Subjectification and the Use of the Complementizer *SHUO*[∗]

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SHUO in Mandarin Chinese codes various linguistic functions, ranging from a main verb "to say," as in (1), to a complementizer introducing sentential complements embedded under the matrix verbs, as in (2), to even a sentential final particle, as in (3):

(1) *說 (SHUO)*長道短。
(2) 有些人覺得*說 (SHUO)* 他很不盡情理。
(3) 這整件事很好笑*說 (SHUO)*。

Assuming that dynamic process of language gives rise to grammaticalization (Hopper 1987), I will follow closely in this paper Traugott's claim on grammaticalization (Traugott 1989) so as to investigate the various uses of *SHUO*.   Via the study of its discourse function in relation to its semantic change, I conclude that the occurrence of *SHUO* after mental verbs such as *xiangxin*, *juede*, or *xiwang*, demonstrates the homogeneity of speech and thought (Vygotsky 1962), and the non-obligatory presence of *SHUO* after the matrix verbs marks different discourse functions of the utterances. I will argue that the process known as subjectification should take full responsibility for the development of the shift of *SHUO* as a main verb, to a complementizer, and finally to an epistemic particle.   It is hoped that this study may synthesize important insights concerning pragmatic phenomena with current developments in cognitive linguistics concerning the study of linguistic meaning.

Key words: subjectification, complementizer, lexicalization, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

Approaches to pragmatics explicitly or implicitly regard language as a human faculty which is independent from the rest of cognition, involving as well perception, motor movement and image formation.   Language is viewed as a symbolic representation of objectively existing reality and when it is used, it is assumed that interlocutors manipulate this symbolic system so as to express and understand meanings and intentions which go beyond the objectively established correspondence between the world and language; that is, beyond the meaning of words and sentences.

Language use is indisputably both an internal and an external phenomenon, and linguistic meaning should be examined from both the cognitive and social aspects. If language is grounded in cognition and develops in society, then cognitive structure

and conceptualizations of social reality must characterize language use, which thus contributes to the production, maintenance or change of social meaning. On the assumption that such cognitive structures develop in response to the individual's interaction with his or her physical and social environment, they are also adaptable and hence motivate rather than determine social meaning.

Traugott (1995) claims that subjectification as a kind of human cognition is related to strengthening of the speaker's subjective stance, which may account for the early stages of linguistic grammaticalization. Via subjectification, forms and constructions expressing at first primary concrete, lexical, and objective meanings become increasingly abstract, pragmatic, interpersonal, and speaker-based functions through repeated use in local syntactic contexts.

The use of the saying verb *shuo* in Mandarin Chinese displays a very similar route in its various uses. It is polysemic, having both lexical and grammatical functions. It can be used as a main verb; it can also be optionally placed in front of the subordinate clause so as to join it to the main clause, functioning as a complementizer. On top of that, this complement-like *shuo* also shows flexibility in that it can also occur sentence-finally.

The aim of this paper is therefore to investigate the various uses of the special status of the complementizer *shuo* so as to come up with a cognitively plausible explanation for its various uses. I intend to study its discourse function and the motivation of its semantic change in Mandarin. I argue that the development of its shift from a main verb to a complementizer and finally to an epistemic particle is essentially a process of subjectification. I attempt to synthesize important insights concerning pragmatic phenomena, with current developments in cognitive linguistics concerning the study of linguistic meaning. The outcome of this synthesis is a new concept of pragmatic meaning which is on the one hand grounded in cognition and motivated by linguistic and cultural convention, and creates, on the other hand, the potential for addressing the interactive and perhaps, the social dimensions of language use.

2. Complement-taking verbs (CTV)

Since it has been generally agreed that the structure of a complement depends on the semantic properties of its matrix verb, discussion of the complement structure cannot be independent of an examination of its higher verb, i.e., the so-called complement-taking verbs (CTV). With this aim in mind, I will first explore in the following the types of CTV so as to decide the specific context where the complementizer *shuo* may occur. Note that a broad definition of complementation is

in order here: complementation refers to the embedding of a subordinate clause, be it finite or non-finite, which serves as the object of the verb phrase of another clause (cf. Lehmann 1988, in which complementation is deemed as the most tightly integrated combination of clauses).

Verbal complements are one type of subordinate clauses. When a complement clause is integrated into the semantic frame of the main verb, this main verb exercises a controlling role on the syntax of the combined complex clause, including the complement clause. In some cases, complement clauses may function as noun phrases within the higher sentences (e.g., That he is to win is beyond doubt), but I will limit my discussion to the cases where the complement serves as the object clause after CTV.[1] Semantically, such verbal complement is a full-fledged proposition with its own predicate and arguments. It is, however, syntactically an embedded clause placed inside the verb phrase of another – a main clause. Superficially, such a clause type occupies an object position, which may be introduced by a complementizer (e.g., I think that he is sick), or it may be present without being introduced by a complementizer (e.g., I believe he is sick).

2.1 Types of CTV

Givon (1993) identifies three kinds of CTV in English: (1) Modality verbs, (2) manipulation verbs and (3) P-C-U verbs. The first type includes verbs such as *want, begin, finish, try*, which code as the main-clause verb the inception, termination, persistence, success, failure, attempt, intent, obligation or ability. In other words, this type of CTV brings about the state/event coded in the complement clause whereas the subject of the main clause must be co-referential with the subject of the complement clause. The manipulation verbs (e.g., make, tell, order, ask) are so named because the subject agent of the main clause manipulates the subject agent in the subordinate clause, and the complementation codes the target event performed by the manipulee. Pivotal construction is often associated with this type, where the dative object of the matrix clause is the subject of the complement clause.

As for the perception-cognition-utterance (P-C-U) verbs, "the main clause codes mental or verbal activity, with a verb (or adjective) of perception, cognition, mental attitude or verbal utterance" (Givon 1993:4). In this type, the state or event

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[1] The complement-as-object hypothesis has been an issue undergoing much debate. That is, some CTVs do not occur with object NP. They occur with object NPs in one form, but with complements in a different, phrasal verb, form. For example, *be convinced that COMPLEMENT* but *be convinced of NP*.

  Yet, many CTVs occurring with finite indicative complements can't in fact occur with an NP object (think, realize, decide, wonder, hope/wish). I will not go into the argument here since that is not the focus of this paper and I am dealing with Chinese data here.

coded in the complement clause is the object of the mental or verbal activity coded by the main verb.   Furthermore, no coreference restrictions hold between arguments of the main clause and complement clause.

2.2 P-C-U verbs as epistemic quantifiers

PCU verbs may be used as epistemic quantifiers.   The conventionalized subject pronoun is specific and limited to particular verbs and is often dropped in rapid speech in English:

(1) a. (I) think she's there.
   b. (Do you) think she'll show up?
   c. (I) bet (you) she's gone.
   d. (I) guess you were right.
   e. (I'm) afraid she's not in today.
   f. (Let's) suppose you're right, then …
   g. (Let's) say we divide it in half

Even in Chinese, we realize that the first person singular subject often co-occurs with the verb of cognition, *xiang*.[2]   In Su (2002), 84.67% (254 out of a total of 300 tokens counted) of the data show that sentential subject for the matrix epistemic verb *xiang* is in the first person singular, as in *wo xiang*, whereas only 6.67% collocate with the second person singular, as in *ni xiang*.

Xiang occurs most frequently in clauses with first person singular subject, i.e., *wo xiang*, because "other minds" are not "accessible to direct observation" unless it is reported with the linker *shuo*, and often co-occur with the "de dicto introducer[3]," i.e., the linker *shuo,* as in *ta xiang shuo* (Huang 2003).   That is, we need to appeal to some grammatical device enabling other minds to become accessible to direct observation.   For this reason, *xiangshuo* 想說 emerges as a CTV and occurs frequently (46.1%, cited from Huang 2003).

3. Various uses of *SHUO*

The various uses of *shuo*[4] have been a subject of much discussion among

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[2] *Xiang* as a complement-taking verb in Huang (2003) is more often used as deontic (59.7%)

[3] A "de dicto introducer" marks the following clause as being in the semantic domain de dicto in which reference is made to the elements of speech rather than to the elements of reality (Frazyngier and Jasperson 1991, quoted from Huang 2003).

[4] Please consult Appendix B for the distribution of the various uses of *shuo*.

linguistic literature.   In this paper, I will simply outline briefly the theoretical assumption as well as how these various uses evolve in Chinese.

3.1 Unidirectional theory of grammaticalization

My study will follow Traugott's claim (1989) and assume that semantic-pragmatic change in the early stages of grammaticalization is unidirectional: meanings with largely propositional (ideational) content can gain either textual (cohesion-making) and expressive (presuppositional, and other pragmatic) meanings, or both, in the order:

propositional > ((textual) > (expressive))

Grammaticalization is usually defined as a process whereby lexical items and constructions assume in certain linguistic contexts a grammatical function, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop more grammatical functions (Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer 1991).   Following Traugott's theory, grammaticalization begins with the observation that grammatical morphemes develop gradually out of lexical morphemes or combination of lexical morphemes with lexical or grammatical morphemes (Bybee et al 1994).   Via grammaticalization, morphemes may lose the ability to behave like its original word class and tend to develop into a new functional-specific morpheme.   It can lose its morphosyntactic autonomy and become a bound morpheme or tend to become reduced or assimilated to its environment (Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer 1991).   Linguistic forms with lexical or less grammatical meanings are used to designate more grammatical meanings.
The three tendencies for the grammaticalization, proposed by Traugott (1989) are:

Tendency I: "Meanings   based   in   the   external   described situation>meanings based in the internal described situation."
Tendency II: "Meanings based in the external or internal described situation> meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation."
Tendency III: "Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition."

With regard to Mandarin, works related to this issue are mostly done from

diachronic perspective. Synchronic studies also are available. For example, Lai (2002) has demonstrated that, by offering explanations from both syntactic and semantic-pragmatic perspectives based on Hakka, one single morpheme may be the source of different functional domains, carrying multiple grammatical functions ranging from a main verb, a coverb, a complementizer, to a verbal complement.

3.2 The gramaticalization paths of *SHUO*

In Su (2002), I proposed that after the canonical use of *shuo* as a matrix verb, meaning "to tell," as in (2), *shuo* has gone through an intermediate stage in which it combines with the matrix verb and becomes the second verb of a serial verb construction, sharing the same subject argument with the first verb in the main clause, as in (3).

(2) 我 在 這兒 聽 阿秀 *說* 故事，
    wo zai zhe-er ting a-xiu shuo gushi
    'I am here listening to Axiu telling a story.'

(3) 住 台北縣 的 王 小姐 來 信 *說*: 我 有 一個 男友，…
    zhu taibei-xian de wang xiaojie lai xien shuo: wo you yige nanyou
    'Letter from Miss Wang in Taipei County says: I have a boyfriend.'

In (3), the function of *shuo* becomes that of a quote/reportative marker: its presence is optional only because the use of mechanics (the quotation marks) in writing makes it possible to drop it without causing any ambiguity. *Shuo* is further used as a complementizer through metaphorical mapping between speech and thought and loss of argument structure (i.e., syntactic reanalysis). S*huo* as a complementizer is usually placed before the subordinate clause, so as to link it to the main clause. Such occurrence of *shuo* can usually be omitted, as in (4):

(4) 你 很 可能 就 不會 再 堅持 *說* 這些 作品 平淡無奇 了。
    ni hen keneng jiu buhui zai jianchi shuo zhexie zoupin ping-dan-wu-qi le
    'It is possible that you would no longer insist that these works are plain.'

The optional presence of *shuo* before the complement of the mental predicate *jianchi* seems to play the function of a complementizer, as observed by Wang, Katz and Chen (2003):

The statement which the complementizer *shuo* introduces seems to be out of the speaker's awareness…   When the saying verb *shuo* is established as a complementizer, it seems that the complementizer indicates an event with less direct evidence.

The syntactic position of the complementizer *shuo* seems quite flexible in that it may precede the subordinate clause (5) or it may be placed sentential finally (6):

(5) 他 主張　　*說*　聯考制度　　應該　取代 多元入學　　方案。
　　　ta　 zhuzhang shuo lienkaozhidu yinggai qudai duoyuanruxue fangan
　　　'He claimed that the system of JCEE should take the place of diversified
　　　　enrollment scheme.'
(6) 對 啊!　我 覺得　徐淑媛　　好 可憐 *說…*
　　　dui　 a　 wo juede xu-shu-yuan　 hao kelian shuo
　　　'That's right.　 I feel pitiful for Xu Shu-Yuan.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Wang, Katz and Chen 2000: 203)

This sentential-final usage seems to incorporate more vividness into the subjective descriptions of the speaker's feelings or attitudes and such epistemic usage typically occurs when a matrix clause is composed of the first person subject and a mental predicate, such as *juede*.　 It is argued that the grammaticalization paths of *shuo* may be as shown in the following chart[5]:

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[5] The chart is modified based on the grammaticalization paths I proposed in Su (2002).
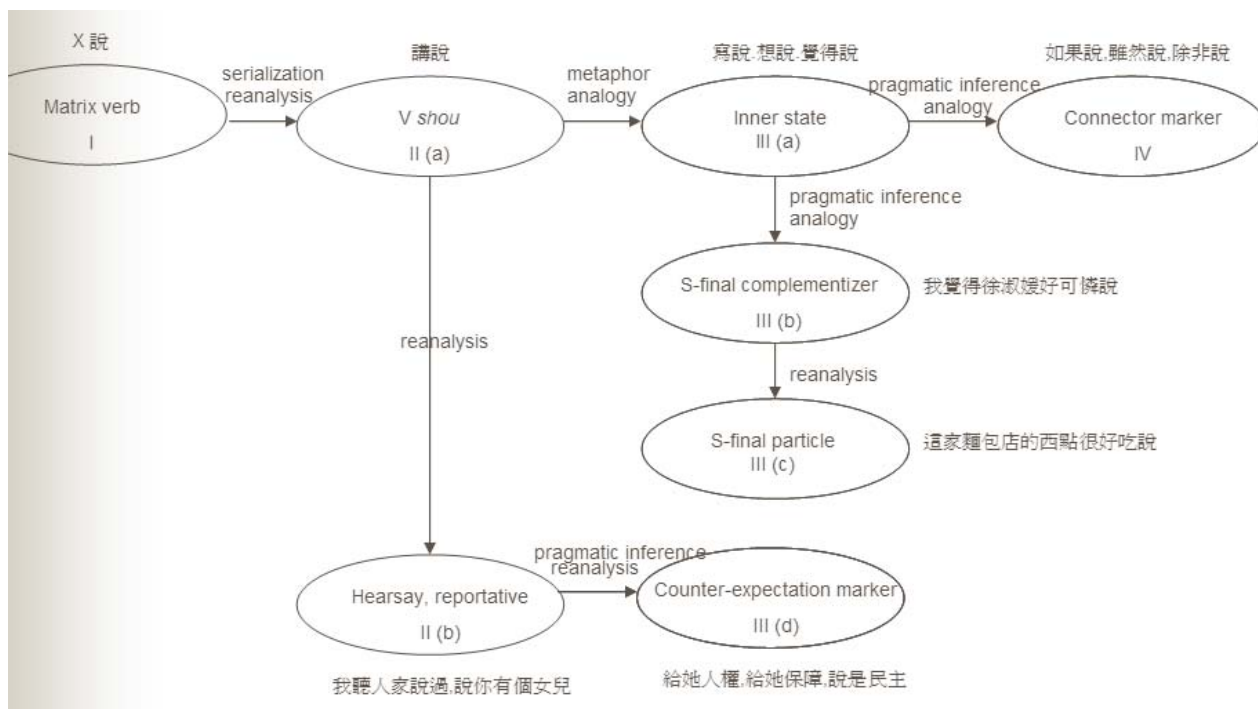
Chart 1: Grammaticalization paths of *shuo*

When *shuo* occurs at the end of a sentence, it conveys epistemic modality like other sentence-final particles.   Language contact (Chang 1998) between Mandarin and Taiwanese Southern Min probably prompts the sentential-final use of *shuo*, a common use of *kong* in Taiwanese Southern Min.   In other words, *shuo* may have undergone syntactic analysis to occur sentential-finally as a result of language contact between Mandarin and Taiwanese Southern Min.

Such being the case, it even generalizes to proposition-final position even though it is not in an embedded construction.   That is to say, it does not have to be embedded under a matrix verb which is a mental predicate:

(7) 這 家 麵包店　　 的　 西點　很　好吃　　*說*
　　 zhe jia mianbao-dian de   xidian hen haochi   shuo
　　　 'The cakes of this bakery are rather delicious *shuo*.'

(7) expresses the speaker's attitude or belief toward the proposition "The cakes of this bakery is rather delicious."   Note that the proposition occurs in a simple sentence, expressing a speech act of informing without having to mention explicitly the performative matrix clause; it is not necessary in terms of the presence of the higher subject "I" and the higher object "you," as well as the matrix verb "inform." However, because of the sentential-final *shuo*, the utterance as a whole carries with it the implied meaning that the information is based on the speaker's opinion, the

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subjective stance of the speaker.

3.3 *SHUO* as an epistemic particle

Examples below[5] provide further evidence of the subjective use of this complementizer. (8) and (9) are taken from on-line chats by younger generations whose command of English are almost superb, and opt to communicate in English rather than in their mother tongue – Chinese, for the simple reason that the input in English is easier and faster for them than in Chinese. Interesting enough, these people add up Chinese final particles such as (8) and (9), particles reflecting pretty much the speakers' attitude and emotional state. To my surprise, *shuo* is also used, though scarcely, in the utterance-final position, most likely also to express the speakers' epistemic stance, as in (10) and (11):

(8) cafeocd: gee............ how old are they!
     cafeocd: they should be tired ***bah***!

(9) cafeocd: but his mom was quite happy ***bah***? A family reunion and doing
           her favorite activity.........
     yvette211: Should be

(10) cafeocd: it looks quite nice there. But I don't think my mom will allow...she
         will say she want to take care of me....:-&
     yvette211: I think so.
     cafeocd: I'd rather your mom to come ***shuo***......ai........

(11) yvette211: It's really exciting that we can see the Matrix 3 at X'mas.
      cafeocd: hmm.... we bought the DVD in US ***shuo***......

The claim that final particles in Mandarin convey the speaker's stance in talk is not a novel idea (Wu 2003). The speaker in (10) uses the final *shuo* to express her preference that the hearer's mom would show up. The use of *shuo* in (11) also displays a very similar function. In view of Yevette's excitement in being able to watch the movie Matrix 3 during the Christmas season, cafeocd expresses her attitude in this matter via the final *shuo*. Cafeocd's stance in the matter is that she, though acknowledging Yvette's sentiment, bought the DVD instead in US, which she had expected to enable her to watch the film beforehand. The news of the Christmas showing is somehow to her surprise and perhaps also with some regret.

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[5] Examples (8) – (11) were provided by Ms. Hsin-yun Hsieh, a former student of mine from the Graduate Institute of Linguistics of the National Taiwan University.

4. Parallel development as seen in other CTV

There exists functional continuity among different usage contexts. Most clauses with the first person singular subjects, including the grammaticized epistemic collocations, usually communicate the speaker's subjective stance (e.g., modality, evaluation, generalization) and often have discourse management function as well. Talk exchanges between the first and the second person singular subjects reflect an interactive, or empathetic, subjectivity on the part of the speaker toward the addressee.

4.1. Post-posed P-C-U

According to Givon (1993), many P-C-U verbs appear, in informal spoken English, in a seemingly parenthetic construction, following rather than preceding their complement clause.   Typically, the subject of the P-C-U verb in such constructions is restricted to certain personal pronouns.   And in most cases it could be only a specific pronoun.   Such restriction reveals something about the function of these post-posed constructions.   The post-posed P-C-U verb is in fact not the focus of the information being communicated.   The focus has shifted to the complement clause.   The post-posed P-C-U verb now functions as an epistemic quantifier on the information in the complement clause, indeed as a propositional modality.   It may inform the hearer about the evidential status of the information – whether directly witnessed (12), obtained via hearsay (13) or inferred but not fully believed (14).   The post-posed P-C-U verb may also impart epistemic doubt (15) or social uncertainty (16).

(12) She's finished, I see. (?you see, *they see)
(13) He's back, I hear. (*you/they hear)
(14) It's raining back East, they say. *you say.   ?I say
(15) He's ready, I suppose.   (*you/they suppose)
(16) It's ready, I guess. (*you/they guess)

Similar, though rare, linguistic manifestations abound in Chinese conversational data.

(17) S… , wo xiang ("I think" 我想)
(18) S… , wo cai ("I guess" 我猜)

In our data, both of the above patterns exist, even though each only occurs once (0.26% each. See Appendix B for the distribution).   Super-ordinate clause such as *wo xiang/cai (*"I think/guess" 我想/猜)* is usually placed at sentence-final position, as in

dagai shi zheyang ba, wo xiang/cai ("I think/guess it's probably this way." 大概是這樣吧，我想/猜). Although such use as (19) is not found in our data,

(19) S… , wo shuo ("I say" 我說)

the placement of *shuo* at the end of a proposition displays, to some extent, a parallel development of this special trend: *shuo* functions as an epistemic marker which indicates the speaker's stance on the content conveyed in the complement clause.

4.2 Cross-linguistic evidence from Saisiat

The use of utterance verbs to introduce a proposition embedded in a complex construction is found to be a cross-linguistic tendency (Huang 1982). This is indeed the case with Saisiat, a Formosan language spoken in the North-western part of Taiwan. (20) illustrates a very similar linguistic pattern of one of its utterance verbs, namely *komoSa*, the lexical item, meaning "to say; to speak." *KomoSa* here functions as the higher CTV which takes a complement whose content represents what is said by the old man.

(20) 104. ...(2.7) hiza tatini ...tatini' **k-om-oSa** o:
that old_man old_man say-AF particle
'Then the old man said,'

105. ...(1.4) ma'an hini ka 'aehae' ha-hila 'ma r-in-okrok ka boway
1ˢᵗGen here Nom one Ca-sun pick-Pfv Nom fruit
hini o: hayno' ila ma' 'aehae' kala'
this where Pfv one basket
'Where has the basket of fruits which I have picked today gone?'

(Pear 1)

Note that the utterance is an acceptable one even though there is no complementizer placed in front of the complement. The complementizer has to be omitted here because *komoSa* is already the main verb of the utterance, and it is not permissible to have two identical verbs in a row even though their functions are quite different. Similar linguistic behavior is seen in Chinese. Since the utterance verb *shuo* can also be used as a complementizer, it can be placed after other CTV (such as *jianchi shuo*

"insist" 堅持說 with *jianchi* being the CTV here).   *Shuo* can't occur if it is also the main verb of the sentence, as in (21):

(21)*他　說　說　　明天　　會　下　雨。
　　　ta　shuo shuo　mingtian　hui　xia　yu

KomoSa in (22) below illustrates its use as a complementizer, a view also shared in the study of Yeh (2000).   This complementizer *shuo* signals the clause boundary which separates in an iconic fashion individual clauses and thus entitles comparative autonomy to the embedded clause "The child has come."

(22) 108. ..　　　　　nisia　　raam-en　**k-om-oSa**
　　　　　　　　　　　3rdGen　know-PF　say-AF
　　　109. ..　　　　　hini　　ka　　　korkoring　　m-in-wai'
　　　　　　　　　　　this　　Nom　　child　　　　come-AF-Pfv
　　　　　　　　　　　'He knows that the child has come.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Pear 1)

What should be emphasized here is that the separation between the matrix clause and its complement is done in an iconic fashion: there exists an isomorphic relation between the meaning of a main verb and the syntax of its complement clause.   The stronger the semantic bond is between the two events (one coded in the main clause, the other in the complement clause), the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of the two propositions into a single clause.   If the complementizer is omitted, tighter binding between clauses and the embedded clause is achieved, and thus the main clause is in full control, as supported by the use of its case marking system. The presence of *komoSa* makes it possible for the verb to take an indirect quote as its object and thus makes the clause binding less strong.

The decreasing semantic control of the higher matrix verbs gets reflected, according to Givon (1993), on the increasing syntactic independence of complement. Givon proposed to lump the verbs of utterance together with verbs of perception and cognition because of their syntactic similarity, but this finding is not supported by Tsou, a Formosan language (Lin 2002).   The verbs of utterance in Tsou require their complements to be coded with zero-marking – no linking morpheme is allowed, which is iconic to the detachment between the main clause and the complement.

The complementizer *shuo* probably serves the same function.   When the complement is introduced by *shuo*, it is considered more independent, more capable of marking the designation of the complement event which may be different from the

main clause event (on tense, aspect, and modality marking.)   If the complementizer *shuo* is dropped, the detachment iconically realistic disappears accordingly and the complement tends to be integrated cognitively as one single event with the main clause.

5.   Language as an act of perspective-taking

Language use is a reflection of the speaker's perspective-taking. Subjectivists' concern is thus primarily expression of self and the representation of a speaker's viewpoint in discourse.   Such is what is normally understood as subjectification, referring to the structures and strategies that languages evolve in the linguistic realization of subjectivity or to the relevant processes of linguistic evolution themselves (Finegan 1995).   In order to see how the use of *shuo* reflects such an act of subjectification, I will first look into subjectification from a cognitive-functional approach to language before I explore the relationship between the role frequency and subjectification plays in terms of grammaticalization.

5.1 Subjectifiction and subjectivity

Many solutions have been proposed for the motivation for linguistic grammaticalization.   Among them, Langacker (1985, 1990, 1999) proposes the notion of subjectivity, which refers to the speaker's point of view in discourse and Traugott (1995) views subjectification as the structures or strategies that language evolves in the linguistic realization of subjectivity.   Langacker's theory (1998) appeals to the cognitive foundation of language use and emphasizes the influence of a speaker's shift of grounding on the attenuation of language surface forms, where subjectification presents the most cues of attenuation and thus most likely to contribute to verbal "transparency" or grammaticalization.   Cues of attenuation will also be observed with respect to each stage to observe the degree of verbal transparency.   The cues of attenuation can be illustrated from the change of grounding relative to the "onstage" position and grammaticalization is a result of moving the grounding of the conceptualizer from the offstage toward the "onstage."

Conceptual structure involves, according to Langacker (1998), a subject and an object of conception.   The subject is an implicit locus of consciousness which apprehends the object, whose activity determines the nature of the conceptual experience.   To the extent that an entity functions as the subject (or object) of conception, it is said to be subjectively (or objectively) construed.   It is construed with maximal subjectivity when it remains "offstage" and implicit, inhering in the

very process of conception without being its target.   It is construed with maximal objectivity when it is put "onstage" as an explicit focus of attention.

A fundamental belief in Langacker's theory is that perception and cognition are more or less analogous.   Grammar is the organized symbolization of human cognition and subjectification takes place when a speaker feels the need to specify the focus of his predicate, and he may shift his grounding with symmetry to the focus (Langacker 1999).   He maintains that it is in the communication between conversational participants that the essence of subjectivity can be shown: "the primary conceptualizers are the speaker and the addressee" (Langacker 1999:206).   In other words, subjectivity pertains to the manifestation of speaker's and hearer's roles in discourse.

Subjectification is defined by Traugott (1995) as "a pragmatic-semantic process whereby meanings become increasingly based in speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition."   It pertains accordingly to the development of a grammatically identifiable expression of speaker's belief or speaker's attitude to what is said.   She maintains that such human cognition as subjectification is gradients in nature and is related to strengthening of the speaker's subjective stance. Via subjectification, forms and constructions expressing at first primary concrete, lexical, and objective meanings become increasingly abstract, pragmatic, interpersonal, and speaker-based functions through repeated use in local syntactic contexts.

This phenomenon of subjectification as such, also known as subjectivisation as defined by Finegan (1995), is crucial to account for the different usages of *shuo*, as evidenced from our close examination of the data, shown in Chart 1.   Their degree of subjectification is evident from the transparency observable in language surface form and the semantic extension.   The grammaticalization path of *shuo* echoes the four ways proposed by Langacker (1999): 1) change in status: "from actual to potential, or from specific to generic," 2) change in focus: "the extent to which particular elements stand out as focus of attention," 3) shift in domain: "from a physical interaction to a social or experiential one," and 4) change in the locus of activity or potency: "from a focused onstage participant to an offstage one, or from a specific move to a non-specific, generalized one."   The semantic extension and syntactic change co-varies to show the symmetry between the observer and the observed.   Language is closely related to human cognition: our language reflects faithfully the change of grounding as our perception gets changed.

5.2 Frequency and subjectification

One of the most important contributions to the study of linguistics is the advancement of the view that language structure is rooted in usage, thus treating it as dynamic in both its manifestation and in its development and change. Hopper's claim (1987) that linguistic structure is shaped by an ongoing process via discourse use, as seen in prefabricated chunks emphasizes the role of frequency, or repetition, in the formation of what is called grammar. Studies of cognitive processing mechanisms affiliated with frequency and storage lead to the conventionalization of form (Bybee and Scheibman 1999).

Accordingly, it is not surprising to hypothesize that associations exist between frequently occurring structures in conversation and semantic and pragmatic expression of subjectivity is to some extent proven by the close examination of the usage pattern as seen in natural conversational data. Based on the statistics provided in Appendix B, linguistic items displaying high frequency in conversation are those that participate in subjective expression. Elements whose combinations convey speaker's point of view are found to manifest a greater co-occurrence frequency than those whose combinations do not. This finding is not at all surprising. Benveniste (1971) has already pointed out that verbs of cognition would appear more frequently with a first person singular, not with a third person singular subject.

Based on the high frequency in the occurrence of *wo juede, wo (bu) zhidao, wo xiang, ni zhi-dao* (see Appendix B), one may conclude that all languages, spontaneous conversation in particular, is subjective in that it is fundamentally used by speakers to express their perceptions, feelings, and opinions. Furthermore, conventionalized linguistic structure, or grammar, emerges from repetition, or frequency of use, of lexical and grammatical elements in natural discourse.

Given the role of frequency in the emergence of conventionalized structure in interaction, subjective patterning manifests uniquely in different contexts. In line with the claim made in Scheibman (2001), we find highly frequent lexical collocations with pragmatic import with first person and second person singular subjects, in particular with verbs of cognition and, for first person, with verbal process predicates as well (e.g., *wo cai, wo bu-zhidao, ni zhidao, wo (yisi) shi*). Moreover, text counts indicate that the high use of these conventionalized first person singular (1s) and second person singular (2s) expressions is in large part responsible for the frequency of these categories as a whole (e.g., 1s, 2s, verbs of cognition), as well as for the individual verb lexemes (e.g., *xiang, zhidao*).

6.   Conclusion: language and iconicity

In interactive discourse we not only express propositions, but we also express different attitudes to them.   That is, we communicate how our mind entertains those propositions that we express.   A speaker is able to express an attitude of belief, desire hope, doubt, fear, regret or pretence that a given proposition represents a true state of affairs.   Particles such as *shuo* serve a mood-indicating function, which contributes to the expression of propositional attitude in the broad sense.   Some languages employ this type of attitude-marking device extensively, even for the expression of basic moods and basic speech act categories; other languages use such markers sparsely and always in interaction with syntactic form.   The emphasis here is on issues such as the speaker's communicated attitude, as well as processes of grammaticalization and negotiation of propositional attitude in spoken interaction. Subjectification is characteristic of such grammaticalization, which signals the significance of the speaker's attitude toward the speech proposition in the process of meaning shift.   This process of subjectification manifests unidirectionality since the speaker's subjective perspective in discourse is increasingly reinforced.

Theories of meaning and communication, especially those of cognitive orientation, develop on, but not limited to, the basis of largely constructed data. Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1999) views grammar as inherently meaningful; semantic change, and syntactic restructuring as a result of the former, might therefore be a good reflection for the discovery of the mapping between human conceptualization of everyday experience and the linguistic form.   Language is the conceptualization of human perception and linguistic structures are not arbitrary symbols as Chomsky has claimed.   The conceptualization congruity is iconically represented by grammatical integration and linguistic structures are icons which correspond systematically to neural-psychology and the real world.   When the speaker shifts his ground of conceptualization, a certain cues of verbal attenuation can be observed in the linguistic forms.   The attenuation of language is not only reflected on a single lexical item, but effective to a sentence or construction as a whole.

The data from research in discourse analysis, such as the present one, make it clear that the investigation of naturally occurring conversations may prove to be more revealing in terms of cognitive, or even social, aspects of linguistic meaning.   As often believed, such meaning in cognitive linguistics is contextually derived.   Human cognition creates the potential for various conceptualizations of experience motivated rather than determined by cognitive structures.   Since lexicalizations and linguistic constructions constitute framings of conceptualized experience which differ cross-linguistically, such conceptualization is culturally motivated and enhanced

during speech interaction. Naturally occurring data reveal cultural distinctions which are internalized in terms of language use.

Appendix A

Frequency count of different types of *shuo*:

A. Sinica Corpus:

Function of *shuo*		Number of tokens	Percentage %	Modality %
A matrix verb	Saying verb	1861	93.42	Dynamic: 94.53
	Cognitive verb	22	1.10	
Impersonal reportative marker		20	1.00	Deontic: 3.21
Sentence-medial complementizer		44	2.21	
Sentence-initial counter-expectation marker		14	0.70	Epistemic: 2.26
Hypothetical marker		10	0.50	
Particle	Sentence-final particle	0	0	
	Lexicalized usage	21	1.05	
Total[6]		1992	100	100

B. Spoken Corpus:

Function of *shuo*		Number of tokens	Percentage %	Modality %
A matrix verb		976	63.55	Dynamic: 63.55
Impersonal reportative marker		16	1.05	Deontic: 27.54
Sentence-medial complementizer		407	26.49	
Sentence-initial counter-expectation marker		7	0.45	Epistemic: 8.91
Hypothetical marker		36	2.35	
Particle	Sentence-final particle	2	0.13	
	Lexicalized usage	92	5.98	
Total		1536	100	100

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[6] In the 2000 tokens of Sinica Corpus, there are 3 instances of 說 as the homograph of 悅, and 5 as the noun, denoting "theory." Therefore, there are 1992 instances of *shuo* left as our model for observing its grammaticalization in process.

Appendix B

The database of this study contains a total of 21'43'' (21 minutes and 43 seconds) in length, which amounts to 1139 Intonation Units and an equivalent of roughly 379 clauses. They are taken from my own Mandarin spoken corpus, containing spontaneous face-to-face conversation of speech interaction. The data are transcribed narrowly according to the notations proposed by Du Bois et al (1993). The following is a distribution of the of *SHUO* following the clauses listed below:

我			你		
Type	Token	%	Type	Token	%
我覺得 ＋S	26	6.86	你覺得?	2	0.52
我這樣覺得	1	0.26	你覺得 ＋S ?	3	0.79
	27	7.12		5	1.32
我知道 ＋S	3	0.79	你知道 ＋O?	1	0.26
			你知道 ＋S?	2	0.52
			你知道嘛	1	0.26
	3	0.79		4	1.05
我不知道 ＋S	5	1.32			
我不知道 ＋O	1	0.26			
我不知道 (Pause filler)	3	0.79			
	9	2.37			
我看 ＋S	2	0.52	你看 ＋S	1	0.26
			你看 ＋O	1	0.26
	2	0.52		2	0.52
我想 ＋S	2	0.52			
S… ，我想.	1	0.26			
我想說 ＋S	3	0.79			
	6	1.58			
我(意思)是說 ＋S	2	0.52			
S…，我猜.	1	0.26			

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主觀化理論與中文 「說」 的用法

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「說」在中文具有多種語言功能，它可以是基本動詞（如 1），或是補語標記（如 2），甚或是句尾助詞（如 3）：

(1) *說* 長道短。
(2) 有些人覺得 *說* 他很不盡情理。
(3) 這整件事很好笑 *說*。

基於 Hopper (1987) 語法化緣於語用之信念，我將在本文中以 Traugott (1989) 之語法化理論檢視中文 「說」 的不同用法。嘗試經由其言談功能及語意變遷，提出心理動詞 (如*相信*、*覺得*、*希望*)後所接的「說」反映出 Vygotsky (1962) 所談的思想具備了與語言類似之特點的看法。同時，我也認為語料顯示主要動詞後的「說」是否出現，標示的是不盡相同的言談功能。本論文將以 「主觀化」理論解釋「說」由動詞，而補語標記，而表態度語尾助詞的發展。這樣的研究應可結合當今語用學及認知語言學兩者對於語意的重要見解。

關鍵詞：主觀化、補語標記、詞彙化、語法化