning similar to *zhen(de)* and *shizai* respectively, i.e. showing the SP/W's emphasis toward a clause. We have argued that due to cognitive limitation and social concern, the evaluative content presumed to be emphasized by *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* is sometimes left unsaid. This is not the same as the case of elliptical forms like 的確是/確實是 *dique shi/queshi shi* 'indeed' as discussed in Chapter 1, because the truncated utterances after *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* cannot be literally recovered by the foregoing discourse. Rather, we argued that the frequent collocation between *zhenshi/shizaishi* and the evaluation leads to a strong association between the two. Thus, even when the evaluative speech is never explicitly uttered, the hearer can still metonymically infer the evaluative meaning through *zhenshi/shizaishi*.

On the other hand, *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* demonstrate different degree of lexicalization. As reviewed in Chapter 2, Dong (2004) observes that many cases of disyllabic X-*shi* constructions have become established words and are included in dictionaries, whereas trisyllabic X-*shi* constructions are more typically in a transition phase from a collocation to a word. Our finding of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* corroborates this observation. First of all, only *zhenshi* has been documented as a lexical entry in dictionaries. Moreover, more than half (56.3%) instances of *zhenshi* without an immediately ensuing evaluative speech are followed by speaker change, while only less than one third (31.3%) of *shizaishi* without an immediately ensuing evaluative speech are followed by speaker change. The higher percentage of speaker change after *zhenshi* suggests that both the speaker and the hearer are more ready to treat it as an evaluation with complete meaning, another sign of its more advanced degree of lexicalization than *shizaishi*. Finally, *zhenshi* has brought about a similar

evaluative expression *zhenshide*, which again shows that its non-compositional evaluative meaning is more strongly established than that of *shizaishi*.

In short, this thesis has explored the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*, an instantiation of the *X-shi* construction observed in Dong (2004). They typically express an intensifying meaning similar to *zhen(de)* and *shizai*. However, they have both developed a non-compositional evaluative meaning through metonymy.

## 6.2. Implications of the Study

Our study of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* is based on Dong's (2004) observation that many presumed copula/focus marker, *shi*, in modern Mandarin are actually becoming a lexical internal element, forming a new word form, *X-shi*. In her study, the *X-shi* constructions generally share similar meaning with the original X. They are either an adverb or a conjunction in nature and are never used at the end periphery of an utterance. *Zhenshi* and *shizaishi*, however, behave differently from these *X-shi* constructions in that they can be used at the end of an utterance to express the speaker's evaluation. Following Li's (2002) study on several emerging sentence final particles in Taiwan Southern Min, we account for the evaluative meaning of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* in terms of sequence truncation and metonymic inference. The typical meaning of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* is to intensify the speaker's endorsement toward a subsequent evaluative remark. Due to cognitive limitation and social concern, the remark is sometimes truncated, leaving *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* in utterance final position. Despite the omitted speech, the addressee can still infer the speaker's intent of giving an evaluation, because the frequent co-occurrence of *zhenshi/shizaishi* and an evaluation has brought forth a strong association between the two. This study thus presents an interesting case wherein the result of a morphological trend, *X-shi*, may pragmatically develop an idiomatic meaning through interaction.

Our study is also in line with other studies on meaning. First of all, *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* qualify as instances lexicalization as defined by Brinton & Traugott (2005), where a syntactic construction/word formation derives a non-compositional meaning. Obviously, the evaluative meaning of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* is not a simple combination of the intensifying *zhen/shizai* and the copula/focus marker/lexical internal element, *shi*.

On the other hand, a comparison between *shuozhende/shuoshizaide* and *zhenshi/shizaishi* shows an interesting distinction between the left-periphery (LP) and right-periphery (RP) of a clause, as hypothesized by Beeching et al. (2009). This hypothesis argues for a different nature of the flow of speech in LP and RP of a clause or intonation unit. As elaborated by Traugott,

Markers in LP are likely to be:

- a) related to information-structuring
- b) subjective because the Speaker (SP) negotiates the topic, projects that upcoming material will be of some importance, and reacts to previous utterances (cf. *anyway* used as a topic-shifter)

By contrast, RP is the natural place for:

- a) modal
- b) attitudinal
- c) interpersonal, intersubjective material, because SP anticipates, preempts, enables or is otherwise concerned with Addressee's (AD's) up-coming turn.

(Traugott 2010)

Our result fits nicely with this hypothesis. As discussed in Chapter 4 and 5, *shuozhende* and *shuoshizaide* tend to appear in the clause initial position, i.e. the left periphery. They can be used to organize information, signaling the status of the upcoming utterance, as unexpected or worthy of attention. On the other hand, since *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* derive their evaluative meaning metonymically after the following speech is truncated, it is not surprising that they tend to appear at the end position, i.e. the right periphery, of a clause. *Zhenshi* and

*shizaishi* with their evaluative meaning thus offer support to Beeching et al. (2009) that RP is a natural place for words with attitudinal meaning.

Finally, our study also corroborates the emergent view on grammar and meaning. The first step leading to the evaluative meaning of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* is the truncation of the following speech due to cognitive limitation and social concern, which are closely related to interaction. The second step is the metonymic inference, which again arises from the interlocutor's need to obtain the most communicative meaning in interaction. Our case study on *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* thus supports earlier studies which contend that the negotiation and interaction in discourse play an important role in shaping meaning and grammar (Hopper 1998; Huang 1998; Tao 2003).

To summarize, this thesis illustrates the lexicalization (in the sense of Brinton & Traugott (2005)) of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*. Following Li's (2002) study on how several sentence final particles in Taiwan Southern Min emerges through sequence truncation and metonymic inference, we illustrate how *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*, two instantiations of the morphological fusion of X-*shi* identified in Dong (2004), develop a non-compositional meaning through interaction and negotiation in discourse. The two lexicalized cases with their evaluative meaning appearing at the end of a clause further confirms Beeching et al.'s (2009) hypothesis that the right periphery of a clause is a natural position for attitudinal expressions.

### **6.3. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research**

While the present study has investigated the lexicalization of *zhenshi* and *shizaishi*, several issues still remain to be explored. First of all, intonation is an important sign that can differentiate whether *zhenshi/shizaishi* is truly an evaluation used at the end of the utterance or just an intensifier with the following speech cut short by the addressee. Unfortunately, such



acoustic information is not available for us. It will be useful to double check the intonation of *zhenshi/shizaishi* to more accurately distinguish the ones with an evaluative function from the ones with an intensifying function.

Second, we have argued that *de* in *zhenshide* is a marker showing evidentiality and assertiveness. However, *de* in *zhenshide* seems to behave differently from other evidential *de* in that it has further merged with the foregoing *zheshi* into a new lexical item. It will be interesting to investigate whether there are other instances of evidential *de* that have merged with other elements into a new lexical item.

Finally, our study shows that *zhenshi* and *shizaishi* have developed an evaluative meaning not compositional of *zhen/shizai* plus *shi*. Further study may be carried out to investigate whether any other X-*shi* constructions have also developed an idiomatic meaning. For example, we have observed that in certain speech community in Taiwan, 最好是 *zuihaoshi* 'it'd better be' is sometimes used sarcastically in contexts where the speaker believes that the situation referred to is not true, a direct opposite meaning of the compositional one. It is thus worthwhile to examine how 最好是 *zuihaoshi* 'it'd better be' derives such idiomatic meaning.

## References from Books and Journal Articles

- Anttila, Raimo. 1989 [1972]. *Historical and Comparative Linguistics* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn [1<sup>st</sup> edn 1972, New York: Macmillan].
- Beeching, Kate, Liesbeth Degand, Ulrich Detges, Elizabeth Closs Traugott & Richard Waltereit. 2009. Summary of the Workshop on Meaning in Diachrony at the Conference on Meaning in Interaction, University of the West of England, Bristol, April 23-25.
- Biq, Yung-O. 1990. Conversation, continuation, and connectives. *Text* 10.3: 187-208.
- Brinton, Laurel J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2005. *Lexicalization and Language Change* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chao, Yuen Ren 1968. *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 陳熹 [Chen, Xi]. 2008. 試論語氣副詞“實在”的句法、語義、語用 [A study on the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic use of the adverb *shizai*]. *大理學院學報 [Journal of Dali University]*. 1: 30-32.
- Crystal, David. 2008. *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics (6<sup>th</sup> edition)* Malden, Mass: Blackwell.
- 丁聲樹，呂叔湘，李榮，孫德宣，管燮初，傅婧，黃盛璋，陳治文 [Ding, Sheng-Shu, Shu-Xiang Lu, Rong Li, De-Xuan Sun, Xie-Chu Guan, Jing Fu, Cheng-Zhang Huang & Zhi-Wen Chen]. 1999. *現代漢語語法講話 [Modern Chinese Grammar]* Beijing: 商務印書館.
- 董秀芳 [Dong, Xiu-fang]. 2002. *詞彙化: 漢語雙音詞的衍生和發展 [Lexicalization: Derivation and Development of Chinese Disyllabic words]* 成都: 四川民族出版社.
- . 2004. *漢語的詞庫與詞法 [Chinese Lexicon and Morphology]* 北京: 北京大學出版社.
- Grice, Paul. 1975. Logic and conversation. *Syntax and Semantics, volume 3: Speech Acts*, ed. by P. Cole & J.L. Morgan, 41--58. New York: Academic Press.
- . 1989. *Studies in the Way of Words* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Hopper, Paul. 1991. On some Principles of grammaticization. *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, ed. by E.C. Traugott & B. Heine. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- . 1998. Emergent grammar. *The New Psychology of Language*, ed. by M. Tomasello, 155-75. Hillsdale, NJ: L. Erlbaum.
- Hopper, Paul & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization* Cambridge: Cambridge

- University Press.
- Huang, Shuanfan. 1998. Emergent lexical semantics. *Selected Papers from the Second International Symposium on Languages in Taiwan*, ed. by S. Huang, 129-50.
- 賈姍 [Jia, Shan]. 2008. “實在 (adv.) +是+X” 結構略論 [Study on Structure of "Actually+is+X"]. Jilin: Jilin University M.A. Thesis.
- 江庭宜 [Jiang, Ting-Yi]. 2010. 漢語「說」類引導碼之分類漢語用功能分析[Categorization and Analysis of Chinese "shuo" Expressions as Procedural Encodings]. Taipei: National Taiwan Normal University MA thesis.
- Lakoff, George & Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lenker, Ursula. 2007. Soplice, forsoothe, truly-- communicative principles and invited inferences in the history of truth-intensifying adverbs in English. *Methods in Historical Pragmatics*, ed. by S. Fitzmaurice & I. Taavitsainen, 81-105. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1987. Minimization and conversational inference. *The pragmatic perspective: Selected papers from the 1985 International Pragmatics Conference*, ed. by J. Verschueren & M. Bertuccelli-Papi, 61-129. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- . 1995. Three levels of meaning. *Grammar and meaning: essays in honour of Sir John Lyons*, ed. by F.R. Palmer, 90-115. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Li, Charles N. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: a Functional Reference Grammar* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- 李訥, 安姍笛, 張伯江 [Li, Charles N., Sandra A. Thompson & Bojiang Zhang]. 1998. 從話語角度論證語氣詞"的" [Particle *de*: A discourse perspective]. *中國語文 [Chinese Language]*. 2:93-102.
- Li, Ing Cherry. 2002. Minimization, conversational inference, and grammaticalization in Taiwanese Southern Min. *Concentric: Studies in English Literature and Linguistics* 28.2.117-48
- 厲霽雋 [Li, Ji-juan]. 2003. “真”和“真的”論析—句法、語義、語用功能及其語法化過程和機制分析 [Analysis on *Zhen* and *Zhende*: Their Syntactic, Semantic, Pragmatic Use and Grammaticalization]. Shanghai: 上海師範大學 [Shanghai Normal University] M.A. Thesis.
- 李勁榮 [Li, Jinrong]. 2007. "實在"句的語意格局語句法制約 [Semantic pattern and syntactic restrictions of *shizai* sentence]. *世界漢語教學 [Chinese Teaching in the World]*. 2:40-53.
- Liu, Chi-Ming. 2006. Degree Modification of Adjectives in Mandarin Chinese. Hsinchu: National Tsing-Hua University Master Thesis.
- Liu, Hsiu-Ying. 2008. A Study of Excessive Construction in Modern Taiwan Mandarin.

- Hsinchu: National Tsing-Hua University.
- 劉勇 [Liu, Yong]. 2003. 說"真的" [On *zhende*]. *淮北煤炭師範學院學報(哲學社會科學版)* [*Journal of Huaibei Coal Industry Teachers College(Philosophy and Social Sciences)*]. 4:99-103.
- 劉月華，潘文娛，故韡 [Liu, Yue-Hua, Wen-Yu Pan & Wei Gu]. 2001. *實用現代漢語語法* [*Practical Contemporary Chinese Grammar*] 北京: 商務印書館.
- McCarthy, Michael. 1991. *Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 宮下尚子 [Miyashita, Naoko]. 2002. 關於“真”與“真的”作狀語情況的考察 [On "zhen" and "zhen-de" used as adverbial]. *漢語學習* [*Chinese Language Learning*]. 6:39-42.
- Paradis, Carita. 2003. Between epistemic modality and degree: the case of really. *Modality in Contemporary English*, ed. by R. Facchinetti, M. Krug & F. Palmer, 191-222. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Simon-Vandenberghe, Anne-Marie. 1988. What *really* really means in casual conversation and in political interviews. *Linguistica Antverpiensia* 22.206–25.
- Stenström, Anna-Brita. 1986. What does *really* really do? Strategies in speech and writing. *English in Speech and Writing*, ed. by G. Tottie & I. Bäcklund, 149-63. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Sweetser, Eve E. 1990. *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tao, Hongyin. 2003. Toward an emergent view of lexical semantics. *Language and Linguistics*. 4.4:837-56.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: an example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language* 65.31-55.
- . 1995. Subjectification in grammaticalisation. *Subjectivity and Subjektivisation*, ed. by D. Stein & S. Wright, 31-54. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.
- . 2003a. Constructions in grammaticalization. *A Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. by B.D. Joseph & R.D. Janda, 624-47. Oxford: Blackwell.
- . 2003b. From subjectification to intersubjectification. *Motives for Language Change*, ed. by R. Hickey, 124-39. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2007. (Inter)subjectification and unidirectionality. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*. 8:295-309.
- . 2010. Exploring pragmatic particles at the right periphery. Paper presented at the The 4th Conference on Language, Discourse and Cognition, Taipei.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Willems, Dominique & Annemie Demol. 2006. *Vraiment* and *really* in contrast: When truth

and reality meet. *Pragmatic Markers in Contrast*, ed. by K. AIJMER & A.-M. SIMON-VANDENBERGEN, 215-35. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

肖奚強 [Xiao, Xi-qiang]. 2007. 略論“的確”“實在”句法語用差異 [Outline of syntactic and pragmatic diversities of *dique* and *shizai*]. *語言研究 [Studies in Language and Linguistics]*. 27.2:78-82.

顏紅菊 [Yan, Hong-ju]. 2006. 話語標記的主觀性和語法化—從“真的”的主觀性和語法化談起 [On the subjectivity and grammaticalization of discourse markers—Discussions from the subjectivity and grammaticalization of "zhen-de"]. *湖南科技大學學報(社會科學版) [Journal of Hunan University of Science & Technology(Social Science Edition)]*. 9.6:82-87.

## Reference from Dictionaries

現代漢語詞典(漢英雙語版) [The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary (Chinese-English Edition)]. 2002. 中國社科院編. 北京: 外語教學與研究出版社