DIRECT AND INDIRECT CONDITIONALS:
A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF CHINESE *YAOSHI* AND
YAOBUSHI IN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN DISCOURSE[*]

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ABSTRACT

This study explores Mandarin Chinese *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* constructions in both spoken and written discourse from the perspective of grammaticalization. Although the conditional markers *yaoshi* and *yaobuhsi* seem antonymous, there are some asymmetries between them in conditional constructions. Adopting a synchronic approach, this study discusses the semantic-pragmatic uses of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi.* In addition, we also show their semantic development from the propositional domain, to the textual domain, and from there to the expressive domain, viz. a semantic development whereby the meanings of the lexical items change from less to more situated in the speaker's mental belief and attitude. By investigating the development of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi*, we can describe more accurately their various usages in contemporary Chinese and explain the asymmetries between their uses in conditionals. It is concluded in this study that the differences in their grammaticalization, subjectification and intersubjectification included, influence not only their occurrences in conditionals but also their pragmatic functions in discourse.

Key words: conditional, grammaticalization, subjectivity, intersubjectivity

1.   INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades, conditionality has aroused the interest of many researchers. Conditionals, defined as the syntactic constitution "*if P, (then) Q[1]*", are common syntactic configurations which can express causal relationship, potentials, possibilities, and hypotheticality, and so on, in discourse to convey explanation and argumentation. Such a construction, composed of two parts-one part expresses a certain condition and the other establishes a certain logical relationship with the expressed condition, can directly reflect the language user's ability to reason about alternatives, uncertainties, and unrealized contingencies (Ferguson et al. 1986).

The literature on Mandarin conditionality has provided a wide variety of information based on functional analysis with respect to semantics, pragmatics, and discourse/textual aspects of different conditional constructions. Conditional markers in Mandarin, such as *ruguo(shuo)* 'if', *ruguoshuo… dehua* 'if', *jiashi* 'suppose (that)', *jiashe* 'given that; provided that', *wanyi* 'in case', *chufei* 'unless', *zhiyao* 'only if', *(yao)buran* 'otherwise; or', *fouze* 'otherwise; or', *jishi* 'even if', *jiusuan* 'even if', *yaoshi* 'if, *yaobuhsi* 'if not; if it is not the case that', and so on, have been closely examined and discussed with their corresponding pragmatic functions in the past (Li and Thompson 1981; Eifring 1988; Wu 1994; Su 2005; Yang 2007; Lai 2010; just to name a few). Despite the fact that a large number of studies have investigated Chinese conditional markers, *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* have received comparatively less attention. Both of the markers *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* are profuse in our daily conversation and newspaper reports. Though their semantic and pragmatic properties have been evaluated in some studies, most of the studies rely entirely on examples without actual contextual support. Detailed comparisons between *yaoshi* and *yaobushi*

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[1] According to philosophers and logicians, conditionals are defined as a relation between two propositions, the protasis (P) and the apodosis (Q). In other words, two parts are contained in a conditional construction: the factual implication or hypothetical situation (viz. protasis) that sets the condition under which another proposition would be true, and the consequence (viz. apodosis).

based in a larger context have not been made. For example, Eifring (1988) points out that the use of *yaobushi* is mostly counterfactual[2]. Wu (1994) provides a detailed analysis of the linguistic forms and functions of Chinese counterfactual conditionals. Her study shows that besides context, Chinese has explicit linguistic cues (such as *yaobushi* 'if not') and structures (typically '*if ... then ...*') for counterfactual expressions. However, Eifring (1988) and Wu (1994) focus on their syntactic structure and semantic content in sentences without much consideration about their uses as seen in interaction and discourse.

Adopting cognitive and pragmatic approaches, Su (2005) and Yang (2007) examine Chinese conditionals in terms of their discourse functions. Su pinpoints the important roles played by context and the pragmatic concerns necessary in the interpretation of Chinese conditionals. Yang distinguishes two types of counterfactuals between the typical *yaoshi-* and *yaobushi*-constructions, arguing that counterfactuality in *yaoshi* construction is implicated while that in *yaobushi* construction is asserted. Though both analyses, i.e. Su (2005) and Yang (2007), are illuminating, they do not differentiate *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* in much detail[3]. Lai (2010), based on genuine conversations, examines the pragmatic functions of Mandarin conditionals. Lai (2010) presents a general view on how and why Chinese speakers manipulate conditional markers to encode their attitudes, intentions, or evaluations. However, specific conditional markers such as *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* with different communicative values are not specified in his study. These previous studies have revealed some characteristics and peculiarities of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi*, but their explanations on the uses of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* remain fragmentary.

Yaoshi and its negative counterpart *yaobushi*, which parallel English

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[2] Before Eifring (1988), many linguists believed that Chinese never marks counterfactuality at all (e.g. Chao 1959; Li and Thompson 1981; Bloom 1981, 1984; Au 1984). Eifring rejects the view by providing counterfactual conditionals from classical Chinese as well as modern Chinese. According to Eifring, the negative *if*-word *yaobushi* 'if not; were it not the case that; had it not been the case that' is an important counterfactual cue in Chinese.

[3] Su does not focus on particular conditional markers, while Yang discusses how mental spaces are built in conditional constructions. Structural and pragmatic contrasts between *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* are not discussed.

'if' and 'if not; if it is not the case that', are used to connect the antecedent and the consequent in conditionals. It is intriguing that there is asymmetry between the use of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi*, two antonymous conditional markers. To be more specific, *yaoshi* conditionals can have different interpretations; they can express the future (real), the present (hypothetical), and the past (counterfactual) conditionality[4] (Li and Thompson 1981:647), while *yaobushi* construction is only associated with counterfactuality (Eifring 1988). Inspired by the previous studies, the present study takes a corpus-based approach to analyzing the uses of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* in written and spoken Chinese discourse. The present study aims at answering the following questions:

(1) What causes the asymmetry between the use of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi*? Is the asymmetry related to their grammaticalization?

(2) Is there any difference in the distribution and/or use of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* in the two different discourse modes?

In this study, the uses of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* are accounted for mainly from the aspect of grammaticalization, with a focus on the synchronic dimension to explore their functions and uses in Chinese discourse. The synchronic database is adopted because the purpose of this study is to show the discourse-pragmatic uses of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi,* showing the semantic development of lexical items from the propositional domain, to the textual domain, and from there to the expressive domain[5].

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[4] Conditionals without explicit negative markers, i.e. without *bushi* 'not', can have different interpretations. For example, there are three interpretations (i.e. the future, the present, and the past conditionality) for the sentence 要是你看到我妹妹, 你一定知道她懷孕了 *yaoshi ni kan dao wo meimei, ni yiding zhidao ta huaiyun le* 'If you see my younger sister, you certainly kow that she is pregnant; If you saw my younger sister, you would know she was pregnant; If you had seen my younger sister, you would have known that she was pregnant.' On the other hand, a contrary-to-fact message is conveyed through the use of *yaobushi*, for example, 真感謝丁先生, 要不是他, 我們就進不去了 *zhen ganxie Ding xiansheng*! *Yaobushi ta, women jiu jin-bu-qu le* 'We did appreciate Mr. Ding. Without him, we could not enter the room'. Unlike English conditionals which have to fulfill a morphosyntactic requirement, the reading of a Chinese conditional may depend heavily on the word order and the discourse context in order to be properly interpreted.

[5] That is, a semantic shift toward greater subjectivity and becoming increasingly associated with the speaker's attitude.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 1 is an overview of the study, which states the motivation and the research questions of this study. In Section 2, a review of previous studies on the grammaticalization of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* is provided. Section 3 describes the theoretical frameworks and the data used in this study. Section 4 is concerned with the results, i.e. classification of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* in our database. Section 5 is devoted to a detailed discussion of the uses of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* based on our written and spoken data. Section 6 focuses on the subjectification and intersubjectification of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi*. Finally, section 7 concludes the study.

2.   PREVIOUS STUDIES

Previous research on the grammaticalization of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* has been mostly conducted from the diachronic perspective (e.g. Eifring 1988; Ma 2002; Ji 2009; Huang 2012; among others). They have provided certain explanations for the origin, the path, and the evolution processes of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi*, as stated below.

According to Ji (2009), *yaoshi* is composed of two lexemes: *yao* and *shi. Yao* is a conjunction with the sense of hypotheticality, while *shi* is, traditionally speaking, a copula in Chinese, i.e. a linking verb, similar to English 'be', which links a subject and complement (Li and Thompson 1981:147). The origins of *yao*, as Ma (2002) and Ji (2009) point out, can be traced back to as early as the Pre-*Qin* period. *Yao* was originally a noun referring to the body part 'waist' in Archaic Chinese. Different uses of *yao*, either as a noun or a verb, coexisted by the end of the Pre-*Qin* period in Archaic Chinese. The use of *yao* as a modal verb emerged later through metaphorical extension (You 1998; Ma 2002; Ji 2009). Different modality senses of *yao*, from deontic to epistemic, came about during the 3rd and the 6th centuries (Huang 2012). The adverbial uses of *yaoshi* are extension of the modal *yao* and the copula *shi,* as claimed by Traugott (1989), You (1998), Ma (2002), Ji (2009), among others.

The evolution of *yaobushi*, as claimed by Ma (2002) and Ji (2009), is different from that of *yaoshi*. The negative counterpart of *yaoshi*, i.e.

yaobushi, is surmised to result originally from *ruo-bushi* (若不是) 'if it is not the case that' with the hypothetical interpretation in the Tang Dynasty. After the grammaticalization of *yao* used as a conditional marker, *ruo* 'if' was gradually replaced by *yao* in early modern Chinese. Thus, the conditional *yaobushi* may evolve from *ruo-bushi* showing the speaker's hypotheticality toward the proposition described in the protasis. The frequent collocation of *yao+ bushi* motivates a reanalysis for them to become a lexical unit.

In short, the development process of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* has evolved mainly from *yao*. The Chinese *yao* was originally a noun and a verb, and with the use of language, it has derived functional uses as a conjunction and a conditional marker. Metaphor and metonymy are two strategies of semantic extension of the conditional markers *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* (You 1998).

3.   METHOD

3.1 Theoretical Framework

To explore the different uses of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi,* grammaticalization theory is employed in this study. Grammaticalization generally refers to the linguistic process whereby lexical items become more grammatical and grammatical items develop new grammatical functions over time (Traugott 1988:406; Hopper and Traugott 1993: xv; Traugott and Dasher 2002:81). In other words, the major concern of grammaticalization theory is the genesis and development of grammatical forms. The discussion of grammaticalization focuses on semantic shift, along a unidirectional cline from referential (propositional) to non-referential meaning (Traugott 1989), a semantic-pragmatic change in which propositional (ideational) content can gain either textual (cohesion-making) and expressive (interpersonal) meanings or both, as schematized in the following cline:

propositional   >   ((textual)   >   (expressive))

Thus, two important processes are observed along the development of grammatical forms: subjectification and intersubjectification. Subjectification, defined by Traugott (1995:32), is "a pragmatic-semantic process whereby meanings become increasingly based in speaker's subjective belief/state/attitude toward the proposition." Intersubjectification, on the other hand, is "the explicit expression of speaker/writer attention to the 'self' of addressee/reader in both an epistemic sense and a more social sense (Traugott 2003:126). When communicating, the speaker not only expresses the propositional meaning but also conveys the expressive meaning, which shows the subjectivity and intersubjectivity of language.

In this study, great emphasis is placed on the synchronic dimension to explore the different uses of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi*. We will address the semantic and pragmatic meanings of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* in modern Chinese and discuss their possible paths of grammaticalization from the purely linguistic to the pragmatic.

3.2 Data Collection

This study investigates Chinese *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* constructions in both written and spoken discourse. The written data source for the current study of written Chinese conditionals comes from the United Data Bank (**UDNDATA**). It is a newspaper database of the United Daily News group, the largest news group in Taiwan, including the United Daily News, Economic Daily News, and United Evening News. The corpus could be considered a hybrid genre as it contains both spoken and written genres, with newspaper discourse often mixed with interviews and quotations. To examine the various uses of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* in Chinese discourse, we searched for *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* among the texts in the data source **UDNDATA** from April 1, 2012 to May 31, 2012 (two months in total).

The spoken corpus in this study comes from naturally occurring two-party or multi-party conversations. All the conversations are between adults, mainly face-to-face conversations and some interviews on radio and TV programs. The diverse parties in these conversations include students, colleagues, and housewives, and the situations occur at

home, at a dormitory, and at work. In the interview data, some of the TV/radio single-interviewee interviews are hosted by two people (totaling 380 minutes and 10 seconds), whereas in others there is only one host/hostess. The interviewees include celebrities like political figures, expert analysts, and other figures who discuss entertainment, education, athletics, medicine, and other similar topics. The total length (of the recordings in the data) is about 70 hours. The data were taped via audio cassettes and transcribed into intonation units[6].

There are a total of 185 tokens of *yaoshi* and 32 of *yaobushi* identified in the data. On the whole, *yaoshi* occurs more frequently than *yaobushi* in the corpus (185 vs. 32). *Yaoshi* is found to be more prevalent than *yaobushi* either in the written data (90 vs. 28) or in the spoken data (95 vs. 4), as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. The occurrence of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* in the written and spoken data

	Yaoshi (%)	*Yaobushi* (%)	Total	(%)
Written	90 (76)	28 (24)	118	(100)
Spoken	95 (95)	4 (5)	99	(100)
Total	185	32	217	

4.   CLASSIFICATION OF *YAOSHI* AND *YAOBUSHI*: DIRECT AND INDIRECT CONDITIONAL USE

The various uses of the two seemingly antonymous expressions in the data, either written or spoken texts, are presented and discussed below. Examination of the two expressions for their respective uses will provide us with a more complete picture of their usage in contemporary Chinese.

The meaning of *yaoshi* found in the data can be classified into two types, i.e. direct and indirect conditional use, or central and peripheral ones as Quirk et al. (1985) propose. The central use of the conditional

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[6] The data are transcribed according to the notations proposed by Du Bois et al. (1993).

marker *yaoshi* expresses a direct condition, conveying that the situation in the apodosis is directly contingent on that of the protasis. Many tokens of *yaoshi* in our data are used in such a standard way and have the status as connectives designating a causal, logical, and sequential relationship between the two clauses. The direct conditional *yaoshi* conveys a strong link between the *if*-clause (P) and the main clause (Q), as illustrated in example (1).

(1)   (The following is a report on a famous hotel restaurant —the Howard Hotel. A chef in the Howard, Guo-Dong Wu, claimed that MSG (monosodium glutamate) will no longer be used in their cuisine.)

但   「食物 新鮮 最   重要」,   吳國棟   說,
dan   shiwu xinxian zui   zhongyao   Wu Guo-Dong   shuo
but   food   fresh   most important   Wu Guo Dong   say

→ 食材 要是 新鮮   自然 **就** 有   鮮甜的   味道,
shicai yaoshi xinxian   ziran   jiu   you   xiantiande   weidao
ingredient if   fresh   naturally then have fresh-sweet   taste

'The chef said that the freshness of food is most important. If the ingredients are fresh, then the food will taste sweet naturally.'

(2012-0504 UDNDATA, Written discourse)

The conditional in (1) conveys that the situation in the apodosis (i.e. the food will taste sweet naturally) is directly contingent on that of the protasis (i.e. if the ingredients are fresh). Logically speaking, the event (or state) in the protasis is the sufficient condition for the realization of the event (or state) described in the apodosis. Besides, a cause-effect relation (i.e. the fulfillment of the condition in the protasis is the cause of the realization of the events in the apodosis) and a sequential temporal relation, as indicated by the adverb *jiu* 'then', are also involved in the above conditional sentence. Such conditionals, classified as content conditionals by Sweetser (1990), express the speaker's perception of the relationships of the events or state of affairs in the external world.

Two subtypes of direct conditionals can be found: one is to propose optionality (i.e. *yaoshi* as a possible hypothesis marker), while the other is to express counterfactuality[7] (i.e. *yaoshi* as a non-possible hypothesis marker), as demonstrated in examples (2) and (3) below:

(2)　　(A, a female kindergarten teacher, is talking to B, a female housewife, about her job and the opportunities to be a qualified teacher in high school.)

B: ..代課　　　老師　　　也　　很　　好./
　　daikei　　laoshi　　ye　　hen　hao
　　substitute　teacher　　too　very　good
A: ..啊　　　不過, _
　　a　　　buguo
　　PRT　　　but
　…我　　想　　　說, _
　　wo　　xiang　　shuo
　　I　　think　　speak
.. 我　沒有　　<C 教育　　學分 C>._
　wo　meiyou　　jiaoyu　　xuefeng
　I　　no have　　teaching　credit
.. 啊　而且, _
　a　　erqie
　PRT　　but
…我　又　在　　教, \
…wo　you　zai　jiao
　I　again　at　　teach

..<E　Melody　E>　啊._
　　Melody　　　a
　　Melody　　　PRT
…較　　忙　　　啊, _
jiao　mang　　a
busier　　　PRT

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7 These two subtypes of *yaoshi*-conditionals correspond to 'open' and 'hypothetical' classification in Quirk et al.'s (1985) classification of conditionals.

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          ..不然, /
          buran
          otherwise
→         要是     可以     的話[8], \
          yaoshi   keyi     dehua
          if       can      in case
          ..我   就     可以, /
          wo    jiu     keyi
          I     then    can
          當 <C 代課      老師 C>    啊 ._
          dang  daike    laoshi     a
          as    substitute teacher  PRT[9]
```

B: 'Being a substitute teacher is good, too.'
A: 'but, I don't have teaching credits and I am still teaching
    Melody. So I am quite busy. Otherwise, if possible, I'd like to
    be a substitute teacher.'

                                    (Conversation in spoken data)

(3)   (A witness described the scene of an accident where a drunken
        driver ran over an old man and then escaped.)

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當時     他 在 旁邊     店家    聽到    「砰」  一聲,
dangshi ta zai pangbian dianjia tingdou peng   yisheng
then     he at side     store   hear    bang   one sound

看  到    老翁      被   撞      彈飛,
kan dou   laoweng   bei  zhuang  tanfei
see       old man   BEI  bump    fly
沒 多久 一 輛  轎車  卻  衝    向   車禍      現場,
mei duojiu yi liang jiaoche que chong xiang chehwo xianchang
not long   one CL  car     but rush   toward car accident spot
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[8] *Dehua* 'in case; if' is also a conditional marker in Chinese.

[9] PRT is the abbreviation for particle. Other abbreviations used in the interliner
translations are as follows: CL= classifier; LOC= localizer; ASP= aspect marker; BEI =
Chinese 被 *bei*; DE = Chinese 的 *de*; Q= final question marker; BA = Chinese 把 *ba*.

碾過　　　老翁，
nianguo　　laoweng
run-over　　old man

→　「當時　他　要是　被　攔下，　一定　被　打死」。
dangshi　ta　yaoshi　bei　lanxia　yiding　bei　dasi
　then　he　if　BEI　stop　　must　BEI　beat die

'At that time, he was standing by the store around the accident
spot. Then he heard a bang. He saw an old man being bumped
away. Soon, a car sped up toward the spot and ran over the old
man again. The witness said, "If the driver had been stopped
then, he would have been beaten to death."'

(2012-0412 UDNDATA, Written discourse)

Examples (2) and (3) show the typical use of *yaoshi*. *Yaoshi*-clauses
express the possibility of a state or event in potentially real or irrealis
situations. *Yaoshi* in (2) is a strong conditional which makes a possible
prediction for the future (i.e. she would be a substitute teacher in high
school if she has the required credits for teaching). It is used to propose
the possibility and intensify the hypotheticality of the proposition. The
use of *yaoshi* in (3), also a hypothetical use, serves to mark
counterfactuality. *Yaoshi* functions as a counterfactual marker, together
with the time reference *dangshi* 'at that time' in (3). *Yaoshi* in (3)
conveys a counterfactual reading since the condition was not fulfilled (i.e.
the driver was not stopped and thus he was not beaten to death at that
time→ if not P, then not Q). It is also used as a kind of predictive
conditional. The speaker's hypotheticality carried by *yaoshi* is extended
in this construction from the real world to the convictional world[10].

　　The other type of *yaoshi* is indirect conditional use. The indirect
conditional *yaoshi* expresses an indirect condition in which the condition

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[10] In fact, the distinct sense of *yaoshi* explicated above is fuzzy if the meaning is
understood from the conditional alone without taking the context or background into
consideration. Take example (3) as an example. Without the context and background
knowledge, the *yaoshi*-sentence can either signal the counterfactual reading for a past
event or mark an open condition (i.e. a possibility) for the future.

is not related to the situation in the main clause. The indirect conditional *yaoshi* is thus used "peripherally" and "non-standardly": the reading of *yaoshi* is extended from the semantic level of denoting the causal, logical, and sequential relation between P and Q to the pragmatic level of stance marking and other pragmatic functions. For instance:

(4)   (The following is an international report on a former Japanese mayor who was calling for voters to support a young candidate in the coming mayoral election.)

鈴木君　　從　　東京　　來　　　拯救　　我們，
Lin-Mu jun   cong   Donjin   lai   zhengjiu   women
Suzuki Mr.   from   Tokyo   come   save   us

➔ 要是 我們　這些　　老人家　　不　　支持　　他，
yaoshi women zhexie   laorenjia   bu   zhichi   ta
if   we   these   old people   not   support him

誰　　還　　會　　支持　　　他　　呢？
shei   hai   hui   zhchi   ta   ne ?
who   still will   support   him   PRT

'Mr. Suzuki came from Tokyo to rescue us. If we, the old generation, do not support him, who will support him?'
(2012-0508 UDNDATA, Written discourse)

The use of *yaoshi* in (4) is indirect conditional, i.e. there is no causal-consequential relation between P and Q as a defining property of direct conditionals[11]. In (4), *yaoshi* is used in a rhetorical interrogative, delivering the speaker's attitude, belief, or opinion toward the proposition in the protasis instead of expressing the possibility or contrary-to-reality. Such an interrogative is not used for the sake of asking for an answer but used for a rhetorical effect. The speaker's real intention is to deliver his attitude toward the proposition that they all should support the young mayoral candidate, Mr. Suzuki. Here, *yaoshi* is

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[11] The indirectness lies in the fact that the event in the antecedent does not directly cause the happening of the event in the consequent. The speaker usually makes an inference from a known fact expressed by the antecedent.

not mainly used to proffer an alternative suggestion; it is instead employed to make a point without the expectation of a reply.

The indirect conditional *yaoshi* can also be used for expressing politeness or evaluation. In such conditionals, the structural relation between the two clauses is relaxed, as exemplified below.

(5)   (A, a doctor, is giving advice for losing weight.)

→ A: ..那   你   **要是,** _
      na   ni   yaoshi
      that   you   if
      ..真的   是   肥胖的   人, \
      zhengde   shi   feipangde   ren
      really   be   fat   person
      ..我想   藥物   的   幫忙, _
      woxiang   yaowu   de   bangmang
      I think   medicine   DE   help
      ..協助   是   可以   的   ho, _
      xiezhu   shi   keyi   de   ho
      assist   be   ok   DE   PRT
   B: ..嗯嗯, _
      umum
      umum
   A:...只要   沒有   對 什麼 藥物   有   特殊   禁忌   的話. \
      zhiyao   meiyou dui shemo yaowu you teshu   jinji   dehua
      so long as no to what medicine have special restriction in case

   A:'If you are really fat, I think medicine is helpful (for you to lose weight)'.
   B: '[Um]'.
   A: 'As long as you don't have any medical contraindication.'
                                      (Interview in the spoken data)

Prior to (5), A's interlocutor has asked whether it is of help for her to lose weight by using some medicine. A then tells her that some medicine can help if she is really fat. Here, the use of *yaoshi* in (5) is

politeness-oriented, serving as a hedge to reduce or mitigate the face-threatening power of the dispreferred response ('you are really fat') and to covey politeness. It is the proposition in the apodosis, (i.e. 'medicine can be of help sometimes') which matters. *Yaoshi* is used for the sake of politeness, in which the speaker softens the assertion and therefore avoids potential impoliteness in interaction. It is almost impossible, unnecessary as well, to obtain a content-level reading in this type of conditional. The indirect conditional *yaoshi* with hypothetical space is used so that it seems to allow choices; or by decreasing the assertability of the statement, the addressee's concern in face-saving is facilitated (Su 2005).

The above examples are evidence that in many conditionals, meaning is extended from concrete causal relation such as real-world causality to more abstract and subjective relations. The direct and explicit relationship between P and Q has reduced and deviated to an indirect and implicit one. Indirect conditionals can be categorized further into subtypes, such as epistemic [12] and speech act interactional ones according to Sweetser's (1990) cognitive analysis. In a word, the conditional marker *yaoshi* with the core interpretation of hypotheticality can extend to be used indirectly, i.e. from content domain to epistemic and speech act domain, from causal to non-causal. The different uses of *yaoshi* in the database are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. The usage of *yaoshi* in the data

	Written		Spoken	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Direct conditional *yaoshi*	41	45.5	36	37.8
Indirect conditional *yaoshi*	49	55.5	59	62.2
Total	90	100 %	95	100 %

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[12] Epistemic conditionals can be extended further to express three subtypes of semantic relationships. They are premise-conclusion, statement-comment and statement-explanation relations (Sweetser 1990).

Compared to *yaoshi* in our data, its negative counterpart *yaobushi* is relatively rare (90 vs. 28 in written discourse and 95 vs. 4 in spoken discourse). It is mainly used to mark a hypothetical situation and indicate counterfactuality. That is, *yaobushi* is mostly a direct conditional marker because of the causal relationship between P and Q, as exemplified in (6):

(6) (The following is a report on the winner of a competition of wrapping dumplings.)

> 范　秀英　　　笑　　著　　說
> *Fan Xiu-Ying　　xiao　zhe　shuo*
> Fan Xiu-Ying　　smile　ASP　say
>
> → 要不是　因為　很多　　人　　　觀　賽　「太　緊張」，
> *yaobushi yinwei　henduo　　ren　　guan sai　　tai　jinzhang*
> if not　　because many　　people　view contest　too nervous
> 「我　可以　包得　　更　　快！」
> *wo　keyi　baode　　geng　kuai*
> I　　can　wrap　　more　fast

'Xiou-Ying Fang smilingly said that she was "too nervous" because of too many spectators. If not so, "I could have wrapped faster."'

(2012-04-06. UDNDATA, Written discourse)

Yaobushi in (6) is a marker of counterfactuality expressing a contrary-to-fact reading. The speaker in (6), a winner in the contest of wrapping dumplings, said that she could have wrapped the dumplings faster if there had been not so many spectators on the spot. There is a cause-effect correlation in the interpretation of such conditionals (i.e. because of many spectators, she was so nervous that she could not wrap faster). Therefore, the use of *yaobushi* is essentially causal. An inherent relation to a factual state of affairs is set up through the use of *yaobushi*. It is used as a direct conditional marker.

In addition to the direct conditional use for the counterfactual hypothesis, *yaobushi* can be employed in the conditional clause to

46

provide alternatives of the proposition following it, as exemplified in (7):

(7)   (The citizens in New Taipei City complained about the police for
        the car towing policy.)

新北市   民間   拖吊   業務
Xinbeishi   mingjian   tuodiao yewu
New Taipei City   non-governmental   tow   business
因為   各區   違   規   程度   有別，
yinwei   gequ   wei   gui chengdu   youbie
because each section   violate rule   degree   different
經常   出現   有   地區   搶破頭，
jinchang chuxian   you   diqu   qiang–po-tou
often   occur   have   section   compete break head
有的   地區   沒   人   標   的   空窗期，
youde   diqu   mei   ren   biao   de   kongchuangqi
some   section no   people   aim   DE empty window period
民眾   抱怨
minzhong   baoyuan
people   complain
→「要不是   沒   人   拖，   要   就是   拖   過   頭！」
Yaobushi   mei   ren   tuo yao jiushi   tuo guo   tou
if not   no   people tow   if   just be   tow over   head

'The problem of illegal parking varies from section to section.
Thus, in some sections too many competitors bid for the
non-governmental towing business, while in other sections no
bidder competes for it. The citizens in New Taipei City
complain about the fact that the police either overlooked the
problem of car parking or towed the cars too much.'
                                (2012-04-27 UDNDATA, Written discourse)

Example (7) shows that *yaobushi* is used as an alternative marker
expressing the sense of 'either…or'. This disjunctive use of *yaobushi* is
non-hypothetical because the focus of the sentence is to express the
speaker's attitude (i.e. the speaker is not satisfied with the policy of

towing cars in New Taipei City) instead of showing hypotheticality. Table 3 below presents the frequency of *yaobushi* with respect to their distinct use in the written and spoken data.

Table 3. The types of *yaobushi* in the data

	Written		Spoken	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Hypothetical (conditional)	25[13]	89.3%	4	100%
Non-hypothetical	3	10.7%	0	0
Total	28	100%	4	100%

5. EVOLUTION OF *YAOSHI* AND *YAOBUSHI* AS CONDITIONAL MARKERS

5.1 Syntactic Change

A closer observation of *yaoshi* shows that the bond between *yao* and *shi* is so strong that *yao* and *shi* have merged and developed into an independent lexical unit, i.e. a single word, different from the collocation of two words such as *ruguo-shi,* or *zhiyao-shi*[14]. The following examples show the varying degrees of bonding between *shi* and the preceding adverbial conjunctions *yao* and *ruguo*:

---

[13] Some instances of *yaobushi* in written data are indirect conditionals, though they still convey the sense of counterfactuality. Among the 25 tokens of *yaobushi*, there are three instances used as indirect conditionals.

[14] The copular marker *shi*, as Dong (2004) points out, has become a word-internal element of many lexical items. The conditional marker *yaoshi* seems to undergo fusion across a morphological boundary from [*yao + shi*] to [*yaoshi*] through reanalysis.

(8)   (The following is a comment on democracy vs. efficiency brought
        forth by a columnist in the New York Times.)

→   要是　美國　　能　做 一天　　中國　　　有　　多　　好！
    yaoshi meiguo　　neng zuo yitian　Zhongguo　　you　duo　hao
    if　　America　can do　one-day China　　　have much good
    在　　這　　一天　　裡,
    zai　　zhe　　yitian　　li
    at　　this　one day　LOC
    我們　可以　制定　　所有　　正確的　　　法律 規章,
    women keyi　zhiding　suoyou　zhengquede　　falü guezhang
    we　　can　enact　all　　correct　　　law　policy
    克服　民主　政治　　難以 作成 決策　的 最差　部份。
    kefu　minzhu zhengzhi nanyi zuocheng juece　de zueicha bufen
    overcome democracy politics hard made policy DE worst　part

    'How I wish that the U.S. would be like China for a day. During
    that day, we could enact all the appropriate legal regulations and
    overcome the most difficult part in the process of forming
    policies in our democratic society.'
                    (2012-04-10 UDNDATA, Written Discourse)

(9)   (A young actor, Bo-Ling Chen, denied the rumor that the actress
        Lun-Mei Gui was his intimate friend as well as his soulmate.
        Instead, he told the reporter that the actor Zu-Ming Fang was his
        best friend.)

    陳柏霖　　　否認　　說:
    Chen Bo-Lin　fouren　shuo
    Chen Bo-Lin　deny　say
    「不是，是　　房祖名，
    　bushi　shi　Fang Zu-Ming
    　not　　be　Fang Zu-Ming

他　　如果　　是 女生，　　　我　　就會　　愛　　　他。」
ta　　ruguo　　shi nusheng　　wo　　jiuhui　ai　　　ta
he　　if　　　be female　　　I　　　then　　love　him

'Bo-Lin Chen denied (the fact), saying that "No. My close friend is Zu-Ming Fang. If he is a female, I would fall in love with him."'

(2012-0401 UDNDATA, Written Discourse)

In (8), *shi* in *yaoshi* behaves like a lexical internal element which cannot be separated from *yao*. It is not a copula linking a subject and complement, and it is not a focus marker showing emphasis, either. *Yao* and *shi* here fuse into a single word and [*yaoshi*] is used as a direct conditional marker expressing the meaning of hypothetical counterfactuality. However, in (9), *shi* is independent of the conjunction *ruguo*. *Shi* in (9) is a copular verb, used to link the complement. It introduces the description, i.e. being a female, which characterizes the subject.

In our data, there are still, though not many, instances where *yao* has not completely converged with the copula/focus marker *shi* to become a single word, as manifested in (10).

(10)　　(The speaker, a female about 40, is talking about her marriage.)

L: ..< Q 我　再　　　也　　不　　愛　　　你　了 Q>,_
　　　　wo　zai　　ye　　bu　　ai　　　ni　le
　　　　I　again　　also　not　love　you　PRT

…他　說,_
...ta　shuo
he　say

→　..< Q 我　要 是　　你 Q>, \
　　wo　yao shi　　ni
　　I　if　be　you

..< Q 我　現在　　馬上　　　打包 Q>,_
wo　xianzai　mashang　　dabao
I　　now　　immediately　pack

(0) <Q 坐　　飛機　　　回　　台灣 Q> \
　　zuo　*feiji*　　　*hui*　*Taiwan*
　　take　plane　　　back　Taiwan

…(2.7) 我　　當時　　　就是　<E shock E>,_
　　　 wo　*dangshi*　*jiushi*　　*shock*
　　　 I　　then　　 just　　 shock
　　..我　　很　　　震驚.\
　　wo　*hen*　*zhenjing*
　　I　　very　astonished

　　L: 'He said, "I do not love you anymore. If I were you, I would
　　　　pack my luggage right now and take a flight back to Taiwan."
　　　　I was shocked then. I was very astonished.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 (Interview in Spoken Data)

Shi in (10) may also perform the syntactic function of a copula to link a noun to a subject, though the sense of counterfactual hypothesis is expressed as well. In (10), *shi* is syntactically used as a focus marker and is pronounced with stress to show emphasis. Such instances of *yaoshi* are considered to be in the transitional phase because *shi* is still used for emphasis[15].

Many instances of *yaoshi* should be viewed as an individual unit, i.e. the presumed copular/focus marker *shi* has merged with *yao* to become a new lexical item *yaoshi*. *Shi* has developed from a determiner to a copular verb and then to a focus marker. Becoming a lexical internal element is a further development of *shi*, from an independent unit to a phonologically unstressed element attached to another lexical item[16], as other studies propose (e.g. Chang 2003; Dong 2004). The development process of *yaoshi* can be diagrammed in Figure 1.

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[15] This is the evidence that the grammaticalization process of *yaoshi* is still going on. It might be possible that in this case, the underlying structure would be [要是+是你] in which '*shi*' plays a role in each part and thus serves as a pivot in linking both.

[16] The grammaticalization process is still going on, and as a result, it gives birth to many newly emergent conjunctives and adverbs (Dong 2004).

[[*yao*]modal]V [*shi*]copular] $\xrightarrow{\text{reanalysis}}$ [*yao+shi*]ADV $\xrightarrow{\text{pragmatic inference \& reanalysis}}$ [*yaoshi*]DM
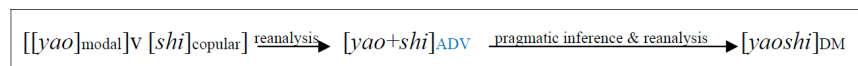
Figure 1. The reanalysis of *yaoshi*

The syntactic evolution track of *yaoshi*, as shown in Figure 1, may start from a verb phrase (VP) consisting originally of two lexemes *yao* and *shi*. Gradually, the syntactic boundary is reanalyzed and *yaoshi* develops other syntactic functions such as ADV with a hypothetical sense. It then gives rise to grammatical functions and is fronted to the utterance-initial position, serving as a discourse marker (DM) for textual cohesion and interactional use[17].

Following the above analysis on *yaoshi*, we argue a strong connection between the collocation *yao* 'if' and the compound negator *bushi* 'not' with the counterfactual meaning, which might be closer than that of *yaoshi-bushi* or *ruguo-bushi* with the counterfactual reading. A general observation in our dataset shows the connection between *yao* and *bushi* is so strong that no element is observed to intervene between the two in our data, as example (11) illustrates. Conversely, *ruguo-bushi* is often observed to be separated by other elements, such as the subject, as demonstrated by example (12), taken from Li (1994:23).

(11)   (The young drug user was seen using drugs by his mother on the scene. His mother begged him to stop it. The drug user did not listen to his mother. Instead, he blamed his mother for her calling the police, which caused him to be put in prison.)

沒	想到	他	不	理會，
mei	*xiangdao*	*ta*	*bu*	*lihui*
no	think of	he	without	listen

---

[17] The adverbial *yaoshi* can be further divided into clause-internal adverbial and sentence adverbial. The conditional *yaoshi* is found to be clause-internal first. With its scope broadened, it takes the scope of the whole proposition, acting as a sentence adverbial. As the scope expands beyond the sentence level and over a stretch of discourse, it develops as a discourse marker. *Yaoshi,* serving as a DM, can be used for topic marking and discourse organization. Its use as a textual and interpersonal marker will be shown in section 6.3.

還　　翻　　舊帳　　　說
hai　fan　jiuzhang　shuo
still　dig　old debt　speak

→　「上次　　　**要不是**　　你　　報警，
shangci　yaobushi　ni　baojing
last time　if not　you　call　police
我　也　不會　被　抓　　去　　關！」
wo ye　buhui　bei　zhua　qu　guan
I　too　cannot BEI　capture　to　put in jail
當著　　母親的　　面　　就　　打　　起　　海洛因。
dangzhe muqinde　mian　jiu　da　qi　hailuoying
toward　mom's　face　then　inject　ASP　heroin

'It did not occur to his mother that he wouldn't listen, and would
even bring up the past by saying "if you hadn't called the police
I wouldn't have been put in prison." He then injected heroin in
front of his mother.'

(2012-0414 UDNDATA, Written discourse)

(12)　如果　她　不是　　到　美國　　去　唸書　　(了)，
ruguo　ta　bushi　dao　Meiguo　qu　nianshu　(le)
if　she　not-be　to　U.S.　go　study　(ASP)
我　就　會　去　找　　她　談談　。
wo　jiu　hui　qu　zhao　ta　tan-tan
I　then will　go　find　her　chat-chat
'If she had not gone to the U.S. to study, I would have contacted
her to have a chat.'

(taken from Li 1994: 23)

Varying degrees of lexicalization[18] can be observed in the above
examples of *yaobushi* and *ruguo-bushi*. In (12), *ruguo–bushi* is separated

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[18] Lexicalization, a specific type of development of new lexical items, is a gradual
process whereby a grammatical combination undergoes semantic/pragmatic
idiomaticization, which results in idiosyncratic contentful meaning of a new lexical item
(Brinton and Traugott 2005:96).

by the subject *ta* 'she', though the function of its marking counterfactuality is not altered. This reveals a clear boundary between *ruguo* and *bushi*. On the other hand, in (11), *yaobushi* as a whole is observed as a distinct lexical unit, which typically serves as a counterfactual hypothesis marker.

The closeness of *yaobushi* can be confirmed via its comparison with *yaoshi-bushi*. It is observed that *yaoshi-bushi* is not a preferred counterfactual construction (Eifring 1988:203). In our database, we can only find one instance of *yaoshi-bushi*, which is used non-counterfactually:

(13)　　(A famous singer is talking about how to protect his voice.)
　　　　B: ..(H) 然後, \
　　　　　　　 ranhou
　　　　　　　 then
　→　　 ..第一 **要是**　你　不是　正常,/
　　　　　 diyi yaoshi ni bushi zhengchang
　　　　　 first if　　you not be　normal
　　　　　 ..你 這 不是 正常　發音　 的話
　　　　　 ni zhe bushi zhengque fayin dehua
　　　　　 you this not be normal　pronounce in case
　　　　 .. 可能　 你 已經 受　　 嚴重的=,_
　　　　　 keneng ni yijin shou yanzhongde
　　　　　 maybe　 you already receive　serious
　　　　 ..傷害　　了　　 聲帶. \
　　　　　 shanghai le　 shengdai
　　　　　 hurt　　 ASP　 vocal cord

　　　B: 'Then… first, if you do not (pronounce) correctly, if the way you sing is not correct, you might hurt your vocal cords badly.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Interview in the spoken data)

As shown in (13), the connection between *yaoshi-bushi* is not so tight as that in the word *yaobushi*. Collocation of *yaoshi* and *bushi* can be separated by other elements, such as the subject *ni* 'you' in (13), while

yao-bushi has developed from once independent elements into a single unit via grammaticalization.

Based on the diachronic studies of Eifring (1988), Ma (2002), and Ji (2009), we propose that the hypothetical adverbial *yao*, originating from the modal *yao*, has the meaning parallel to *ruoyao* or *ruo* 'if' in Classical Chinese (Ma 2002). *Ruo* 'if' was prevalently used in texts written in Classical Chinese, which was replaced by *yao* gradually in modern colloquial Chinese after the grammaticalization of *yao* with the function of serving as a conditional marker. In other words, conditional *yao-bushi* may evolve from *ruo-bushi* (若不是)[19] showing the speaker's hypotheticality toward the proposition described in the protasis. The frequent collocation of *yao+ bushi* thus motivates a reanalysis for them to become a lexical unit. Its meaning with propositional content gains gradually either textual or pragmatic meanings, i.e. used as a discourse marker with the broadening of scope from clause level to sentence or even discourse level, serving rhetorical or polite functions in interaction. The development of *yaobushi* can be diagrammed in Figure 2 below.

$$[[ruo]_{\text{connective}} + [bushi]_{\text{compound negator}}]_{\text{ADV}} \xrightarrow{yao \text{ replaces } ruo} [yao+bushi]_{\text{ADV}} \rightarrow [yaobushi]_{\text{DM}}$$
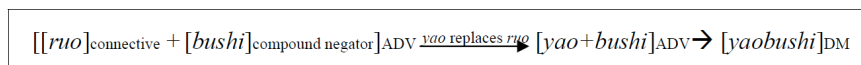
Figure 2. The grammaticalization process of *yaobushi*

5.2 Semantic Development: from Modal to Conditional

Below, we address the semantic change of *yaoshi*, particularly focusing on *yao*, because the conditional use of *yaoshi* evolves mainly from *yao*, and *shi* usually carries no semantic or syntactic function[20]. This subsection proposes a possible semantic change path with reference to previous studies on the diachronic development of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi.*

The origins of *yao* can be traced back to as early as the Pre-*Qin* period, as stated in most etymological studies and reference books. *Yao*

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[19] *Ruo-bushi,* a marker of counterfactuality, still can be found in today's Taiwanese and Mandarin Chinese.
[20] See Dong's (2004) discussion on *shi.*

was originally a noun that referred to the body part 'waist' in Archaic Chinese (Ma 2002; Ji 2009; Xie 2010). The semantic extension of the sense of 'importance' is accordingly developed from the use of *yao* as a noun, indicating something important. Its semantic function extended from a concrete meaning to a more abstract meaning gradually. The use of *yao* as an attitude verb with the basic meaning of 'want; desire; volition' emerged later through metaphorical extension. The attitude verb *yao* became associated by degrees with what speakers or subjects want to accomplish instead of relating to reality[21]. *Yao* evolved gradually from a main verb to a modal, from a concrete domain to an abstract domain, and from a major category to a minor category. *Yao,* similar to *yu* 欲 'want', in Classical Chinese, has a sense of modality and the function of serving as a conditional marker (Ji 2009). The use of *yu* puts an emphasis on the volitive sense while *yao* is flexible with different senses, including deontic, volitive, and epistemic use[22]. *Yu* has declined and is thus restricted to being used on formal occasions or in texts written in Classical Chinese while *yao* occurs much more frequently on informal occasions and in colloquial texts, appearing in interactional contexts.

With the inherent semantic nature of *yao* which expresses the basic meaning of 'desire' or 'want', various grammatical functions are developed, such as a main verb, a modal verb, an adverbial, and a conditional connective. There are thus several distinct yet related

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[21] The use of *yao*, associated with the meaning of 'want' or 'desire', is an attitude verb which deals with what the speaker wants to accomplish instead of truth or reality. For example, in the sentence 我要見你 *wo yao jian ni* 'I want to meet you', *yao* is an attitude verb with the sense of volition.

[22] The various uses of *yao* as a modal verb can be manifested in the following examples:
(A) 學習　要　誠實 (deontic)
    Xuexi yao chengshi
    'One has to be honest in learning.'
(B) 他 要 見　你 (volitive)
    Ta yao jian ni
    'He wants to meet you.'
(C) 天　　要 下雨　了 (epistemic)
    Tian yao xiayu le
    'It is going to rain.'

meanings of *yao* in today's Chinese discourse. The development of the conditional *yao* starts from the main verb use *yao* '*want*', which indicates the desire for the possession of a concrete entity to a modal *yao*[23] 'will' with the meaning of desiring the realization of abstract notions, of events, or of actions, and finally to an adverbial and discourse marker for conditionality and counterfactuality. *Yao* used as a modal collocating with the copular verb *shi*[24] is prevalent in our database, as shown in (14) and (15):

(14) (The excerpt is concerned about the reader commenting on the love affair of Wang Jian-Ming.)

每個 人	都	會	有	低潮	的	時候，
mei-ge ren	*dou*	*hui*	*you*	*dichao*	*de*	*shihou*
everyone	all	will	have	low-wave	DE	time

都	該	選	一	個	臥榻，
dou	*gai*	*xuan*	*yi*	*ge*	*wota*
all	should	choose	one	CL	bed

讓	自己	好好	修復，
rang	*ziji*	*haohao*	*xiufu*
let	self	good	restore

→
但	這	個	臥榻	要 是	安全的	合情合法的，
dan	*zhe*	*ge*	*wota*	*yao shi*	*anquande*	*heqinghefade*
but	this	CL	bed	should be	safe	reasonable and legal

王建民	選	了	一	個	錯誤的	臥榻。
Wang Jian-Ming	*xuan*	*le*	*yi*	*ge*	*cuowude*	*wota*
Wang Jian-Ming	choose	ASP	one	CL	wrong	bed

'Everyone would feel down at times, and should find a bed to rehabilitate. But this bed should be safe and legal. Wang chose the wrong bed.'

(2012-0425 UDNDATA, Written discourse)

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[23] The deontic and volitive senses of the modal *yao* are surmised to derive from main verb *yao* 'want', and the epistemic *yao* denoting future is presumed to originate from the previous deontic use denoting desire and obligation (Huang 2012).

[24] The [*yao* + *shi*] string in (14) and (15) is used as [modal + main verb].

(15)   (The following is a writing sample about a girl's dream.)

感覺   自己   羽翼   伸展
gan-jue   ziji   yuyi   shenzhan
feel   self   wing   spread
灰煙   抖落   四處
huiyan   douluo   shichu
gray smoke shake down   everywhere
冬日   的   陽光   此時   穿   雲   而   出
dongri   de   yangguang   cishi   chuan   yun   er   chu
winter   DE   sunlight   now   cross   cloud   and   out
帶   著   細細   魅影
dai   zhe   xixi   meiying
bring   ASP   thin   ghost shadow
→ 眼   看   又   要   是   潔淨的   開始
   yan   kan   you   yao shi   jiejingde   kaishi
   eye   see   again   will be   clean   start

'(When you are dreaming), you will feel that you spread your
wings, shaking the dust around. Then the winter's sunlight
comes out of the cloud, appearing with some shadows. It seems
to be a good start again.'

(2012-0419 UDNDATA, Written discourse)

In (14), *yao* is used as a typical modal verb, with a deontic meaning
'ought to; have to', laying restriction to the following proposition. *Yao* in
this example indicates moral or social obligation, conveying the sense
that Jian-Ming Wang should be faithful to his wife and should not have
love affairs with other women. On the other hand, the use of *yao* in (15)
is an epistemic modal in the data, in which *yao* serves as a future marker.
It indicates an assertion or predication about future possibility,
suggesting that a new beginning will come. The future marker of *yao(shi)*
is closely related to its modality use, as claimed by Bybee, Pagliuca and
Perkins (1994). It is claimed that the epistemic *yaoshi* denoting future
originates from the previous deontic use of *yaoshi* denoting both desire
and obligation (Traugott and Dasher 2002). The epistemic meaning

derives from deontic meaning because of subjectification[25] of the semantic implications (Traugott 2003).

The adverbial uses of [*yao+shi*] are extensions of the modal *yaoshi*, as claimed by Traugott (1989), You (1998), Ma (2002) and Ji (2009). The assumption is strongly supported by the fact that their meanings are closely related. Adverbials, such as *ruo-yaoshi* 'if' and *zhi-yaoshi* 'only if' conveying the meaning of possibility and hypothesis, express uncertainty for future events[26]. Their use is more or less associated with the modal *yaoshi* dealing with what the speaker wants to accomplish. Such adverbials carry the sense of possibility and uncertainty and evolve further into the conditional connective and discourse marker *yaoshi*. It is not surprising that the conditional *yaoshi* is derived from the modal *yaoshi*, especially future potential marker *yaoshi*. To put it differently, the conditional *yaoshi* is an extension of the modality use of *yaoshi*, epistemic *yaoshi* in particular, which is associated with the speakers'/subjects' attitude towards the realization of an action or event. The examples (14) and (15) illustrate the co-existence of different usages of *yaoshi*. The different uses of *yaoshi* discussed so far may fall generally into three major categories, i.e. premodal, modal, and postmodal, based on modality semantics, as represented in Figure 3.

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[25] Subjectification is a mechanism by which meanings are recruited to encode and regulate the speaker's attitudes and beliefs. See further discussion in section 6.

[26] Both *ruo-yaoshi* 'if' and *zhi-yaoshi* 'only if' are conditional markers, as shown in the following examples:

(A) 若 要是 提早　　　完成　　報告，我 還 可以　去 慢跑。
    ruo yaoshi tizao　　wancheng baogao, wo hai keiyi　qu manpao
    if　if　ahead of time finish　report　I　still can　go jogging
    'If I can finish the report ahead of the schedule, I can have time to jog.'
                 (2006-11-07, UDNDATA)

(B) 只 要是　節能　　機種，每 台　都 可以　申請　　補助。
    zhi yaoshi　jieneng　jizhong, mei tai　dou keyi　shenqing buzhu
    if　only　energy-saving type each CL all　can　apply for subsidy
    'If your air conditioner is the energy-saving one, you can apply for the government subsidy.'
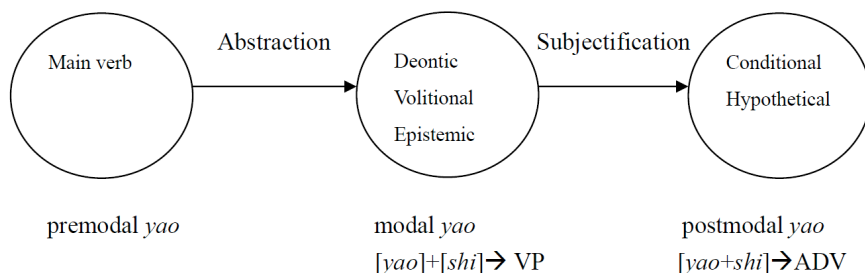   (2012-05-31, UDNDATA)

Figure 3. Semantic development paths of *yao(shi)*

Figure 3 shows the semantic change paths of *yao*(*shi*) from the main verb use with the core meaning of 'want; desire' to the conditional and hypothetical maker *yaoshi* 'if'. It is obvious that the semantic function of *yaoshi* extends from a concrete meaning (the desire for the possession of a concrete entity) to a more abstract meaning, which then involves more and more speaker subjectivity (future prediction and possibility). The three phases of development coincide with three tendencies in semantic change presented by Traugott (1989:409-10). Traugott's point is that most semantic change starts first from the concrete, physical domain to the abstract, psychological domain and then, to a textual, metalinguistic situation; i.e. meaning shift proceeds from propositional (objective, ideational) level to the expressive (i.e., subjective, speaker-oriented level).

5.3 Pragmatic Inferencing and Strengthening

Semantic change is inseparable from pragmatics. It is assumed that semantic extension or meaning transfer has to meet pragmatic requirements[27], i.e. to be motivated by conversational implicature[28].

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[27] In the work on semantic regularity, Traugott and Dasher (2002:24) point out that the chief driving force in the process of regular semantic change is pragmatic: "the context-dependency of abstract structural meaning allows for change in the situations of use, most particularly the speaker's role in strategizing this dynamic use."
[28] Grice (1989) provided a theoretical framework to discuss the notion of "implicature" in linguistics. The meaning of an expression is "what is said" plus "what is implicated". The latter refers to what the speaker means, but does not explicitly say. Grice (1989)

Conversational implicature refers to an abstract meaning or function arising from the context and it is cancelable but nondetachable (Levinson 1983). Many scholars suggest that the conventionalization of conversational implicature (Levinson 1983, 1995) or the strengthening of informativeness (Traugott 1988; Traugott and Dasher 2002) should be the major forces motivating grammaticalization.

If-conditional constructions in natural languages, unlike pure logical conditions, show mutual dependency between antecedent and consequent. The conditional relationship between events or states of affairs can be strengthened, weakened or deviated from and the primary force at work is pragmatic strengthening or pragmatic enrichment. The conditions in the real world, when observed and construed with subjective involvement such as attitudes, beliefs, and emotions, can be transmuted because the speaker's commitment to the proposition in an *if*-clause is flexible and subject to pragmatic contexts. The pragmatic meanings are motivated and strengthened while the original semantic meanings are fading in language use. More specifically, the contextual concepts become lexicalized and combine with the original word meaning and finally become conventionalized. This is called "context-induced reinterpretation" in Heine's model of grammaticalization (1991) and "pragmatic strengthening" in Traugott (1988). Most recently, Traugott and Dasher (2002:35) further established an Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change (IITSC)[29] to account for 'the conventionalizing of pragmatic meanings and their reanalysis as semantic meanings (for details, see Traugott and Dasher 2002). Because

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further distinguished between "conventional" and "conversational" implicatures. Conventional implicatures, on the one hand, are context independent and do not rely on the maxims of conversation. Conversational implicatures, on the other hand, are dependent on the context and do rely on the maxims of conversation.

[29] Three levels of meanings are distinguished as follows:
   (a) coded meaning: convention of a language at a given time
   (b) utterance-type meaning: generalized invited inference (GIIN) associated with certain lexemes that are specific to a linguistic community
   (c) utterance-token meaning: invited inferences (IIN) (i.e. conversational implicature) that have not been crystallized into communally used implicatures

Coded meanings derive from utterance-type meanings, which in turn develop through utterance-token meanings.

of the inferencing process from the context, the conditional markers *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* are thus given new innovative meanings in terms of their present meaning, i.e. marking hypothesis, in the context in communication, which will be illustrated below.

The development of the direct conditional use of *yaoshi* to the indirect conditional use of *yaoshi* exemplifies the strengthening of the informativeness or enrichment of the pragmatic function. It seems possible that the indirect conditional *yaoshi* develops from the direct conditional *yaoshi*, and the counterfactual *yaoshi* from the strong conditional *yaoshi*. Consider example (10) again, repeated below for the convenience of the reader:

(10)   (The speaker, a female about 40, is talking about her marriage.)

       L: .. < Q 我   再   也   不   愛   你   了 Q>,_
            wo   *zai*   *ye*   *bu*   *ai*   *ni*   *le*
             I   again   too   not   love   you   PRT
        …他   說,_
          ta   *shuo*
          he say

→   ..< Q   我 要 是   你 Q>,\
          wo yao shi   *ni*
          I   if   be   you
      .. <Q 我   現在   馬上   打包 Q>,
          wo   *xianzai*   *mashang*   *dabao*
          I   now   right away   pack

       (0) <Q 坐   飛機   回   台灣 Q>\
          zuo   *feiji*   *hui*   *Taiwan*
          take   plane come back   Taiwan
    …(2.7) 我   當時   就   是 <E shock E>,_
          wo   *dangshi*   *jiu*   *shi*   *shock*
          I   then   ADV be   shock

```
..我    很    震驚.\
wo   hen   zhenjing
I    very   astonished
```

L: 'He said, "I do not love you anymore. If I were you, I would
pack my luggage right now and take a flight back to
Taiwan." I was shocked then. I was very astonished.'
(Interview Data)

The use of *yaoshi* in (10) is not purely a conditional marker showing the (im)possibility of the proposition described in the protasis. Instead, it is used to strengthen the speaker's attitude, i.e. undesirability of the marriage. It displays a range of attitude, cognitive, and interactional properties. Instead of expressing the causal and logical meaning, a pragmatic meaning 'stance marking' is invited when *yaoshi* occurs in a specific context such as (10). *Yaoshi* functions as an epistemic marker which indicates the speaker's stance or attitude on the content conveyed in the conditional construction. A new innovative meaning of *yaoshi* in terms of a present meaning in the context is strengthened so as to be more informative and relevant in communication. Moreover, since *yaoshi* prefaces the speaker's subjectivity, it is used as a politeness marker to express indirect request and remark or to mitigate the effect brought about by the face-threatening acts (FTAs) for interaction purpose. The use of *yaoshi* makes the statement less direct and forceful, and thus maintains the interaction smoothly.

6. SUBJECTIFICATION AND INTERSUBJECTIFICATION OF *YAOSHI* AND *YAOBUSHI*

6.1 From Objectivity to (Inter-)Subjectivity

In the process of grammaticalization, what is strengthened in pragmatically enriched meaning is usually the speaker's subjective belief, judgment, evaluation, or attitude. There is a tendency to develop from non-subjective to subjective to intersubjective meanings, i.e. from meanings that merely express a particular state of extra-linguistic world,

to meanings that allow the speaker's or writer's general point of view to be expressed, to meanings that serve to specifically express the speaker's or writer's attitude towards the hearer or reader or their needs[30].

Subjectification is a correlate of grammaticalization, resulting in pragmatic strengthening (Traugott 2003:633). The use of conditional markers, which originally express objective meanings with minimal concern of the interlocutors' perspective, conveys abstract, speaker/writer-oriented meaning, including the epistemic attitude toward the proposition. They develop into epistemic markers to strengthen the speaker's belief state; for example, *yaoshi* in example (16) subjectively expresses the speaker's attitude toward the statement in the consequent clause:

(16) (This is a report on a mother, who is worried much about the fact that her son asked her to care for his new-born baby.)

→ 你　哥哥的　　　　女兒　要是　　帶　　　回來，
ni gegede   nüer   yaoshi   dai   huilai
your elder brother's   daughter if   bring   back
我 要　照顧　　她，
wo yao zhaogu   ta
I   want   care   her
還 要　照顧　　　你　爸爸，
hai yao zhaogu   ni   baba
still want take care of   your father

---

[30] According to Traugott and Dasher (2002:40), such shifts typically involve increase in scope, from meaning that functions at the propositional level, to meanings with scope over the proposition, to meanings with scope over the discourse unit. Thus, Traugott and Dasher outline four general tendencies for semantic change, presented below (s-w = scope within;   s-o = scope over):

truth-conditional	>	non-truth-conditional		
content	>	content/ procedure	>	procedure
s-w proposition	>	s-o proposition	>	s-o discourse
non-subjective	>	subjective	>	intersubjective

該　　怎麼辦　　才　　好？
gai　zemoban　cai　hao
should what to do　then　good

'If your brother brings his new-born daughter back, I will have to
take care of the baby as well as your father. What should I do?
(2012-04-23UDNDATA, Written discourse)

In (16), the speaker is worried about taking care of her son's new-born
baby as well as her old spouse at the same time. The meaning in (16)
becomes increasingly based on the speaker's subjective beliefs/attitudes
toward the propositions, hence more subjective. The use of *yaoshi*
conveys the speaker's subjective attitude toward the situation, i.e. she is
not quite willing to take care of the new-born baby because she still has
to take care of her old spouse--a heavy burden for her, in addition to
expressing the possible hypothetical condition. The causal relation
between the antecedent and consequent is presented implicitly and
indirectly. The change from the direct conditional to indirect
conditionals mirrors a process of extension from the objectively encoded
to subjectively encoded *yaoshi*-conditional construction. Meanings are
recruited by the speaker to encode attitudes and beliefs (i.e.
subjectification).

   Since linguistic communication crucially involves the speaker's
attention to the addressee/reader as a participant in the speech event,
Traugott (2003) further proposes the development of intersubjectification
from subjectification, emphasizing the correlated and parallel
relationship between the two. Intersubjectification fulfills the need of the
speaker or writer to express his concern of interaction and show his
attention to the addressee or reader as a participant in the communication.
The concerns of the addressee are taken into consideration in addition to
the speaker's own concern in interaction. In other words, the
intersubjectification may serve as concomitant of subjectification at a
later stage (Su 2005). Both subjectification and intersubjectificationn are
motivated by the need of the speaker/writer to address the epistemic and
interpersonal aspect of meaning.

6.2 Subjectivity Difference between *Yaoshi* and *Yaobushi*

Subjectification is a gradient phenomenon, ranging from being more objective to being more subjective. In other words, the degree of subjectivity in different types of conditionals may be different. There are varying degrees of subjectivity and intersubjectivity involved with the use of *yaoshi-* and *yaobushi-*marked conditionals, which can be accounted for from the syntactic, semantic, and the pragmatic perspectives.

Syntactically, the use of mood particles, such as 呢 *ne* , 呀 *ya,* and 啊 *a*, connotes the speaker's subjective evaluation and attitude (Zhu 1998). Their use is motivated by the speaker's subjective attitude to highlight the significance of the utterance. That is, the speaker subjectively judges certain information to be more significant and uses them to call for the addressee's attention. In addition, punctuation is, in part, an attempt to reveal and emphasize the speaker's emotion and evaluation involved in written communication. Either a question mark or an exclamation mark is prevalent in written discourse in conveying the speaker's subjective judgment toward both the proposition and the discourse progression[31]. Examination of these subjective elements in conditionals in our written data, as shown in Table 4, helps us compare the difference of subjectivity between *yaoshi* and *yaobushi*.

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[31] In addition to the punctuation marks and mood particles, *yaoshi* occurs frequently with the hypothetical marker *dehua* 'if' and *ruguo* 'if' in spoken data, which are also strongly subjective.

Table 4. *Yaoshi* and *yaobushi* co-occurring with mood particles and punctuation in the written data

	yaoshi	*yaobushi*	Total
Exclamation mark	14	3	17
Question mark	7		7
Mood particle	1		1
Mood particle together with punctuation	5		5
Total (percentage)	27 (90%)	3 (10%)	30 (100%)

As revealed in Table 4, subjective elements (including mood particles and some form of punctuation) occur more often in *yaoshi*-conditionals than *yaobushi*-conditionals. (27 vs. 3) [32]. Their use enhances the speaker's subjectivity; i.e. it helps encode strongly the speaker's perspectives and attitudes within the hypothetical world, as shown in the following example (example (4) is repeated below for the convenience of reference):

(4)   (The speaker was calling for the Japanese voters to support this young candidate.)

    鈴木　君　從　東京　來　拯救　我們，
    Lin-Mu jun cong Donjin lai zhengjiu women
    Suzuki Mr. from Tokyo come save us

    →要是　我們　這些　老人家　不　支持　他，
    yaoshi women zhexie laorenjia bu zhichi ta
    　if　　we　these old people not support him

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[32] Though this is partly because the total number of *yaoshi* is higher than that of *yaobushi* (90 vs. 28) in the written data, this is an important clue for us to see their difference in subjectivity.

誰	還	會	支持	他	(呢)？
shei	*hai*	*hui*	*zhichi*	*ta*	(*ne*)
who	still	will	support	him	PRT

'Mr. Suzuki came from Tokyo to help us. If we, the old
generation, do not support him, who will support him?'

(2012-0508 UDNDATA, Written Discourse)

It is obvious that the expressivity/subjectivity involved increases with the use of mood particle 呢 *ne* and the question mark '?' in the above example[33], which is in accord with Grice's (1975) Maxim of Manner and Levinson's (2000:31) M-heuristic: "Specially marked expressions signals marked intention". Co-occurrence of *yaoshi* with the mood particle and the question mark helps *yaoshi* strengthen the speaker's subjective belief.

In terms of a semantic-oriented perspective, *yaoshi* expresses the speaker's speculation towards the situation denoted by the proposition in the conditionals. Since the use of *yaoshi* describes a non-assertive event or state (Yang 2007; Xu 2005), it is subject to pragmatic contexts and hence more subjective-oriented; i.e. the speaker's own concern in interaction is highlighted. To put it differently, the speaker's commitment to the truth of the *yaoshi*-clause is quite flexible and the reading of the conditional is determined ultimately by pragmatic considerations. For example, a conditional sentence such as 要是你看到我妹妹，你一定知道她懷孕了 *yaoshi ni kandao wo meimei, ni yiding zhidao ta huaiyun le* could have three possible interpretations: 'factual', 'hypothetical', and 'counterfactual', respectively (Li and Thompson 1981:647), because the speaker's commitment to the *yaoshi*-clause is subject to his or her judgment and evaluation about the propositional content in the *yaoshi*-clause. The commitment ranges from certainty to negation. Such 'hypotheticality' or 'uncertainty' expressed by *yaoshi*, imputable to a generalized conversational implicature that can be canceled in context, is more of a pragmatic nature than part of its coded semantics.

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[33] The force of subjectivity will not be so strong and clear if these elements are deleted.

Yaobushi, on the other hand, is not strongly related to speculative manner; accordingly, the subjectivity expressed in the *yaobushi*-conditionals is comparatively less than that in *yaoshi*. *Yaobushi* is canonically a counterfactual marker which is used to describe a situation that occurred. Thus, what is conveyed in the *yaobushi*-marked protasis is a factual situation. In this regard, it is claimed that *yaobushi* is more objective, when compared to *yaoshi*, because the use of *yaobushi* is linked to truth and associated with a more objective description.

Pragmatically speaking, the effect of subjectivity involved in different types of conditionals is not the same. In the direct conditional, the content of the two clauses are conditionally related in an obvious way. The speaker's imprint that is left in this type of conditional is not so deep, and the degree of the subjectivity is therefore low. Direct conditional constructions are considered as a prototypical objective description of the relationship of real-world events, which convey logical, causal, and sequential relationships between P and Q. On the other hand, the subjectivity in indirect conditionals is higher than that in direct conditionals. This kind of conditional construction is used by the speaker to express an atypical logical conditional relationship. That is, indirect conditionals express a conditional relationship in the abstract mental and social domain (i.e. indirect, implicit and no logical cause-effect relations hold). They are the extended form of the direct conditionals, motivated by the force of subjectivity. The distribution of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* in direct and indirect conditionals in our data is shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Distribution of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* in direct and indirect conditionals

	yaoshi			*yaobushi*		
	written	spoken	total	written	spoken	total
	N (%)	N (%)	N	N (%)	N (%)	N
Direct conditionals	41 (45)	36 (37)	77	22 (88)	4(100)	26
Indirect conditionals	49 (55)	59 (63)	108	3 (12)	0 (0)	3
Total	90 (100)	95 (100)	185	25 (100)	4 (100)	29

Table 5 indicates that the use of *yaoshi* has extended from the direct and explicit causal relation between P and Q to the indirect and implicit one. It is subjectivity that brings about the extension of *yaoshi*. The high frequencies of the indirect conditional *yaoshi* mean that *yaoshi* is lexicalized via pragmatic strengthening, subjectification in particular. Compared to *yaoshi, yaobushi* occurs less frequently in indirect conditionals. This shows that the degree of subjectivity of *yaobushi* is not as strong as that of *yaoshi*. In terms of Sweetser's (1990) three domain model, we may draw the conclusion that *yaobushi* falls considerably in content and epistemic domains but *yaoshi* drops considerably in epistemic and speech act domains.

6.3 Intersubjectivity Differences between *Yaoshi* and *Yaobushi*

The mechanism of intersubjectification can help explain how the indirect use of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* reflect and supply communicative needs. The development of the mitigation function carried by these two markers represent a further increase in intersubjectivity, subsequent to their development of epistemic functions.

Semantically speaking, the meaning of *yaoshi* is more intersubjective than that of *yaobushi*. *Yaoshi* is less assertive and less certain than its negative counterpart *yaobushi*. When it is used in context, it indicates that the speaker is not sure whether the hearer shares his beliefs. The assumption presented conditionally by the use of *yaoshi* is not an assumption about facts, but an assumption about optimal communication and successful interaction: hypotheticality is an appeal with the implication of alternatives to mitigate or hedge, and thereby potential rudeness is avoided (Su 2005). *Yaoshi*-conditionals reveal features characteristic of polite expressions, that is, tentativeness, leaving options to the hearer, making a proposal and suggestion or indirect disagreement at the interactional level.

Pragmatically, *yaoshi* is used much more frequently than *yaobushi* (90 vs. 28 in written data and 95 vs. 4 in spoken data) with varying functions since the speaker's commitment to the proposition in the *yaoshi*-clause is quite flexible and subject to pragmatic contexts. The

distribution of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* across different discourse types, both written and spoken, is presented in Table 6. The uses of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* as discourse markers are classified under the two main functional categories of textual and interpersonal functions from the discourse-pragmatic perspective[34].

Table 6. The distribution of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* in different discourse modes

	Written data		Spoken data		
	Yaoshi	*Yaobushi*	*Yaoshi*	*Yaobushi*	Total (%)
Textual	54	25	57	3	139 (64)
Interpersonal	36	3	38	1	78 (36)
Total	90	28	95	4	217 (100)

Table 6 reveals that *yaoshi* is used more frequently at the interpersonal level than *yaobushi* (36 vs. 3 in written data and 38 vs. 1 in spoken data). It clearly shows that *yaobushi* occurs less frequently at the interpersonal level. There are only four occurrences of *yaobushi* used at the interpersonal level in both discourse modes (three in the written data and one in the spoken data). On the other hand, the use of *yaoshi* at a textual and interpersonal level is in balance (54 vs. 36 in written data and 57 vs. 38 in spoken data, i.e. 60% vs. 40% in both of the two modes). This shows that *yaoshi* is not only subjective but also intersubjective. They

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[34] As stated earlier in section 3, Traugott (1989) argues that semantic-pragmatic change in the initial propositional (ideational) content can gain either textual (cohesion-making) or expressive (interpersonal) meanings. The textual meaning is about the verbal world, with a focus on the flow of information in a text. The interpersonal meaning is about the social world, especially in the relationship between the speaker and the hearer, its negotiation and its maintenance. The various discourse-pragmatic functions of *yaoshi* and *yaobusi* identified are not confined to one single function. But, in calculation, we just consider their primary function in the context. In the written data, *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* conveying the writer's or the subject's attitude to the text instead of logical relations are identified as interpersonal markers. For example, *yaoshi* in (1) is a textual marker which is used mainly for discourse organization and logical appeals. On the other hand, *yaoshi* in (4), which is used for emotional appeal, is an interpersonal marker.

contribute a lot to the development of a relationship with the reader/listener and help realize an interpersonal aim. For example, the use of *yaoshi* in (5) in section 4 enables the speaker to effectively manage the addressee's potential loss of face and to avoid overt disagreement and conflict in social interaction. It is used as a softener, in order to save face for the addressee.

The link between conditionality and politeness (i.e. the intersubjective concern of the addressee) has been well established. It is argued that the more hypothetical the proposition is the less assertive and more polite it is, because a conditional is a politeness strategy which provides a new layer for the speaker and listener to join in together (Hsiao 2005:14). Thus, with *yaobushi*, when the hypothetical degree drops, so does the degree of politeness because the use of *yaobushi* clearly asserts the reading of counterfactuality instead of hypotheticality. Because of the lower hypotheticality *yaobushi* carries, it would be more favored than *yaoshi*, in cases of menace or accusation, as exemplified by the conditional sentence in example (11), repeated below for reference:

(11)   (The drug user blamed his mother for calling the police.)

上　　次　　要不是　　你　　報警，
shang ci   yaobushi   ni   baojing
last time   if not   you   call police
我 也　不　會　被　抓　去　關。
wo ye   bu   hui   bei   zhua   qu   guan
I   too   not   will   BEI   capture   to   put in jail
'If you had not called the police, I would not have been put in prison last time.'

To sound threatening or accusing, the *yaobushi*-construction is preferred in (11). Such conditionals, in rejection of the consideration of politeness, are applied as face-threatening acts rather than suggestions or expectations. In other words, the concern of the addressee is not taken into consideration in such *yaobushi*-constructions.

With the evidence found in this study, we can reasonably claim that *yaoshi* displays a higher degree of intersubjectivity and politeness than *yaobushi*. While being a marker of a subjective epistemic stance, the use

of *yaoshi* is also motivated by intersubjective concern, i.e. the concern of the addressee is under consideration.

7. CONCLUSION

This study probes into the grammaticalization of *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* from a synchronic database, explicating their semantic-pragmatic uses, their evolution, and their subjectification and intersubjectification in order to have a better understanding of their distinct uses in discourse. The results obtained in this study, based on the two sets of data (i.e. the written newspaper corpus and the naturally-occurring spontaneous conversation), suggest that the asymmetry in their use is related to their evolution. Both *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* have undergone grammaticalization, but they show differences in the process of grammaticalization. *Yaobushi,* different from the reanalysis of *yaoshi*, i.e. from [*yao+shi*] to [*yaoshi*], may have evolved from [*ruo+ bushi*]. *Ruo* was gradually replaced by *yao* in modern colloquial Chinese after the grammaticalization of *yao* with the function of conditional marker. Their development follows the general principles of semantic bleaching and pragmatic strengthening in the theory of grammaticalization (Traugott 1988, 1989), evolving from a lexical form to a grammatical one. Their referential function is weakened and their pragmatic function is strengthened because of grammaticalization.

The findings in our study also show that *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* are different in their degrees of subjectivity and intersubjectivity. The use of *yaoshi* signifies the speaker's strong emotional state and thus it is more (inter-)subjective than that of *yaobushi*. *Yaoshi* has a stronger tendency than *yaobushi* toward interpersonal reading. *Yaoshi* is used more often than *yaobushi* in that it is more (inter-)subjective, addressee-oriented, and interactive-based.

Both of the conditional markers *yaoshi* and *yaobushi* display a range of attitudinal, cognitive, and interactional properties, which are strongly associated with their respective cases of grammaticalization. They form a related group marking conditionality but are employed to perform different discourse-pragmatic and epistemic functions.

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Direct and Indirect Conditionals: A Corpus-based Study of Chinese Yaoshi and Yaobushi

直接和間接條件句:
華語「要是」和「要不是」的對比探析
— 以語料庫為本

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本文以語法化(Grammaticalization)理論來對漢語條件句標記「要是」和「要不是」進行對比分析。漢語條件句標記「要是」和「要不是」看似反義，但使用上並不對稱。本文採用共時的語料考察，就兩者語意語用上的功能、語法化的過程、及主觀化和交互主觀化的程度進行探討。本文發現，兩者語法化現象的發展不同，兩者主觀性及交互主觀性也有所不同。而此差異不只造成兩者在條件句上的出現頻率的不同，兩者在篇章中的語用功能也不相同。

關鍵字: 條件句、語法化、主觀性、交互主觀性