

## Discourse Functions of *Anne* in Taiwanese Southern Min

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This study investigates the use of *anne* in spontaneous Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) conversations. The analysis is based on a 2-hour corpus of spoken TSM. The results have demonstrated the descent of *anne* from a lexical element to a textual or interactional element on the one hand, and a semantically void particle on the other. Within the clause level, it plays a scope limiting function that renders an adjacent predicate the focal center. At the clause boundary position, *anne* marks inferential, sequential or causal/consequential relationships. As *anne* is situated at the border of a unit of talk, it wraps up a preceding part of talk or introduces a unit of talk. The occurrence of *anne* in a reply position occasions the function of *anne* in the interactional plane. Furthermore, some grammaticalization effects concerning semantic bleaching are witnessed and demonstrate the evolution of a deictic *anne* to a discourse particle.

Key words: Deictic term; discourse analysis; Taiwanese Southern Min; grammaticalization

### 1. Introduction

Deixis concerns the way in which the interpretation of certain elements in an utterance is related to a speaker, hearer, specific time or speech event of the utterance (Levinson 1983; Matthews 1997). Sometimes termed 'indexicals' (e.g. Green 1996), deictic terms include pronouns (e.g. *he*), demonstratives (e.g. *this*, *that*), and expressions that indicate time (e.g. *yesterday*) and place (e.g. *here*). In the tradition of pragmatics, it has been shown that the source of referents may involve not only observable discourse phenomena but also speaker inferences (Green 1996). In Chinese linguistics, the complexity and extent of reference of deixis in discourse has not been fully explored until recently (Tao 1994; Huang 1999). Tao stresses the complexity of discursal uses of demonstratives in natural Mandarin conversations in an attempt to challenge the restricted use of demonstratives identified in the literature. A similar approach is taken by Huang (1999), but a more intriguing finding is that a grammatical category *definite article* is emerging in the use of the deictic term *nage* in Mandarin spoken discourse.

In light of the recent findings in the use of demonstratives in Mandarin discourse, in this paper, we will take a discourse-pragmatic approach and examine the deictic

element *anne* (按呢)<sup>1</sup> in spontaneous speech of Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM hereafter). Three research questions will be addressed in this paper: (a) What is the distribution of *anne* as a canonical deictic term and as a discourse element? (b) What are the functions of *anne* in different positions in the discourse? (c) Do these functions reflect the change of *anne* from a lexical element to a discourse element?

The database of this study consists of two hours of 15 tape-recorded spontaneous TSM. The types of interaction include face-to-face conversations, telephone conversations and radio interviews. They are transcribed into intonation units (IU) and the notations follow those proposed by Du Bois et al. (1993). A list of the notations used in the examples cited are given at the end of this paper.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 1 gives a brief introduction of this study. Section 2 provides a review of previous works on which the analysis and discussion are based. Section 3 is the main discussion of the variety of uses of *anne* in the corpus. Section 4 concludes the findings.

## 2. Review of Literature

In this section, we will review previous studies related to *anne* and discourse and grammaticalization in general. The latter will serve as the theoretical basis of our analysis and discussion.

### 2.1 Previous Study on *Anne*

*Anne* 'this (way)' in TSM is a proximal deictic expression in TSM spoken discourse. It is traditionally believed to be a deictic term that replaces a predicate, action or situation in a clause or one that indicates a way of doing things (Cheng 1989). A canonical *anne* is an obligatory element in the syntactic construction of the clause and thus cannot be omitted for the completion of the clause.

Cheng (1989) is among the few Chinese linguists that discuss the various

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<sup>1</sup> *anne* is written as 安爾 in Chen (1991) and 按呢 in Cheng (1989). Where necessary, the form 按呢 will be used for consistency. Some speakers pronounce *anne* as *enne* or *anni*. On the other hand, a less common variant of *anne* with the proform function among Taiwanese dialects is *anne siN/seN* (按呢生). However, no instance of *anne siN/seN* is found in the current corpus. For ease of reference, the form *anne* will be used throughout this paper.

functions of *anne* in TSM. According to Cheng (1989), *anne* functions as (i) a proform of a subject (1a), of an object (1b), of a verb or a predicate (1c), of a manner/degree (1d), or of a clause (1e) that refers to a previous clause or a following clause, and (ii) a marker that emphasizes an action (2a) or the quantity of an action (2b).<sup>2</sup>

## (1) Proform

- a. 按呢 好 不 好 (subject)  
*anne ho m ho*  
 this way good not good  
 ‘How about doing it this way?’
- b. 我 歡喜 按呢生, 你 管 我 (object)  
*goa hoa<sup>n</sup> hi annisi<sup>n</sup> li koan goa*  
 I like this way you mind I  
 ‘I like it this way; don’t mind my business.’
- c. 你 總是 按呢, 代誌 就 不 好 辦 啊 (predicate)  
*li chongsì anne taichi toh bo ho pan a*  
 you always this way thing then not good do PR  
 ‘You always behave like this; things are then not easy to handle.’
- d. 這 件 代誌 就 按呢 辦 囉 (manner)  
*chit kia<sup>n</sup> taichi toh anne pan o*  
 this CL matter then this way do PR  
 ‘Then (we) will do it this way.’
- e. 你 講 真 對, 按呢 才 勿會 出 毛病 (clause)

<sup>2</sup> In Cheng (1989), only Chinese orthography is given for the examples discussed. In this paper, for convenience of reading, we have added the romanization of and English glosses for the examples cited from Cheng.

li kong chin tio *anne* chiah beh chhut mope<sup>n</sup>  
 you say real right this then will not produce problem  
 ‘What you said is right. In this way, no problem will arise.’

(2) Emphatic use

a. 伊 干乾 按呢 hai<sup>n</sup> 頭 一下,什物 攏 沒 講  
 i kanna *anne* hai<sup>n</sup> thau chite sia<sup>n</sup>mi long bo kong  
 he only this way shake head once what all not say  
 ‘He did nothing but shook his head, saying nothing.’

b. 按呢 看 一下,心 內 就 明白 啊  
*anne* koa<sup>n</sup> chite sim lai toh bengpiek a  
 Emphatic look once heart inside then understand PR  
 ‘Just take a look and you will understand what is going on.’

It will be shown in Section 3 that the deictic and emphatic uses of *anne* make up only part of the functions of *anne*. The greater diversity of *anne* will become more revealing as we discuss the array of functions of *anne* in detail.

## 2.2 Theoretical Background and Assumption

The theoretical assumption of this paper is that the dynamic process of language gives rise to grammaticalization/emergent grammar (Hopper 1987) and that the grammaticalization can be accounted for in terms of various discourse planes. The theoretical framework in grammaticalization is drawn mainly from Traugott (1989) on the uni-directionality of semantic and pragmatic change:

Tendency 1: Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described situation.

Tendency 2: Meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation.

Tendency 3: Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition.

Two models whose classifications reflect the above tendency of semantic-pragmatic change, though not explicitly mentioned in either work, will be used for our analysis: Schiffrin (1987:24-28) and Kroon (1998). In Schiffrin's 'model of coherence in talk', English discourse markers such as *Oh*, *Well* and *so* are analyzed in terms of five planes of discourse understanding: 'exchange structure', 'action structure', 'participation framework', 'ideational structure', and 'information state'. 'Exchange structures' are non-linguistic and operate in terms of the speakers' decision on how to alternate 'sequential roles' and 'define the alternations in relation to each other'. It is termed as such to indicate that speech acts occur 'in terms of what action precedes, what action is intended, what action is intended to follow and what action actually does follow'. 'Participation framework' is also pragmatic in nature. It is defined as 'the different ways in which speaker and hearer can relate to one another' and the ways speakers are related to their utterances—'propositions, acts and turns'. The units within the 'ideational structure', in contrast, are semantic and involve 'propositions' or 'ideas'. The fifth component in this model is 'information state'. Speaker and hearer play a vital part in this plane of discourse. Unlike the 'participant framework', 'information state' is defined in relation to speakers' 'cognitive capacities' which involve 'the organization and management of knowledge and meta-knowledge.' 'Information state' is 'pragmatically relevant' because it is only **potentially** externalized'.

A more recent framework is advanced by Kroon (1998) to account for Latin connectives. It corresponds in some ways to the model formulated by Schiffrin with some modification. In Kroon's model, Latin discourse connectives can be investigated in terms of three levels of discourse: 'representational level', 'interactional level' and 'presentational level'. 'Representational level' involves 'relations between states of affairs in the represented world' (p.207), which is called 'ideational structure' in Schiffrin's approach. 'Interactional level' does not account for relations between information at the semantic content level but it involves relations between moves in communication. It echoes what Schiffrin terms 'exchange structure' and 'action structure'. 'Presentational level', on the other hand, involves 'thematic structure' or 'rhetorical relationship between communicative acts or moves within a monological stretch of text'. It is similar to the plane of 'information state' in Schiffrin's model in

that both involve meta-knowledge.

Both of the above two approaches are in concert with in Traugott's (1989) notion of grammaticalization. Meanings based in the external world are associated more with the canonical lexical content, i.e., the propositional content, while meanings based in the internal world involve speaker belief and/or assumption. On the other hand, the propositional content may lose ground to a more text-oriented function. In the following discussion, we will show that *anne* is a discourse marker that manifests the interaction between discourse and grammaticalization.

### 3. Discussion

In the 2-hour corpus, 394 tokens of *anne* (excluding repairs and fragments) are found. They are divided into the following six categories according to their functions and syntactic patterning:

- I. Situational use (2) (0.5%): those which refer to an extralinguistic situation within which the conversation takes place
- II. Proform: (102) (25.9%): those which form part of the nucleus of the clause without which the clause would be syntactically incomplete
- III. Scope-limiting (intra-clausal) function:<sup>3</sup>
  - a. Post-predicate (48) (12.2%): those which occur after the predicate

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<sup>3</sup> "Clause" here is understood in the sense of Quirk et al. (1985:42-3) with a little modification. According to Quirk et al., a 'CLAUSE' is a grammatical unit that is smaller than 'SENTENCE' and larger than 'PHRASE'. A 'SENTENCE' is composed of one or more clauses. A CLAUSE may be composed of 'SUBJECT' (S), 'VERB' (V), 'OBJECT' (O), 'COMPLEMENT' (C), and 'ADVERBIAL' (A). A simplified formula represents the clausal elements of English (p.50), where parentheses signal optional elements: (A) S (A) V (O) (O) (C)

The subject in a clause in TSM and other Chinese dialects, unlike English, may not be overt in a clause, For example,

伊	出去	a.	(伊)	明仔在	才	會	轉來。
i	chhutkhi		a	miahchai	chiah	e	nglai
he	go out	PR		tomorrow	only	will	return

'He went out. (He) will not be back until tomorrow'

where *i* 'he' in the second clause is omitted but is coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause. So we the following modified formula will be used to refer to the construct of "clause" in TSM:

(A) (S) (A) V (O) (O) (C) (A...)

In addition, the verb is understood in its broad sense, including predicative adjectives, nouns and adverbials.

- b. Pre-predicate: (81) (20.6%): those which occur before the predicate
- IV. Interclausal relationship:
- a. Phonologically reduced *chuanne* (就按呢) (21) (5.3%): those which merge with *chu/chiu* (就) and are phonologically reduced to *choai<sup>n</sup>* or *choa<sup>n</sup>* or *toa<sup>n</sup>* (*choai<sup>n</sup>* hereafter)<sup>4</sup>
- b. Clause-initial (56) (14.2%): those which occur clause initially and connect the co-occurring clause with the previous discourse
- c. Discourse unit boundary marker (39) (9.9%): those which occur at the beginning or end of a stretch of description or narrative
- V. Reactive token (37) (9.4%): those which occur in a response as a backchannel
- VI. Utterance-final particle (8) (2%): those which appear in utterance final position in a fixed expression and which do not refer to any existent element in the linguistic or extralinguistic situation

These functions reveal both the syntactic and semantic diversity of *anne*. First, only around one fourth of *annes* (i.e. proform) appear in the canonical position, i.e., as a proform that is an obligatory element in the clause syntax. Second, both the anaphoric and cataphoric *anne* can be used within or above the clause level. Third, even within the clausal level, *anne* can behave like a semantically void filler. Fourth, the phonological attrition gives rise to a new blended term *chuanne*, which, as will be shown later, performs similar functions with *anne*. Since our concern is the non-proform use of *anne*, *anne* as a proform will not be discussed below.

### 3.1 Situational Use

Only two tokens of *anne* are found with the situational use. Example (3) illustrates this use:

- (3) (A is telling her sister M about a hard bruise on the leg, which hurts if pressed. tries to find where the bruise is.)

<sup>4</sup> Although 就按呢 may be written as 自安爾, as in Chen (1991), 就 is believed to be the original form of *chu*. As *chuanne* performs functions that are similar to those of *chu*, the form 就按呢 is adopted in this paper.

M: ... <X m X> 摸 沒.<sup>5</sup>

bong bo

touch no

‘I couldn’t find where (the bruise) is.’

A: ... 有 la,|| 會 痛 la,|| 遮 la.|| ...*anne* la,\

u la e thia<sup>n</sup> la chia la anne la

exist PR will hurt PR here PR this way PR

‘Yes. there is a bruise. It hurts. Here, (you press it) this way.’

The indexical ground of *anne* in (3) is the extralinguistic situation. By pressing the bruise, A shows M in what way it might hurt.

### 3.2 Scope-limiting *Anne*

A scope-limiting *anne* occurs within a clause and behaves like an adverbial particle that limits the scope of an adjacent predicate. It branches into two subcategories according to its position in the clause: pre-predicate and post-predicate. It resembles what Cheng (1989) classifies as an ‘emphatic’ use of *anne*. A pre-predicate *anne* is cataphoric in that it limits the scope of the immediately following predicate that follows it, in contrast to an anaphoric *anne* at the post-predicate position.

#### 3.2.1 Pre-predicate

<sup>5</sup> Details of the transcription in the examples cited are as follows. A stretch of continuous IUs that are delivered by the same speaker is presented with only one speaker identity at the beginning of the turn. Note that the uppercase letters A, B, C, etc. do not necessarily indicate the same speakers in different texts. The Chinese characters are given on the first line of an IU, followed by their morpheme-to-morpheme romanization on the second line and morphemic gloss on the third line. The abbreviations used for the morphemic gloss are listed at the end of the paper. As overlapping is indicated in square brackets “[ ]”, placing different IUs on the same line would not obscure the presence of overlapping. The romanization of TSM in this paper generally follows that of the Church system as seen in Cheng and Cheng (1977), with two changes for ease of typing. First, *o*, e.g. in *ko* (姑) ‘aunt’, and *o*, e.g. *ko* (哥) ‘brother’, are not differentiated except where ambiguity may arise. The romanization for Mandarin words appearing in the examples cited is that of the Pinyin system. The romanization of one morpheme may have several variants. The actual pronunciation is given in the line for romanization. A free translation is given right below each IU whenever possible. However, when a clause consists of several IUs and when the English word order does not coincide with the Chinese word order, the free translation is not given until the phrasal/clausal boundary. To save space, different IUs are placed on the same line separated by “||”.

A pre-predicate *anne* plays the role of focusing the information contained in the succeeding element. Different positions of *anne* before the predicate engender different effects of focus, as compared below:

(4) a. (The speaker is telling the hearer how to keep a little child healthy.)

→ *anne* 小漢仔 *anne* a=,||吃 a=,\_  
*anne* sehan a *anne* a chiah PR  
*anne* young *anne* PR eat a  
 ... 謹慎 a=, ||互 伊% 有^ 正常,  
 kinsin a ho i u chengsiong  
 cautious PR COM he ASP normal  
 吃 有 飽,||啊 飼 有=-|| 有^ 勇 la\  
 chiah u pa a chhi u u yong la  
 eat ASP full PR feed ASP ASP strong PAR  
 ...(.7)勿會 去 厚 代^誌 *anne* a\_  
 be khi kau *anne* *anne* a  
 will.not go thick matter *anne* PR

‘When the child is young, (the parents ) should raise him carefully, give him a normal life and feed him well so that he will not fall ill frequently.’

b. 像 我 有 一陣仔 o,|| 歸 個 月 o\  
 chhiu<sup>n</sup> goa u chitchuna o kui ko gueh o  
 like I have a while PR all CL month PR  
 → 不時 *anne* 頭殼 恍./  
 putsi *anne* taukhak gong  
 often *anne* head dizzy

‘Like me. There was a time when I always felt dizzy all month long.’

In (4a), *anne* highlights the critical period of raising a child in order to keep the child healthy, i.e. when the child is still young. The use of *anne* before the verbal element in (4b) produces a different foregrounding effect, where the speaker’s dizziness is

accentuated by *anne*.

*Anne* may occur in a series of adverbial and verbal phrases and augment the intensity of the event conveyed by the predicate:

- (5) a. (The speaker is describing a friend who seems to be always in a state of drunkenness.)

→ 伊就 *anne* 講話 攏 *anne--* || → 醉 醉 *anne@@*  
 i toh anne konghue long anne chui chui anne  
 he TOH *anne* talk always *anne* drunkdrunk*anne*  
 ‘He seems to be always in a drunken state while talking.’

- b. (A female radio host F is teasing a male host M that he must have been making eyes with young girls while he went shopping at a department.)

→ 攏 *anne* 給 人 *anne--* ((M laughs embarrassedly.))  
 long anne ka lang anne  
 always *anne* KA people *anne*  
 → mb 眼 尾仔 *anne* 給 人 掠 一下 *anne.\*  
 bak buia anne ka lang lioh chite anne  
 eye end *anne* KA people glance once *anne*  
 ‘Did (you) make eyes with (young girls)?’

- c. (The speaker is contrasting the fair skin of a friend before and after he went to the army.)

→ <@ 伊去 做兵 *anne* 身軀 *anne@>,\_*  
 i khi chopiang anne siengkhu anne  
 he go be a soldier *anne* body *anne*  
 → ...<@ 遮 一 撮 彼 一 撮 *anne* 著傷 卡@>,\_  
 chia chit chhop hia chit chhop anne tionsiong khah  
 here one lump there one spot *anne* get injured more  
 ‘When he served in the army, he (usually) got injured and had bruises everywhere.’

All of the above excerpts characterize the omnipresence of *anne*. *Anne* in (5a) highlights the state of drunkenness of this friend. In (5b), the multiple presence of *anne* underscores each step of M's intention to approach young girls: aiming at young girls, using the corner of his eye, and gazing at them. A similar effect is found with the use of *anne* in (5c), where both the body and the wounds are emphasized.

### 3.2.2 Post-predicate

Post-predicate *anne* is similar to pre-predicate *anne* in its scope limiting function. It serves to focus the scope of the adjacent predicate, as shown in (6):

(6) (Two radio hosts B and J are talking about height. J teases B's shortness. B teases herself in turn.)

B: 細 細 漢仔,|| 我 就 敢 一 百 公 分 le.\  
 se se hana goa toh ka<sup>n</sup> chitpah konghun le  
 little little height I TOH dare 100 cm PR  
 'Short? Do you mean I am only 100 centimeters tall?'

→ J:<M 細 粒仔 *anne* la M>.\  
 se liap anne la  
 '(You look) just (like) a ball.'

The limiting *anne* can be best manifested by the cooccurring *nia* (爾) or *kanna* (干那) 'only', as in (7):

(7) (C is telling the hearer about the health of a friend's father Y.)

但是 因 老父 ho<sup>n</sup>,|| .. 過身 進前 ho<sup>n</sup>,\  
 tansi in laupe ho<sup>n</sup> kuesin chinchieng ho<sup>n</sup>  
 but his fatherPR die before PR  
 'But before his father died,'  
 得 胃 癌 進前 攏 沒 按怎 lio.\  
 tioh ui gam chinchieng long bo anchoa lio  
 get stomach cancer before all NEG go wrong PR

‘and before he contracted stomach cancer, he didn’t have any health problems’

→ ...(1.0) 干那講 愛 吃 煙 *anne* 爾,  
 kana kong ai chiah hun anne nia  
 only say love eat smoke *anne* only  
 ‘except that he loved smoking. That’s all.’

In (6), *anne* delimits the extent of B’s height to being like a little ball. In (7), *anne* confines Y’s problem to the habit of smoking. The scope limiting effect is further reinforced by the use of *kanna* (干那) and *nia* (爾) ‘only’.

As the pre-predicate *anne*, when considered independent of context, *anne* in an isolated utterance can be regarded as a mere reduplication of the preceding predicate. When occurring in a stretch of talk, it has the contextual effect of emphasizing different elements of the predicate in question. In other words, the emphatic use is an extension of its indexical function.

The limiting function may have the effect of seeking confirmation of the proposition underlying the predicate, as shown in (8):

(8) (A shows M a swelling on the lap.)

A: 你 彼 款 e *anne* 壓 彼 大 力 攏-- ||...勿會 感覺.\  
 li hit khoan e *anne* chhiah toa lat long be kamkak  
 you that way NM *anne* press that big strength all will.not feel  
 ‘You pressed it with that strength. But I didn’t feel any (pain).’

M: 哦 你 是 講 *anne* 假若 一 粒仔 *anne*  
 o li si kong *anne* kana chit liapa *anne*  
 RT you be say *anne* like one CL *anne*

→ 內底 硬 硬 彼 *anne* hio?\  
 laite tieng tieng he *anne* hio  
 inside hard hard that *anne* PR  
 ‘Oh, do you mean (the swelling) is like a lump and that it feels hard inside?’

In (8), M intends to clarify her understanding of the shape of the swelling. This is

reinforced by *anne*, which limits the scope of the swelling.

Considering the indexical function of *anne* in the examples above, *anne* behaves like a deictic expression that is cataphoric (of pre-predicate *anne*) to or anaphoric (or post-predicate *anne*) to the adjacent predicate. However, instead of contributing any information to the event or state in question, *anne* is more like an epistemic emphatic marker (Cheng 1989). This is intensified by recurrence of *anne* before and after the predicate. As for its relation with the models of discourse coherence and tendencies of semantic change reviewed in Section 2, it seems that an epistemic marker as such cannot be interpreted appropriately in the models of coherence reviewed above. Instead, the change of meaning involves Tendency 3 suggested by Traugott (1989), i.e., meanings ‘tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition’.

### 3.2.3 Pragmatic extension

The limiting function can be pragmatically extended to the interactional domain when *anne* occurs with a (partial) repetition of the information conveyed in the prior discourse. In this use, *anne* has the hybrid status of being a scope limiting marker and an interactional signal showing understanding or attention, as illustrated in the following excerpt.

(9) (A singer C is being interviewed by two radio hosts, J and B. J and B asked if C plans to give a benefit show.)

C:.. m 敢 因爲 我 驚 我 e 身體 沒 法[度]  
 m ka<sup>n</sup> inwei goa kia<sup>n</sup> goae sinthe bo hoatto  
 not dare because I fear my body no way

‘I do not dare to because I am afraid that my poor health might not permit me to do so.’

B: [驚e] 體 力 卡 勿會--||→ B: 勿會當 負擔 *anne* ho<sup>n</sup>?\  
 kia<sup>n</sup>e the lek khah be betang hutam anne ho<sup>n</sup>  
 fear body strength more will not will not sustain *anne* PR

‘(You) are afraid that your health would not sustain (it), right?’

*Anne* in (10) differs from that in (8) and (9) in that the former *anne* does not contribute new information. Instead, it signals an old piece of information to show the speaker's attention.

The extension of *anne* from a scope limiting function to an interactional function shows that context plays a vital role in the interpretation of discourse meanings (cf. 'context-induced reinterpretation', Heine et al. 1991:71-2). In other words, the interpretation of lexical expressions is determined by their sequential placement in the interaction (Schiffrin 1987; Huang 2000).

### 3.3 Interclausal Relationship

In addition to limiting the scope of an adjacent predicate at the sentential level, *anne* may signal an interclausal relationship. This is realized by the use of a phonologically reduced *chuanne*, a clause-initial *anne*, and *anne* at the discourse boundary position.

#### 3.3.1 Phonologically reduced *choai<sup>n</sup>*

Among the 394 instances of *anne*, 21 (5.3%) take the form of a phonologically reduced *choai<sup>n</sup>*. It is believed to derive from the compounding of *chu* (就/自) and *anne* (按呢) (Chen 1991). Its concurrence with another *chu/chiu/toh* (就) immediately preceding it shows that *choai<sup>n</sup>* acquires the status of an independent compound. In addition, it does not refer to any element in the preceding or succeeding conversation. This semantic attrition may best be accounted for by the phonological reduction. The functions of *choai<sup>n</sup>* demonstrate some overlap with the scope limiting *anne* or *anne* in the clause initial position to mark clausal relationship as will be discussed below. It is discussed in this section independent of the other categories in that it may shed light on some compounding effects worth future study. (10a-c) illustrate the diversity of the functions of *choai<sup>n</sup>*.

(10) a. (T is asking his father about a land.)

T:	啊	咱	下腳宅仔	彼	le? <sup>\</sup>
	a	lan	ekhathea	he	le

PR our down the house that PR

‘What about our land that is situated down that (old) house?’

→ F: ... (1.2)m=, \|\| 彼 就 *choai*<sup>n</sup> 丟 le 彼.\

he toh<sup>n</sup> choai<sup>n</sup> pia<sup>n</sup> le hia

that TOH *choai*<sup>n</sup> leave aside PR there

‘Uh, it is just left alone there.’

b. (The speaker is telling his mother about a friend's problem in his oral defense.)

伊報告 e 時陣 ho<sup>n</sup>, \|\|. 彼 所 長 就=--

i poko e sichun ho<sup>n</sup> he so tiu<sup>n</sup> toh

he report CL time PR that institute head TOH

‘While he was making a report (on his dissertation), the institute head,’

.. 橫直 沒歡喜 就 對 a la. \|\| → ... 啊 *choai* 給 罵 a.\_

hoaitit bo hoa<sup>n</sup>hi toh tloh a la a choai<sup>n</sup> ka me a

anyway not happy TOH right PRPR PR *choai*<sup>n</sup> KA reprove PR

‘Anyway, he was not happy about it and reproved him.’

→ 罵 罵 伊 *choai*<sup>n</sup> 報告 及 一半=,\

me me i choai<sup>n</sup> poko kah chitpua<sup>n</sup>

reprove reprove he choai<sup>n</sup> report COM half

‘After being reproved, he (only) finished half (of the report)’

→ 啊 *choai*<sup>n</sup> 報%--\|<F 報告 勿會 落下F>%--

a choai<sup>n</sup> po poko be loi

PR choai<sup>n</sup> report will not down

‘and then he was unable to finish it.’

c. (F tells the hearer that she distracted young boys or girls by blinking eyes at when they are about to cry after being scolded by their parents.)

F: 啊 伊想 講 <L2 一個 陌生人 L2> 哪 會= 在彼

a i siu<sup>n</sup> kong yike moshengren na e ti hia

PR he think COM one stranger how will at there

及 伊 <L2 眨 眼睛 L2> ho<sup>n</sup>, \

- kah i zha yanjing ho<sup>n</sup>  
 COM he blink eye PR  
 ‘And he would think why there was a stranger blinking eyes at him.’
- 會<L2 轉移 L2>伊e <L2 注意 L2> io 伊<sup>choai<sup>n</sup></sup>--|| m?/  
 hui zhuani ie zhui io i choai<sup>n</sup> m  
 will turn his attention PR he *choai<sup>n</sup>* EX  
 ..驚 一下啊 就 勿會 站 彼^ 哭 a\  
 kia<sup>n</sup> chite a toh be tam ha khau a  
 surprised once PR TOH will not at there cry PR  
 ‘(This) will distract his attention and he would feel surprised. And then he  
 wouldn’t stay there crying.’

In (10a), no source of the manner in which the land is abandoned is available to the addressee. It can at best be inferred from the speaker’s implied point of view. *Choai<sup>n</sup>* in (10b), on the other hand, marks the sequential relationship between details of the narrative. It finds no indexical ground in the existent context either. The non-availability of the indexical ground of *choai<sup>n</sup>* is further attested in (10c) where this compound is no less than an indicator of a consequential relationship between the distraction of attention and the stopping of these young children’s crying.

### 3.3.2 Clause-initial *anne*

The ubiquitous nature of *anne* is further illustrated by its presence at the clause initial position. It is distinguished from the pre-predicate position in that an implicit subject may be present at the pre-predicate position while *anne* at the clause-initial position behaves in a manner similar to that of a connective. *Anne* with this use is believed to derive from its deictic function of being coreferential with a clausal element in the preceding discourse. However, in some instances, the indexical source does not have an explicit boundary in the discourse but it requires the hearer’s inference. The following examples embody the continuum of the referential source associated with *anne*:

- (11) a. (D asked S how and where S’s husband T called D while T is out on business.)

D:伊%,\_||車頂 有 <L2 大哥大 L2>hio?||S:^沒= la,\

i chhiateng u dakeda hio bo la

he inside the car have cell phone PR not.exist la

D: 'Does he have a cell phone in the car?' S: 'No, he doesn't.'

→ D: *anne* 可能 <L2 公用 電話 L2> e 款.\_

anne kholieng kongyong dianhua ekhoan

*anne* probably public telephone possibly

'Then, he might have used a public telephone.'

b. T...卡早 就 是愛 伊做 實驗 a=,\_||...啊 沒法度

khacha toh si ai i cho sitgiam a a bo hoatto

before TOH be want he do experiment PR PR no way

'Before, (the head) wanted him to add an experiment. So, he had no way'

伊就^ 及 伊--||伊 就=||..沒愛 我 就--||..及 你--

i toh kah i i toh bo ai goa toh kah li

he TOH CM he he TOH not want I TOH CM you

'and he didn't want to (perform the experiment) so he'

我 及 你^拖= a.\_||→M:(0) *anne* 一 年 去 你看.\

goa kah li thoa a anne chit ni khi li khoa<sup>n</sup>

I CM you dragPR *anne* one year go you see

'procrastinated.' M: 'As a result, you see, one more year had passed.'

c. M:下午 用 燂 e *anne* XX 煎 魚 *anne* 噴 一下 ho<sup>n</sup>,\

etau iong sah e anne chian hi anne phun chite ho<sup>n</sup>

afternoon use boil NM *anne* fry fish *anne* sprinkle a little PR

'This afternoon I boiled (vegetables) and fried fish. But (the oil) sprinkled'

歸 e 下面 ho<sup>n</sup>,\||後壁 [攏XX],\_||

kui e ebin ho aupia long

all NM below PR back all

'all over the back, and the back...'

→ A:[ *anne* 是 好 吃] e 款 o?\_

anne si ho chiah ekhoan o  
*anne* be good eat possibly PR  
 ‘Then (the fish) must be very spicy.’

*Anne* in (11a) marks an inference that T called D on a public phone. The inference is drawn from the fact that T does not have a cell phone at hand. In (11b), a consequential sense can be deduced in addition to the effect of inferencing marked by *anne*. In this description, T tells M about a friend’s (G) delay in getting his Ph.D. degree since he was asked to perform an extra experiment for his dissertation. G did not perform the required experiment but procrastinated and did not get his degree until one year later. The referential source of *anne* is not a clause but a unit of talk. The reference of *anne* is less explicit in (11c). A’s inference of the tastiness of the fish may be drawn from the fact that M used a lot of cooking oil while frying the fish, which may in turn result in more sprinkling of oil. In other words, the utterances prior to *anne* only form part of the indexical source and the tastiness of the fish is indirectly inferred.

As all the instances of *anne* in (11) occur in the second part of an adjacency pair, the connective use of *anne* also operates in the interactional domain. However, we believe that a more prominent function of *anne* in this position remains its clause-linking function as the information conveyed by the concurring clause is mainly an inference or a cause drawn from the immediately preceding clause

Of the functions of clause-initial *anne*, it is interesting to note that *anne* bearing a consequential reading is accompanied by a discourse marker *bo*, which marks a conditional relationship between clauses (Chang 1997):

- (12) 這 幾 工仔 ho<sup>n</sup> F>,||卡 寒 ho<sup>n</sup>,||螞蟻 沒去 a\  
 chit kui kanga ho<sup>n</sup> khah koa<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup> kauhia bo khi a  
 this few day PR more cold PR ant disappear PR  
 → ... 啊 沒*anne* 啥 物件 ho<sup>n</sup>,||.你 攏 勿會用 位 桌 頂  
 a bo *anne* sia<sup>n</sup> mikia<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>, li long beiong ui to tieng  
 PR not *anne* what thing PR you all cannot at desk top  
 吃 物件.|| ^ 螞蟻 若鼻 著 味 就 來,/

chiah mikia<sup>n</sup>, kauhia na pi<sup>n</sup> tioh bi toh lai  
eat thing ant if smell TIOH smell TOH come

‘The weather has been cooler these few days. So the ants are gone. Otherwise, you can never eat at the table, because when the ants smell (the food), they are back immediately.’

In this example, *anne* can be said to be referential with the clause *The weather is colder these days* (這幾工仔卡寒). On the other hand, it describes a consequence of the warming of the weather when ants attack.

In this section, it has been shown that a clausal-referential *anne* gives rise to the marking of an inferential, causal-consequential relationship between a concurrent clause and the prior discourse. The source of the reference of *anne* varies from an explicit clausal element to a stretch of utterances to an indirect source, the latter of which certifies the conventionalization and reanalysis of *anne* as a connective.

### 3.3.3 Discourse unit boundary marker

As discussed in Section 3.2.2, post-predicate *anne* serves to limit the scope of the preceding utterance within the same clause. However, when a post-predicate *anne* also appears the end of a stretch of discourse, the scope-limiting function gradually erodes into a boundary marking function. This is corroborated by the distribution of *anne* in such a position. A noticeable portion of post-predicate *annes* (41.5%: 34 out of all the 82 *annes* that occur after a predicate) appear at the end of a stretch of talk marked with an ending intonation. (13a) and (13b) characterize *anne* that marks the end of a unit of description and a narrative, respectively.

- (13) a. J:好 la啊 沒 咱--||質馬 也 講話 講 十一 分鐘  
ho la a bo lan chitma oana konghoa kong chapithunchieng  
good PR then we now also talk talk eleven minute  
,  
去 a.|| 咱 質馬 先--|| [安排 一 塊]歌曲 le la.\  
khi a lan chitma sian anpai chit te koakhiak le la  
go PR we now first arrange one CL song PR PR

J: 'Okay. Now that we have talked for 11 minutes, it is time for us to play a song.'

B: [啊 沒 咱] 互咱 e ^聽眾 朋友 講,\  
a bo lan ho lane thia<sup>n</sup>chiong piengiu kong  
PR then we let our audience friend say  
^愛= 聽 江蕙 叨 一 塊 歌.\| J:^好!\| B:(0)^新= 歌=,  
ai tia<sup>n</sup> kanghui to chit te koa ho sin koa  
love listen PN which one CL song good new song

B: 'Now we will let our audience tell us what song of *Kianghui*'s they like to listen to.' J: 'Good.' B: 'A new song.'

J: 咱 聽=, \| 聽 互<L2 這個=L2>, \| 聽眾 朋友 來 ^選 la,\  
lan tia<sup>n</sup> tia<sup>n</sup> ho zheige thia<sup>n</sup>chiong piengiu lai soan la  
we listen listen give this audience friend come choose PR  
→ 看 欲 是 聽 叨 一 塊 *anne*. \| C: ho<sup>n</sup> 好.\  
koa<sup>n</sup> beh si tia<sup>n</sup> to chit te anne ho<sup>n</sup> ho  
see want be listen which one CL *anne* good PR  
J: 'We will let our audience choose and see which song they want to listen to.' C: 'Okay.'

b. (D is relating the story of S's husband's (surnamed *Tan*) visit to D.)

恁 陳 e 敲 來 彼 陣 我 就 是 哦=! \| ...(.9) 想 講 哦!\  
lin tane kha lai hit chun goa toh si o siu<sup>n</sup> kong o  
your PN call come that time I TOH be EX think CM EX  
'When your husband called, I was thinking that'  
緊 e, \| 欲 卡 早 來 睏.\| 啊 就, \| 開始,  
kine beh khah cha lai khun a toh khaisi  
quick want more early come sleep PR TOH start  
'I should go to bed as early as possible. And then, as I was about to'  
躺 落去 冥床.\| \| 想 講 欲 睏.\  
the<sup>n</sup> lohkhi mngchhng siu<sup>n</sup> kong beh khun  
lie down bed think CM want sleep

‘lie down and fall asleep,’  
 躺 差不多,|| 未 十 分鐘.||. 啊伊^敲 電話 來./  
 the<sup>n</sup> chhabutto buei chap hunchieng a i kha tianhue lai  
 lie about not.reach 10 minutes PR he dial telephone come  
 ‘and it was less than 10 minutes after I lay in bed when he called.’  
 ..我 講 anne o,\ ||anne 我 緊 落來,||伊 講,|| 沒 la,\  
 goa kong anne o anne goa kin loh lai i kong bo la  
 I say anne PR anne I hurry descend he say no PR  
 ‘Then I said that I would go downstairs soon. But he said’  
 沒 要緊 la,|| → 復 差不多 十五 分 以後 *anne* la.\  
 bo iau kin la koh chau chapgo hun iau anne la  
 not matter PR still about 15 minutes after anne PR  
 ‘that I needn’t hurry. He wouldn’t arrive until about 15 minutes later.’

The conversation in (13a) above takes place at the end of J and B’s long interview with the singer C. It is immediately followed by call-ins from audience. (13b), on the other hand, is a prolonged narrative of the prologue of S’s husband T’s visit to D, which forms part of D’s later narrative of her drunk experience before T’s visit. Both passages extend over 20 IUs and are wrapped up by *anne* at the boundary, which lends strong credence to the status of *anne* as a marker that designates discourse boundary.

While 34 instances of *anne* occur at the end of a discourse unit to mark the completion of a description or narrative, 5 occur at the beginning of a stretch of talk as an introduction of an impending description or narrative. This is reminiscent of its cataphoric function. However, instead of pointing to a clausal element, *anne* takes a discourse unit as its scope. This function is similar to *zheyang* in Mandarin, as noted by Huang (1999). (14) exemplifies this use:

(14) (D is telling her friend S why she got drunk and why she drank too much.)

啊有陣仔,||→我 是 *anne*,||我 若真-||...久 m 八 淋 e 時 ho<sup>n</sup>,\  
 a utia<sup>n</sup>a goa si anne goa na chin ku m bat lim esi ho<sup>n</sup>  
 PR sometimes I be anne I if really long not.have drink when PR

‘Sometimes, if it has been a long time since I last went for a drink’  
 啊人 抑 給我 招 一下,||哦!||<L2 我就,|^ 很 想 說,\  
 a lang ah ka goa chio chite o wo jiu hen xiang shuo  
 PR people if KAI invite a little EX I then very want CM  
 哦!|| 我 要 去 喝 幾--|| 幾 杯 你 知 道 嗎 L2>?\_  
 o wo iau qu he ji ji bei ni zhidao ma  
 EX I want go drink some some glass you know PR  
 and if I was invited, then, you know I would feel very much like going for a  
 drink.

The foregoing discussion has centered on the discourse functions of *anne* in the clause-initial or discourse boundary position. The contextual variation motivates semantic thinning at varying degrees and propels the emergence of the text-building functions of *anne*, i.e. as a connective or as a discourse boundary marker. In what follows, we will introduce *anne* that operates in still another discourse domain, i.e. the interactional domain, where *anne* performs a backchanneling function.

### 3.4 Reactive Token

Unlike the environment discussed above, *anne* may occur in a reply to acknowledge the previous speaker’s speech. It occurs either as an isolated IU followed by a final particle *o/ho<sup>n</sup>/hio* or preceded by an utterance that is a repetition of the addressee’s speech. *Anne* in this context essentially serves as a reactive token to echo what the previous speaker has just said, as exemplified below:

- (15) a. (A female singer C is explaining to two radio hosts why she won’t give a benefit show.)

C:[因爲 我%],\_|B: [he<sup>n</sup>].||C: <L2心臟=,\_|不 是 很 好 L2>.\  
 inwei goa he<sup>n</sup> xinzang bu shihen hao  
 because I RT heart not be very good

C: ‘Because I have a little heart problem’

→ B:(0) *anne*[ho<sup>n</sup>?\_|C: [我 驚]e <L2 負 荷 不 了 L2>.\

anne ho<sup>n</sup>            goa    kia<sup>n</sup>e            fuhe            bu    liau  
*anne* PR            I        fear            undertake    not    sustain

B: 'Is that so?' C: 'I am afraid that I cannot sustain it.'

b. F: 就是算講 <L2 小朋友 [堅持] L2> ,||M: [hm hm hm].\

tohsi sng    kong    xiao pengiu    jianchi                            hm hm hm  
 even count CM    little friend    insist                            RT RT RT

F: 'Even the little children insisted (on buying ice cream),' M: 'Hm hm hm.'

F: 啊爸爸 媽媽 choai<sup>n</sup>--||.. 沒愛 插 你 choai<sup>n</sup> 做 因^ 行=/  
 a papa mama choai<sup>n</sup>    bo ai    chhap li choai<sup>n</sup> cho in kia<sup>n</sup>  
 PR father mother then            not love care you then do they go

F: 'the parents still wouldn't listen to them but keep going.'

F: [啊 你] <L2 小朋友 L2>沒辦法 a,|| → M: [*anne* o]?\

a li            xiao pengiu    bo panhoat a            anne o  
 PR you        little friend    no way        PR            *anne* PR

F: 'These little children had no choice' M: 'Really?'

F:(H)伊--|| 只好看 爸爸 媽媽 <L2 走了 就--||跟--

i    chiho khoa<sup>n</sup> papa    mama    zou le    jiu gen  
 he    only see father    mother    leave ASP then follow

F: 'but they followed (their parents) when seeing them leave.'

Several interesting characteristics of *anne* as a reactive token are observed from the corpus. First, the reactive nature of *anne* is accompanied by the utterance-final particle 'o' or 'ho<sup>n</sup>', a 'negotiation begging marker' (Li 1999) that suffixes the 'receipt of information' with *anne* (Li 1999: 70). Despite the anaphoric nature, it does not contribute to the semantic content but it mainly designates the speaker's support toward the previous speaker's speech.

Second, the exchange function of *anne* is also manifested by B's immediate relinquishment of the turn to C and C's lack of response to *anne*, a characteristic also noted by Li (1999:72). A concomitant effect is the ending intonation with *anne*.

Third, non-referential *anne* is frequently overlapped with the previous or

subsequent IU. Of the 37 tokens of backchannel *anne*, 12 (32.4%) are overlapped with an adjacent IU, as also shown in the above two excerpts. The turn with *anne* is a backchannel that demonstrates the current speaker's attention while the floor remains to the prior speaker's.

Fourth, *anne* as a reactive token occurs almost exclusively between speakers with more social distance, e.g. between radio hosts, between an interviewer and an interviewee, or between neighbors. As noted by Brown and Levinson (1987), social distance is an important factor that motivates speaker's intent to show politeness.

It does not occur between intimate friends or family members except when the speaker is showing surprise, as shown in (16) below.

As mentioned above, *anne* as a reactive token occurs between interlocutors of intimate relationship only when the speaker is under a strong emotional state. In this use, *anne* ends with a rising intonation.

(16) a. T: ... 啊 彼 e 吳 e 質馬 le? || F: ... 就 死 去 a=.\

a hite go e chitma le toh khiau khi a

PR that PN NM now PR TOH die go PR

'Where is Mr. Go now?' F: 'He is dead.'

→ T: ... ^*anne*?! \_ || F: ... hm.\

anne hm

*anne* RT

T: 'Is that true?!' F: 'Yeah.'

b. T: 邱 e 質馬 麼 m 八 看 著 a. || ... (.9) 攏 m 八 [來 ho<sup>n</sup>]?\

khu e chitma ma m bat khoa<sup>n</sup> tloh a long mbat lai ho<sup>n</sup>

PN NM now also not.have see TIOH PR all not.have come PR

→ F: [斷 腦筋]. \_ || T: ... (.7) <M<F *anne* F>M>?! || F: ..hm.\

tng naukin anne hm

break brain.nerve *anne* RT

F: 'He got a stroke.' T: 'Is that true?!' F: 'Yeah.'

*Anne* as a reactive token further instantiates a contextual effect in the grammaticalization of a linguistic element. It is the reply position and the speaker's social concern that prompt the use of *anne* as an interactional signal. At the same time, the features discussed above of a backchannel *anne* uphold the fact that *anne* contributes little, if any, semantic content to the utterance. Another semantically void *anne* will be discussed above, thus providing testimony to the complete semantic bleaching of this discourse element.

### 3.5 Utterance-final Particle

Among the 394 tokens of *anne*, 8 (2%) appear in an expression where *anne* is not coreferential with any linguistic or non-linguistic element in the discourse or the world. In this use, *anne* is always preceded by the particle *kah* (及) (cf. Li 2001), yielding the phrasal compound *kua<sup>n</sup> kah anne* 寒及按呢, *tat kah anne* 窒及按呢, *pia<sup>n</sup> kah anne* 拼及按呢, *siok kah anne* 俗及按呢, etc. (17) is exemplary of this use:

- (17) (A is telling M sarcastically and jealously about a couple who go anywhere together.)
- 鬥陣 來 買 菜 鬥陣 創 啥 *anne* 佻 好 e.\  
 tautin lai be chhai tautin chhong sa<sup>n</sup> anne goa ho e  
 together come buy vegetables together do what *anne* very good ASSC  
 'They go to the market together and do things together. How wonderful!'  
 伊 佻 愛 *anne* le @@ a= 笑 及 *anne* .\_  
 i goa ai anne le a chio kah anne  
 he very love *anne* PR EX laugh KAH *anne*  
 'He enjoys this very much. Oh! How (we) laughed!'

As noted by Li (2001: 318), the extent of the action before *kah* is not precise but implicated. (18) demonstrates the extreme semantic bleaching of *anne* in that no prior or following discourse explicitly expresses to what extent A laughs at this couple.

Two variants of this “V *kah anne*” lend strong support to the non-referentiality of *anne*. First, *kah anne* can be phonologically reduced to *kanne*. The phonological

attrition may arise as an upshot of the semantic reduction of *anne* in this context. Second, *anne* in this compound can be elided, yielding the mere “V *kah*” sequence, e.g. 寒及 *kua<sup>n</sup>kah* and 笑及 *chiokah* without resulting in a different interpretation, hence:

- (18) 伊 偌 愛    *anne le @@ a=*    笑    及 .<sub>1</sub>  
       *i goa ai    anne le        a    chio kah*  
       he very love *anne* PR        EX    laugh KAH  
       ‘He enjoys this very much.    Oh! How (we) laughed!’

The use of *anne* in this context illustrates the highly grammaticalized nature of *anne*. Structurally, *anne* has been reanalyzed as a full-blown utterance final particle as it is preceded by the particle *kah*. Semantically, the information conveyed in a compound as above does not stress the degree of the state or event associated with the predicate but the extent can only be vaguely inferred. Instead, an ‘excessive’ reading of the concurring verb takes precedence, and it bears the same reading with the “*kah anne*” sequence (Li 2001:317). The semantic change instantiates the subjectification (Traugott 1989, Tendency 3) of meaning. The complete semantic bleaching in turn gives rise to the use of *anne* as a particle.

### 3.6 Summary

The discussion of *anne* unveils a full array of functions that cannot be accounted for in purely deictic terms. Different functions should be interpreted in terms of different levels of meanings as proposed by Schiffrin (1987) and Kroon (1998). The situational use and proform use of *anne*, though only discussed briefly in this paper, can be best explained in terms of their ‘deational structure’ (Schiffrin 1987) or ‘representational level’ of meaning. Intraclausal *anne* and *anne* as an utterance-final particle bear an epistemic reading, which can better be interpreted in terms of ‘subjectification of meaning’ (Traugott 1989). Clause-initial and discourse boundary marking *anne* takes on a reading at the ‘representational level’ or ‘information state’, as they both play a metalinguistic/text-building function by connecting clauses or discourse units. *Anne* as a reactive token operates in the ‘exchange structure’ and

'interactional level' of meanings as it is mainly used to designate speaker's attention without taking the prior speaker's floor. The operation of different uses of *anne* in different planes support our assumption *anne* has evolved from a lexical/deictic expression to a discourse element.

Two continua embody the change of *anne*. Semantically, it proceeds from a lexical element that participates in the clause syntax, to a focus marker before or after a predicate, and further to the other extreme of the continuum: a particle. Syntactically, it progresses from the intra-sentential position to a clause-boundary position, and further extends to a discourse boundary locale. Concomitant effects of the wide extent of semantic and syntactic patterning are the diverse functions induced by the contextual change (Heine et al. 1991), which range from a local limiting function to a clausal connective or a global discourse boundary marker or an interactive signal.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this study, we have used both quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate the use of *anne* in spontaneous TSM conversations. The discussion has demonstrated the decent of *anne* from a lexical element to a textual element on the one hand, and a semantically void particle on the other based on the significant distribution of different uses of *anne* in a 2-hour corpus. Several important features on the discourse import of *anne* can be summarized.

First, we have shown that *anne* may refer to a source in either the preceding or a forthcoming discourse. The source of its reference may be a nominal, an adverbial expression, or a clausal element.

However, the lexical/deictic use is gradually encroached upon by a constellation of functions when *anne* does not partake in the matrix syntax. Within the sentential level, it plays a limiting function that gives an adjacent predicate the focal center.

On the other hand, *anne* figures as prominently at both the metalinguistic and the interactional level. The closer *anne* approaches the utterance-boundary position, the more liable for it to acquire a text-building function. At the clause boundary position, *anne* marks inferential, sequential or causal/consequential relationships between the following clause and the prior discourse. As *anne* is situated at the border of a unit of talk, *anne* wraps up a preceding part of talk or introduces a unit of talk. Structurally,

the frequency of *anne* at this position triggers its reanalysis and reinterpretation as a discourse connective.

The occurrence of *anne* in a reply position occasions the function of *anne* in the interactional plane. In other words, in a reply position, *anne* acts as a reactive token to show understanding or attention without taking the prior speaker's floor.

Furthermore, some grammaticalization effects concerning semantic bleaching are witnessed. Two uses of *anne* are associated with this path of change, namely, its being placed after a grammaticalized utterance-final particle *kah* (及) (Li 2001) and the highly phonologically reduced form *choai*<sup>n</sup> from *chu anne*. The former context provides solid evidence for the conventionalization and reanalysis of *anne* as an utterance-final particle, while the latter use suggests potential directionality of the semantic change of *anne* in other contexts.

To conclude, *anne* starts as a deictic element that participates in the clause matrix. The repetition/overlap of proposition evolves local and global discourse organizing functions. The different degrees of its loss of its propositional content agree with the general tendency of grammaticalization and suggests that *anne* is a highly grammaticalized term.

### Transcription Notations

--	truncated intonation unit
-	truncated word
[ ]	speech overlap
.	final intonation
,	continuing intonation
—	level intonation
?	appealing intonation
!	exclamation
^	primary accent
=	lengthening
...(N)	long pause
...	medium pause
..	short pause
(0)	latching pause
%	glottal stop
@	laughter
<@ @>	laugh quality
<F F>	fast tempo
<M M>	loudness

<MRC MRC>	each word distinct and emphasized
(( ))	transcriber's comment
<X X>	uncertain hearing
X	indecipherable syllable
<L2 L2>	code switching from Taiwanese to Mandarin
-->	utterance where <i>anne</i> is considered

### List of Abbreviations in the Gloss

ASP	aspect marker
ASSC (the morpheme <i>e</i> except nominalizer)	associative morpheme
CL	classifier
CM	complementizer
DC	directional complement
EX	exclamation
KA	the morpheme <i>ka</i> (給)
NM	nominalizer
PR	particle
PN	proper noun
RT	reactive token
TIOH	the morpheme <i>tioh</i> (著)
TOH	the morpheme <i>toh</i> (就)

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## 台灣閩南話Anne的言談功能

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本文探討台灣閩南話口語對話中指示詞「按呢」(anne)的言談功能。所採用語料長度兩小時，共計394例「按呢」。結果顯示，「按呢」用法包括：一、基本指示詞語義；二、言談結構功能；三、互動功能；四、句尾助詞。在句子的局部層次上，「按呢」具有強調緊臨述語的訊息內容的功能。當出現於子句交界處時，「按呢」標示子句間推論，連續，或因果的關係。當「按呢」出現在某言談單位的起始或結束處時，分別具有引介及結束該言談話題的功能。當出現在答覆句時，「按呢」主要表達話者對前一談話者言談內容的注意，因此主要為互動功能。這些不同層次的功能及不同層次的語義的變化顯示「按呢」在某些情境下已由一指示詞虛化為一言談詞。

關鍵詞: 指示詞，言談分析，台灣閩南話，語法化