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臺灣閩南話與事實相關的情態詞之功能研究
Truth-related Expressions in Taiwanese Southern Min

指導教授：張妙霞博士
Advisor: Dr. Miao-Hsia Chang

研究生：蔡婉怡
Student: Wanyi Tsai

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摘要

本研究從言談及語用的觀點探討台灣閩南語與事實相關的副詞，研究根據十二個小時的自然語料，對「真 e」、「真正」、「有影」、「誠實」、「實在」、「正經」，文中的研究分為三類：事實描述、表達情意及人際互動。事實描述方面，是用來確定一個事件和事實的真實性、用來和虛構的事件作為對比、或強調自己言論的真實性、去除聽者對說者描述的疑慮。表達情意方面，是用來強調說者的評價性言論的強度。雖然事實描述也會產生強調的功能，但是表達情意詞的強調，其真實性是不能由上下文推斷出來或被證實的。表情達意功能可以用來增加評價的強度，或者提高述語的程度，特別的是事實相關詞如「實在有影」也可用來表達苦惱或憤怒、甚至和特殊句型 *toh* 或 *khah* 搭配後，有表示讓步的意味。人際互動方面，可用來表達對說者言論的評價，例如：表示驚訝或者同意，和動詞「講」形成搭配字可以成為一種規避詞，說者在發表可能會接受挑戰或者較誇大的言論之前，使用的溝通技巧。

臺灣閩南話的事實相關詞和英文及中文事實相關詞相似，已經發展成多於描述事實的用法，常常用來增強評價的強度，甚至事實相關詞本身獨立存在就可以代表一種評價，臺灣閩南話事實相關詞的發展和中英文不謀而合，而閩南話事實詞的表現由於構句或者詞性較少的限制，而有更多的變化值得探索。

關鍵字: 閩南語、事實相關、有影、實在、正經、真正、真 e、誠實

Abstract

This thesis explores six TREs in TSM and their various functions in TSM conversation. The discourse-pragmatic functions are categorized into three: truth-describing, expressive, and interactive. Truth-describing TREs are employed to assert an event or a fact, make a contrast with an unreal scenario, justify the speaker's claim, and negate any doubts from the listener toward the statement made earlier. In contrast to descriptive TREs' truth-reporting function, expressive TREs are used to express subjective and evaluative meanings. The truth-value of the proposition can not be verified from the discourse. They serve emphasize, upgrading, exasperation, and concessive functions. Emphasizer TREs are used to strengthen the force of the predicate. Upgrading TREs elevate the degree of the gradable predicate. Expressive TREs can express a person's exasperation such as *sit-chai u-iann*. What's more, collocating with limiting marker *toh* and comparative *khah*, TREs do not boost the meaning; instead, they become a way of showing concession. Interactive TREs can serve as a responsive token or a prefacing device. A free-standing TREs plus a UFP can especially be used as a responsive token. They are used to express emotions such as surprise or unexpectedness or express agreement. When a TRE collocating with a verb of saying *kong*, it serves like a hedge, prefacing a statement containing counter-expectedness of the interlocutor.

TREs in TSM, similar to TREs in English and Mandarin Chinese, are more than truth-related or emphasizing meanings. They themselves become an evaluation. TREs in TSM has developed with more versatility due to less syntactic constraints, which deserve further investigation.

Keyword: TSM, truth, *u-iann*, *sit-tsai*, *tsing-king*, *tsiann-sit*, *tsin-e*, *tsin-tsiann*

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List of Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in the glosses are as follows:

ASP	aspect marker
ASSC	associative morpheme <i>e</i>
CL	classifier
COP	copula <i>si</i> (是)
DM	discourse marker
DISP	disposal marker <i>kah</i> (給)
NEG	negative morpheme
NOM	nominalizer <i>e</i>
PN	proper noun
RT	reactive token
UFP	utterance-final particle
KAH	the morpheme <i>kah</i> (甲)
TOH	the morpheme <i>toh</i> (就)

Transcription Conventions

Transcription is based on the Du Bois et al. (1993) system. The transcription notations appearing in the examples used in this thesis are as follows:

[]	speaker overlap
:	speaker identity
--	truncated intonation unit
-	truncated word
.	final intonation
,	continuing intonation
\	falling pitch
/	rising pitch
_	level pitch
^	primary accent
...	(N) long pause
...	medium pause
..	short pause
=	lengthening
(0)	latching
@	laughter
(Hx)	exhalation
(H)	inhalation
(TSK)	alveolar click
%	glottal stop
<@ @>	laugh quality
<Q Q>	quotation quality
<F F>	fast tempo
<A A>	gradually increasing in speed
<D D>	gradually decreasing in speed
<H H>	high pitch
<L L>	low pitch
<MRC MRC>	each word distinct and emphasized
<X X>	uncertain hearing
X	indecipherable syllable
<L2 L2>	code switching from Taiwanese to Mandarin
<J J>	code switching from Taiwanese to Japanese

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Table 2. The shift from manner adverb to discourse marker (Lenker 2007:94 Table1.)

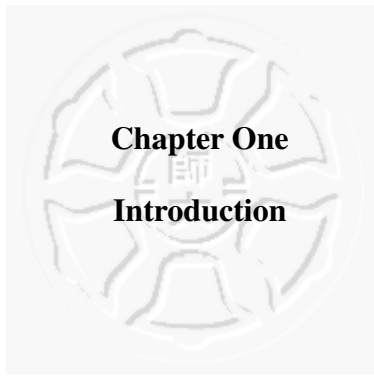
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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Motivation and Aim

In daily conversation, people make and receive comments on facts or entities. During the interaction, the speakers subjectively express their own ideas or evaluate a proposition or an entity. Therefore, the notion of *subjectivity* (Lyons 1994) and *evaluation* (Thompson and Hunston 2000) are often associated with and referred to in the study of conversation. *Subjectivity* is defined as “the speaker’s expression of himself or herself in the act of utterance” (Lyons 1994:13). *Evaluation* has operationalized as “the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer’s attitudes or stance towards, viewpoints on, feelings about the entities or proposition that he or she is talking about” (Thompson and Hunston 2000:5). Both subjectivity and evaluation represent the two important elements in the definition of “stance.” Biber and Finegan (1989:92) define stance as “the lexical and grammatical expressions of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of message.” Therefore, it is clear that stance lies in the lexical and grammatical expressions. Among previous studies of stance, adverbials have proven to be a rich source of various types of epistemic, attitudinal, and style stances (Biber and Finegan 1988, Conrad and Biber 2000). Modals (Thompson and Hunston 2000) and evaluative adjectives and nouns (Hunston and Sinclair 2000) are also well documented and investigated. With regard to epistemic stance, or the degree of commitment/certainty of the speaker/writer, complement clauses and complement-taking predicates (Field 1997) have frequently been the focus of research.

In this study, we will examine the truth-related expressions¹ in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM henceforth). Truth-related expressions (TREs henceforth) are used to show the speaker's commitment and certainty of the proposition. Therefore, they belong to the epistemic stance (Biber et al. 1999). There has been a rich literature on the TREs in English (Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Tagliamonte and Ito 2002; Lorenz 2002; Paradis 2003; Paradis and Bergmark 2003; McCarthy 2003; Lenker 2007) and in Mandarin Chinese (Chen 2010; Li 2003; Wu 2010; Chen 2008). However, linguists put little emphasis on TREs in TSM. Sia (2008) conducts a corpus study of the "intensity devices" in TSM to view their distribution in different genres. TREs in TSM and their uses can only be found from dictionary definitions. The previous studies seem not to include the discussion of their stance-taking and discourse-pragmatic functions.

In fact, there are various ways to show the speaker's commitment or comment on the actuality of the statement in TSM. In example (1), the TRE 有影 *u-iann* 'truly, really' takes the scope over the whole proposition and it is used to comment on the actuality of the following statement. Besides 有影 *u-iann*, 正經 *tsing-king*, 真正 *tsin-tsiann*, and 誠實 *tsiann-sit* can also be used to comment on the actuality. In example (2), 正經 *tsin-king* and 真正 *tsin-tsiann* are used to explicitly point out the truth of the state of 醉 *tsui* 'being drunk'. 真實 *Tsiann-sit* collocating with 講 *kong* 'say' can also be used to show the speaker's commitment to the following utterance the speaker wants to convey, as shown in example (3). The use of a TRE plus the verb of saying *kong* is very similar to *frankly speaking* or *to tell the truth*, which reveals the speaker's stance.

¹ We use the term truth-related expressions because the data we examine contain different syntactic categories, including adverbials, epistemic predicates, and some truncated elements in the clause.

(1) A: 咱 大家 有 當時仔,
lan ta-ke u tang-si-a
we everyone have sometimes

→A: **有影** 禮拜時仔 來 仁愛路 [行 行 袂 糶]
u-iann le-pai-si-a lai jin-ai-loo kiann kiann bue bai
really Sunday come Jin-Ai Road walk walk NEG bad

D: [mm]

‘A: It is **really** not bad that we take some time to take a walk on Jin-Ai Road on Sunday.

D: Yes.’

(2) →M: 咱 進前 嘛 有 講 過 你 若 **正經**
lan tsin-tsing ma u kong kue li na **tsing-king**
we before also have say PERF you if **really**
啉 甲 醉 e 時陣,
lim kah tsui e si-tsun,
drink KAH drunk ASSC time

→M: **真正** 醉 的 時陣 你 就—
tsin-tsiann tsui e sit-tsun li toh
really drunk ASSC time you then

M: 路邊 插 咧 睏 一醒 a\
loo-pinn tshah le khun tsit-tshenn-a
road-side insert PERF sleep a-wake UFP

F: hm==!\

M: 啊 結果 伊%,
ah kiatt-ko i
DM result he

→F: 伊 路邊 **真正** [插 落去@]@@@
i loo-pinn tsin-tsiann tshah lo-khi
he road-side **really** insert into

→M: [**真正** 給 插 落去]\
tsin-tsiann kah tshah lo-khi
really DISP insert into

M: 但是 去 給 插 落去 鐵支路.
Tan-si khi kah tshah lo-khi thih-ki-loo
but go DISP insert into railroad

‘M: We previously talked about that if you are drunk **seriously, really** drunk, stop the car at the roadside and take a nap.

F: Yes.

M: He turned out to...

F: He **really** [stopped at the roadside]

M: [Really stopped]

M: But to stopped at the side of railroad.'

(3) →B: 但是 彼陣仔 阮， 誠實 講 乎，
Tan-si hit-tsun-a guan, tsiann-sit kong honnh
but that time I truly speak UFP

A: hum.\

RT

B: 阮 毋敢 執行 la.
guan m-kann tsip-hing la
I NEG-dare enforce UFP

'B: But at that time I, **truly speaking**..

A: Yes.

B: I daren't enforce.'

The following research questions will be addressed in this study:

- (a) What are the discourse-pragmatic functions of the TRE *tsin-e*, *tsin-tsiann*, *tsiann-sit*, *sit-tsai*, *tsing-king* and *u-iann* in TSM?
- (b) How are the functions similar to and different from one other?
- (c) What role do the collocational and situational contexts of these TREs play in the interpretation of the meanings?

1.2 Data & Method

The study investigates spoken data. The database contains a TSM mini-corpus, which is twelve hours and fifteen minutes hours of tape-recorded spontaneous TSM. The database includes 83 episodes. The types of interaction include natural face-to-face conversation (5hr.46'), telephone conversations (3hr.11'), TV drama (39'40''), TV talk show (1hr.41'), and radio call-in (8'59'') and radio interviews (48'07''), as shown in Table 1. The TV drama is a rather spontaneous talk without

detailed scripts because the speakers do not follow the Mandarin written scripts word by word.

Type of interaction	Subtype	Length	Total Length
Face-to-face	TV drama	39'40''12	8hr.55'19''62
	TV talk show	1hr.41'08''00	
	Natural conversation	5hr.46'24''44	
	Radio interview	48'07''06	
Non-face-to-face	Radio call-in	08'59''00	3hr.20'12''44
	Telephone conversation	3hr.11'13''44	
			12hr. 15'32''06

Table 1. The TSM mini-corpus

The spoken data were recorded with cassettes or digital recorders, which were transcribed into intonation units (IU) according to the transcription systems developed by Du Bois et al. (1993). The Romanization of Taiwanese in this study generally follows Taiwanese Romanization² system released by Ministry of Education in 2008, without marking the tone for ease of typing. Tone number will be marked when there's an ambiguity. When necessary, some examples from 台語文語詞檢索 *Tai-gu-bun Gu-su Kiam-sek (Taiwanese Concordancer)*³ will be used to support our analysis.

The thesis conducts a synchronic study on the spoken TREs in TSM. The approach adopted in the present study is conversation analysis (CA) (Sacks et al. 1974; Psathas 1995). CA is an empirical approach to examine the natural occurring data and conduct a bottom-up analysis. That is, no researcher's priori assumption is involved and the result or generalization is all data-driven.

² The Taiwanese Romanization System [台灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案] is released by Ministry of Education in 2008. It unifies different schools of Taiwanese Romanization system to provide teachers and students with a more unified system to teach and learn Taiwanese. See Appendix.

³ Taiwanese Concordancer (TC henceforth) is designed by Un-GiaN Iunn [楊允言] in 2003. <http://210.240.194.97/TG/Concordance/form.asp>

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

The organization of this thesis is as follows. A brief introduction of the study is given in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 reviews previous works on the TREs and some related studies. Chapter 3 discusses the semantics and pragmatic uses of the TREs *tsin-e*, *u-iannn*, *tsin-tsiann*, *tsiann-sit*, *tsing-king* and *sit-tsai* in our corpus. A further discussion and conclusion will be given in Chapter 4.



Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

In order to explore the truth-related expressions more comprehensively, it is necessary to give a thorough review of the previous studies. According to reference grammar (Biber et al. 1999:549), the truth-related expressions, conveying the level of certainty, belong to the expressions of epistemic stance. Most of them are adverbials. Many of the truth-related adverbials often have the intensifying uses when it is a pure adverb. Therefore, we will first review the studies of epistemic stance adverbials in Section 2.1 and intensifiers of languages in general in Section 2.2. As the use of truth-related expressions generally involves the subjective attitude and stance-taking toward the general fact, Section 2.3 reviews theories of stance in terms of the participants and message involved in stance-taking. Section 2.4 follows with previous studies which discuss the versatile functions of English and Chinese truth-related expressions. Due to the lack of literature on truth-related expressions in TSM, some dictionary definitions and discussion in reference grammar will be included in Section 2.5. Section 2.6 presents a summary of this chapter.

2.1 Epistemic Stance Adverbials

Truth-related expressions often appear in the form of an epistemic stance adverbial⁴, which has different terminologies in the previous literature (Givon 1993, Biber et al. 1999, Quirk et al. 1985). Givon (1993) terms the adverbials that convey the speaker's attitude toward the truth, certainty or probability of the proposition as

⁴ Adverbials here are a broader category, which includes one-word adverbs or phrases having the function of adverbials.

epistemic adverbials. He points out that epistemic adverbials are heterogeneous in form, appearing most commonly as either one-word expressions, one-word expressions derived with *-ly*, or prepositional phrases (Givon 1993:74) and the semantic scope of epistemic adverbials ranges over the entire proposition.

Besides the use of conveying speaker's attitude toward the proposition as Givon (1993) has pointed out, Biber et al. (1999) refer to the truth-related adverbials as epistemic stance adverbials, adding the notion of stance. The truth-related adverbials fall in one of the subtypes of Epistemic stance adverbials (Biber et al. 1999), which can be used to convey doubt and certainty (e.g. *no doubt, certainly, probably*), actuality and reality (e.g. *in fact, really, truly*), source of knowledge (e.g. *apparently, evidently, according to Mr. Kandil*), limitation (e.g. *in most cases, typically*), viewpoint or perspective (e.g. *in our view, from our perspective*), and imprecision (e.g. *like, sort of, roughly*).

Biber et al. (1999) further point out that there is a frequent ambiguity--a linguistic element is a stance adverbial or a circumstantial adverbial of extent/degree. For example, the epistemic stance adverb *really* is particularly difficult to disambiguate. When the adverb *really* appears in the initial or final position, some instances seem to have an epistemic stance meaning 'in reality' or 'in truth' as shown in (1a) and (1b). When *really* appears medially, it can have an epistemic meaning with propositions that concern absolute characteristics such as being *alive* in (1c).

- (1) a. *Really* you've noticed the difference?
b. I had no choice *really*.
c. Was Molly ever *really* alive alive-oh? (Biber et al. 1999:857-858)

However, when *really* is in the medial position with gradable propositions, determination of the meaning can become even more difficult. In the following

examples, *really* can either have the stance meaning or can be interpreted as intensifying the scalar property of a verb or adjective, with the approximate meaning ‘very (much).’ Even after they examine the wider context, it’s still not easy to clarify which meaning the speaker/writer intended to convey in such cases as (2a-c). Bondi (2008:33) also has a similar observation that it is difficult to “distinguish the writer’s judgment about the certainty, reliability, and limitations of the proposition from her/his attitude toward proposition’s content.”

(2) a. It’s *really* wonderful.

b. Susie’s *really* excited about that backyard.

c. The numbers *really* took off in the late 1890s. (Biber et al. 1999:858)

In addition to the various syntactic positions of epistemic stance adverbials in an utterance, Biber et al. (1999:551) point out that adverbials can stand alone as structurally unconnected elements, and even as complete utterances. In some cases, the adverbials are related to elliptic forms of previous sentences. Adverbials as utterances can also serve to express or emphasize agreement and concurrence and can be used as questions. Often, these adverbials are stance adverbials of actuality or style of speaking as shown in (3).

(3)

A: You can still vote if you lost it.

B: *Really?*

A: They should have your name on the roster. (Biber et al. 1999:551)

Some of the above examples illustrate that stance adverbs can serve not only to pose questions, but also answer them as indicated by (4).

(4)

A: It's warm isn't it? By the radiator.

B: *Probably*.

(Biber et al. 1999:551)

Sometimes, the interpretation of a linguistic element as a stance adverbial or as a response form is not clear-cut. For instance, *really* can be used as a backchannel like *I see*, which is stronger in indicating a high degree of interest in what the previous speaker had to say compared to the affirmative markers like *mm*, *uh huh*, and *mhm*.

(5) A: She's real good, the people like her real well over at the hospital.

B: *Really?*

To summarize, epistemic stance adverbials appearing in different syntactic positions have different semantic meanings and pragmatic functions. Epistemic stance adverbials of actuality can be either an element in a clause or standing alone as utterances to convey the speaker's agreement or interest/attention. Thus, it is interesting to explore whether TREs in TSM share similar features.

2.2 Intensifiers/Emphasizer

Truth-related expressions can be treated either as epistemic stance adverbials or extent/degree circumstance adverbials. They fall in an ambiguous situation especially when the epistemic stance adverbial is in the medial position before a scalar proposition (Biber et al. 1999). Extent/degree circumstance adverbials, as indicated by Biber et al. (1999:780) can tell the extent to which a proposition holds, answering questions such as "how much/many?" and "to what extent?" They can either amplify the intensity of the clause proposition, sometimes called *amplifiers* or *intensifiers*, or lower the intensity, also called *diminishers*. Truth-related stance adverbials usually belong to the intensifying uses since they are often used to emphasize the force of the

actuality of the statement.

Intensifiers generally are believed to be linguistic elements which convey the degree of the quality of the item. An intensifier is defined by Quirk et al. (1985:445) as a scaling device, which co-occurs with a gradable adjective. However, intensifiers are variously referred to in literature. Stoffel (1901) uses the term “intensive adverbs;” Bolinger (1972:18) terms them “degree words” with no separation from downtoners. Quirk et al. (1985:445) distinguish two subsets of intensifiers: amplifiers, which ‘scale upwards from an assumed norm,’ such as *completely* and *very much*, and downtoners, which ‘scale downwards from an assumed norm,’ such as *partly* and *hardly*. Furthermore, amplifiers can be divided into *maximizers* and *boosters*. Maximizers ‘denote the upper extreme of a scale,’ and boosters ‘denote high degree, a high point on the scale,’ whose examples are provided in example (6). Therefore, we may conclude that intensifiers do not only refer to an increase in intensification that is expressed, but also denote that there is a scale of intensity involved. Also, Paradis (1997:12) further points out that intensifiers are indefinite and pertain to extent since they don’t have specific measurements as quantification.

(6) (from Quirk et al. 1985:590-591)

- Maximizers: *absolutely, altogether, completely, entirely, extremely, fully, perfectly, quite, thoroughly, totally, utterly*
- Boosters: *badly, bitterly, deeply, enormously, far, greatly, heartily, highly, intensely, much, severely, so, strongly, terribly, violently, well*

The truth intensifiers have the scaling effect when they are used with gradable verbs as in (7) and adjectives as in (8).

(7) a. He *really* likes her. [‘He likes her very much’]

b. I *indeed* appreciate your help. [‘I greatly appreciate your help’]

- (8) a. It was *really* funny.
b. He's dangerous *indeed*. (Quirk et al. 1985:586)

However, sometimes the truth adverbials do not require the modified element to be gradable (Quirk et al. 1985:583). They have a reinforcing and emphatic effect with non-gradable verbs too, as shown in (9).

- (9) a. He *really* was there.
b. She *indeed* sat next to them. (Quirk et al. 1985:586)

Quirk et al. (1985:583) especially term the adverbials expressing the semantic role of *modality* as *emphasizers*, which have a reinforcing effect on the truth value of the clause or part of it, as shown in (10).

- (10) a. He *really* may have injured innocent people.
b. He may *really* have injured innocent people.
c. He may have *really* injured innocent people. (Quirk et al. 1985:583)

Examples in (10) can be paraphrased respectively as follows:

- (11) a. It is *really* possible that he has injured innocent people.
b. It is possible that it is *really* true that he has injured innocent people.
c. It is possible that he has *really* [*i.e.* actually, indeed, certainly] injured innocent people.
c'. It is possible that he has *really* [*i.e.* seriously, to a severe extent] injured innocent people. (Quirk et al. 1985:583)

It is shown that *really* in (11a) and (11b) is a pure *emphasizer* since *really* is used to modify the whole proposition. However, when it moves closer to the predicate, it will imply a high degree of injury as shown in (11c') as well as the assertion of certainty

as in (11c). Quirk et al. (1985:583) classify two common groups of emphasizees as shown in (12). Adverbials in (12a) are employed to make a comment on what is being said as being true. Adverbials in (12b) are used to convey the speaker's assertion, in which his or her words are the literal truth.

- (12) a. *actually, certainly, clearly, definitely, indeed, obviously, plainly, really, surely, for certain, for sure, of course*
b. *frankly, honestly, literally, simply, fairly <esp. BrE>, just*

In sum, in most cases, truth-related adverbials, when collocating with gradable verbs or adjectives, have an intensifying function. When they are in the sentence-initial position or placed between the subject and predicate, truth-related adverbials are often used to emphasize the truth value and make an assertion toward the proposition, which are termed as *emphasizers* by Quirk et al. (1985). From the above examples, we can see that intensification is a concept that refers to not only the expression but also an indexing of the speaker's perspective (Athanasidou 2007:555). It can be viewed as a kind of stance-taking. In the following section, we will review some studies related to stance.

2.3 Stance/Discourse Stance

The truth-related expressions illustrate a type of *evaluation* since they are used to comment on the certainty of a proposition (Givon 1993, Biber et al. 1999). As argued by Du Bois (2007), evaluation is a means to stance-taking. Berman (2004) and Scheibman (2007) also discuss the elements of stance-taking in discourse, which provides a good theoretical foundation in our investigation of stance in truth-related expressions. Du Bois (2007) proposes the notion of the "stance triangle." There are three participants in an act of stance-taking and they interact with each other. He

points out that the most salient and widely recognized one is *evaluation*. It is defined as “the process whereby a stance-taker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it to have some specific quality or value” (Du Bois 2007:142). In example (13), the stance predicates *horrible*, *ideal*, and *nasty* are used to evaluate something, i.e., the stance object.

- (13) a. PETE: That’s *horrible*.
b. LANCE: (TSK) That’s *ideal*.
c. KEVIN: @that’s @*nasty*.

If the subject of an utterance is a human, a stance-taker, followed by an affective predicate, the utterances are often referred to as indexing affective stance (Besnier 1993, Haviland 1991, Maynard 1993, Ochs 1996, Shoaps 2002). As shown in (14a), the speaker *I* positions himself in a position of an affective scale such as *glad*. An epistemic scale is a position that the speakers put themselves on. In (14b), the speaker presents himself as ignorant.

- (14) a. LANCE: I am glad.
b. DAN: ...I don’t know.

From the above examples, we know that there must be one stance-taker and a stance object. The two elements combined with the role of addressee constitute the tri-act of stance triangle. The following is the definition (Du Bois 2007:163) and the stance model:

- (15) Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.

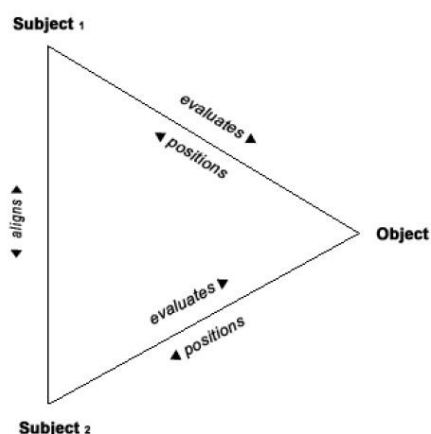


Figure 1. The stance triangle

The model tries to clarify how these relations are constituted through the stance acts of evaluating objects (objective), positioning subjects (subjective), and aligning with other subjects (intersubjective). The stance triangle provides a framework for people to understand the socio-cognitive relations (objective, subjective, intersubjective) that are present in all dialogic interaction. Three elements in this model provide us with important cues to interpret the use of truth-related expressions since we are going to explore the collocational and situational uses of the expressions. It is necessary to examine from *Subject₁*, *Subject₂*, and *Object* since they are all meaningful in the interpretation of the data.

Du Bois (2007) has claimed that stance is a tri-act. Berman (2004:107-108) also discusses *discourse stance* involving three related dimensions. First, *orientation* explains the relation between three elements in text production and interpretation: sender (speaker or writer), text (narration or exposition), and recipient (hearer or reader). Second, *attitude* is treated in three aspects: *epistemic*, *deontic*, and *affective*. An *epistemic* attitude expresses a relation between the speaker/writer and the possibility, certainty, or evidence for the speaker/writer's belief about the truth of the proposition; a *deontic* attitude entails a viewpoint of judgment or evaluation; while an

affective attitude concerns the speaker/writer's emotions with respect to a given state of affairs (Berman 2004:107). Berman (2004) claims that the three distinctions form a continuum—from the more objective, abstract, and universalistic epistemic attitudes via socio-culturally determined deontic attitudes, to the most subjective reactions and personal feelings. Third, *generality* describes how relatively general or specific reference is to people, places, and times that are pointed out in the text (Berman 2004:107). This dimension is closely dependent on the two other dimensions of discourse stance. Berman (2004) argues that 'stance' is an essentially relational concept, since it involves the interaction between text as discourse and sender/receiver as speaker–writer or hearer–reader. In this sense, stance can be thought of as an inclusive notion of the three.

Scheibman (2007:113) proposes that stance might be classified as three aspects: *individual*, *interactive*, and *sociocultural*. The aspect of *individual* is construed as relevant to a speaker's position in discourse. The individual stance taking involving evaluation and expressiveness can be framed as *subjective*. *Interactive* aspect is relevant to local discourse activities and *sociocultural* is relevant to general beliefs of people as members of communities. The interactive discourse activities and the sharing beliefs forming the collaborative expression of evaluation and attitude can be referred to as *intersubjective*.

The truth-related expressions are used to show the speaker's comment on the proposition, which belongs to the epistemic stance. However, the speaker may not always be the subject of the sentence. Therefore, to judge the stance, we need to have the notion of stancetaker and the proposition as a shared object that people are going to evaluate. Du Bois's (2007) stance model and Berman's (2004) three aspects of discourse stance provide this study with a more comprehensive system to examine the collocational uses, which will supplement our study of TREs in TSM. The three

aspects come into play in a conversational interaction. Different linguists have different aspects and terminologies in stance; however, they all present the core meaning of stance in that the subjective evaluation and intersubjective interaction contribute the stance. Although they all provide three elements of stance, they focus on different levels. Du Bois (2007) specifically points out the three participants in the collaboration of stance. Berman (2004) discusses stance from the orientation of the speaker, listener; the difference of the attitude; and the generality of the referents in the proposition. Scheibman (2007) argues that stance can be classified as subjective and intersubjective.

2.4 Truth-related Expressions in English and Mandarin Chinese

This section will examine previous studies on truth-related expressions in English and Mandarin Chinese. Previous literature on truth-related expressions mainly discusses the adverbial uses. Truth adverbials *real/really* and *truly* in English will be reviewed in Section 2.4.1 and Section 2.4.2 respectively. Previous studies of *zhen/zhende* in Mandarin Chinese will be discussed in Section 2.4.3.

2.4.1 *Real; really*

Real, though not having recognizable *-ly* suffix, also has its adverbial use. It is referred to as *zero form* by Tagliamonte and Ito (2002). This use is often associated with colloquial/non-standard languages (Quirk et al. 1985). On the other hand, *really* has received a lot of scholarly attention in various aspects. Some studies describe the various uses and functions in different syntactic positions (Quirk et al. 1985, Lorenz 2002, Paradis 2003). Some observe the use of *really* in different social groups (Paradis 2003, Paradis and Bergmark 2003). The availability for different positions might result from grammaticalization. Therefore, many linguists investigate the

phenomena of grammaticalization using *really* as examples (Lorenz 2002). The grammaticalizational path can be approximately from the truth reading, the intensifying use, to stancetaking element.

Quirk et al. (1985) discuss the syntactic features of *really*. *Really*, like other adverbials, can appear clausal-initially, clausal-medially, and clausal-finally. Quirk et al. (1985) especially point out that it can precede a negated verb phrase as in (16a) and lie within the scope of clause negation as in (16b). The different positions yield two different interpretations. *Really* can also appear in a question as in (17a) and with imperatives as in (17b).

(16) a. I *really* don't know him. ['The real truth is that I don't know him,' *i.e.* 'I don't know him *at all*']

b. I don't *really* know him. ['It's not the real truth that I know him,' *i.e.* 'I don't know him *well*']

(17) a. Do they *really* want him to be elected?

b. Make an effort this time; but *really* make an effort.

Unlike Quirk et al.'s (1985) listing the possible syntactic positions, Paradis (2003) discusses the semantic meanings of *really* and categorizes *really* into three different readings: truth-attesting of proposition as in (18), subjective emphasis of situation as in (19), and reinforcement of scalar property as in (20).

(18) *Really*, they are quite strange. [truth-attesting of proposition]

(19) I *really* appreciate your support. [subjective emphasis of situation]

(20) They are *really* nice. [reinforcement of scalar property]

The truth-attesting *really* takes scope over a proposition, which is used to assert something that may be true or false. Truth attesting *really* can appear in any adverbial positions in an utterance such as in the initial position as (21a), in the final position as (21b), and in the medial position as (21c). The role of *really* explicitly points out the

truth of a proposition, especially when the listener does not expect the fact. For example, in (21c), the listener did not expect Sue and Bill to buy the farmhouse.

- (21) a. *Really* that's quite good.
b. She loves me *really*.
c. Sue and Bill *really* bought the farmhouse they had been dreaming of.

Emphasizing *really*, unlike the truth attesting *really*, can only be placed adjacent to an adjective or a predicate that denotes a situation that is attitudinal in character and expresses the speaker's emphasis. In the three examples, emphasizing *really* takes scope over a situation type: "in sad" in (22a), "can't be bothered" in (22b), and "like" in (22c). Paradis (2003) further terms *really* as a marker of epistemic subjectivity.

- (22) a. No, that's sad, that *really* is definitely.
b. I meant to be going to the choir tonight but I *really* can't be bothered.
c. I do actually *really* like singing.

Degree reinforcing *really* enhances the degree of the scalar property denoted by the adjectives. For example, *really* reinforces the degree of "rudeness" in (23a), "length" in (23b), and "personality" in (23c). The gradable property of the modified element distinguishes the degree reinforcing *really* from the emphasizing *really*. Paradis (2003) further claims that degree reinforcing *really* can be replaced by *very* in all the cases. However, degree reinforcing *really* is not a mature degree modifier. It still takes the truth value of the proposition into consideration. *Very*, on the other hand, is a degree reinforcer both in affirmatives and in questions (Paradis 2003; Paradis 1997:19-21).

- (23) a. Hugh is apparently *really* rude about everyone especially when he gets drunk.
b. ...will be one big nuclear war which will last *really* long and finally end the world.

c. He thinks he is *really* good.

What's more, Paradis and Bergmark (2003) make a clear investigation on the abundant uses of *really* in the informal conversation among teenagers. They argue that the interpretation of *really* is pragmatically conditioned by the speaker's wish to back up his or her expressions with judgment of truth. Although the aim of Paradis and Bergmark's (2003) study is to explore the conceptual representations of three different interpretations of *really* rather than their discourse/pragmatic functions, they still provide a clear classification of the various senses of *really*. Especially for the third use, *reinforcement of scalar property* indirectly proves that *really* is an intensifier since it is used to push the property to the high point of the scale. The truth-attesting function corresponds to the epistemic stance use, which is used to 'show levels of certainty or doubt' or 'comment on the reality or actuality of a proposition' (Biber 1999:557).

The various readings of *really*, according to Lenker (2007), is a process of grammaticalization. She proposes that adverbs with a basic meaning 'truly' undergo a recurrent and regular semantic cline from clausal-internal adverbial to sentence adverbials and discourse particle, which conforms to the Adverbial Cline *Internal Adverb > Sentence Adverb > Discourse Particle* suggested by Traugott (1995). Furthermore, Partington (1993:182) observes that the modal-to-intensifier shift of *really* is not only a diachronic but also a synchronic phenomenon. While *really* in (24a-24b) maintains its modal use, used across the whole scope of sentence, *really* is far more likely to be perceived as an intensifier as shown in (24c):

- (24) a. *Really*, I could hear her thinking.
b. Aw, don't rub it in. Ah fell awfu'. I do *really*.
c. When the horsetail is *really* hot, wrap it up...

(All cites in Partington 1993:182)

However, Partington (1993) does not provide an account for the synchronic various uses of modal *really* and intensifier *really*. Lenker (2007) uses conversational maxims and invited inference to explain the changes. We will turn to her study in the review of *truly*.

Lorenz (2002) conducts a corpus-based study to explore the mechanisms of delexicalization in adjective intensification in the case of *really*. *Really* is the most likely candidate to follow the grammaticalization path of *very* and become the next fully grammaticalized adjective intensifier from the MODAL resource. Lorenz (2002:148) provides a diagram and depicts how the delexicalization works as shown in Figure 2. The three vertical arrows EVALUATIVE, COMPARATIVE, and MODAL represent three clines of delexicalization; through SEMANTIC FEATURE COPYING, they will gradually feed into the inventory of the SCALAR set.

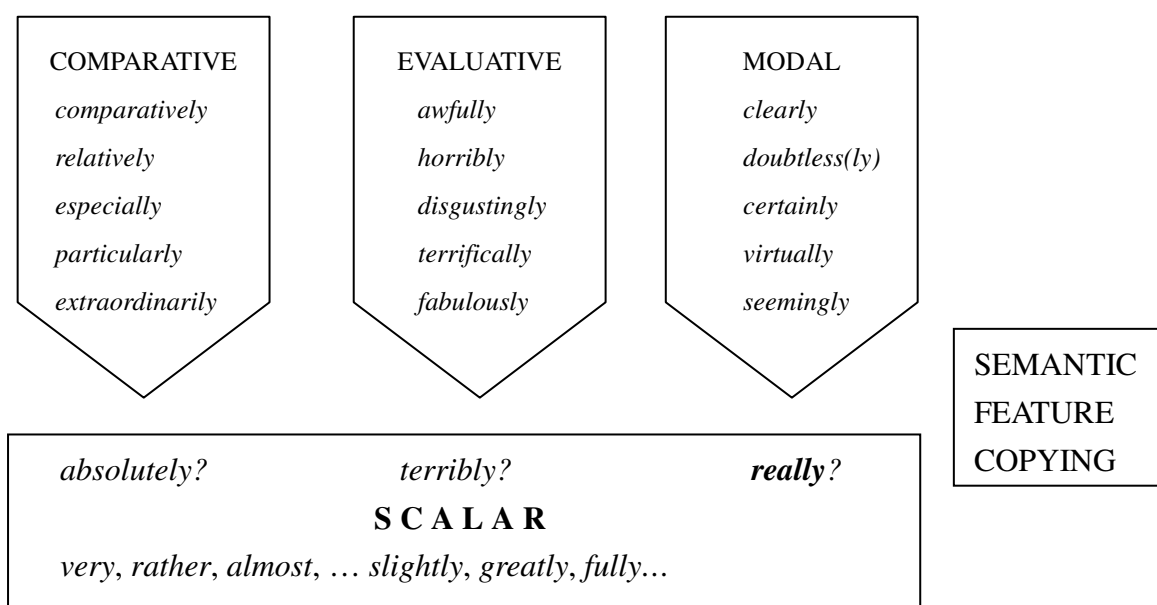


Figure 2. Mechanism of Delexicalization (Lorenz 2002:148)

As for the case of *really*, Lorenz (2002:153) observes that *really* is an original truth-attesting item from the MODAL resource with varying scope and focus. If *really*

is a truth emphasizer, it will be semantically identical with the replacement of other MODAL adverbs such as *clearly* and *truly*. Or if *really* is used as an intensifier, it can be replaced by *very*, or *extremely* in the SCALAR set (Lorenz 2002:155). The motivation for the grammaticalization of *really* is claimed by Lorenz (2002:153) not only due to its frequent uses but also its features in young, informal, and hence dynamic usage.

In addition to truth adverbials as part of the clause, *really* also stands alone in a responsive turn. *Really* pointed out by McCarthy (2003) is the most frequent response item in the combined corpus of CANCODE⁵ and Northern American spoken sample of the Cambridge International Corpus. McCarthy (2003) discusses the “small” interaction response tokens such as *really* in everyday conversation. *Really* can be used in the non-minimal responses without expanded content, acting as a response token that invites continuation by the previous speaker, or indicates confirmation before the talk can continue or before the full affective reaction occurs such as “*No you’re joking*” in (25) (McCarthy 2003:51).

(25) [social chat among students]

A: Yeah. And there’s there’s a thing on, there’s a erm blackboard in the erm not blackboard sorry chalkboard. Can’t call it blackboard any more. It’s not PC.

B: *Really?*

A: Yeah.

B: *No you’re joking.*

A: No I’m not joking. It’s a chalkboard. (McCarthy 2003:51)

Diani (2008:312) claims *really* in the interrogatives like (25) can serve as a comment that the hearer inserts in order to show he understands and is paying attention to which is being said, as a sort of ‘backchannel’.

⁵ CANCORD stands for Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English, which is used as the database for British English in McCarthy’s (2003) study.

In summary, *real/really* appearing in different syntactic positions has the truth meaning in different scopes of sentence. *Really* mainly acts as a sentence adverb in initial position, expressing the speaker's judgment/attitude toward the truth value of the proposition. In the medial position, *really* then may be interpreted as an intensifier limiting its scope to gradable adjectives or verb phrases that follows. What's more, *really* is often used as a response token. Therefore, many studies are conducted to examine the development of the various meanings. Lenker (2007) argues the grammaticalization of *really* conforms to Adverbial Cline (Traugott 1995) and semantic-pragmatic tendencies (Traugott and Dasher 2002). Lorenz (2002) provides a delexicalization model. An application of Gricean Conversational Maxim and Inference is also applied to account for the grammaticalization (Lenker 2007).

Although the truth-related expressions in TSM in this study may not entirely be adverbials, the discussion of the various meanings of *really* related to the syntactic positions shed some light on the analysis of various uses of truth-related expressions in TSM. The review of the grammaticalization development of *really* and the delexicalization model also offer an account for the dynamic versatile uses of truth-related expressions.

2.4.2 Truly

Compared to studies of *really*, literature on *truly* is rather small. Lenker (2007) conducts an investigation of the diachronic development of truth-related adverbials in the case of *truly*. She examines the various functions of truth-related adverbial *soplice* in Old English, *soothly* and *forsoothe* in Middle English and *truly* in Present-day English. It is proposed that adverbs with a basic meaning 'truly' undergone a development following the Adverbial Cline *Internal Adverb* > *Sentence Adverb* > *Discourse Particle* suggested by Traugott (1995). Lenker offers an account from a

pragmatic perspective and communicative principles, in particular Grice's Maxims of Quality. *Soplice* in Old English and *soothly* in Middle English are employed in several co-existing functions. At the phrasal level, they can be used as manner adverbs or intensifiers. Combined with verbs of communication, they stress the assertion of a proposition by explicitly pointing out its truth value. At the sentence level, the adverbs are used to introduce the voice of the narrator and allow the speaker to convey his/her evaluative/subjective expressions. At the discourse level, adverbs lose almost all of their propositional meaning 'truth' as a discourse marker. They mark the beginnings of episodes, serving as an episode boundary marker. At the more local level, the discourse-maker function marks the end of a quotation, serving as a highlighting device. Similar functions are also found in *forsooth* in Middle English. Lenker (2007) points out that *forsooth* is mainly used as an emphasizer or intensifier and frequently used in both positive and negative answers to questions. It also functions as a discourse marker, collocating with conjunctions such *and* and *but* to indicate the end of an episode. Finally, *truly* in Present Day English, which was developed from *treowlice* in Old English, also has the similar functions. Originally, it is a manner adverb, meaning 'faithfully, loyally,' and by 13th century, it becomes semantically epistemic, indicating the speaker's subjective evaluation. Finally, it can also be used as a discourse marker, collocating with conjunctions to function as a highlighting device or a marker of personal opinion. Table 2 is the summary of the recurrent shift of the adverbs discussed above.

Table 2. The shift from manner adverb to discourse marker (Lenker 2007:94 Table1.)

manner adjunct >	sentence adverb >	discourse marker
medial position	(commonly) initial position	(commonly) initial position
syntactically obligatory (lexical synonym)	syntactically detachable 'I tell you truly' 'truly speaking' 'It is true that'	syntactically detachable no/vague meaning pragmatic functions: highlighting function: episode boundary marker, markers of personal opinion

Lenker (2007) also argues that the developmental cline of the adverbs share the pragmatic-semantic tendencies proposed by Traugott and Dasher (2002:281):

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

In addition to the Adverbial Cline and Pragmatic-semantic tendencies, Lenker (2007) provides her own account with the application of Gricean Maxims. She claims that the development of the epistemic modal adverbials from the manner adverbs to a discourse marker all comes from the propositional meaning of the adverbs, i.e., indicating the veracity or the factuality of a proposition. According to Gricean Maxim of Quality and Maxim of Quantity (Grice 1975:26-27), people do not say what they believe to be false and do not say for which they lack adequate evidence. However, the use of these adverbs seems to flout the two maxims. Lenker (2007) proposes that the expressions denoting the veracity or factuality of a proposition are used when the speaker/writer or listener/readers have doubt toward the proposition, when the speaker/writer wants to express the commitment to the truth of the proposition for fear

of the non-acceptance of the interlocutors, when the speakers want to be co-operative in negative contexts, or when the speakers want to hedge a proposition such as in *I'm not sure whether it is true but....* Lenker (2007) further indicates that people make sense with the truth-related adverbs indicating more than the propositional meaning by making inference from the context. On the epistemic level, the listeners conceptualize the truth-intensifying adverbs as emphasizees when the speakers want to emphasize the assertion and actuality of his/her proposition. When the epistemic meaning on the epistemic level does not make sense in the context, the listeners will then turn to the textual level, conceiving the adverbs as discourse markers.

Lenker (2007) provides a pragmatic account for the fact that the propositional meaning, the truth-intensifying reading, and discourse marker of truth-related expressions co-occur in conversation. How people decide from three readings to apply in the current conversation is through application of the Gricean Conversational Maxims and Inference. Her account is quite insightful, which provides a further perspective on the semantic change in addition to a grammaticalization cline.

2.4.3 Zhen; zhende

While the most frequent use of truth adverbials in English is *real/really*, the truth-related adverbials in Mandarin Chinese can be *zhen* and *zhende*. Previous studies of *zhen(de)* investigate the polysemy and the use of *zhen* and *zhende* and the semantic changes. For example, Chen (2010) examines *zhende* in a diachronic approach, discussing the grammaticalization of *zhende*. Wu (2010) makes a clear taxonomy of different levels of *zhende* in the spoken data and also explores the grammaticalization of *zhende*. Li (2003) both synchronically describes the meaning and use of *zhen* and *zhende* and the classification of polysemous meanings and uses of *zhen* and *zhende* and diachronically examines the development of *zhende*.

Wu (2010) categorizes *zhen* and *zhende* as having descriptive, expressive, and interactive meaning. First, the descriptive meaning of *zhen/zhende* is to verify something as real/true, in which the *zhende* is the adjectival use.

- (26) a. 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.’
- b. 我 用 的 是 真的 玫瑰 花瓣
 wo yong de shi zhende meigui huaban
 I use NM C/F real rose petal
 ‘What I used was **real** rose petal.’ (Wu 2010:35)

Second, the expressive meaning is the adverbial use to show the speaker/writer’s subjective assessment toward a statement. It can be used in a hypothetical clause as in (27a) or an interrogative clause, implying the speaker’s doubt of the validity of a statement as in (27b). Also, *zhende* can appear in an affirmative clause, in which the description is less believable or exaggerated. Therefore, *zhende* is used to emphasize the truth. In other cases, it is simply used whenever the speaker/writer feels the need to show his/her emphasis as in (27c).

- (27) a. 如果 連戰 真 有 和 墨國 總統 會面,
 ruguo lianzhan zhen you he moguo zongtong huimian,
 if PN really 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 filed explain
 ‘If Lianzhan **really** met the president of Mexico, the Ministry of Foreign Affair would notify him to explain to the press.’
- b. 藉著 嚴 刑 峻 法, 真 能 改善
 jie zhe yan xing jun fa, zhen neng gaishan
 through severe punishment strict law really can improve

治安 嗎?

zhian ma?

security UFP?

‘Can public security **really** be improved through strict law and severe punishment?’

c. 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, really with brothers alike

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

(Wu 2010:36-39)

Third, when *zhende* is used independently of a clause, it serves interactive functions. It can be used in a question to ask the truth value of a statement (28a), an answer to a question about the truth of a statement (28b), a confirmation about the truth of a statement (28c), or a response token signaling the receipt of information (28d).

(28) a. B: [<@她是= 藍心湄@>].\

[<@ta shi= lanxinmei@>].\

she C/F PN

‘She is Lanxinmei’

A: [她就是 藍心]--

[ta jiushi lanxin]--

she just PN

‘She is Lanxin’

→A: ...**真的** 嗎?/

... zhende ma?/

really UFP

‘**Really?**’

A: ...這麼 誇張 嗎?/

... zheme kuazhang ma?/

this exaggerated UFP

‘Is this **really** so?’

(Wu 2010:44)

b. B: 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

UFP 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.'

→A: 真的 嗎?

zhende ma?

really UFP

'Really?'

A: 不會，

buhui,

NEG

'No'

A: 其實 你 可以 去 看，

qishi ni keyi qu kan,

actually you can go look

'Actually, you can go have a look.'

A: 我 覺得 不 錯，

wo juede bu cuo,

I feel NEG bad

'I think they're not bad.'

(Wu 2010:45)

c. B: 102 公斤?

102 gongjin?

102 Kg

'102 Kg?'

A: 對 啊。

dui a

right UFP

'Right.'

B: 真的 假 的。

zhende jia de

really fake NM

'Really?'

→A: 真的 啊。

zhende a

really UFP

'Really.'

(Wu 2010:46)

d. B: 女生 肥胖 超過 四十 歲 然後 什麼，

nuxing feipang chaoguo sishi sui ranhou sheme,

- female fat over forty year-old then what
 ‘Fat women over forty years old and’
- B: 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.’
- B: 不 知 道 為 什 麼 。
 bu zhidao weisheme
 NEG know why
 ‘Nobody knows why’
- A: 真 的 喔 ,
 zhende o,
 really UFP
 ‘Really’
- A: 那 怎 麼 辦 呢 ?
 na zenme ban ne?
 then what do UFP
 ‘Then what can be done?’

(Wu 2010:47)

Wu (2010) gives a clear classification on the polysemous meanings of *zhende* based on different levels of conceptualization. The three meanings of *zhende* concern the syntactic positions or types of the clause, i.e., affirmative or non-affirmative clauses, also the interaction with the interlocutors. Since Wu’s (2010) study focuses on the lexicalization of *zhensi*, he only describes the polysemous meanings with examples but he does not provide the frequency counts of each uses, which might truly reveal the synchronic uses of *zhende*.

Li (2003) investigates *zhen* and *zhende* comprehensively, including discussing the polysemy, syntactic distribution, different uses of *zhen* and *zhende* and investigating the grammaticalizational process of *zhende* in particular. For *zhen*, she discovers that it’s unsuitable to classify *zhen* as an adjective and an adverb. Instead, three uses of *zhen* can be concluded: modal adverb (*zhen*₁), distinctive adverb (*zhen*₂), and state adverb (*zhen*₃). *Zhen*₁ is used to modify adjectives to strengthen the intensity

of the degree such as 姚明真高 *yao-ming zhen kau* ‘Ming Yao is really tall.’ The use often appears in an exclamation sentence, carrying strong subjective emotion. For example, 你刻得真好! *ni ke-de zhen hau!* ‘you carve it very well!’ *Zhen₂* is a distinctive adverb. By Zhu’s (1999) definition, a distinctive adverb is a bound form that only appears in front of nouns or nominative *de*. Therefore, *zhen₂* modifies a noun phrase to distinguish it from something fake such as 真朋友 *zhen pengyou* ‘real friends’. *Zhen₃*, as a state adverb, modifies a predicate to describe the state of an event such as 他們真打起來 *ta-men zhen da qi-lai* ‘they really hit each other’.

As for *zhende*, Li (2003) proposes two types: nominal (*zhende₁*) and adverbial (*zhende₂*). *Zhende₁* is the combination of *zhen₂* and nominative *de*. Because of the nominal feature, it can be used as a subject and object, the typical position for nouns. For example, *zhende* in 真的假不了 *zhende jia bu liao* ‘the real things can be not fake’ is used as a subject. *Zhende* in 這會兒成真的, 你就麻煩囉 *zhehuier cheng zhende, ni jiu mafan luo* ‘if now it turns out to be real, you will be in trouble’ is used as an object. *Zhende₁* is often used as the object of the verb *shi* to form a predication *shi zhende*. The subject can be a noun phrase or a clausal subject. For example, the subject in 太太的國籍是真的 *tai-tai de guo-ji shi zhende* ‘the woman’s nationality is real’ is a noun phrase; the subject in 舅舅發財了是真的 *Jiu-jiu fa-le-cai shi zhende* ‘That the uncle becomes rich is real’ is a clausal subject.

Zhende₂ is an adverbial, which has more flexibility of syntactic positions than *zhende₁*. It can be put between the subject and the predicate as (29a) or in front of a clause as (29b). Or it can appear independently as a clause itself, which can be put clause-initially as (29c) and clause-finally as (29d). Or it can appear without the existence of another clause as (29e).

- (29) a. 要是 爸 **真的** 跟著 大伯 去了， 她 可 怎麼 辦 呢？
 yaoshi ba zhende genzhe dabo qu le, ta ke zeme ban ne
 if father really follow uncle go ASP she can what do UFP
 ‘If Father **really** went with Uncle, what can she do?’
- b. **真的** 他 得 哭 一場！
 zhende ta de ku yi chang
 really he have-to cry one CLF
 ‘**Really**, he has to cry.’
- c. **真的**， 我 真是 不忍 看 您 這麼
 zhende wo zhenshi bu ren kan nin zheme
 Really I really NEG bare look you this
 熬憔悴 了。
 ao qiaocui le
 pallid PERF
 ‘**Really**, I really can’t look you become this pallid.’
- d. 幹 咱們 這 行 兒 的， 別 成 家， **真的**！
 gan zamen zhe hang er de, bie cheng jia, zhende
 do our this business, NEG become family, really!
 ‘People who do our job don’t get married. **Really!**’
- e. 問: **真的**? 答: **真的**。
 Wen: Zhende? Da: Zhende.
 Ask: Really? Answer: Really.
 ‘Ask: **Really?** Answer: **Really.**’ (Li 2003:17-18)

Li (2003) also points out the pragmatic functions of *zhende2*. In (30a), *zhende2* is used to show the speaker’s assertion and subject emphasis toward the proposition. However, in (30b), the emphasizing effect scales down. *Zhende2* is used to link the clause 去過北京 *qu guo beijing* ‘went to Beijing’ to the previous clause 說要去北京 *shuo yao qu beijing* ‘said he will go to Beijing’ to make an assertion.

- (30) a. 我 **真的** 很 喜歡 這 部 電影！ (Li 2003:21)
 wo zhende hen xihuan zhe bu dianying
 I really very like this CLF movie
 ‘I **really** like this movie.’

- b. 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 Beijing, this year he really go PERF Beijing UFP
'He said he will go to Beijing. This year, he **really** went to Beijing.'

Chen (2010) is motivated by Li's (2003) discussion on *zhende* and examines the grammaticalization process of *zhende*. She claims that there are three stages for *zhende*₁ to be grammaticalized. The first stage is the appearance of the construction ...*shi zhende* in the colloquial contexts. The second stage is that the subject of the *shi zhende* shifts from the nominal phrases to the predicational phrases from the Qing Dynasty. Due to the shift to a clausal subject, the subject of the predication *shi zhende* becomes longer. Therefore, at the end of Qing Dynasty, *shi* is gradually bleached, having *zhende* left. The adverbial *zhende* is actually grammaticalized and used as an individual clause in the 1920s. *Zhende*₂ can be used in various positions, sentence-internally, sentence-initially, and even sentence-finally. It can not only used as a question in a conversation but also used in the declarative sentences to express the speaker's assertion.

The reviews on truth-related expressions in Mandarin Chinese actually are useful in the analysis of the similar expressions in TSM, since Mandarin Chinese and TSM are both dialects of Chinese. It's also interesting to explore the dialectal differences.

2.4.4 *Shizai*

Shizai like *zhende* is also one of often-discussed truth-related expressions in Mandarin Chinese. Many of its discussions also focus on the development from a truth-attesting adverbial to an adverbial that expresses a subjective attitude. For example, Chen (2008) examines *shizai* from the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic perspective. Wu (2010) also discuss the various uses of *shizai* in three aspects:

descriptive, expressive, and interactive level.

Chen (2008:25) points out that *shizai* in the real language data appears in three contexts: First, *shizai* is put before a degree adverb *tai* ‘too’ plus an adjective or a verb, such as 實在太緊張了 *shizai tai jinzhang le* ‘really too nervous.’ Second, it is put before a verbal complement, which can be either a complement of degree predicate such as 實在累壞了 *shizai lei huai le* ‘really exhausted’ or a complement of state 實在是搞得我沒有面子 *shizai gao de wo meiyou mianzi* ‘really make me lose face’. Third, *shizai* precedes the negator 不 *bu* ‘not’ such as in 實在不是個小數目 *shizai bushi ge xiao shumu* ‘really is not a small number’ or other negated forms. In these contexts, Chen (2008) illustrates the semantic and pragmatic connotations of *shizai* by claiming that sentence containing *shizai* involves the speaker’s subjective feelings and *shizai* is used to emphasize the psychological process that people try repeatedly and confirm finally.

Chen (2008) only illustrates the three contexts of *shizai*. Wu (2010) further categorizes three types of meanings of *shizai*. The descriptive meaning of *shizai* is to describe an entity (concrete or abstract) that is “sturdy and full of content” (Wu 2010:72) as shown in (31) and a trait of person as “honest and down to earth” (Wu 2010:73) as shown in (32).

- (31) a. 一碗 八寶冰 只要 二十五元， 料多 又
yi wan babaobing zhi yao ershiwu yuan liao duo you
one CLF shaved-ice only cost twenty-five dollars content much and
實在。
shizai
SHIZAI
‘One bowl of shaved ice only costs twenty-five dollars. It has much and
compact content.’ (Wu 2010:72)
- b. 這句 口號， 絕 不是 空的， 而
zhe ju kouhao, jue bushi kong de, er

this CLF slogan absolutely not empty NM, but
 相當 實在。
 xiangdang shizai
 very SHIZAI

‘This slogan is absolutely not empty, but very **substantial/practical**.’

(Wu 2010:74)

(32) 林炳坤 就 像 這 個 菜 頭 一 樣 實 在 ，
 lingbingkun 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.’

(Wu 2010:73)

The expressive meaning of *shizai* is used to subjectively express the speaker’s attitude toward a statement as shown in (33). In this example, *shizai* represents the speaker’s strong assertion toward the statement the speaker has made. The scope of this use ranges from the whole proposition.

(33) 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.’ (Wu 2010:75)

However, when *shizai* precedes a gradable predicate, its intensifying scope merely focuses on the quality it modifies as shown in (34), in which *shizai* reinforces the degree of 太辛苦 *tai xinku* ‘too tiring’.

(34) 中 小 學 生 天 天 要 考 試 ， 實 在 太
 zhong xiao xue sheng tiantian yao kaoshi, shizai tai
 middle elementary school student everyday must test SHIZAI too
 辛 苦 。
 xinku

tiring

‘Middle school and elementary school students have to take tests every day.

Their work is **really** tiring.’

(Wu 2010:77)

The interactive meaning of *shizai*, according to Wu (2010:78) is manifested in the form of collocating with verbal verb 說 *shuo* ‘speak.’ For example, *shuo-shizai-de* ‘frankly speaking’ is used interactively to inform the listeners that some unexpected or negative statement will be made in the following as shown in (35). In example (35), *shizai* is used as a hedge of the following negative evaluation toward Taiwan.

- (35) 說實在的， 本人 過去 並非 台灣 的 朋友，
shuoshizaide, benren guoqu bingfei Taiwan de pengyou,
SHUSHIZAIDE, I past NEG PN ASSC friend
因為 過去 台灣 的 政治 不 夠 民主，
yingwei guoqu Taiwan de zhengzhi bu gou minzhu,
because past PN ASSC politics NEG enough democratic,
禁忌 太多， 壓力 大， 有 政治 犯，
jinji tai duo, yali da, you zhengzhi fan,
taboo too much, pressure big, have political prisoners,
而且 言論 受到 限制。
erqie yanlun shoudao xianzhi.
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.’

(Wu 2010:79)

Besides the three types of meanings of *shizai*, Wu (2010) also points out the lexicalization of *shizai* plus the copula/focus marker *shi* to address the speaker’s intensity on his/her evaluation denoted by the following speech. The evaluation followed by *shizaishi* can be overtly and covertly expressed as shown in (36) and (37) respectively.

- (36) H: ..對不起.\
 duibuqi.\
 sorry
 ‘Sorry’
 D: @@
 →H: <@這 實在是=@>,_
 <@ zhe shizaishi=@>,_
 this SHIZAISHI
 ‘This is **really**’
 H: 這個=,_
 zhege=,_
 this
 ‘this’
 →H: 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.’ (Wu 2010:87)

- (37) →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 are) really (misbehaving).’
 A: 那 還 說 我 ,
 na hai shui wo
 that still say I
 ‘then how can you still say that I’
 A: 有 問題 ,
 you wen-ti
 have problem
 ‘have a problem’ (Wu 2010:90)

Chen (2008) and Wu (2010) provide insightful analysis of the truth-relation expressions *shizai* in Mandarin Chinese. Since we will examine the TSM equivalent *sit-tsai*, the previous studies offer useful classification and discussion on the interpretation of the semantic meanings and pragmatic functions of *sit-tsai*.

2.5 Truth-related Expressions in TSM

Due to the lack of related previous studies, this section will provide dictionary definitions and uses. Truth-related expressions in TSM can be *tsin*, *tsin-tsiann*, *u-iannn*, *tsiann-sit* and so on. According to 臺灣閩南語詞典 *Taiwan Minnanyu Cidian* ‘Taiwan Min Dialect Dictionary’, *u-iannn* means *zhende* ‘real/true’ in Mandarin and in 廈英大辭典 *Xiaying Da Cidian* ‘Chinese English dictionary of Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy’, *u-iannn* means ‘that is true; quite true; quite correct (as report)’ (p.165). *U-iannn* can also be seen as the combination of two words, *u* ‘have’ and *iann* ‘shadows.’ Having shadows means the existence of something, thus developing the sense of ‘facts’ and ‘reality.’

Cheng (1989) based on Lu’s (1980) 現代漢語八百詞 *Xiandai Hanyu Babaici* ‘Modern Mandarin Eight Hundred Words’ adds TSM counterpart and examples. *Zhen* ‘real’ in Mandarin Chinese and its TSM counterpart *tsin* ‘real’ have adjectival uses and adverbial uses. For the adjectival uses, *tsin* can occur in four positions. First, it usually modifies nouns without carrying the nominative *e* such as *tsin lin tsin su* ‘real people real story.’ Second, *tsin* can’t be used as a predicate alone. It can only put in between the *si...e* construction. For example, 這件代誌是真的 *tsit kiann tai-tsi si tsin-e* ‘the thing is true.’ Third, *tsin* combined the bound morpheme *tsiann* can modify verbs and adjectives. 我真正欲走, 無騙你 *Gua tsin-tsiann beh tsau, bo phen li* ‘I really want to go, no lie to you.’ Finally, *tsin-e* or *tsin-tsiann-e* modifies the whole sentence, which is put in front of the subject and followed by a pause. 真正 e, 手術了後恢復著比別人攏較緊 *Tsin-tsiann-e, tshiu-sut laio-au hoei-hok tloh pi pak-lang long khah kin* ‘Really, after the surgery, (one’s) recovery is faster than others.’ For the adverbial use, it means *truly*, *really*, which is used to strengthen the force of the assertion.

- (38) a. 真正 袂 糗.
 tsin-tsiann bue bai
 really NEG bad
 ‘**really** not bad’
- b. 宿舍 收拾 甲 真 清氣
 sok-sia siu-sip kah tsin tshing-khi
 dormitory clean KAH really clean
 ‘The dormitory is **really** clean.’
- c. 你 真 是 好 性地
 li tsin si ho sing-te
 you really COP good temper
 ‘You have a **really** good temper.’ (Cheng 1989)

There are also idiomatic uses such as *kong tsin-e* as in (39a) and *tsin-hai* as in (39b) to show the speaker’s disagreement or regrets.

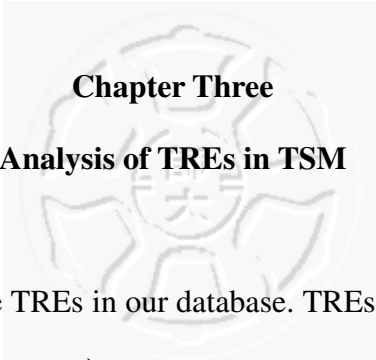
- (39) a. 講真的， 你 按呢 做 太 無 應該 咧！
 kong tsin-e, li an-ne tso thai bo ing-kai leh
 Say truth, you this do too NEG should UFP
 ‘**To tell the truth**, you shouldn’t have done that!’
- b. 伊 按怎 猶 袂 欲 來， 真 害！
 i an-tsuann iau bue beh lai, tsin hai
 he why still NEG want come really bad
 ‘Why hasn’t he come yet? **Really** bad!’ (Cheng 1989)

Even though there is a lack of previous studies on truth-related expressions in TSM, the dictionary definitions and examples still shed light on the present study. Based on the definitions along with insights provided by previous linguists on TREs in Mandarin and English, we discuss this theme again in TSM in Chapter 3.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed many previous literatures with respect to the epistemic

stance expressions of actuality. Because most of the truth-related expressions are adverbials, we first review the syntactic positions and functions of epistemic adverbials. Epistemic stance adverbials can be put in any position of a sentence, either initially, medially, or finally. Epistemic adverbials of actuality in the initial and final positions indicate the whole statement as true or real. When it is put medially before the predicate, the adverbials are often regarded as an intensifier. Intensifiers not only denote the intensity toward the predicate but also imply a scalar inference. Therefore, the scalar property is a key to distinguish epistemic adverbials from intensifiers. However, Paradis (2003) argues that the three readings of *really*—truth attesting, emphasizing, and degree reinforcing—are all epistemic in that they all involve the speaker's subjectivity. Wu (2010) also points out the interactive uses of *zhende* in Mandarin Chinese such as response tokens and minimal response. According to the stance triangle proposed by Du Bois (2007), stancetaking needs a tri-action of addresser, addressee, and shared object. Truth-related epistemic stance expressions across languages conform to the model of stance triangle, displaying subjective and intersubjective functions. The various functions and syntactic positions of the truth-related expressions are argued by Wu (2010), Li (2003), and Chen (2010) as a result of being in the process of grammaticalization. Truth-related adverbials conform to the Adverbial Cline proposed by Traugott (1995), moving from internal manner adverb, sentential epistemic adverb, to discourse marker and the pragmatic-semantic tendencies established by Traugott and Dasher (2002:40). The polysemous meanings of truth-related expressions can be claimed to follow a general pattern instead of a language idiosyncrasy. In the following section, we will discuss the discourse-pragmatic functions of truth-related expressions in TSM.



Chapter Three

Analysis of TREs in TSM

3.0 Introduction

This section will analyze TREs in our database. TREs in TSM basically originate from the morpheme 真 *tsin* ‘real’, 實 *sit* ‘true/truth’ and 正 *tsiann* ‘real, square.’ *Tsin* ‘real’ has high frequency of occurrence (440 tokens in the database) and a lone *tsin* expresses truth-related meanings and functions either as an intensifier (e.g. 真水 *tsin sui* ‘really beautiful’) to reinforce the degree of a gradable predicate or as an emphazier (Quirk et al. 1985) to strengthen the force of a predicative expression (e.g. 民間 e 輿論攞真給你肯定 *Ming-kan e u-lun long tsin ka li khun-tin* ‘Public opinions really approve you.’). As it has become a fully grammaticized adverb and has fixed semantic functions and syntactic positions, *tsin* will not be discussed below⁶. *Tsin* attached with a nominative/associative *e* forms 真 e *tsin-e* ‘really’ (15 tokens) to express truth-related meaning⁷. The frequent compound of *tsin* is 真正 *tsin-tsiann* (61 tokens). 正經 *tsing-king* ‘serious’ also has truth-related meanings (thirteen tokens). 有影 *u-iannn* ‘having-shadow’ is often used to denote the truth as real/existential (73 tokens). 實 *sit* has two frequent compounds: 誠實 *tsiann-sit* (eight tokens) and 實在 *sit-tsai* (106 tokens)⁸. In total, there are six major TREs in the database. Table 3 lists their frequency of occurrence:

⁶ More evidence on this grammaticization can be best manifested in I-lan accent of TSM. When *tsin* of the degree-intensifying use, it changes into a different tone *tsin51* (Li 2008) from the citation tone *tsin44*, which provides a solid proof that *tsin* becomes an intensifier. Li (2008) called it a degree adverb. *Tsin* as an intensifier conveys the subjectivity in that the degree adjectives and evaluative predicates are themselves involved with subjective meanings and when they co-occur with intensifiers, the subjective meaning is even stronger.

⁷ *Tsin-e* has two other variants due to assimilation: *tsin-le* (1 token) and *tsin-ne* (2 tokens). The variants are all counted in the category of *tsin-e*.

⁸ We acknowledge that there are also other TREs in TSM. The reason why they are not included in the present study is the number of token is too small such as 正港 e *tsiann-kang-e* ‘genuine’ (2 tokens).

Item	Frequency
真 e <i>Tsin-e</i>	18
真正(是) <i>Tsin-tsiann(-si)</i>	64
正經 <i>Tsing-king</i>	13
有影 <i>U-iannn</i>	71
誠實 <i>Tsiann-sit</i>	8
實在(是) <i>Sit-tsai(-si)</i>	103
Total	277

Table 3. Frequency of TREs in the database

In the following discussion, we will show that TREs not only referentially point out the truth value of the proposition but also are often used to convey subjective evaluative meanings such as adding emphasis to the statement or the predicate. What's more, TREs play an important role in the collaborative production of a discourse such as showing affective emotions and agreement. Also, when compounded with verbs of communication, they act as a discourse marker.

As TREs usually indicate more than objective truth-value of a statement, we analyze them according to their syntactic patterning and their collocational and situational contexts. In light of previous analyses (Quirk et al. 1985, Cheng 1992, Paradis 2003, Paradis and Bergmark 2003, McCarthy 2003, Li 2003, Chen 2008, Lenker 2007, Wu 2010), we divide the TREs in our database into three categories according to their pragmatic functions: truth-describing, expressive, and interactive. The truth-describing function is similar to propositional meaning (Lenker 2007), truth-attesting function (Paradis 2003), and descriptive meaning (Wu 2010). Truth-describing TREs in question include those TREs which are used to indicate the truth quality of an entity and meanwhile, the truth-value can be verified from the discourse. Expressive function here is related to truth-emphasizing and

degree-reinforcing meaning (Lenker 2007). Also, we include those TREs which involve the speaker's subjective assessment and whose truth cannot be verified. Interactive TREs is related to the concept of intersubjectivity--the speaker regards addressee as an active participant in the conversation (Traugott 2003). For example, TREs can be used as a response token, expressing one's agreement or showing surprise. When they collocate with a verb of saying *kong*, they are used to preface a dispreferred statement.

In the following, Section 3.1 discusses the truth-describing use of TREs, expressive in Section 3.2, interactive use in Section 3.3. Chapter summary and discussion is provided in Section 3.4.

3.1 Truth-describing Functions

TREs in TSM with the function of truth-describing are used to describe or verify something as real/existential. They can form an attributive adjective, a predicate, and an adverbial. TREs as attributive adjectives are put in front of a noun, usually compounded with a nominalizer *e* to form a modified noun phrase. The predicative use is situated at the predicative position, usually following focus marker *si* or a clausal subject. When a TRE is used as an adverbial, it can occur pre-predicatively or sentence-initially.

The attributive use of truth-describing TREs is quite rare in our database. The collocation and situational context of TREs with truth-describing function are discussed as follows.

Tsin-tsiann of the truth-describing function is used to describe the truth quality of a noun. It is usually compounded with an associative *e* to form a modified noun phrase. The noun collocates found in the database and TC are either nouns possessing some quality of a person as 阿母 *a-bu* 'mother' in (1a) or nouns depicting an event

as 初戀 *tsho-luan* ‘first love’ in (1b). There’s no token that is found to collocate with concrete nouns such as *tsin-tsiann e hoe* ‘real flower’.⁹

- (1) a. 伊 年歲 嘛 佢 我 差不多， (TC)
 i ni-hoe ma kah gua tsha-put-to,
 he age also and I difference-NEG-many
 毋過， 我 給 伊 當做 真正 e 阿母
 m-koh, gua kah i tong-tso tsin-tsiann e a-bu
 but I DISP he treat-do real ASSC mother
 ‘She is pretty of the same age as me. But, I take her as my **real** mom.’
- b. 我 真正 e 初戀 是 在 初二 開始 (TC)
 gua tsin-tsiann e tsho-loan shi ti tsho-ji khai-si
 my real ASSC first-love COP at first-two start
 ‘My **real** first love starts from grade eight.’

Tsin-tsiann adds truth-value to a mother in (1a) and to a romance event in (1b). At first sight, the addition of truth-value to the noun collocate in both examples seems to be awkward in meaning because people have only one mother and experience first love once in a life. Based on Gricean (1975, 1978) Maxim of Quantity, speaker should not say more than is needed. If so, some ‘inferential meaning’ (Tognini-Bonelli 1993) must exist, which can be easily recovered from the context. In both examples, an emphasizing effect and a contrast are well manifested in their collocation. In (1a), *tsin-tsiann* helps create an emphasis that although the speaker and the target in question are of similar age, the speaker treats or respects her like a biological mother. Furthermore, the contrastive marker 毋過 *m-koh* ‘but’ proves that a contrastive set forms between their sharing similar age and taking as a real mother because a mother is supposed to be elder than her child. The verb collocate *tong-tso* ‘take as’ is further evidence to prove that the woman is the not real mother but *taken* as a real one. The

⁹ We’ve found *tsin* collocating with more concrete nouns and form as a compound.

intended addition of the TRE creates a contrast and at the same time reveals the intimacy and respect that the speaker has for the woman in target.

In (1b), the speaker describes that the event of first love starts from Grade Eight. *Tsin-tsiann* describes the first love happening in Grade Eight as a real one, which may imply that there might be “some romance” taking place before Grade Eight. The existence of another noun phrase, though it is not explicitly stated in the context and recovered by inference, makes up the contrastive set. *Tsin-tsiann* here not only asserts the love incident, but also denotes the romance is seriously taken as the first one.

Different from *tsin-tsiann*, *tsiann-sit* does not refer to the internal structure of the concept or referent described. The noun collocates of *tsiann-sit* belong to nouns denoting an event. *Tsiann-sit* is used to describe an event to be based on truth. From the observation of *tsiann-sit* in our database as well as in TC, *tsiann-sit* is used to modify nouns denoting an event containing a series of incidents such as 故事 *ko-su* ‘story’ and 生活 *sing-uah* ‘life.’ Therefore, the addition of *tsiann-sit* to describe the noun collocate to be real in every segment of an event without any fabrication. Sometimes, *tsiann-sit* is especially added to create a contrast with an unreal one. In example (2), two female speakers are discussing a piece of TV news. Speaker C states that a comet might hit the earth and the earth will be destroyed. Speaker A shows her doubts about the truthiness of Speaker C’s comment and further asks the comet-hitting news is not only a scene in a movie but an event in reality. The focusing sentence pattern 毋是 *m-si...* 是 *si...* helps form a contrastive set. Speaker A wants to express the same thing with two different states of truth-value; therefore, a TRE is added to create the contrast.

(2)

37C: 彼 lo,
hit lo,
that

38 <L2 彗星 L2>欲<L2 撞 地球 L2>.\
huei-sing beh zhuang di-qiu
comet want hit earth

39 咱<L2 地球 L2>就 欲<L2 毀滅 L2>a ne.\
lan di-qiu toh beh hui-mie a ne
our earth just want destroy UFP UFP

40 你 講 這 代誌 有 大 條 無 la?\
li kong tse tai-tsi u tua tiau bo la
you say this thing have big CLF NEG UFP

41A: .這 不 是 甘那 電影 在 扮,
tse m si kan-na tan-nia leh puann
This NEG COP only movie at lay

→42 si- 是 誠實 e 代[誌 o]?\
si- si tsiann-sit e tai-tsi o
COP COP real ASSC thing UFP

43C: [mm]m.\
mmm

‘C: That comet is going to hit the Earth. Our Earth is about to be destroyed. You say,
is it a big thing

A: This is not just on the movie. This is a **real** thing?

C: Yes.’

Similar to *tsiann-sit*, the noun collocate of *u-iann* is more restricted to the noun denoting an event such as in 有影 e 代誌 *u-iann e tai-tsi* ‘real thing.’ The difference between *tsiann-sit e tai-tsi* and *u-iann e tai-tsi* is that *u-iann* focuses more on the action of the event-happening rather than purely describing the truth-value of a fact as *tsiann-sit* does. The possible account for this difference can be the difference of the part-of-speech and morphology. *U-iann* is originally a verb *u* ‘have’ plus *iann* ‘shadow.’ When something leaves a shadow, it means that something takes place. So *u-iann* is then used to point out some event to be a real fact. Whereas, *tsiann-sit* is a

pure adjective formed by compounding two truth-describing adjectives *tsiann* ‘real’ and *sit* ‘solid, substantial, full of content.’ Because the morphology of *u-iann* ‘having shadow’ is similar to a small-clause, the event modified by *u-iann* reveals an extra sense of dynamics, such dynamics that a descriptive adjective-compound *tsiann-sit* may not give to an event. Even though *u-iann* and *tsiann-sit* collocate with the same noun, they have this subtle difference in meaning.

TRE *sit-tsai*, like *tsiann-sit*, is used to describe something to be true in every segment of an event such as in *sit-tsai e tai-tsi* ‘the actual thing’ In (3), *sit-tsai* modifying 故事 *ko-su* ‘story’ means that the story is based on a past event happening to Mr. Hui-ni. It is preceded by a copula/ focus marker *si* (Chen 1995, Lien 2009) and further added the information that Mr. Hui-ni himself tells the story. *Sit-tsai* is used to assert the truthiness of the story.

- (3) 這 是 實在 的 故事， 是 Hui-ní 先生
 tse si sit-tsai e ko-su, si hui-ni sian-sinn
 this COP real ASSC story, COP PN mister
 家己 講 e
 ka-ki kong e
 himself tell NOM
 ‘This is a **real** story, which is told by Mr. Hui-ni himself.’

Different from *tsiann-sit* describing the truth quality and *u-iann* focusing on the happening of the event, *sit-tsai* has the property of ‘full of content’ as pointed out by Wu (2010) and being true at the same time. Therefore, the adjective *sit-tsai*, when describing nouns denoting an event as true, has a focus on the content. For instance, every segment of the story or event is based on truth. What’s more, *sit-tsai* can also be used to describe nouns containing an abstract concept. It brings out the meaning of substantial and closer to the internal structure of the concept. For example, 實在 e 朋

友 *sit-tsai e ping-iu* ‘real friend.’ It means every facet of a friend is out of a true heart. Example (4) occurs as a radio talk between a male broadcaster A and a female broadcaster B. They are talking about a Japanese novel *Paradise Lost*. B is translating the Japanese sentence into TSM, talking about true love. True love is translated as *sit-tsai e ai*, which is a predicative use modifying love as real/true. The noun phrase *sit-tsai-e-ai* ‘true love’ is not that colloquial and frequently used and it probably is a result of translation from Japanese, which is not natural. Though it does not sound common, the choice of TREs here is *sit-tsai* since love is a very abstract concept and describing love as true is to focus on the content of love.

- (4) 我 一定 欲 揣著 我 **實在** 的 愛
 gua i-ting beh tshue-tioh gua sit-tsai e ai
 I must want find my true ASSC love
 ‘I have to find my **true** love.’

Tsing-king is not found to have attributive use in our database. TC has a few tokens with this use. However, this use is not related to the truth meaning but to the meaning of ‘serious, not kidding.’ *Tsing-king* can modify noun collocates such as 正經代誌/頭路 *tsing-king tai-tsit/thau-lo* ‘serious thing/serious job,’ 正經 e 人 *tsing-king e lang* ‘serious person,’ and 正經話 *tsing-king oe* ‘serious words.’

In summary, different truth-describing attributive adjectives have different noun collocates. *Tsin-tsiann* with a describing function in our database as well as in TC can not be correspondingly translated as true and real. Its meaning is closer to boost or to enhance the built-in feature of a noun collocate. It often occurs in a contrastive context, revealing an implication of the force of emphasis. *Tsiann-sit* and *sit-tsai* are used to report the truth-value of an event because noun collocates of both expressions denote an event, having a focus on their content. Different from *tsiann-sit* and

sit-tsai's truth-reporting meaning, *u-iann* as an attributive adjective is used to put an emphasis on the action of happening. *Tsing-king* as an attributive adjective has no truth-related meaning.

The function of Truth-describing attributive adjectives in TSM is far from a simply objective description of the truth quality of an event or a concept. These TREs often carry an emphasizing tone and subjective assessment. Also, they often occur in contrastive environments such as in a focusing sentence containing the focus marker *si* or in a complex sentence connected by a contrastive marker such as *m-koh* 'but.' To conclude, attributive TREs in their truth-describing use are not simply to add truth-value to the head noun.

Truth-describing TREs can be predicates themselves to describe or verify some event or some fact as real, which is comparatively more common than an attributive use. TREs as predicates describing something/event as real/existential usually occur after the mention of an event. Some event is left unsaid but can be inferred from the conversational content.

In our database, two tokens with the truth-describing function are used predicatively. *Tsin-e* can either appear in an affirmative clause as in (5) or a non-affirmative clause as in (6).

(5) (Two male undergraduates are discussing teacher jobs.)

A: 事實上 真e 有人 欲 叫 我 做 老師，
su-sit siong tsin-e u-lang beh kio gua tso lao-su,
fact up really have-people want ask me do teacher,
這 是 真e la.
tse COP tsin-e la
this COP true UFP

'In fact, really there's someone who asks me to be a teacher. This is **true!**'

In (5), the speaker uses 這是真的 *la tse si tsin-e la* ‘this is true’ to verify the past event *someone asked me to be a teacher* as real. Because of their identities as a graduate student who has not graduated yet, they don’t have a qualification to teach. When the speaker describes the fact of someone’s request to be a teacher, the statement appears to be less believable to the listener. With the final particle *la* (Li 1999:57), *tsin-e* here seems to be used to place extra emphasis in order to justify his claim.

(6) (A father and his son are talking about sports lottery. They talk about an old man who receives no education but can calculate the number of jackpot.)

Son: 真 e 抑 假 e 按呢= 這?
 tsin-e iah ke-e an-ne= tse
 real or fake like-this this
 ‘This is **real** or fake?’

Tsin-e in (6) acts as a predicate in a non-affirmative clause to express doubts on the target whether it is real or not. The truth of calculating the number of jackpot is beyond imagination. Therefore, truth-describing *tsin-e* is used to further check the actuality of the fact or the incident.

Predicative TREs can not only have the demonstrative pronoun 這 *tse* ‘this’ referring to the previously-stated event to be the subject. Sometimes, they can be adjacent to a description of an event. *Tsin-tsiann* as a predicate to serve the truth-describing function is placed after a description and then *tsin-tsiann* is added to further verify the truth-value of the description. Example (7) illustrates this use:

(7) (Four male speakers are talking about chaos in Taiwan. People don’t follow traffic rules and think that they won’t be the unlucky one to have a car crash because they worship God. They are sarcastic about the stupid act of such people in Taiwan.)

D: 我 逐工 在 燒金 e.ㄌ 著 毋著.ㄌ
 gua tak-kang li sio-kim e, tioh m-tioh,
 I every-day ASP burn-gold UFP yes no
 初二 十六 按呢, [<X 在 燒 彼 濟 X>].
 tshe-li tsap-lak an-ne, te sio hia tse
 first-two ten-six this.way ASP burn that many
 → A: [攏 袂 因]兜 袂 有 代誌 ne.\ 真正 ne.
 long bue in-tau bue u tai-tsit ne. tsin-tsiann ne
 all NEG their-family NEG have thing UFP real UFP
 'D: I burn paper money every day, two times a month this way.
 A: Their family totally does not have bad things to happen, which is **true**.'

Speaker D first describes the stupidity of burning much paper money to worship God. Speaker A further describes that by doing so nothing bad will happen in those people's families. *Tsin-tsiann ne* here is to sarcastically describe and even strengthen such ridiculous belief. *Tsin-tsiann* in this use is not a pure description of some fact as real. It also involves the speaker's own assessment and is used to create an emphasizing effect, which in turns suggests an ironic tone about the superstitiousness of the people who break traffic rules.

Sit-tsai as a predicate also serves the same truth-describing function. In our database, the information of truth-value of a proposition is usually introduced by a demonstrative pronoun anaphorically denoting to the previous statement made by the speaker. Example (8) illustrates this use:

(8) (The radio show talks about a case of parent-child relationship happening in Japan. A mother loves her son so much that she even peeks and eavesdrops the private life of her son and daughter-in-law.)

B: 阿 這 這, 我 欲 講 這 台灣 這 老母 也
 a tse tse, gua beh kong tse tai-wan tse lau-bu iah

DM this this, I want say this Taiwan this mother also
 是 全款
 si kang-khuan
 is same

A: (0) mhm.

mm

→B: ... 這 正港 e 實在 e. ... 我 熟識 伊 e.
 tse tsiann-kang e sit-tsai e gua sik-sai i e.
 this real NOM true NOM I know her UFP

‘B: I say that mothers in Taiwan are the same.

A: Yes.

B: This is real and **true**. I know her.’

In (8), the radio shows are discussing a story about a mother in Japan peeking her son and daughter-in-law’s private life, which is very unexpected and uncommon. The speaker B further states that mothers in Taiwan are doing the same thing. *Sit-tsai* is introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *tse* ‘this,’ representing the previous statement ‘mothers in Taiwan are the same’ to make an assertion of this less believable assessment.

From the examples above, it can be seen that *tsin-e*, *tsin-tsiann*, and *sit-tsai* share the common characteristic—adding truth-value to a fact or an event which is less believable and unexpected. Because the modified event has an unexpected feature, the truth-describing predicative TREs are mainly used to justify the truth-value to forestall a dispreferred remark that might follow. We also observe that TREs such as *tsin-e*, *u-iann*, *tsing-king*, and *tsin-tsiann* often appear in an interaction when one wants to justify his/her claim. They present a similar pattern: a lone TRE plus a final particle. As we can see in (7), the TRE is tagged by *ne*, which has the function of describing a state or an event (Li 1999:202). In the following, we provide further examples to demonstrate that truth-describing TREs frequently collocate with utterance final particles to justify a claim.

(9)

- 7 B: 敲位 阮 ni 桑 遐,
ka-ui guan ni-sang hia
call to my sister's husband there
- 8 講 啥物 你 佇 <L2 合唱團 L2>.\
kong siann-mih li ti he chang tuan
say what you at choir
- 9 我 叫 伊 給 我 騙 le.\
gua kio i kah gua phian le
i thought he DSIP me cheat UFP
- 10 A: 真 le a\
tsin le a
really UFP UFP
- 11 啊 我 就,
a gua to
DM I just
- 12 我 就%有 參加 <L2 合唱團 L2>,\
gua to u tsham-ka he chang tuan
I just have join choir
- 13 啊 攏 拜四 暗時 la\
a long pai-si am-si la
DM all Thursday evening UFP

'B: Make a call to my uncle's place. Say you are in a choir. I thought he was kidding.

A: **It's true.** I..I join a choir every Thursday evening.'

(10)

- D3: 你 就 毋知 人 阮 e 日子 加 佻 好 過,
li to m-tsai lang guan e jit-tsit ke gua ho gue,
you just NEG know people we NOM day add more good live
加 佻 快樂
ke gua khuai-lok
add more happy
- D4: 正經 e a
tsing-king e a
really NOM UFP
- D2: 就 是 “m me”

to si m me
just COP UFP UFP

'D3: You never know our lives are better, are happier.

D4: **That's true.**

D2: It is!'

(11)

346B: 抑 無影 li 佻 好 淋 la.\
iah bo-iann li gua ho lim la
also NEG-shadow at how good drink UFP

347A: <L2 假日 L2> 愛 用 等 e la.\
jia ri ai iong tan e la
holiday need use wait NOM UFP

→348B: 啊 有影 a.\
a u-iann a
DM really UFP

→349 真正 e a.\
tsin-tsiann e a
really NOM UFP

350 我 我 交 阮 太太 去,_
gua gua kiau guan thai-thai khi
I I and my wife go

351A: [honnh].\
honnh
UFP

352B: 交 阮 太太 娶 阮 四 e. 交 二 e 囡仔 去 彼
kiau guan thai-thai tshua guan si-e kiau nng-e gin-a khi hia
and my wife take my four and two kids go there
等 差不多(/tso/),_
tan tsha-put-tso
wait almost

353 半點鐘 a.\
puan-tiam-tsing a
half hour UFP

'B: It's not really good to drink.

A: We have to wait (for a table) during holidays.

B: **That's for real. It's true.** I go with my wife.

A: Yes.

B: With my wife. Bring four persons and two children there. (We) almost wait for half an hour.'

In (9), Speaker B is talking about A's joining a choir, which was heard from A's father. Speaker B didn't believe that he joined a choir and practiced on the day he called. Speaker A then justifies himself by saying *tsin-le a* 'really!' and continues to restate this by offering further detail. *Tsin-e* shows the speaker's subjective emphasis toward the position of the interlocutor. In (10), one of the four girls states that playing balls makes their life happier. The other girls support their sister's account by saying *tsing-king e a* 'really.' In (11), two people are talking about a popular coffee shop. Speaker A states that during the holidays, consumers have to wait outside for a table. Speaker B then says *u-iann a* and *tsin-tsiann e a* to agree on the previous statement made by Speaker A because his family and he actually waited a table for thirty minutes.

In all the above examples, the final particle *a* is attached to the TRE to help emphasize the truth-value. Li (1999:113) points out that *a* can be found in contexts where the speaker wants to 'explain his point, justify his position, or clarify the addressee's doubt.' Therefore, TREs attached with the particle *a* to create an emphasizing effect. The use of different use of TREs seems to serve the similar function, that is, to self-assert one's statement. The availability of being attached with a sentence final particle further proves that the TREs in question are predicates.

Another common feature of the above examples is that *tsin-e*, *tsin-tsiann*, and *tsing-king* all need an associative *e* to form this predicative justifying expression. Only *u-iann* does not need the associative *e*.

U-iann, as previously discussed, has the semantic content of describing something as existential/true, as illustrated by (12):

(12) (Two females and two males are discussing politics in Taiwan. A said that people in Presbyterian Church all support the former President Li and the concept of Taiwan independence, which seems to be contrary to the political position of A.)

- 926B: [XX]我 講,_
 gua kong
 i say
- 927 <Q 毋是,_
 m-si
 NEG COP
- 928 伊 講,_
 i kong
 he say
- 929 <Q 阮 先生 講,_
 guan sian-sinn kong
 my husband say
- 930 <Q<L2 長老教會 對 我們 台灣 很有 貢獻 L2>Q>Q>Q>.\
 changlaojiaohui dui women taiwan hen you gongxian
 Presbyterian Church treat our Taiwan very have contribution
- 931 [我 就 講 按呢 m].\
 gua to kong an-ne m
 i just say like-this UFP
- 932D: [Hx Hx]
 Hx Hx
- 933B: 啊 就 有影 m.\
 a to u-iann m
 DM just really UFP
- 934 事實 a\
 su-sit a
 fact UFP
- 935 你 給 講 教會 彼陣仔 honnh,_
 li kah kong kau-hue hit-tsun-a honnh,_
 you DISP say church that-time UFP
- 936 美麗島 事件,_
 bi-le-to su-kiann
 Kaohsiung Incident
- 937 啊 閣 [一寡 較早 e 代誌].\
 a koh tsit-gua khah-tsa e tai-tsit

- DM also some more early ASSC thing
- 938D: [henn a .\
- henn a
- right UFP
- 939 何俊榮 遮 e 牧師].\
- ho-tsun-ing tsia e bok-su
- PN here ASSC pastor
- 940B: 因遮 攏 有 出力 ne.\
- in-tsia long u tshut-lat ne\
- they all have out power UFP
- 941 啊 若 [像] 按呢 講 宗教 攏 毋通 插 a.\
- a na tshiunn an-ne kong tsong-kau long m-thang tshap a.
- DM if like this say religion all NEG-through involve UFP
- ‘B: I say. Not. He says, my husband says Presbyterian Church has made much contribution to Taiwan. [Then I say ‘is that so’]?’
- D: [Hx Hx]
- B: That is **real**. A fact. You say, the church at that time, Kaohsiung Formosa Incident and some previous events.
- D: Yeah, Pastors at Ho Chun-Eng’s place.
- B: They all make efforts. But if it is like this, (people) shouldn’t get involved in religions.’

In (12), the speaker B describes the evaluation *Presbyterian Church has made much contribution to Taiwan* made by a third-non-present speaker to be a truth. The predicate *u-iann* here does not purely describe the statement as real and express his agreement. Instead, it is used to emphasize the truth. The attachment of the particle *m* expresses an even stronger assertion (Chang 1997: Tammy’s dissertation). This additional assertion probably results from the different political positions of the interlocutor. In order to convince the interlocutor, the speaker adds supporting evidence in the following turns.

Sometimes, the predicative TRE can be attached to a clausal subject and introduced contrast marker *si* (Chen 1995), whose Mandarin equivalent is *shi*, a focus marker. In (13), the event that introducing someone to teach in Kong Hua vocational

high school is real. The focus marker *si* helps create an emphasizing effect on the truth-value of the clausal subject.

(13) (Two graduate students are talking about teacher jobs and the teaching is unexpected to them since they are graduated yet.)

→介紹 入去 光華 ko---||高工 教冊.ㄌ<F 是 有影 F>,-
 kai-siau lip-khi kong-hua ko ko-kang ka-tsheh si u-iann
 introduce go-into PN vocational high school teach COP real
 <F 無 騙 你 a7 F>.\
 bo phian li a
 NEG cheat you UFP

‘Introducing him to teach in Kong Hua vocational high school is **real**. It is not a lie.’

Example (14) illustrates a similar emphasizing use of *u-iann*, but without a focus marker *si*. *U-iann* in this example behaves like a tag attached with a clausal subject 媽祖真濟太濟 *le honnh ma-tsoo tsin-tse thai-tse le honnh* ‘Mazu are really many, too many’ to emphasize the truth-value of the description. It probably results from the heavy subject. Therefore, it is put at the end of a description to add the truth-value.

(14) (The people are talking about religious holidays in Taiwan.)

M: ... 阮 拜 e 神 太 濟 a.
 guan pei e sin thai tse a
 we worship ASSC god too many UFP

F: ... honnh@,
 honnh
 UFP
 ... 著 著 著.
 tioh tioh tioh
 yes yes yes

M: .. honnh=,

- honnh
 UFP
 F: ... 耶穌,
 ia-soo
 Jesus
 ... <J SAN-TA-KU-LOS J> 甘若 一項 爾.
 san-ta-ku-los kan-na tsit-hang nia
 Santa Claus only one-CLF only
- M: .. 就 是.
 to si
 just COP
- F: ..honnh,
 honnh,
 UFP
 咱 這馬 抑 有 媽祖
 lan tsi-ma ia u ma-tsoo
 we now also have PN
 .. 由其 是 honnh=,
 iu-ki si honnh
 especially COP UFP
 ... 咱 閣 抑 有 按呢,
 lan koh ia u an-ne
 we also also have like-this
- M: .. 包公.
 pau-kong
 PN
- F: .. hann?
 hann
 what
- M: ... 閣 抑 有 媽祖.
 koh ia u ma-tsoo
 also also have PN
- F: ... 媽祖.
 ma-tsoo
 PN
 ... 真 濟 太 濟 le honnh.
 tsin tse thai tse le honnh
 really many too many UFP UFP

→ .. 有影.

u-iann

really

'M: The gods that we worship are too many.

F: Yes yes yes.

M: Right.

F: Jesus...Santa Claus..only one...

M: That is.

F: Right. Now we also have Mazu, especially...we also have ...

M: Bao-Kong.

F: What?

M: Also have Mazu.

F: Mazu..really many..too many...**That's true.**'

Even though the truth-describing function of TREs is to describe something as real/existential, the collocation and situational context points out that speakers take subjective stance in the use of TREs. They are used when the speaker wants to convey some implication. Some TREs focus on the expression of implication. Some focus on the describing the fact. Some focus on the dynamics of a happening fact. Different TREs are responsible for different aspects of nouns even though they denote the seeming objective description of a fact. They somehow convey different subtle meanings. The focus of the present study is not on the discussion of the subtle difference of the polysemy but we point out some different uses and collocations among different TREs in TSM.

Pre-predicative TREs refer to expression which occurs before the predicate of a sentence. When the sentential subject is omitted and makes a pre-predicative TRE look like a sentence-initial marker, a criterion for identification of pre-predicative use is to recover the subject and see whether the TRE is legitimate after the recovered subject. These TREs are used to describe the predicate as real/true. There's no pre-predicate *tsin-e* in our database. In TC, we've found this use:

- (15) →樹仔頂 真 e 無 半 片 葉仔 佇 e ,
 tshiu--a-ting tsin-e bo puann phinn hioh—a ti e
 treetop really NEG half CL leaf at NOM
 歸 e 攏 佇 土腳。
 kui-e long ti tho-kha
 whole all at ground

‘There’s **really** not any leaf on the tree. All of them are on the ground.’

In (15), the speaker states that there’s really not any leaf on the tree. By using *tsin-e*, the speaker points out the truth-value of no leaf as real. The truth is verified by providing with further description *all the leaves are all on the ground*.

Tsin-tsiann as an adverbial with the truth-describing function is used to clearly point out the truth-value of the proposition. In this use, speakers want to clearly point out the truth-value of the proposition based on the fact. Example (16) and (17) illustrate this use:

- (16) →攏 真正 給 我 移送 ,
 long tsin-tsiann ka gua i-sang
 all really KA me send
 毋 是 干若 講 e 爾 ne
 m shi kanna kong e nia ne
 NEG be only say only UFP

‘(He) all **really** sends people (to the police station). It’s not just kidding.’

- (17) 盛 雨水 啊 真正 去 盛 到
 sin hotsui a tsin-tsiann khi sin tio
 catch rain DM really go catch

‘Catching rain and **really** catch it’

Example (16) clearly points out that sending people to the police station was true rather than simply saying it. The addition of a TRE is to help form a contrastive set

between actual sending and saying. Example (17) depicts an event of catching rain and in fact, someone really caught it. When *tsin-tsiann* is used to attest to the event as true, it at the same time conveys that some unexpectedness from either the speaker or listener is involved.

U-iann also asserts the actuality of the action of a predicate. In example (18) and (19), *u-iann* is used to assert the actuality of the predicate like *tshiann* ‘treat’ and *po-ko* ‘report.’ In (18), the speaker reported the truth that her cousin paid for her family’s meals when the speaker was out on a vacation. *U-iann* is used to assert the happening of the events. In (19), one is going to make a report and the TRE *u-iann* is added to assert the happening of the reported story.

(18)

→按呢 就 有影 攏 互 表仔 請 lo
 an-ne toh u-iann long ho piau-e tsiann lo
 this.way just really all let cousin treat UFP

‘Then, it is **true** they were always treated by their cousin (when I was out on a vacation.)’

(19) B:啊 伊 欲 給 伊 報告.\

a i beh kah i po-ko
 DM he want DISP him report

A: 是.\

si
 yes

→B: 啊 所以 有影 伊=去 給 伊 報告.
 a soo-i u-iann he khi kah i po-ko
 DM so really he go DISP him report

‘B: He wants to report to him.

A: Yes.

B: So, it is **true** that he gives a report to him.’

For the adverbial use, *tsiann-sit* also has an emphasizing reading. In (20), the

conversation is between the TV host A and the interviewee B, a former mayor of Kaohsiung City. B is talking about how he helps a citizen in need to pay off the mortgage in the name of a secret helper. The citizen didn't believe how the mortgage was paid off. Therefore, the bank shows to the citizen that it is true that somebody paid it. Here, *tsiann-sit* is embedded in hypothetical quote of the bank's statement to indicate the truth-value of a fact.

(20)

101. B: [啊 2] 彼 可能 是 高雄銀行 給
 a he kho-ling si ko-hiong gin-hang kah
 DM that possible COP Kaohsiung Bank DISP
 講<Q 有 人 納 去 a Q>.\
 kong u lang lap khi a
 say have people pay go UFP

102. A: [啊 2].\

a

DM

103. 是.\

si

right

104. B: 啊 伊 無愛 信.\

a i bo-ai sin

DM he NEG-want trust

105. A: 著 la.\

tioh la

right UFP

106. B: 講<Q 那 有 可能 Q>.\

kong na u kho-ling

say how have possible

107. 是 毋 是 無 愛 互 納.\

si m si bo ai ho lap

COP NEG COP NEG want give pay

108. A: 是.\

si

right

109. B: 啊<X 煞毋知 X>% 有影 互 看 講,
a suah-m-tsai u-iann ho khuann kong
DM so really let look say
- 110. <Q 這 誠實 互 人 納 去 按呢 la Q>.\
tse tsiann-sit ho lang lap khi an-ne la
this really let people pay go like-this UFP
- 'B: That possibly is that Kaohsiung Bank told him somebody had paid it.
A: Yeah.
B: He didn't believe it.
A: Yes.
B: Say, it can't be possible. Isn't it the case of not wanting him to pay?
A: Yes.
B: So I then really let him see. Somebody **really** paid it.'

The truth-describing adverbials are often used to assert the actuality of an event. The extra-assertion will create an emphasizing tone. Some can be clearly pointed out by the negotiating contexts and some by sentence-final particles. The truth-describing adverbials can also be put at the initial position of a sentence. The discussion is as follows.

TREs can be placed at the beginning of a statement to point out the truth-value of the statement based on the fact. This use often occurs when the addressee shows disinterest or disbelief in the statement made in the previous turn. Or the speaker expects the listener might doubt the truth value of the speaker's statement. Therefore, there's a must to assert the statement by adding a TRE.

- (21) S:..啊 就,|| [家己 看 1] 有 [我 就 m
ah toh kati khuann u gua toh m
DM TOH myself read have I TOH NEG
免 來 讀 a 2].\
bian lai thak a
NEG come study UFP
- H: [按呢 1],|| [按呢 老師 2] 錢 毋 好 趁,\
an-ne an-ne lau-su tsinn m ho than

this-way this-way teacher money NEG good earn
 按呢 我 後擺 我 嘛 欲 來 做 老師。
 an-ne gua hau-kai gua ma beh lai tso lau-su
 this-way I next.time I also want come do teacher
 → ...(1.2)啊 事實 上,||...(5)真 e,
 a su-sit siong, tsin-e
 DM fact up really
 有 人 欲 叫 我 做 老師 la
 u lang beh kio gua tso lau-su la
 have people want ask me do teacher UFP

‘S: If I can understand, I don’t have to come to study. H: In this way, it’s not easy to make money as a teacher. In this way, I want to be a teacher in the future. In fact, **it’s true** that there’s someone who asks me to be a teacher.’

In (21), two male students are discussing teacher’s job. S is stating that the teacher’s job is not as easy as before. H is first agreeing that teacher’s job is not easy and continues to claim that he wants to be a teacher in the future. H adds that his plan of being a teacher is not groundless. Actually, there’s really somebody who wants him to be a teacher. By using *tsin-e* in the initiation of a sequence, speaker H points out the truth value of the proposition he makes since H thinks his proposition is less believable to S.

(22) a. (A guest speaker in a radio interview talks about some video tape that can boost English ability but she refuses to reveal the title of the video.)

因為 講 出來 假若 在 替人 ^廣^告 honnh,
 in-ui kong tshu-lai ke-nah ti the-lang kong-ko honnh,
 because say out seem ASP for people advertise UFP
 啊 袂輸講, 我 提 佢濟 <L2 回扣 L2> le.
 a bue-sui-kong, gua the gua-tse hui-kou le
 DM seem-say, I take how-much commission UFP
 → 啊 無^ 真正 e,\
 a bo tsin-tsiann-e
 DM NEG real
 人 in honn,\

lang in honn
 people they UFP
 ..家己 看,\
 ka-ti khuann
 oneself look
 啊 伊 有 針對<L2<MRC 小朋友 MRC>L2>e 需要 honn,\
 a i u tsiam-tui xiao peng-you e su-iau honn
 DM it have aim-at children ASSC need UFP
 伊 彼 錄影帶=,\
 i he lok-iann-tua
 it that video-tape
 147 攏 袂 超過 二十 分.\
 long bue tshiau-kue li-tsap hun
 all NEG over twenty minute
 ‘If I reveal the title, it seems that I promote the product for them and take much
 commission, **which is not true**. Watch by yourself. It aims at children’s need.
 Their video tapes are no more than twenty minutes.’

The guest speaker wants to talk about some videos that can really boost the English
 ability of young kids. However, she is afraid that some people might wonder how
 much commission she takes to give the recommendation, which is actually not true.
 She further emphasizes that the words she is going to say is true at the beginning of
 the detailed description of the merits of the video tapes.

Other than the serious meaning of *tsing-king*, *tsing-king* has the meaning ‘really,’
 which is often situated at the sentence-initial position. It is used to assert the truth
 value of the following proposition. In example (23), the speaker is talking about how
 people feed chickens. He is claiming that if people *really* are running a restaurant,
 they should notice the quality of chickens since they charge higher. It could have an
 implication that there’s someone who is not a responsible cook.

(23)

- 984 →A: ..(1.0)毋過 正經 咱 若 在 做食 honnh,_
m-koh tsing-king lan na teh tso-tsiah honnh,_
but really we if ASP do-eat UFP
- 985 .價錢 欲 給人 提 較 懸 honnh,_
ke-tsinn beh kang theh khah kuan honnh,_
price want DISP lang charge more high UFP
- 986 就 是 愛 像 咱 自己 飼的 雞仔 la.\
to si ai tshiunn lan ka-ki tshi-e ke-a la
just COP need like we ourselves feed ASSC chicken UFP
- 987 啊閣 無 污染\
a-koh bo u-liam
also NEG pollution
- 988 亦 袂. 袂 講 注射 啥物貨 按呢,_
iah bue bue kong tsu-sia siann-mih-hue an-ne
also NEG NEG say inject what-thing like-this
- 989 彼 較 好\
he khah ho
that more good

‘A: We ourselves **really** run a restaurant. If we charge higher, just like raising our own chickens, without any pollution and no injecting anything. That is better.’

In summary, truth-describing adverbials usually co-occur with an action verb in order to verify the actuality of activation of the action. Many of TREs appear in a contrastive context. It is proved again that TREs with truth-describing function indeed are involved with subjective emphasis and the truth-value of a description can be verified.

Although TREs refer to an action or situation in the extralingual world, which is very referential (Maschler and Estlein 2008), many examples have shown that speaker holds his/her own stance toward the action. For example, TREs are employed to make a comparison with a previous description or to show the speaker’s stance toward the situation in order to align the stance taken in a previous utterance or by the other interlocutors.

3.2 Expressive Functions

In the previous section, describing TREs point out the truth-value of an entity, an event, or a proposition. The main functions of describing TRE are describing the actuality of the predicate and indicating the actuality of the truth. From the context, we also know that sometimes describing TREs create an emphasizing and contrastive effect. Similarly, expressive TREs can also be used to convey the speaker's emphasis toward some event. However, they are not used as an indicator of truth-value as describing TREs do. Instead, expressive TREs are employed to express speakers' attitude or evaluation toward a person or an event. So, expressive TREs are not descriptive or referential in the sense. Propositions that are modified by expressive TREs cannot be referred to situations in the extralingual world. That is, the truth value of the propositions cannot be verified. Under this premise, expressive TREs are discussed according to the collocation and situational context. We'll then discuss expressive TREs from four main functions: *emphasizer*¹⁰, *upgrading*, *exasperation* and *concessive*. There are some expressive TREs serving more than one function. For example, they are used as an *emphasizer* and to express one's *exasperation* at the same time.

TREs as both *emphasizers* and *upgraders* are used to subjectively strengthen or amplify the force of the predicate, without having the truth-value of the proposition ratified. The difference of the two lies in whether the predicate they modify is gradable or not. The predicates of *emphasizers* are not gradable, while those of *intensifiers* are. In addition to boosting the force of the predicate, expressive TREs may also be used when speaker wants to express their *exasperation*. *Exasperation* is a strong evaluation with emotion. We can claim that the *exasperation* function comes

¹⁰ The term *emphasizer* we use here follows the definition of Quirk et al. (1999). It should not be confused with the *emphasizing* function or effect.

from the intensifying feature of TRE when intensifying goes to a negative extreme. Lastly, expressive TREs do not always emphasize or upgrade the proposition. They sometimes are employed to show concession, attenuating the emphasizing meaning. A total of 116 TREs in the database are found to serve expressive functions. Their functions are discussed in detail in the following.

According to Quirk et al. (1985), *emphasizer* is a term for the subcategory of ‘intensifier.’ It is used to strengthen the force of the predicate. In our database, we have observed that the emphasized descriptions involve subjectivity and evaluations. Therefore, their truth-values can hardly be verified based on facts. In fact, truth-related *emphasizers* are not mainly employed to point out or assert the truth-value of a proposition. The meaning of reality is “backgrounded and bleached (Paradis and Bergmark 2003:81).”

The proposition that the *emphasizer* modify reveal speakers’ attitude toward the proposition and show their stance. For those propositions which are positive, truth-related *emphasizers* are employed to boost the force of positivity; whereas, for negative propositions, truth-*emphasizers* help strengthen the force of negative evaluation. *Tsin-tsiann* and *sit-tsai* respectively account for more half and one-third tokens of truth-related *emphasizers*. Therefore, we put our emphasis on these two TREs.

Tsin-tsiann and *sit-tsai* usually modify the description in the form of an emphasis marker *si* plus evaluation. They are employed to put subjective emphasis on the evaluation. Seven of fifteen positive evaluations are of this use. Example (24) illustrates this use. A host A and an interviewee B in a talk show on TV are discussing a political figure *Shi Ming-de* and a prestigious pastor Kao. The host made a statement that all the religious groups do something for a nobody, which is indeed respectful.

(24) (This is a face-to-face talk on TV. A male host is interviewing a prestigious pastor Kao. Pastor Kao had helped a politician Shi Ming-tek escape when he was under political persecution. The authorities tried to capture Mr. Shi by any means.)

- 292 A: 啊 彼陣 嘛 感覺 講 原來 這個 這個
a hit-tsun ma kam-kak kong guan-lai tsit-le tsit-le
DM that-time also feel say original this-CLF this-CLF
<L2 窩藏 叛亂 L2> 的<L2 要 犯 L2> 施明德,
wo-cang pan-luan e yao fan si-ming-tik
house-hide rebellion ASSC important criminal PN
後壁 的 主 謀 攏 是 高俊明 牧師\
au-piah e tsu boo long si ko-tsun-bing bok-su
back ASSC chief instigator all COP PN pastor
- 293 B: @@@<@著 著.\@>
tioh tioh
right right
- 294 A: 但是 彼陣 我- 看 著 這個 消息,
tan-si hit-tsun gua khuann tioh tsit-e siau-sit
but that-time I look at this-CLF news
- 295 我 <L2 打從 L2> 內心 真正 是 尊敬\
gua da-cong lue-sim tsin-tsiann si tsun-king
I hit-from in-heart really COP respect
- 296 B: 啊 多謝\
ah to-sia
DM many-thanks
- 297 A: 感覺講. 無 關係 ia\
kam-kak-kong bo kuan-he ia
feel-say. NEG relationship UFP
- 298 恰 施明德 先生 無 啥物 關係\
kah si-ming-tik sian-sinn bo siann-mih kuan-he
with PN mister NEG what relationship
- 299 B: 著\
tioh
right
- 300 A: 所有 宗教 團體 肯 為著 一个 無 關係
soo-u tsong-kau thuan-the khing ui-tioh tsit-e bo kuan-he
all religion group willing for one-CLF NEG relationship
的 人 做 這款 的 代誌,

- e lan tso tsit-khuan e tai-tsi
 ASSC people do this-kind ASSC thing
 → 301 實在 是 令人 尊敬.\n
 sit-tsai si ling lang tsun-king
 really COP make people respect
 302 B: @@@@.
 303 A: 咱 歇暎 一 le honnh.\n
 lan hioh-khun tsit-le honnh.
 we take-break one-CLF UFP
 304 B: 是.\n
 si
 OK

‘A: at that time..feel like..hiding an important criminal Shi Ming-Tek...the chief instigator behind is Pastor Kao Chun-Ming..

B: right..right..right..

A: But at that time..I saw the news...I **really** feel respectful for (him) from the bottom of my heart.

B: Thanks.

A: feel like...no relationship...no relationship with Mr. Shi Ming-tek.. ‘

B: Yeah.

A: All the religious groups are willing to do such thing to an unrelated person..**really** respectful.

B: @@@@

A: Let’s take a break.

B: OK.’

After they talk about the whole incident, which was schemed by Pastor Kao, the host replied 我<L2 打從 L2>內心**真正**是尊敬 *gua* <L2 *da cong*L2>*lue-sim tsin-tsiann si tsun-king* “I really feel respectful for (him) from the bottom of my heart.” *Tsin-tsiann* is employed to show emphasis on his evaluation toward Kao’s act. *Sit-tsai* in line 301 also has similar function as *tsin-tsiann* in line 295. After the host made a conclusion of Pastor Kao’s deed, his evaluation is again strengthened by the use of *sit-tsai-si su lang tsing-king* “that’s indeed respectable.”

The difference between *tsin-tsiann* and *sit-tsai* of this construction is that the

sit-tsai si evaluation construction almost always appears at the end of a topic in order to make a conclusion of previous utterances. They can be used to conclude both the speaker's description of the interlocutor or a non-present speaker and the interlocutor's assessment. The evidence is that there is a clear ending made by the host in line 303, *lan hioh-khun sit-le* "let's take a break." *Sit-tsai* originally means "full of content;" therefore, the *sit-tsai* modified description, *respectful* in the example, can apply to *every* description of the incident. By comparison, *tsin-tsiann* seems dispreferred to be put at the end of a topic in particular.

Another example of *sit-tsai* plus the following evaluation mark the end of a stretch of talk. The speaker A claims that Mr. Chou tells many people's fortune at her restaurant and people will keep coming to visit him, adding that *sit-tsai chiaN-kau sen* 'really good at fortune-telling.' *Sit-tsai* emphasized evaluation appears at the end of one's utterance.

(25) (A is a restaurant owner and B is a teahouse owner. They are talking about a common friend, visiting A. Mr. Chou is a fortune teller.)

1077 B: 啊 昨 彼个<L2 吳進利 L2> 因 嘛 攏 到
a tsa hit-le wu jin-li ing ma long kiau
DM yesterday that-CLF PN they also all go
你 彼 過去 hio?
li hia kue-khi hio?
your there go UFP

1078 A: henn.\

henn

yes

1079 阮 彼.\

guan hia

we there

1080 啊= phang 甲 欲 甲 六點 才 走.\

a phang kah beh kah lak tiam tsiah tsau

- DM possible to almost to six-o'clock only go
- 1081 我 講 欲 煮 互 食,_
gua kong beh tsu ho tsiah
I say want cook give eat
- 1082 伊 就 講 毋.\
i toh kong m
he just say no
- 1083 B: <L2 周 老師 L2> o?\
chou laushi o?
Chou teacher UFP
- 1084 A: henn.\
henn
yes
- 1085 佢<L2 周 老師 L2>.\
kah chou laushi
with Chou teacher
- 1086 <L2 周 老師 L2><XX>仔 給人 算命 算 袂 了.\
chou laushi ah kang sng-mia sng bue liau
Chou teacher DM DISP tell-fortune tell NEG finish
- 1087 [實在] 真 勢 算.
sit-tsai tsin-gau sng
really very-good tell
- 1088 B: [ho].\
ho
- 1089 A: 啊 閣 和<L2 田老師 L2> 因某 la.\
ah koh ham tian laushi in-boo la
DM also with Tian teacher his wife UFP
- 1090 B: honnh honnh>\
UFP UFP
- 1091 <P<L2 田教授 L2> 因某 o P>?\
tian jiaoshou in-boo o?
Tian professor his wife UFP
- 1092 A: ..(0.7) <L2 田教授 L2> 因某 honnh,_
tian jiao-shou in-boo honnh
Tian professor his wife UFP
- 1093 就 在遐 直 互 伊 算.\
toh toa ti ho i sng
just at-there ASP give he tell

'B: Last night..that Wu Jin-Li all go to your place?

A: Yes, come to my place. They stay til about six. I told him I will cook for him. He said no.

B: Mr. Chou?

A: Yes, with Mr. Chou. Mr. Chou can't stop telling people's fortune. [**Really**] good at fortune-telling.

B:

[ho]

A: Also with Mr. Tian's wife.

B: Oh oh..Prof. Tian's wife?

A: Prof. Tian's wife has her fortune told right here.'

Besides bringing reinforcement to the positive predicate, emphazier TREs tend to co-occur with negative comments and propositions. Negative comments are even more subjective and emotive than neutral ones; thus, TREs in those examples are very expressive in that the speaker puts subjective emphasis toward the negative proposition. Examples (26-28) illustrate this use:

(26) (Four people are discussing the anarchy in Taiwan. One of the cases is about a kidnapping celebrity Bai Bing-bing's daughter.)

758B: 啊 閣 按呢 ne.\

ah koh an-ne ne

DM again like-this UFP

759 [伊 已經 互] 人 搶 一擺 a lio.\

i i-king ho lang tshiunn tsit-kai a lio

she already give people rob once ASP UFP

760D: [在 講 X]--

teh kong

ASP say

761 著 啊.\

tioh a

right UFP

762 彼 嘛 傷 憨^生.\

he ma siong gong-sing

that also too stupid

763B: (Hx)<P 宛 有影 P>.\

guan u-iann

we really

764A: [傷過 XXX].\

siong-kue

too

765D: [咱 就 干焦] 普通 人 就 知影 做 鐵窗 a

lan to kan-na pho-thong lang to tsai-iann tso thih-thang a

we just only common people just know make iron-window UFP

啊 閣.\

a koh

DM again

766B: henn a.\

right UFP

→767 伊 真正<L2 後悔 L2> 甲, _

i tsin-tsiann hou hui kah

she really regretful KAH

768 <L2 後悔 L2>[甲 按呢].\

hou hui kah an-ne

regret KAH like-this

769D: [著 m] 著 a.\

tioh m tioh a

right NEG right UFP

770C: <P hum P>.\

RT

'B: Again...[She has already] robbed once.

D: [say]..yes...that's way too stupid.

B: I really

A: too xxx

D: Ordinary people will make their windows with iron grating.

B: Yeah..She was **really** regretful, regretful this way...

D: Yeah..yeah..

C: hum..'

In example (26), Ms. Bai's house had been broken in once, but she didn't take action to do some prevention. Speaker D commented that what Ms. Bai did was not thoughtful at all because ordinary people will make their windows with iron grating.

Speaker B pointed out that after Bai's daughter was kidnapped, the mother felt really, really regretful. *Tsin-tsiann* was used to emphasize the force of Ms. Bai's negative feelings—regrets.

(27) (The following conversation occurs among family members. C is a college male student. A and B are his relatives. They are talking about good old days. They are talking their grandfather, who has a brain like a computer and is good at math.)

118. A: [阿公 1],_

a-kong

grandpa

119. 頭殼 敢若<L2 電腦 L2>le.\

thau-khak kan-na dian-nao le

brain seem computer UFP

120. 彼 若 高雄 看 腳=,_

he na ko-hiong khuann kha

that if Kaohsiung see foot

121. C: <L2 電子 [計算機]L2>.\

dianzi jisuanji

electronic caculator

122. A: [坐 彼 lo=]坐. e= 看 一 擺 佻 濟,_

tse hit-lo tse.e khuann tsit pai gua tse

sit that sit DM see one time how much

123. 啊 坐車 來,_

a tse-tshia lai

DM sit-car come

124. 啊 攏總 加加 le 佻 濟 伊 來 幾 逝,_

a long-tsong kah-kah le gua tse i lai kui tsua

DM all add-add ASP how much he come how-many trip

125. ho=!

UFP

126. E: @@@

@@@

127. C:[@@@1]

@@@

128. B: [攏 嘛 算 甲 li1][佻 2]--

- long ma sng kah li gua
all also count KAH UFP how
129. A: [<X 逐遍 X>] 攏 嘛 佇遐 念,_
tak-pian long ma ti-hia liam
every-time always also at there nag
130. ho=.^
UFP
131. B: 啊 彼陣 攏 講,_
a hit-tsun long kong
DM that-time always say
132. 阿公 佹 彼 lo,_
a-kong gua hit-lo
grandfather how that
133. F: <X m X>.\
m
134. B: m= 這馬,_
tsit-ma
DM now
- 135. A: 彼 [阿公 1] 真正[失 栽培 2].\
he a-kong tsin-tsiann sit tsai-pue
that grandfather really lose education
151. C: hum.\
RT
- ‘A: Grandpa’s brain like a [computer]. If he comes to Kaohsiung to examine his feet,
C: [Electronic calculator]
A: (He can count) how much money one trip by bus is, the total amount of money,
how many trips.
E: @@
C: @@
B: He can count it.
A: Every time, he nags about it.
B: If at that time, Grandpa..
F: [Yes.]
B: [Yes,] now.
A: Grandpa **really** lacks a good education.’

Example (27) illustrates the expressive use of *tsin-tsiann* with a negative evaluation.

Speakers talk about how smart their grandfather was. He could count by heart and had a good memory. Speaker A made a comment that the grandfather did not have good education; otherwise he would be an outstanding person. Speaker A uses *tsin-tsiann* to strengthen the force of the lack of proper cultivation, creating a sense of a pity. Lack and pity both are negative in semantics. Therefore, *tsin-tsiann* is used to emphasize the negativity of the predicate.

Also, *u-iann* is used to emphasize the negative force of a statement. In example (28), two people are discussing the anarchy of government and corruption of the political person. D gives an example from Korea. A Korean architect cannot tolerate the corruption of the politicians; therefore, he cast the two months of his salary from a tall building to show his discontent with the government. By using *u-iann* in line 845, the speaker emphasizes the force of the negative statement containing 袂 *bue* ‘not.’

(28)

- 842 D: 我 就 講過 彼 韓國 彼 le,
 gua to kong-kue he han-kok hit le
 I just say-ASP that Korea that one
- 843 一个,
 tsit e
 one-CLF
- 844 一个 <L2 建築 工人 L2> la\
 tsit-e jianzhu gongren la
 one-CLF architecture worker UFP
- 845 有影 袂堪得 氣 彼 政 <L2 政客 L2>傷 勢<L2 貪污 L2>,
 u-iann bue-kham-tit khi he tsing tsing-khe siunn gau tanwu
 really NEG tolerate angry that politics politician too good corruption
- 846 將 伊的 薪水 honnh,
 tsiong i-e sin-sui honnh,
 take his salary UFP
- 847 兩個 月 四千塊 的 美金,
 nng-ko gueh si-tshing-kho e bi-kim
 two-CLF month four-thousand-dollar ASSC USD

- 848 提去 大樓,₁
 the-khi tua-lau
 take-to big-building
- 849 像 彼<L2 新光三越 L2> 給 掖,₁
 tshiunn he xinguangsanyue kah ia
 like that PN DISP spread
- 850 <Q 恁遮<L2 政客 L2> 愛 貪,₁
 lin-tsiah zhengke ai tham
 you-this politician love greed
- 851 遮 薪水 攏 互 你 la,₁
 tsiah sin-sui long ho li la
 here salary all give you UFP
- 852 兩個月 的 薪水 攏 互 恁,₁
 nng-ko-gueh e sin-sui long ho lin
 two-CLF-month ASSC salary all give you
- 853 若 愛 貪 閣 去 搶 a Q>.\
 na ai tham koh khi tshiunn a
 if love greed again go rob UFP
- 854 C: @
 @

‘D: I have talked about it. One Korean architect, who **really** cannot tolerate the corruption of the politicians, took the two months of his salary, four thousand dollars, to the place like Shin Kong Mitsukoshi to cast and say “You politicians are greedy. I give you my salary. Two months of salary. If you are greedy, go get it!” C:@’

Expressive TREs are also used to intensify the degree of gradable predicates, serving like a real intensifier. One TRE *tsin* in TSM acts as an intensifier, intensifying the degree of adjectives such as 真勢 *tsin-gau* ‘really powerful,’ and 真憨慢 *tsin-ham-mann* ‘really stupid.’ The case of *tsin* is similar to that of *really* in English as proposed by Lorenz (2002), who claims that *really* becomes a fully grammaticalized adjective intensifier from the MODAL resource to the SCALAR set. *Tsin* acting as an intensifier can be interchangeable with a typical intensifier 足 *tsiok* ‘very.’

More evidence on this transformation can be best manifested in I-lan accent of TSM. When *tsin* is used to intensify degree, it changes into a different tone 盡 *tsin*⁵¹

(Li 2008, 2004) from the citation tone 真 *tsin44*, which provides a solid proof that *tsin* has become an intensifier. Li (2008) called it a degree adverb. The adjectives that *tsin* qualifies can be either positive or negative. It can also be used to modify verbs implying degree, such as 感謝 *kam-siah* ‘appreciate,’ 愛 *ai* ‘love,’ 感動 *kan-tong* ‘moved, touched,’ 無閒 *mo-inn* ‘not free, busy,’ and 有意義 *u-i-I* ‘meaningful.’ *Tsin* as an intensifier conveys the subjectivity in that the degree adjectives and evaluative predicates are themselves involved with subjective meanings and when they co-occur with intensifiers, the subjective meaning is even stronger.

While *tsin* is grammaticalized as an intensifier, the rest of the TREs in our database do not have the same functions because *tsin-tsiann*, *u-iann*, and *sit-tsai* don’t directly intensify the degree adjectives. Instead, they intensify a modified adjective by a genuine intensifier. They function like a sub-modifier, modifying another adverb (Sinclair 1990).

In example (29), A and B are discussing lottery in Taiwan. A is claiming that Taiwanese are really good at gambling. *Tsin-tsiann* is added to express subjective evaluation toward lottery in Taiwan. By using *tsin-tsiann*, the speaker A amplifies the force of the intensifying verb phrase 足厲害 *tsiok li-hai* ‘very good,’ which is already modified by a degree adverb *tsiok* ‘very.’

(29)

073 A: 較 會 揀 較 彼 lo,
 khah e king khah hit-lo
 more can choose more that

074 hunn=
 hunn

075 B: 揀的 絕對 無 咧 揀 彼 le,
 king-e tsuat-tui bo leh king hit-le
 choose-NOM absolute NEG at choose that

076 揀 彼支 三十二 e\
 king hit-le san-ji

- king hit-ki sann-tsap-li e
 choose that-CLF thirty-two NOM
- 077 就 看<L2 電腦 選 號 L2> 有無\
 to khuann diannao xuan hao u-bo
 just see computer select number have no
- 078 A: henn\
 right
- 079 @@\
 @@
- 080 著 啊\
 tioh a
 yes UFP
- 081 enn,_
 en
- 082 啊台灣 按呢,_
 a tai-uan an-ne
 DM Taiwan like-this
- 083 買 彼 lo 嘛 是,_
 be hit-lo ma si
 buy that also COP
- 084 真正 足 厲害 e ne honnh\
 tsin-tsiann tsiok li-hai e ne honnh
 really very good UFP UFP UFP
- 085 B: henn a\
 right UFP
- 086 A: ong 奇怪,_
 ong ki-kuai
 DM strange
- 087 啊,_
 a
 DM
- 088 佇咧 美國 攏 是=,_
 ti-leh bi-kok long si
 at America all COP
- 089 連續 十幾 期 攏 無 人[會 中 ne]\
 lian-siok tsap-kui ki long bo lang e tioh ne
 consequent ten-more time all NEG people can hit UFP

‘A: How can we choose that?’

B: The number you choose cannot be 32. Let's see the computer-choosing number.

-->A: Yeah. It is **really** very good for Taiwanese to buy lottery.

B: Right.

A: It's strange that in America, nobody wins the lottery for more than ten draw times.'

U-iann is not only used to express the speaker's attitude or stance toward the statement but also be used to intensify the adjacent predicate. The predicates collocating with the intensifying use of *u-iann* usually have scalar inference. In example (30), the predicate *sui* 'beautiful' is modified by 有夠 *u-kau* 'very' and *u-iann* 'really' to intensify the predicate. Here, *u-iann* can also be viewed as a submodifier since it modifies another adverb (Sinclair 1990:283). The layering of the intensifying adverbs creates the effect of reinforcing the degree of the predicate.

(30)

1934 伊 彼 伊 彼,_
i he i he
he that he that

1935 若= 遐 e 人行道,_
na hia-e lin-hing-to
if there pavement

→1936 有影 有夠 水,_
u-iann u-kau sui
really very beautiful

1937 咱 納 這 lo 三等 國民 的 稅金 honnh,_
lan lap tsit lo san-ting kok-bin e sue-kim honnh
we pay this three-level citizen ASSC tax UFP

1938 就 來,_
to lai
just come

1939 行... 來 享受 一等 國民./
kiann.... lai hiang-siu i-ting kok-bin
go come enjoy first-level citizen

'The pavement there is **really** very beautiful. We third-level citizens pay the tax and enjoy being the first-level citizen.'

When *sit-tsai* precedes a gradable adjective, it serves an intensifying function. It often co-occurs with other intensifying degree adverbs such as 足 *tshiok* ‘very’ in (31) and 有夠 *u-kau* ‘very’ in (32). *Sit-tsai* serves to intensify the speaker’s evaluation conveyed by the following adjectives.

- (31) <L2 脊椎 L2>在 開刀 實在 足 危險 e.\
 jichui the khui-to sit-tsai tsiok hui-hiam e
 spine at operate really very dangerous UFP
 ‘Operation on spine is **truly** very dangerous.’
- (32) 你的 個性 實在 有夠 戇直.\
 li-e ko-sing sit-tsai u-kau gong-tit
 your personality really very stupid-straight
 ‘Your personality is **truly** very honest and straightforward.’

Some Expressive TREs of emphasizing or intensifying function are frequently used to reprimand the addressee or a third non-present speaker. Their intensifying function helps strengthen the force of exasperation. *Sit-tsai* is used most frequently to show speakers’ exasperation. The manifestations of such TREs include TRE plus *si*, TRE plus UFP *honnh*, excessive construction plus TRE, and lone TRE.

As shown in the previous section, TRE emphasizer usually emphasizes the force of the predicate containing a focus marker *si* such as *sit-tsai si tshun-king* ‘(I) am really respectful (for someone).’ However, when the modified proposition is negative and sometimes truncated, TRE plus *si* is left to convey one’s negative evaluation, thus to reprimand someone or something. What’s more, the focus marker *si* can be omitted; therefore, a lone TRE can be used to reprimand someone or something. It may also be tagged by an utterance final particle as *honnh* to express one’s exasperation. In other cases, these TREs collocate with an excessive construction to strengthen the mood. Detailed discussion is as follows.

The negative comment followed by the emphatic marker *si* can be omitted; therefore, TRE *si* becomes an expression of conveying an exasperated mood. In example (33), an older female speaker B is talking to a younger female speaker C about Ms. Bai Bing-bing's daughter, who was kidnapped and killed. Speaker B claims that Ms. Bai herself was very regretful for not hiring a bodyguard and went on making comments on it. She used two TRE emphasizees *tsin-tsiann sit-tsai* plus a focus marker *si* to express her negative comment leaving the evaluation unexpressed. Then she dropped the original turn and rephrased her comment by asking a question *I kam tsiann-sit sio li-siong* 'is she really too idealistic?'

(33)

734B: <L2 白冰冰 L2> 有 講 a ne.\

bai bing-bing u kong a ne

PN have say UFP UFP

735 伊 講, _

i kong

she say

736 <L2 她 後悔 就是 沒有 請 個 保鏢 L2>.\

ta houhui jiu shi meiyou qing ge baobiao

she regret just COP NEG hire a bodyguard

737C: m.\

RT

738B: <Q<L2 我 要 過 正常 人, _

wo yao guo zheng-chang ren

I want live ordinary people

739 就 不 讓 我 過 L2>Q>.\

jiu bu rang wo guo

just NEG let me live

→740 <L2 白冰冰 L2> 真正 實在 是, _

bai bing-bing tsin-tsiann sit-tsai si

PN really really COP

741 伊 敢, _

i kam

she how
 742 [伊 敢 誠實] 傷 理想 hio.\
 i kam tsiann-sit siong li-siong hio
 she how really too ideal UFP

‘B: Ms. Bai said, she regretted that she hadn’t hired a bodyguard.

‘C: Yes.

B: She said, I want to be like a normal people but fail to. Ms. Bai **really truly is...** Is she really too idealistic?’

Five tokens of this pattern are found in our database. Three of them leave the negative evaluation unsaid. Two of them are followed by negative assessments such as 彼客人菜實在是, 足歹食 e la. *he kheh-lang tschai sit-tsai si tsiok bai chiah* ‘Hakka dishes are indeed very unsavory.’ Tokens of this type serve the function of emphasizer or even upgrader, amplifying the force the negative comment. The following negative proposition usually is the content of expressing exasperation. In Mandarin Chinese counterpart *shizaishi*, Wu (2010) claims that the truncated TRE plus *shi* has lexicalized as a single lexical unit. However, the number of the TSM tokens is small; thus, we cannot claim *sit-tsai si* is lexicalized.

More frequently, the emphatic marker *si* in the pattern TRE *si* is omitted to express one’s exasperation. That is, a lone TRE itself can also be used to perform this function. We will discuss it in next section.

A frequent collocate of *sit-tsai u-iann* is usually used to express strong emotion. In example (34), A and B, who are sisters, are talking about their sister’s depression after getting cancer. B is claiming a fact that the sister has lost so much weight that she even can’t wear her old clothes. After A and B sigh about this, A gives a further assessment by stressing the truth with *u-iann* and an evaluation of the weight loss.

(34)

738 B: [真正 按]呢 講 瘦 八九 公斤 la.\
tsin-tsiann an-ne kong san pe-kau kong-kin la
really like-this say thin eight nine kilogram UFP
739 講 伊 遐 e 衫 攏 袂 穿去.\
long i hia e san long bueh tshing-i
say her there ASSC clothes all NEG wear

740 AB: ((sighing))

→741 A: 實在 有影.\
sit-tsai u-iann
really true

742 honnh,\
honnh
DM

743 啊 彼 八 九 公斤 佢 濟 a hio.\
a he pe-kau kong-kin gua tse a hio
DM that eight nine kilogram how many UFP UFP

'B: Really lost eight, nine kilos..she can't wear her clothes..

AB: ((sighing))

A: **Really**..those eight, nine kilos are many. '

Sit-tsai u-iann without an immediately ensuing evaluation in this example involves subjective emotion—feeling strong sympathy for their sister, or even showing her distress and exasperation to the helpless situation. Something inappropriate seems to be truncated after *u-iann*. This use is similar to the one of the uses of *zhensi* in Mandarin Chinese indicating a ramification of social concern¹¹ (Wu 2010:60). There are nine tokens of *sit-tsai u-iann* and they are all manifested with strong emotion.

The following example is the continuation of the last excerpt. B is talking about

¹¹ Wu (2010) points out that *zhensi* without ensuing evaluation could be due to *cognitive limitation* or a *ramification of social concern*. When people criticize a person or a fact, people tend to be implicit rather than giving an overt attack.

(ex) B: 我發覺東方人都會鑽法律漏洞。

A: 對丫! 東方人**真是**。 B: 那澳洲他們就真的比較一步一步來。

how she tries to help their depressed sister but it seems to be in vain. A takes the turn with an interjection *a* and then followed with *sit-tsai u-iann* ‘really truly’ to show her strong emotion to the helpless situation. Further, she explicates the emotion of disbelief in the next turn by saying 哪會汰會攏會按呢 *na tai-e long an-ne* ‘why this keeps happening.’

(35)

- 1111 B: [henn a,_
 right UFP
- 1112 我] 就 給 講,_
 gua toh ka kong
 I just DISP say
- 1113 <Q 啊 你 就 想 互 開 Q>.\
- a li to siunn ho khui
 DM you just think give far
- 1114 伊 講,_
 i kong
 he say
- 1115 <Q hunn,\
- 1116 ni 桑 講,_
 ni-sann kong
 sister’s husband say
- 1117 <Q henn a.\
- right UFP
- 1118 啊=,_
 a
 DM
- 1119 阮= 給 講 攏 嘛 講@,_
 guan kah kong long ma kong
 we DISP say always also say
- 1120 講,_
 kong
 say
- 1121 講,_
 kong

- say
 1122 講 就 按呢 講 Q>Q>@@.
 kong toh an-ne kong
 say just like-this say
- 1123A: 咱 就 咱--
 lan to lan
 we just we
- 1124 因為 咱 就 毋 是 伊 le.\
 in-ui lan to m- si i le
 because we just NEG COP she UFP
- 1125B: [啊=!\
 a
 DM
- 1126 實在].\
 sit-tsai
 really
- 1127A: [啊=!\
 a
 DM
- 1128實在] 有影.\
 sit-tsai u-iann
 really true
- 1129 哪會 汰會 攏 會 按呢 hann?\
 na thai-e long e an-ne hann
 how can all will like-this UFP

'B: Right. I told her to let it go. She said her uncle said, I also talk to her this way.

A: But we..., because we are not she.

B: Sigh, really.

A: Sigh, **really truly**. How could this happen again?'

Some TRE attached with utterance final particle *honnh* constitutes as an emotive tag, expressing negative evaluations. In addition to emphasizing the force of negative comments, *sit-tsai* especially is used to express strong emotion tagged with an utterance final particle *honnh* (Li 1999). Example (36) illustrates this use:

(36) (It is a TV soap opera, talking about transsexual look. Wen-huei had a bet with others. If he lost, he has to dress like a drag queen. His father is angry about it. Speaker A is his grandmother, who says something to talk into his father.)

17 A: 親像 恁 老爸 遐 la.\
 tshan-tshiunn lin lau-pe hia la
 like your father there UFP

18 阿嬤 是 按呢,_
 a-ma si an-ne
 grandmother COP like-this

19 有 喙 講 甲 無 瀾 ne./
 u tshui kong kah bo nua ne
 have mouth say KAH no saliva UFP

20 恁 老爸 才 無 受氣 o.\
 lin lau-pe tsiah bo siu-khi o
 your father just NEG angry UFP

→21 ^你 **實在** honnh,_
 li sit-tsai honnh,
 you really UFP

22 ^有夠 讞 e la!\
 u-kau ham e la
 very over UFP UFP

23 tse=!((sigh))
 tse

‘A: Like talking to your father. Grandma tries hard to talk to him so your father wasn’t angry. You **really!** Very over!’

In example (36), the scenario is about Wen-huei’s drag-queen look, which makes his father angry. Wen-huei’s grandmother helps him say something nice to his father. *Sit-tsai honnh* is grandmother’s negative expression to scold Wen-huei’s improper act. *U-kau ham le* ‘very over’ is the followed description, which is also negative. We also found examples of TRE plus *honnh* without any explicit evaluative content recoverable from the surrounding talk.

(37)

197. A: 啊<L2 止痛藥 L2> 是 咧 治.<L2 治 治 本 L2>
a zhi-tong-yao si leh ti zhi zhi ben
DM painkiller COP at cure cure cure symptom
e le na\
e le na
UFP UFP UFP
198. [啊 你 你 根本]--
a li li king-pun
DM you you basically
199. B: [想 講 彼 互] 食 落 就 好 a\
siunn kong he hoo tsiah lo to ho a
think say that give eat down just OK UFP
200. A: 食 落 就 好 袂 痛\
tsiah lo to ho bue thiann
eat down just OK NEG hurt
201. 啊<L2 止痛藥 L2> [退退] 彼 lo a\
a zhi-tong-yao the-the hit lo a
DM painkiller recede-recede that UFP
202. B: [過 過]--
kue kue
pass pass
203. 過 就 閣 痛\
kue to koh thiann
pass just again hurt
204. A: 伊 彼<L2 止痛藥 L2> 是 咧 麻痺 神經 互 你--
i he zhi-tong-yao si leh ba-bi sin-king hoo li
he that painkiller COP at paralyze nerve give you
205. 啊 你 彼 病母 猶閣 在 le\
a li he pinn-bu iau-koh ti le
DM you that disease-root still exist UFP
206. 啊 你 啥物[彼\
a li siann-mih he
DM you what-thing that
- 207. 喔] 你 實在 honnh\
o li sit-tsai honnh
DM you really UFP
208. B: [hum].\

RT

A: Painkillers are used to relieve the pain. You cannot..

B: I thought having painkillers will do.

A: Having painkillers relieves your pain. But after they [lost the function]...

B: [painful] again.

A: Painkillers paralyze your nerve, but the root of your disease is still there. You what.. you **really!**

B: mm.'

In example (37), Speaker A and Speaker B are brother and sister. Speaker A is concerned about B's periodontosis. B replied that it's not that serious and claimed that it can be cured by painkillers (line 198). Speaker A explained that painkillers just help relieve one's temporary pain instead of actually curing the periodontosis. At the end of her nagging, she said *li sit-tsai honnh* 'you really...' without the following evaluation. *Sit-tsai honnh* itself delivers a subjective evaluation—a disagreement of what Speaker B's reaction to her periodontosis with the evaluative expression implied to yield a less extreme tone.

In sum, truth-related emphasizeers in TSM not only bring enforcement of the predicate, but also TREs themselves are interpreted as an evaluation, usually a dispreferred response to the previous description. When TREs are used to emphasize the force of negative statement and such statement is left unsaid, lone TREs themselves carry the negative evaluative meaning to express one's exasperation. According to Li (2002:119), this kind of truncation is due to the speaker's "avoidance of social impropriety."

Exasperation also comes along with excessive construction. Five tokens of *u-iann* are found to be compounded with an excessive construction¹² (Liu 2008) such

¹² Liu (2008) discusses Excessive Construction in Taiwan Mandarin and points out that V C_{EXCESS} denotes the extremity of V, which can be thought of as a way to exaggerate. In Mandarin Chinese, Excessive Construction can be presented with or without the excessive complement; it will be followed with perfective marker *le* or the object NP, which are the two possible elements attached to the excessive construction.

as 魯死 *loo si* ‘bother to death,’ and 氣死 *khi si* ‘angry to death.’

In example (38), a mother (M) and a daughter (T) are complaining about the appearance of ants in their house. The daughter is stating a fact that the ants appear as soon as there is something which has smell of food. The situation is undesirable to her. In order to show her anger to it, she uses an excessive construction plus *u-iann* to express her excessive emotion.

(38)

956 M:[去 到 叨位 就 按呢 6].\

khi kau to-ui to an-ne
go to where just like-this

957 T:全款 o=, _

kang-khuan o
same UFP

958 T:就 是^ 狗蟻 若 鼻著 味 就 來,/

to- si kau-hia na phi-tioh bi to lai
just COP ants if smell smell just come

→959 T:..^氣=^ 死= 有影 M>.\

khi si u-iann
angry death really

960 M:...大家 攏 按呢._

ta-ke long an-ne
everyone all like-this

961 T:...(8)無= 彼 舊 厝 就 是 按呢<F 所以 我

bo= he ku- tshu to si an-ne soo-i gua
NEG that old- house just COP like-this so I

講 我 以後 買 厝
kong gua i-au be- tshu
say I future buy house

我 無 愛 買 舊 厝,\
gua bo ai be ku- tshu

I NEG love buy old house

962 T:我 欲 買 新 厝 F>.\

gua beh be sin- tshu

I want buy new house
 ‘M: It is like this wherever you go.
 T: Yes. When ants smell something, they come. **Really** angry to death.
 M: Everybody has the same experience.
 T: No, you will have ants only in an old house. So I will buy a new house instead
 of an old house in the future. I want to buy a new house.’

A similar example is in (39). It’s an excerpt of conversation between a mother and her daughters. The daughters are playing ball in the garden. The housekeeper is not there to be able to play ball with them; therefore, one of the daughters offers a suggestion that they should teach their mother how to play. All the daughters agree on the idea and keep saying *ho ho ho* ‘yes, yes, yes.’ Their mother in the next turn declines the invitation angrily. To show the emphasis on her anger, she also uses an excessive construction plus *u-iann*.

(39)

054 N: 煞煞去 la.\
 suah-suah-khi la
 forget-it UFP
 055 啥物 咧 好?\
 siann-mih leh ho
 what at good
 056 好 啥物.\
 ho siann-mih
 good what-thing
 057 ...(8)<F ho ho ho 唷 F>!\
 ho ho ho io
 yes yes yes UFP
 →058 氣死人 有影.\
 khi-si-lang u-iann
 angry-death-people really
 059 啊 這的話 你 也 講 會 出來.\
 a tsit e ue li ia kong e tshut-lai
 DM this speech you also say can out

‘N: Forget it! What’s good? What’s good? **Really** pissed me off! How can you say so?’

The above two examples are the ones of excessive construction plus *u-iann*. The syntactic formation is very unique. *U-iann* can either act as a predicative complement, constituting a small clause, which shares the same subject with the excessive construction, or as the predicate of a clausal subject, which is an excessive construction. Or it can be viewed as a result of displacement. When *u-iann* is used in excessive expressions, displacement usually occurs. For example, 有影氣死人 *u-iann khi-si lang* ‘it’s really pissed me off’ will become 氣死人有影 *khi-si lang u-iann* ‘Making me angry to death is real.’ *U-iann* originally is situated in the position of adverbial to modify excessive emotion, and then displacement occurs, attached to the clausal subjective excessive construction. Preceding the excessive construction may be a complaining statement, or a fact, which incurs the speaker’s excessive emotions evaluating the previous statement.

Concessive TREs are those which are not employed to strengthen the force of the predicate, but to delimit the force. They are used to indicate a concession. Usually, they appear in a contrastive structure or collocate with a limiting marker such as *toh* or *kah*. *U-iann* takes up more than half of the tokens (nine out of fourteen). *Sit-tsai* only has five tokens.

TREs in TSM occur with a contrastive structure to express concession. In (40), *u-iann* functions as a sub-modifier since it modifies another adverbial phrase *tsiok kui* ‘very expensive.’ It is a conversation between a father (F) and a visitor (S). They are discussing the ingredients of a prescription of Chinese herbal medicine. The father claims that he is informed that no one produces the medicine of the prescription anymore. He thinks the medicine is really expensive, but if one can find the ingredient,

the medicine is totally worth the high expense. In order to show his contrast, F uses a construction *shi...tan-si*, in which the speaker puts the focus of the information on the *tan-shi* sentence. The intensifier *u-iann* is especially put in the *si* clause not to amplify the degree of high price, but to indicate the concession.

(40)

- 128 F:(0)啊 就=,_
a to
DM just
- 129 ...毋 就 有 地 揣?
m to u te tshue
NEG just have place find
- 130 ..這味,_
tsit-bi
this recipe
- 131 ..這味 我 聽 講 無 咧 做 a\
tsit-bi gua thiann kong bo leh tse a
this recipe I hear say NEG at do UFP
- 132 ...(17.5)貴= 是 有影 足^ 貴\
kui si u-iann tsiok kui
expensive COP really very expensive
- 133 ..但是 若 有,_
tan-si na u
but if have
- 134 ...(.8)[有^ 地 1] 揣 honnh\
u te tshue honnh
have place find UFP
- 135 S:[啊 毋過 1],_
a m-ku
DM but
- 136 ..[henn2].\
right
- 137 F:[貴 是 2] 有 彼 le 貴 e 價值.\
kui si u hit le kui e ke-tat
expensive COP have that expensive ASSC worth
- 138 S:heou la\

right UFP

'F: You have to find it. This recipe is no longer produced. It is **really** expensive, but if you can find it. S: But... F: It is worthy of the high price.'

TREs collocating with limiting marker *toh* or *khah* show concession to the present description. All the tokens of this use are *u-iann*. When the speaker wants to give an evaluation, *u-iann* is compounded with the limiting marker *toh* or *khah* to point out the statement which is comparatively true or practical. *Toh* serves a limiting function (Lin 1996) and *khah* serves a comparative function. When *u-iann* collocates with *toh* or *khah*, it is used to foreground the truth of the co-occurring statement in contrast with the positive side about doing much work. The speaker uses this to make a contrast with previous stretch of talk, which could be made by the interlocutor or the speaker himself/herself.

(41)

351 U:[唉]!\

ai

UFP

352 <X 遮 e X> 就 做 濟 項, _
tsiah e to tso tse hang
this NOM just do many item

353 較 b---

khah b---

more b-

354 較 袂<@無聊 m @>._

khah bue bo-liau m

more NEG boring UFP

355 Y:hio?\

hio

UFP

356 [做 濟 項 1]--

tso tse hang

do many item

→357 U:<@[啊 毋過 舞甲 1] 欲 死 就 有影@@>._
 a m-koh bu-kah beh si toh u-iann
 DM NEG-still work-KAH want die just real

‘U: Doing more work will less bore me.

Y: yeah? Do more items..

U: But **it is true that** I am busy to death.’

In (41), it’s a dialogue between a niece (Y) and an uncle (U) discussing the job as an interior designer. The uncle first makes a statement that doing more work means less boredom, which shows his positive stance toward his job, but he continues with a concessive marker *a-m-koh* ‘but’ to link with his following contrastive statement *mu-kah-beh-si toh u-iann* ‘being busy to death is real’. *Toh* here is to limit the scope of the later proposition (Lin 1996) in an emphatic manner and the focus should be put in the revised contrastive statement. *Khah* plus *u-iann* also displays the same function as shown in (42):

(42)

79 B: [伊 講, _

i kong

he say

80 伊 講, _

i kong

he say

81 e, \

e

DM

82 <Q 啊 2]我 袂曉 炒炒 le 才 揸 去 Q>, \

a gua beh-hiau tsha-tsha le tsiah kuann khi

DM I NEG-can fry-fry ASP then take go

83 A: [@@@@@3]

@@@@

84 B: [我 今仔 躡遮 阮 兜 食食 le 才 來

gua kin-a tua-tsia guan tau tsiah-tsiah le tsiah lai

I today at-here my house eat-eat ASP then come
 → <@淋 茶@>3].\ 較 有影
 lim te khah u-iann
 drink tea more real
 85 [@@@@4]
 @@@@
 86 A: [@<@宛 欲 笑 死@>(H Hx H Hx)4].\
 guan beh tshio si
 we want laugh die

‘B: He said..he said..I can fry it first and carry it there.

A: @@@@

B: It is more realistic that I have meals at home and go to have tea today.

A: It’s hilarious to death.’

In this example, two people are discussing how a meeting will be held. A third non-present speaker offered a suggestion. Two speakers might think that the suggestion is not workable and probably will be a burden to the non-present speaker. B claimed that he should eat before going to the meeting, which was comparatively more workable. *Khah u-iann* is also used in an emphatic manner to emphasize that it is more realistic to eat before going to the meeting.

In this section, we have discussed four main functions of expressive TREs in TSM: *emphasizer*, *upgrading*, *exasperation*, and *concessive* uses. Although previous studies on English TREs emphasize that the shift of the syntactic position plays an important part of that of the semantic meaning and pragmatic function, TREs in TSM are more heterogeneous in form. Also, some overlapping might occur; thus we elaborate our point function by function.

Truth-related *emphasizers* are employed to emphasize the force of the predicate. *Emphasizers* mostly appear in the position of an *adverbial*. When they are used to emphasize gradable predicates, which usually have been modified by an *intensifier*, they help boost the meaning of the predicate. Thus, we call it an *upgrading* function.

More frequently, emphasizees and upgrading TREs are used to augment the force of a negative evaluation in order to convey speakers' exasperated mood. In addition to being situated in the pre-predicate position such as *sit-tsai si*, exasperation TREs have different forms such as a truncated TRE, lone TRE plus *honnh*, a frequent collocate like *sit-tsai u-iann*, or TRE within an excessive construction. The part of speech of a truncated TRE or TRE as a tag of an excessive construction is far from an adverbial; instead, it is much more similar to a predicate. Biber et. al. (1999) describe the truncated TRE as an "structurally unconnected element" or "adverbials as utterances." They do not specifically put them into a different category possibly because of the suffix *-ly* that emphasizees in English have.

We can provide a semantic link of expressive TREs from emphasizee to exasperation as shown in Figure 2.

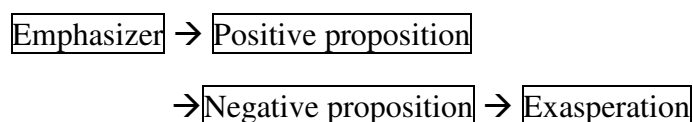


Figure 3. From emphasizee to exasperation

An even more interesting function that is seldom pointed out in the previous literature is the concessive use of *u-iann*. TRE *u-iann* exhibits this special usage when it collocates with contrastive marker *m-koh* or limiting marker *toh* and *khah*. This function is triggered by the collocation.

The four functions that we have observed are loaded with subjective and evaluative interpretations and speakers take a certain type of stance toward a given fact or state of affairs by the use of TREs. TREs can not only be used subjectively but also intersubjectively. Next section will discuss TREs that are used interactively.

3.3 Interactive Functions

In addition to being used predicatively or pre-predicatively to describe the truth value of a fact or expressively intensify the force of an evaluation, TREs can also be employed interactively. For instance, TREs act as a responsive token to express an emotive sense such as showing surprise or expressing agreement with strong emotion. They always occur in the second turn of an other-initiated pair and occur alone as an intonation unit. Also, they can also collocate with a verb of saying *kong* to preface a dispreferred statement.

According to the functions they perform, TREs as a responsive token like *zhende* *o* in Mandarin Chinese (Lin2007) and *really?* in English (McCarthy 2003). The TREs in our database can be further divided into two types: *agreement* and *affective*. *Agreement* TREs are those which express agreement toward the interlocutor. *Affective* TREs are those which convey affective attitude such as surprise or doubt as a response.

Agreement TREs are used to show one's agreement toward the previous statement made by the interlocutor. *U-iann* is the most frequently-used TRE with this function. In (43), *u-iann* alone as a turn is used to signal the receipt of the information that the previous speaker made and express the speaker's agreement.

(43)

- 1073 T: 伊 真 濟 朋友 e.\
i tsin tse ping-iu e
he really many friend ASSC
- 1074 T:...(1.9) 請 人 食飯 a 創 啥.\
tshian lang tsiah-png a tshong siann
treat person eat rice DM do what
- 1075 T: ...^真 無閒 e 伊._
tsiann bo-ing e i
very busy ASSC he
- 1076 M: ...(8) 有影._

u-iann

really

1077 T: ...啊 就 愛 去 叨位 迢迢 就 去 叨位 迢迢 a._

ah to ai khi toa tshit-tho to khi toa tshit-tho a

DM just love go where play just go where play UFP

‘T: He has many friends. Treat someone to have meals something like that..He’s really busy.

M: **True.**

T: He goes wherever he wants to play.’

Excerpt (43) is a conversation between a mother (M) and a daughter (T). They are talking about a friend, who was retired and joined a club of senior citizens. The daughter made an assessment that this friend has many friends and is very busy treating them to have meals. The mother then replied *u-iann*, showing her agreement toward her daughter’s statement. The daughter takes the floor back to go on with her statement. *U-iann* in this example is viewed as a response token, showing agreement on the fact that this friend was really busy.

Tsin-tsiann can also be used as a marker of agreement in a responsive turn. In example (44), two female speakers are talking about the speaker B’s periodontosis. The speaker A is asking B to take care of her teeth. B replied with *tsin-tsiann*—*e* to show her agreement toward the A’s statement. This agreement marker not only shows the supportive stance but also helps the conversation turn-taking mechanism proceed smoothly.

(44)

665. C: henn a.\

right UFP

666. 你 你 就 愛. 愛. ti-

li li to ai ai ti

you you just love love at

667. 哎哟, _

ai-io

- DM
668. 這馬 健康 較 重要 你 毋 知 o?
 tsit-ma kian-khong khah tiong-iau li m tsai o
 now health more important you NEG know UFP
669. B: hum.\
- RT
670. C: 喙齒 你 若. 無 去,_
 tshui-khi li na bo khi
 tooth you if NEG go
671. [後擺 麻煩].\
 au-pai ma-huan
 next-time trouble
- 672. B: [真正 e ne].\
 tsin-tsiann e ne
 really NOM UFP

673. C: henn a.\
 right UFP

‘C: Right. You have to... Now health is more important, you know?’

B: Right.

C: If you don’t go to the dentist, it will get serious.

B: That’s true.

C: Right.’

Besides expressing agreement, TREs are used to show strong emotion. Among the TREs in question, most tokens of this type of use go to *tsin-e* and *u-iann*. Six out of the fifteen tokens of *tsin-e* plus the sentence final particle *o* to form a question, showing the speaker’s subjective emotion, to be specific, surprise, toward the interlocutor’s statement as shown in (45). Example (45) is a telephone conversation between a male speaker (P) and a female speaker (Y). The speaker P is giving advice to Speaker S about her drunken husband. Speaker P is describing a past event. Speaker Y shows her surprise by saying *tsin-e o* ‘really’?

(45)

020 P:[我<X 先 X>]XX, _

- gua sian
 I hus-
 021 我 給 阮 太太 講 honnh,\
 gua kah guan thai-thai kong honnh,
 I DISP my wife say UFP
 022 我 六點 e 時陣 honnh,\
 gua lak-tiam e si-tsun honnh,
 I six-o'clock ASSC time UFP
 023 ...會 趕 轉 去,\
 e kuann- tng khi
 will hurry turn go
 024 ..趕 轉 去 按呢 la.\
 kuann- tng khi an-ne la
 hurry turn go like-this UFP
 →025 Y:真 e [o 1]?\
 tsin-e o
 really UFP
 026 P:[XX1]所以我 認為 我 愛 先 走 按[呢 la 2].\
 so-i gua jin-ui gua ai sing tsau an-ne la
 so I think I need first go this-way UFP
 027 Y:<L2[後來 2] 你 就 回家 了 o L2>?\
 hou lai ni jiu hui jia le o
 afterward you just go home UFP UFP

'P: I told my wife I will at six o'clock rush to home. Rush to home..

Y: Really?

P: So, I think I should go..

Y: Afterward, you go home?'

U-iann also frequently collocates with utterance-final particles. For example, *u-iann* is tagged with the utterance-final particle *o* to form a rhetorical question, which is used to show one's unexpectedness or surprise.

(46) (The speakers are talking a man who likes to go to their store and take something without paying money. Speaker D goes into A's house and asks if there is a special occasion to have prepared so much food. Speaker D then is invited to have dinner by the hostess A.)

- 65 D: e.\
- 66 ^哎=啲.\
ai=io
aiyo
- 67 啊就,_
a-to,
DM
- 68 今仔日 啥物 日子 按呢,_
kin-a-jit siann-mih jit-tsit an-ne
today what day like-this
- 69 按呢 攢 甲 遮 豐沛 hann.\
an-ne tshuan kah tshiah phong-phai hann
like-this prepare KAH this feast UFP
- 70 啊就,_
a-to,
DM
- 71 哎啲 阮 也 無 紮 禮物 來 a le@@@.\
ai-io guan ia- bo tsah le-but lai a le
DM we also NEG bring gift come UFP UFP
- 72A: @免 la.\
biam la.
No UFP
- 73A: 啊就 這頓 honnh,_
a to tsit-tng honnh,_
DM this-meal UFP
- 74 我 請.\
gua tshiann
I treat
- 75 免 納 錢.\
bian lap tsinn
NEG pay money
- 76 D: 啊 有影 o.\
a u-iann o
DM really UFP

'D: Oh, what's the occasion? You've prepared so much delicious food. Oh, I didn't bring any gifts.

A: It's okay. I treat you! You don't have to pay.

D: **Really?**

((In the following, the speaker D asks his daughter to thank speaker A by making a toast to her.))

In example (46), a family is having a nice dinner. A neighbor (D) happens to visit the family. The grandma in the family (A) invites the neighbor to have dinner together. But the neighbor is embarrassed because of not bringing any gifts with her. The old grandma is very generous and says it's a treat. The treat to dinner is an unexpected event to the neighbor. Therefore, she shows her unexpectedness by saying *u-iann o*. This use is similar to the *zhende o* in Mandarin Chinese. One of the uses is to show surprise and interest (Lin 2005).

Not only the sentence final particle comprises the use, but the prosodic feature does so. With rising intonation, *u-iann* forms a question to show one's surprise. That *u-iann* is used as a question is further supported by a rising intonation, which is typical of a question. Some of the examples of *u-iann* are found with this prosody.

(47) (The speakers are talking about make-up.)

95 B: 啊 我 變 裝 a,
a gua pian tson a,
DM I change clothes UFP

96 完全 攏 是 伊 畫 的\
uan-tsuan long si i ue e
total all COP he draw NOM

→97 A: (Hx)有影?\
u-iann?
really

98 E: 著 lah
tioh lah
yes UFP

'B: I dress differently. She does all the make-up..

A: **Really?**

E: Yes.'

In (47), this is a conversation in a TV drama. Grandma (A) is asking his grandson (B) about a girl (E) who accompanied him home. The grandson explains his relation with the girl by claiming that the make-up part is all made by the girl. Grandma shows her surprise by asking *u-iann* with a rising intonation. The girl takes the turn to confirm the doubt.

Kam, an interrogative adverb, often collocates with *u-iann* to form a question to show the disbelief or doubt of the speaker, as in (48):

(48)

392. B: 這個<L2 分級 L2>,_

tsit-e fenji

this level

393. 喔<L2 分層 L2> 的 <L2 管制 L2> 做 了 好 ma.\

o fen-ceng e guan-zhi tso liau ho ma

DM section-floor ASSC control do ASP well UFP

→394. A: 敢有影?\

kam u-iann

really

395. B: henn.\

right

‘B: This classification.. oh..level control is functioning well.

A: **Really?**

B: Yeah.’

In (48), it’s a TV interview between the host (A) and a former mayor of Kaohsiung City (B). In the period of the outbreak of SARS, B claims that the control system in a hospital is functioning well. The host shows his doubt with *kam u-iann* ‘really?’ In the next turn, B responds A by reasserting the truth of the statement he previously made.

In this section, we have shown that TREs can be used not only to intensify the force of the predicate but also to express one’s position of stance or one’s emotion.

What's more, we also know that TREs can not only be descriptive/objective and expressive/subjective. They are very interactive/intersubjective since the affective attitude is in response to the statement made by the previous speaker, which is a collaborative interaction.

TREs in TSM can be used to preface a dispreferred statement when they collocate with verbs of communication such as 講 *kong* 'say.' TREs then are nominalized as a noun phrase, meaning "truth." The TRE phrases are classified as discourse markers since they are placed at the beginning of an utterance, cataphorically framing an assessment, which is very similar to *truthly speaking* in English and 說真的 *shuo-shizai-de* in Mandarin (Wu 2010).

Tsin-e can serve as a noun phrase, meaning 'truth.' It collocates with a verb 講 *kong* 'say' to form a predicate to indicate the actuality of the following proposition. Example (49) is an excerpt of a radio interview. Speaker D and Speaker A are the hostess of the program. Speaker E is the interviewee, who is an English teacher. They are talking about the importance of English education. Speaker E previously proposes that if children learn English too early, when they attend junior high school, they will totally forget what they have learned. Speaker D gives a counter claim that if students did not start learning English until they attend junior high school, almost none of them can catch up with the early starters. By inserting 講真 *e la kong tsin-e la* 'to tell the truth' to the seemingly hyperbolic statement containing the noun phrase ninety-nine percent of the students, Speaker D emphasizes what she is going to say is real and challenges the viewpoint held by the hostess D.

(49)

326 E:[<L2 對 L2>2]._
due
right

- 327 而且 你 這陣 學 學 e,\
jit-tshiann li tsit-tsun oh oh e
moreover you this-time learn learn UFP
- 328 ..我 問 你,\
gua mng li
I ask you
- 329 你--
li
you
- 330 <L2 到 國中,\
dao guo zhong
to junior high
- 331 是 不 是 忘得 一乾二淨 L2>?\
shi bu shi wang de yi-gan-er-jing
COP NEG COP forget clean
- 332 A:(0)就 是--
to si
just COP
- 333 有 e 人 就 是 有 e 爸母 會講,\
u-e lang to si u-e pe-mu e-kong
some people just COP some parents can- say
- 334 ...^我 就 是 愛 提早 互 伊 給 伊,\
gua to si ai the-tsa ho i kah i
I just COP want advance give him DISP him
- 335 ..^教.\
ka
teach
- 336 教 互 伊 比較 卡 會--
ka ho i pi-kau khah e
teach give him comparatively more can
- 337 清楚.\
tshing-tsho
clear
- 338 以後 伊 欲 讀 國中 較 毋 免
i-hau i beh thak kok-tiong khah m- bian
afterward he want read junior high more NEG can
遐爾 艱苦.\
hiah-ni kan-khoo.\

- that painful
- 339 ...有 e 人 嘛 是 有 這 lo 想法 a=._
u-e-lang ma- si u tsit-lo siunn-huat a
some people also COP have this thought UFP
- 340 D:(0)是=._
si
right
- 341 A:...hunn.\
RT
- 342 (B):[^henn 1].\
right
- 343 E:[著 1].\
tioh
right
- 344 D:...因為 這[馬 2] 齊齊 大家 攏 國小
in-ui tsit-ma tsiau-tsiau ta-ke long kok-sio
because now even everyone all elementary school
開始 就 若咧 學 a._
khai-si to na leh oh a
start just at learn UFP
- 345 E:[henn 2].\
right
- 346 D:啊 你--
a- li
DM you
- 347 可比 講--
kho-pi kong
similarly say
- 348 讀 高%--
thak ko-
read high
- 349 e%--
DM
- 350 讀^ 國中 a 你 才 位<E<MRC ABC MRC>E>開始 學,_
thek ko-tiong a li tsiah ui ABC khai-si oh
read junior high UFP you only start ABC start learn
- 351 ...enn (Hx)
enn

- 352 講 真 e la,\
kong tsin-e la
say truth UFP
- 353 百分之 九十九 點 九,\
pa-hun-tsi kau-tsap-kau tiam kau
percent ninty-nie point nine
- 354 你%--
li
you
- 355 ..^綴 人 [袂 著],\
te lang bue tioh,\
follow people NEG catch

'E: You learn now. I ask you. When you attend junior high, won't you forget all?

A: But some parents think learning earlier can make their children clearer. After they attend junior high, they won't suffer this much. Some people have this consideration.

D: Yes.

A: Yes.

B: Yes.

D: It is like that you learn from ABC in junior high school. **To tell the truth**, 99% of students cannot catch up with others.'

Another TRE *tsiann-sit*, like *sit-tsai*, can collocate with *kong* to form various phrases like 講誠實 e *kong tsiann-sit e* 'to tell the truth,' and 誠實講 *tsiann-sit kong*. They function as a prefacing of a statement containing counter-expectedness of the interlocutor as shown in (50).

(50)

316. B: <Q 啊 哪 無=<L2 戴 □ 罩 L2> e,\
<Q ah na bo=<L2 dai kou zhaoL2> e
DM why no wear mouth mask UFP
317. 會 使 無愛 互%,\
e- sai bo-ai ho
can- do NEG-want give
318. 坐 車 e Q>.\
tse- tshia e
sit- car UFP

319. A: 著.\
 tioh
 right
- 320. B: 但是 彼陣仔 阮. 誠實講 honnh,_
 tan-si hit-tsun-a guan. tsiann-sit-kong honnh,_
 but that-time we truly say UFP
321. A: hum.\
 RT
322. B: 阮 毋敢 執行 la.\
 guan m-kann tsip-hing la.
 we NEG dare enforce UFP
323. A: e.\
 RT
324. B: 因為 彼陣仔,_
 in-ui hit-tsun-a
 because that-time
325. 無 夠 a.\
 bo- kau a
 NEG enough UFP
326. [買 無<L2 □ 罩 L2>a].\
 be bo kou zhao
 buy no mouth mask

'B: people who don't wear mouth masks...cannot let him get into the car..

A: yea..

B: But at that time, I..**truly speaking**..

A: hum..

B: I daren't enforce.

A: eh..

B: Because..at that time. insufficient...nowhere to buy mouth masks.'

In our data, there's a frequent verbal collocate *kong* 'speak' with *sit-tsai*, which occurs in thirteen tokens in the database. *Kong sit-tsai* represents a forecasting function to the listener since what the speaker is going to say might be unexpected to the listener. In example (51), the two broadcasters are discussing the content of a Japanese novel, dealing with the topic of love affairs. Host A is commenting on the love affairs. He uses *kong sit-tsai* to preface the following negative/unexpected

statement.

(51)

A: .. 伊 放揀 伊 尅,
i pang-sat i- ang
she abandon her husband
... 彼 當陣 ne 伊 尅 嘛 佢 別人 做伙.
hit tong-tsun ne i- ang ma kah pat-lang tso-hue
that time UFP her husband also with other together

B: ... mhm.

RT

A: .. 一 個 月.
tsit- ko- gueh
one- CLF month
... e 心態 會 按怎 想.
e sim-thai e an-tsuann siong

B: ... 著.

tioh

right

A: (0) 這 是 這 這 就 是 honnh,
tse si tse tse to si honnh
this COP this this just COP UFP

→ ... 講實在,
kong-sit-tsai
say truth

... <L2 這 種 東西 L2> honnh,
zhe zhong dong-xi honnh
this kind thing UFP

... <L2 會,
hui
can

... 讓 一般的人 的 想法 偏差掉 L2>.
rang yi ban de ren de xiang fa pianchadiao
let ordinary people ASSC thought deviate

B: ... 所以 日本 人 honnh,
soo-i lit-pun lang honnh,
so Japanese people UFP

A: (0) mhm.

RT

B: ... eh 伊 日本 人 怪 怪 就 是 按呢 honnh.
eh i lit-pun lang kuai kuai to si an-ne honnh.
DM he Japanese people strange strange just COP like-this UFP

A: .. mhm.

.. RT

B: ... 按呢 講 有 禮 無 體 [就 是 這 點 a].
an-ne kong u le bo the to si tsit tiam a
like-this say have politeness no body just COP this point UFP

A: .. [著 著 著].

tioh tioh tioh
right right right

'A: She abandons her husband. At that time, her husband also has an affair.

B: mm.

A: one month. What will you think?

B: yeah

A: this is..this is...**to tell the truth**..this kind of thing..will deviate ordinary people's thought..

B: So Japanese...

A: mm..

B: have etiquette but have their body exposed...[that's the point..]

A: [yeah yeah yeah]'

In summary, the TRE verbal collocates we have discussed above are not only used to point out the following utterance as frankly uttered, but also used to preface or hedge a dispreferred utterance as an unexpected one or hyperbolic one. This can be explained by Grice's Maxim of Quality—do not say what you believe to be false. Therefore, it is superfluous to especially point out what one says is real or true; it must serve more pragmatic functions than the literal meaning.

3.4 Summary and Discussion

This thesis explores six TREs in TSM and their various functions in TSM conversation. First, we have examined their truth-descriptive meaning. The describing

TREs are employed to explicitly point out the truth-value of an entity, an event, or a description in order to emphasize the actuality of the proposition. Describing TREs can be attributively, predicatively, pre-predicatively, and sentence-initially used. Pre-predicative uses make up the majority of occurrences. The truth-value of the descriptions that truth-describing TREs modify can be verified based on the fact or the context. Pointing out a truth-value of a proposition flouts Gricean Maxim of Quantity; thus, speakers must have inferential meanings. For example, descriptive TREs are employed to assert the truth in an emphasizing tone especially when the speaker wants to make a contrast or justify his/her claim to negate any doubts toward the previous statements which sometimes are hyperbolic or less believable.

Expressive TREs, in contrast to the emphasis of actuality, modify those expressions which involve the speaker's evaluation. That means the truth of the proposition cannot be verified. It has something to do with subjective evaluations. Concluding from its collocation and situational contexts, we have observed that like a typical epistemic adverb *really*, an expressive TRE is used to reinforce the force of the proposition, which can be gradable or non-gradable. The modified propositions can be further categorized into positive and negative uses. When the modified proposition is negative in meaning, TREs develop the exasperation function. More often than not, the modified function could be truncated or replaced by utterance final particle *honnh*. In this way, TREs themselves do not have the function of emphasizing any more but have that of evaluating. What's more, some TREs tend not to boost the force of the predicate, but attenuate the force of it when collocating with some concessive construction. Therefore, TREs can be used to show concession when there is a need for the speaker to make a choice or take a stance.

Interactive TREs are related to the concept of intersubjectivity--the speaker regards addressee as an active participant in the conversation (Traugott 2003). In our

data, TREs plus UFP can be used as a responsive token. In a responsive turn, they are used to express emotions such as surprise or unexpectedness or express agreement. What's more, when a TRE collocating with a verb of saying *kong*, it serves like a hedge, prefacing a statement containing counter-expectedness of the interlocutor.

Truth-describing	Expressive	Interactive
1. Assert the fact	1. Emphasize the force of the predicate	1. Express surprise
2. Make a contrast	2. Upgrade the force of the predicate	2. Show agreement
3. Justify one's claim	3. Exasperation	3. Prefacing
4. Negate one's doubts	4. Show concession	

Table 4. Pragmatic functions of different categories of TREs.

The overall functions of TREs in TSM we have examined are listed in Table 4. However, each TRE shows its preference for the syntactic position and pragmatic functions. That means some TRE prefers to occur in a rather fixed position and that some TRE won't serve the function that another TRE will do. All the TREs in question have the truth-describing function. *Tsin-tsiann* is the most frequently-used TRE to point out the truth value. As for the expressive TREs, half the tokens are *sit-tsai*, being used for emphasizing, upgrading, and showing exasperation and concession. *Tsin-e* and *u-iann* in a responsive turn are used to express surprise and unexpectedness. *U-iann* typically is employed to show one's agreement toward the interlocutor's statement. *Sit-tsai* collocating with verb of saying *kong* is used as a discourse marker.

In general, the results conform to those of the previous studies. Generally speaking, TREs in TSM behave similarly to those in English and Mandarin Chinese. TREs in TSM all exhibit the three readings of *really* in English that Paradis (2003)

points out. Her truth-attesting of proposition is similar to our truth-describing function; subjective emphasis of situation and reinforcement of scalar property are part of the functions of our expressive TRE. McCarthy (2003) points out *really* is the most frequent response in the combined corpus, which serves like the interactive function of *u-iann* and *tsin-e*.

Lenker (2007) then argues that the polysemy of the TRE and various syntactic positions can be accounted for as undergoing a developing cline from manner adjunct, sentence adverb, to discourse marker, from truth-conditional to non-truth conditional, and from subjective to intersubjective. TREs in TSM on the whole have developed according to the adverbial cline. However, not every TRE in question is developed according to the cline. It is probably because some TREs like *tsin-e* and *u-iann* are predicates in nature. Therefore, they don't exactly follow the adverbial cline.

Some studies on Mandarin TRE counterparts point out the grammaticalization and lexicalization of TREs. Although our aim does not focus on the grammaticalization of some TRE, we have observed similar grammaticalized and lexicalized usage in TSM. For example, Wu (2010) claims that *shizaisi* and *zhensi* are both lexicalized to express one's evaluative assessment instead of intensification. We can find the same function in TSM such as *sit-tsai u-iann*, *sit-tsai-si*, *sit-tsai-honnh*, *tsin-tsiann-honnh*.

Therefore, TREs in TSM are similar to TREs in English and Mandarin. They have polysemous meanings and are situated at different syntactic positions. They change from a simple truth-describing expression, an emphasize, to an evaluation themselves. However, the concessive function of TREs is not discussed in the previous studies. For example, *u-iann* in TSM is not intended to express intensification; instead, it expresses concessive meanings when combining with concessive devices or adverbials. In that, we could know that in some cases, TREs do

not strengthen the force of the predicate at all.

Based on the stance triangle proposed by (Du Bois 2007), TREs in TSM are descriptively used to position one's stance, expressively evaluate other's position, and interactively agree with the interlocutor. The overall discussions of TREs in TSM can be summarized as that TREs in TSM are one of ways that people take their stance.



Chapter Four

Conclusion

4.1 Summary of the Analysis

This thesis has investigated six TREs in TSM. We have found that each TRE is not only used to describe the truth-value of a proposition, but also employed to express subjective emphasis, evaluation, and serve an interactive function. Therefore, we can refer to TREs in TSM as a marker of stance rather than a mere truth-describing expression. The results of the analysis help us to frame answers to the research questions at the beginning of this study:

- (a) What are the discourse-pragmatic functions of the TRE *tsin-e*, *tsin-tsiann*, *tsiann-sit*, *sit-tsai*, *tsing-king* and *u-iann* in TSM?
- (b) How are the functions similar to and different from one other?
- (c) What role do the collocational and situational contexts of these TREs play in the interpretation of the meanings?

Generally speaking, the discourse-pragmatic functions of TREs in question are categorized into three: truth-describing, expressive, and interactive functions. Truth-describing TREs are employed to assert an event or a fact, make a contrast with an unreal scenario, justify the speaker's claim, and negate any doubts from the listener toward the statement made earlier. Although TREs of this function are termed describing, they often carry an emphasizing tone to assert in order to serve discourse-pragmatic functions such as justifying and making contrast. Truth-describing TREs can be used attributively such as *tsin-tsiann*, *u-iann*, *sit-tsai*, and *tsiann-sit*. *Tsin-tsiann* and *tsiann-sit* usually point out the truth-value of an event. *Sit-tsai* focuses on every segment of an event to be real. *U-iann* is used to put an

emphasis on the action of happening. Also, truth-describing TREs can be used as a predicate, usually occurring after the mention of an event in order to verify it as real. *U-iann* and *tsin-e* are the two most frequently-used expressions of this use. They often collocate with an utterance final particle to justify the truth-value of the description made earlier. Finally, most truth-describing TREs are situated at the position of adverbials. They are used in a hyperbolic or less believable statement to create an emphasis on the truth-value.

In contrast to truth-describing TREs' truth-reporting function, expressive TREs are used to express subjective and evaluative meanings. They are further divided into four functions: emphasizer, upgrading, exasperation, and concessive. The force of evaluations modified by an emphasizer or an upgrading TRE is augmented or elevated. They can either emphasize a positive or negative statement. The predication of the statement can either be gradable or non-gradable. *Tsin-tsiann* is a most frequently-used emphasizer; the most frequently-used upgrading TRE is *sit-tsai*. When emphasizers and upgrading TREs are used to modify negative evaluations, they have the function of showing exasperation in some cases. The followed negative evaluations are sometimes omitted. Therefore, a truncated TRE itself can express exasperation. *Sit-tsai* and *u-iann* are the two commonest TREs to express exasperation. They have various ways to express exasperation such as TRE plus focus marker *si*, TRE plus utterance final particle *honnh*, and collocating with an excessive construction. Finally, *u-iann* especially can be used as a concessive device when it collocates with a limiting marker *toh* or *khah* or is placed at a contrastive structure.

TREs occur alone in a responsive turn serve the interactive function. For example, *tsin-e* and *u-iann* are usually used to express one's surprise or unexpectedness. *U-iann* can also be used to show agreement toward the speaker. The judgment of the two functions is made from the intonation. If it's a rising intonation, it

serves as a marker to express affective attitude. If the intonation is falling, TRE expresses an agreement. Another TRE serves an interesting interactive function. *Sit-tsai* usually collocates with verb of saying *kong* to act as a prefacing device. It is similar to “to tell the truth, truthfully speaking” in English. It is used to cataphorically frame an assessment.

In our study, the collocational and situational contexts do play an important role in the interpretation of the discourse-pragmatic function. For example, utterance final particles and sentence structure help us in the interpretation of different functions. TRE plus *a/la* is used to justify one’s claim. A TRE plus *honnh* is used to express one’s exasperation. A TRE plus *o* then serves an interactive token, expressing surprise or doubts. Also, the function of contrast-making usually is judged from the context and some contrastive conjunction such as *m-koh* and *tan-si*. Concessive use needs the help of limiting marker *toh* or *khah* to serve the function.

4.2 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Study

While the present research has investigated the discourse-pragmatic functions of TRE in TSM, there are still several issues remaining to be explored. First, lexicalization of TRE plus *si* or *honnh* can be further discussed. Unfortunately, the tokens in our database are not enough to have this claim.

Second, the formation of *u-iann* ‘having shadow’ is very different from the rest TREs; if we have some diachronic data, it is interesting to explore its original use and see the semantic change into an expressive TRE.

Third, intonation is an important clue for us to differentiate an expressive truncated TRE and an intensifier. Unfortunately, some acoustic information is not available. Therefore, we can only judge from the context to distinguish the two functions.

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Appendix

臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案使用手冊

一、臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案

教育部在民國 95 年 10 月 14 日以台語字第 0950151609 號公告了《臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案》，這個方案簡稱為「臺羅」。分為三部分詳述如下：

(一)臺灣閩南語聲母符號

	國際音標 IPA	臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音 符號	注音符號
聲母	[p]	p	ㄅ
	[p ^h]	ph	ㄆ
	[b]	b	
	[m]	m	ㄇ
	[t]	t	ㄊ
	[t ^h]	th	ㄍ
	[n]	n	ㄋ
	[l]	l	ㄌ
	[k]	k	ㄎ
	[k ^h]	kh	ㄏ
	[g]	g	
	[ŋ]	ng	
	[h]	h	ㄏ
	[ts]	ts	ㄝ
	[ts ^h]	tsh	ㄍ
	[s]	s	ㄙ
[dz]	j		

(二)臺灣閩南語韻母基本符號

	國際音標 IPA	臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音 符號	注音符號
韻母	[a]	a	ㄚ
	[i]	i	ㄨㄛ
	[u]	u	ㄨ
	[e]	e	ㄝ
	[ɔ]	oo (o·)	ㄛ
	[ə]	o	ㄛ
	[~]	-nn (- ⁿ)	
	[-m]	-m	
	[-n]	-n	
	[-ŋ]	-ng	
	[-p]	-p	
	[-t]	-t	
[-k]	-k		
[-ʔ]	-h		

備註：

- 1.「注音符號」為教育部針對國語教學所制訂。但因國語與閩南語的語音畢竟不完全相同，因此本欄的用意，只在提供一種對照，方便揣摩學習。
- 2.注音符號欄位中空白者，代表無直接對應符號。
- 3.以oo為正式版，以o·為傳統版；以-nn為正式版，以上標-ⁿ為傳統版。

(三)臺灣閩南語聲調排序與標記位置

以傳統白話字調號標示法為正式方案，使用不便時得以數字標示法替代。

調類	陰平	陰上	陰去	陰入	陽平	(陽上)	陽去	陽入
臺灣閩南語 羅馬字拼音 符號	tong	tóng	tòng	tok	tông		tōng	tòk
例字	東	黨	棟	督	同	(動)	洞	毒

備註：陽上欄位空白處表示多併入其他調類。