# **Do We Lose When Being Serious?**

# —Change in Meaning of the Word "Renzen( )" in Corpora

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(authentic language use)

(negative tone)

(collocation)

(connotation)

COPENS

#### Abstract

From the Internet slang " (You'll lose if being serious)" to a wide variety of collocations with the word " (being serious)", the Internet users in Taiwan show a ." While the dictionary definitions of this word have included preference to the word " "being practical", "being serious", and "not being careless," this study aims to bridge the gap between dictionary and authentic language use, and see how this word is differently used during online text discussion. Written Mandarin corpora Sinica Corpus and COPENS are selected as the analysis data for comparison between formal written texts and online discussion texts in terms of the negative tone in a sentence, collocations, and connotations. The results show that Taiwanese Internet users have divided opinions about whether to restrict the word to a positive connotation, or impose a negative connotation on this word. However, although the slang is " is still frequently used. This study concludes that less seen on the Internet, the word " people try to convey the message that they can take whatever they think important serious regardless of the conventions, and still hold onto a serious attitude.

#### COPENS

Keywords: , online text discussion, COPENS, negative tone, collocation, connotation

#### 1. Introduction

During daily conversations or online text discussion, people usually produce sentences starting with " (I think)" to express their thoughts, yet people become increasingly accustomed to the insertion of " (serious, seriously, seriousness, or to be serious)" in a sentence such as " (I seriously think, or seriously speaking)" to emphasize their attitude. This phenomenon of insertion does not occur alone in the abovementioned example sentence, but is widely seen during informal discussion.

While people can propose their ideas in a serious manner, they show the opposite attitude with responses like the sentences " (Why are you so serious)" and " (You will lose if being serious)." Therefore, this research aims to study the contradiction in the insertion phenomenon from the perspective of Corpus Linguistics, for corpora are capable of presenting the authentic language used in real situations.

#### 2. Literature Review

2.1 The Origin of the Internet Slang ""

The Internet slang " (You'll lose if being serious)" is originated from a Hong Kong web novel of the same name by Su, Lin( ) [1]. One of its main characters repeats this phrase when giving advice on a love tangle in the novel, and continues to explain that whoever puts true heart into a relationship is very likely to lose someday(

) [2]. Soon afterwards, this phrase

became a trend among Internet users from Hong Kong to Taiwan. Although this phrase is coined with a fixed string of words, the word """ has been extracted from this phrase, and used frequently by Internet users.

#### 2.2 Dictionary Definitions

Since the word " " is particularly popularized by Internet users, this study looks into the dictionary definitions of this word, and selects the dictionaries complied by Ministry of Education, Taiwan(R.O.C.) ( ) [3], Yuan-Liou Publisher ( ) [4], Far East Book Co., Ltd. ( ) [5], National Central Library (

) [6], and Chinese Wordnet of Academia Sinica ( , shortened as CWN) [7] [8].

The dictionary complied by CWN is called Skyfire Dictionary ( ), which provides Mandarin-Mandarin word definitions with English equivalents to each sub-definition. The Mandarin definitions are sorted from Kang-Xi Dictionary ( ) and Shuo-Wen Dictionary ( ) [9]. As for the English equivalents, the complier uses WordNet [9], a corpus established by Princeton University that "resembles a thesaurus", according to its website, for it "groups words together based on meaning" [10]. Although Skyfire Dictionary might be of less authority than the other dictionaries, it offers Mandarin-Mandarin definitions with English equivilants at the same time, which allows extra insights into why Taiwanese Internet users start blending the multiple meanings of the word " ." The following table

Dictionaries	Definitions or Translations in Definitions or Translations in					
(Source language)	Mandarin	English				
	a.	a. Being practical and				
	b.	responsible; not being				
(Mandarin)		slipshod or careless.				
		b. To believe something is true.				
		To do things in a practical way;				
(Mandarin)		not being careless.				
		To be serious.				
(English)						
	; ;	Serious; conscientious; in				
(English)		earnest				
	a. (conscientious)	a. To describe a concentrative				
(Mandarin with		and diligent attitude.				
English equivelants)	b. (conscientious)	b. To describe a serious				
		attitude.				
	c. (serious)	c. To describe having a clear				
		and determined subjective				
	d. (serious)	consciousness.				
		d. To describe having				
		considered something in a				
		careful way and introduce				
	e. (serious)	the interlocutor's opinion.				
		Common collocations				
		include: speaking.				
		e. To believe what someone				
		says is true and take it				
		seriously.				

Table 1. Dictionary Definitions of "

From the above table, at least two of the dictionaries mention "/ (being practical)", " (not being careless)", "/ (to believe something is true)", and "being serious()" as the sub-definitions of the word "." What's more, the Skyfire Dictionary offers more details in the word's definition, especially " (being serious)" in b. and e. On top of that, the Skyfire Dictionary and show how the different

sub-definitions of the word " " can be distinguished by the different English words, namely "conscientious" and "serious." Yet, the definition of the word " " is more confusing in Mandarin because one single word of " " can suffice to mean both being "serious" and "conscientious."

#### 3. Research Questions and Hypotheses

#### 3.1 Research Questions

a) Usage: How does the usage of " " differ between formal written texts and online discussion texts? How frequent is a negative tone chosen by the speakers?

b) Context: In formal written texts, what kinds of issues do people take a serious attitude toward? During online discussion, about what topics do people express their seriousness?

c) When a speaker says " (to be serious)" or " (not to be serious)" during online discussion, what is his or her purpose and who is the addressee?

#### 3.2 Hypotheses

#### 3.2.1 Usage

In formal written texts, "" appears in sentences with an affirmative tone more often than those with a negative tone, while affirmative and negative tones are equally used during online discussion.

#### 3.2.2 Context

In formal written texts, the subject matters center around academic learning( ), professional career( ), and political issues( ), which are deemed important by the public. During online discussion, however, " " encompasses a wider range of topics—people can take a serious attitude toward something less commonly thought to be important by the public, yet the speakers regard the topics as important.

#### 3.2.3 Purpose

In formal situations, writers often judge themselves or others about whether they are serious enough and demand a serious attitude. In contrast, speakers during online discussion often emphasize they are serious or not instead of pointing out others' un-serious attitude, or

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even ask others not to be so serious. During online discussion, the use of """ allows speakers to set or change the atmosphere of discussion; yet, it is less frequently needed in formal situations.

#### 4. Methods

#### 4.1 Corpora

Since corpora are designed for storing authentic language production in a variety of settings, linguists often use them for language analysis of one corpus or comparison between two corpora or more. For this study, Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese(

, shortened as Sinica Corpus) [11] is chosen for language analysis of the word " " in formal written texts, while Corpora Open and Search(COPENS) [12] is selected for online text discussion data. Currently, Sinica Corpus contains 17,554,089 character tokens collected from more formal language materials between 1981 and 2007 [11]. As for COPENS, it is a new corpus established by Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan, and gathers materials of language used on several online discussion platforms including microblog Plurk( ) and Taiwanese bulletin board system PTT( ) [12]. The total amount of language data has exceeded 731 million character tokens as of now. Therefore, both Sinica Corpus and COPENS are able to provide large amount of updated language materials that suit the language settings for this study.

In addition to the language settings of the two corpora, both of them also sort the language materials under subcategories to yield more accurate results. Under the subcategories of COPENS, online sources, namely Plurk( ) and PTT( ), are marked. However, all of the data in Sinica Corpus is included for language analysis in order to collect as much data as possible as the comparison group of COPENS.

In both Sinica Corpus and COPENS, the word "" is searched as the keyword with parts of speech tags provided in parenthesis after each word by the compliers. The results show that the two corpora tag "" only as a (VH), which means intransitive stative verb [13]. In other words, no data of "" in these two corpora is tagged as an adjective, a noun, or other parts of speech, so the controversy of whether Chinese lacks adjectives is not a concern of this study. Thus, this study leaves out the investigation of " " as an adjective and other parts of speech.

#### 4.2 Random Selection of Concordance Lines in COPENS

The searches return 575 and 57,044 results in Sinica Corpus and COPENS respectively. Among the 57,044 results in COPENS, 57,036 are concordance lines from PTT, while the other 8 concordance lines are originally posted on Plurk.

Due to the large amount of data in COPENS, a selection of the data is needed for data analysis. Following and modifying Hunston's method [14], this study selects 200 concordance lines from the 57,044 concordance lines in COPENS at the interval of 10 concordance lines, and the content of the selected data is given in Appendix 1 with the number of each concordance line provided. Unlike Huston's method in which 30 after 30 random lines are chosen for analysis, this study expands the amount of data to 200 lines, and closely analyzes the selected data. The one-time selection of larger amount of language data allows for calculating and demonstrating the proportions of the data based on usage, context, and purpose in the discussion section. However, some of the data that represents rare yet salient linguistic characteristics of the word " " is also included in the section of discussion to present the full picture of the change in meaning of the word "

#### 5. Discussion

#### 5.1 Usage

#### " in Sinica Corpus and COPENS 5.1.1 The Frequency of the Word "

The table below calculates and compares how frequently the word " " is used in written texts and online discussion texts.

	1
Sinica Corpus	COPENS
575	57,044
17,554,089	Roughly 731 millions
	Sinica Corpus 575 17,554,089

 Table 2. The Frequency of the Word "
 " in the Sinica Corpus and COPENS

Calculation	$\frac{575\times2}{17,554,089}$ × 1,000,000 <sup>1</sup>	$\frac{57,044 \times 2}{731,000,000} \times 1,000,000$ $\sim \frac{57,044 \times 2}{731,999,999} \times 1,000,000^{1}$
Frequency of the word " "	65.5118018	156.0711354~155.8579237
(times/per million character tokens)		
Date of data retrieval	2016/06/16	2016/06/16

<sup>1</sup> COPENS provides information about the character tokens of separate discussion boards rather than the whole corpus. Because of its huge amount of data, the character tokens of each discussion board are rounded down to the nearest million. Please refer to the following link for the exact number of each discussion board: http://lopen.linguistics.ntu.edu.tw/PTT/data/

Judging from the above table, the word "" is frequently used in both Sinica Corpus and COPENS, with approximately 66 and 156 times per million character tokens respectively. However, the word """ is more often used by Internet users during online text discussion, for the frequency of the word in COPENS is about 2.39 times higher than that in Sinica Corpus. This discrepancy indicates that the word "" is a more active vocabulary word during online, informal discussion lexicon.

# 5.1.2 The Frequency of "" in Negative Tones in Sinica Corpus and COPENS

Because Sinica Corpus does not have the function of studying the tones of concordance lines, the filter( ) function is employed instead. Collocations of basic negative words" ", " ", " ", " ", " ", " ", and " " are searched, and irrelevant data is excluded through human interpretation. No results are shown for the searches of " " and " ," and rhetorical questions of which answers imply the negation of " " are also left out to prevent overtly subjective human interpretation. The final results of " " negatively used add up to 32 times out of the 575 concordance lines, which only accounts for 5.6% in the whole Sinica Corpus. The content of the concordance lines are attached in Appendix 2 with the keyword and negative tone in bold.

As for the number of concordance lines in negative tones in COPENS, each of the 200 randomly selected lines is examined to see if the lines contain the six negative words mentioned previously. Among the 200 lines, 27 are negated (Given in Appendix 1), which is 13.5%.

If the ratio of 13.5% is similar to that of the complete COPENS data, it will indicate that negative tone is chosen 2.41 times more often by the speakers during online discussion than for formal writing. In other words, people often negate "" during online discussion. Furthermore, if sentences that imply a refusing attitude toward "" like "

(You will lose if being serious)" and " (To be pretentiously serious)" are also calculated as negative tone, the ratio will be even higher. Therefore, it is concluded that people use the word " " both positively and negatively during online discussion, yet positive tone is more common in formal situations.

#### 5.2 Context: Important and Seemingly Unimportant Topics

The concordance lines of Sinica Corpus center on topics that are thought to be important by the general public, including academic performance, professional career, being a good man, and politics. These topics are also included in COPENS, which means these important topics are still issues that Internet users concern about. Yet, topics that receive less attention by the general public are discussed online, as the following figure shows.



Figure 1. Proportions of Topics Discussed in COPENS

The first five categories in Fig. 1 belong to big topics, which comprises 55%. The concordance lines are furthered classified into academic performance (A; 17%), career (C; 7%), politics (P; 19%), and being a good person (GP; 2%), or fall into the category of big topics (B;

10%) if their topics are too rarely discussed in COPENS to become a category itself such as religions, art performances, and contests. In contrast, 18% of the concordance lines address small topics labeled as entertainment (E; 7%) or small topics (S; 11%) for the same reason. The rest of the concordance lines are tagged as unidentifiable topics (X; 25%) or general matter (G; 4%), because they either lack context or describe the serious attitude in general. The labels for each concordance line in COPENS are provided in Appendix 1.

The more interesting use of the word "" is not shown among the 200 randomly selected concordance lines in COPENS, but this study tries to list three of them in Table 3. The online platform users even choose the word """ when talking about something seemingly unimportant. For example, they can take a serious attitude toward killing mosquitos, searching for videos on YouTube, and even just eating.

Numbers	Concordance lines of seemingly unimportant topics					
#39		, ,				
#133		( , ,				
	Youtube	)				
#184		, ,				

Table 3. Examples of Seemingly Unimportant Topics Discussed in the COPENS

The three concordance lines in Table 3 prove that people can take whatever they think important seriously although the public may think otherwise. While these sentences may seem unordinary, they implies two messages: The first is that people use the word """ as a narrative device to dramatize these seemingly trivial matters because the speaker does not expect to spend so much time or efforts they end up to on these matters. The second message is that the moment they express their serious attitude toward the seemingly unimportant topics, they redirect the attention of the addressees from those topics that are traditionally deemed important.

#### 5.3. Purpose

#### 5.3.1 Online Interaction: Asking and Answering Questions and Replying

In addition to the contexts in which the content is presented, the word "" is also used to indicate the process of online interaction. Since online discussion involves the action of initiating, continuing, or ending a discussion, the following figure classifies the use of " " in the 200 randomly selected concordance lines in COPENS based on related actions.



Figure 2. Proportions of Interaction Classification in COPENS

Common collocations for each tag are " (to ask)" for asking questions(Q; 24%), " ... (to answer a question)" for answering questions(A; 5%), " (to reply)" and " (to reply to someone's post)" for replying in a comment or a new post(R; 21%), " (to say)" and " ([formal] to say)" for making a remark(S; 21%), " (to discuss)", " (to argue)" for discussing something(D; 13%), " (to publish a post)" for publishing a new post(P; 5%), " (to delete a post)" for deleting a post(DE; 13%), and " (to think; to have an

opinion)" for (light) thinking(T; 8%). Please refer to Appendix 1 for each tag given for the corresponding concordance lines.

Fig. 2 shows how the word " " is used for online interaction. Note that the tags are given not only to concordance lines that describe the action by the speaker, but also to those that describe someone else being serious when doing the actions related to online discussion. Therefore, concordance line #180 in Appendix 1 " ,

" is tagged as answering questions (A) as well.

The inclusion of these lines allows for a more thorough consideration of the word """ during online text discussion. Although the speaker usually combines the word " " with other verbs relative to actions of online interaction, it is possible that the word appears alone without any collocations. For example, the common collocations for the tag "marking a remark(S)" include the word " (to say)". However, sometimes the speaker does not use the word " ", but types out the word " " in parenthesis at the end of a sentence to show his serious attitude during online discussion, as in concordance line #1150 in Appendix 1 "

(, , ) ."

As for the collocations of the tag "(light) thinking", " (to think critically with a serious attitude)" and " (to study something with a serious attitude)" are excluded for this section because people often use them together as a usual way of expressions, while this study aims to look into the unique expressions of the word " " in the cyber world. In other words, deep thinking typically requires the thinker to be serious, while the word " " usually does not come along with the word " (to have an opinion about something)."

One possible explanation about the use of "" as a device for online interaction is as follow. Because the word helps the Internet users set or change the atmosphere of discussion, when the topics are too sensitive to be discussed in public, the speaker or responders tend to use "" to emphasize the need and wish of a genuine response or an open discussion. For example, the speaker in the sentence "

, (#266)" wants to know whether the older generations look down on those who are young and unemployed for a long time. Therefore, sentences like " (seriously asking questions)" and " (seriously answering questions)" are commonly seen during online discussion, sometimes with warnings like "

(Please do not be playful)" in "

(#502)" from the speaker. However, another use

is shown in Table 4.

 Table 4. Examples of "
 "Used with a Negative Connotation during Interaction

```
Numbers
```

#### Concordance Lines

#194	=	,	,					
#677				(	,	,	).	

In Table 4, the sentences indicate an opposite stance toward seriously answering questions. Judging from the context of these two sentences above, they are more likely to appear after a serious response is given. The respondent seriously answers the question, but then clarifies that he should not have been so serious. It is possible that he wants to soften the atmosphere of discussion lest it would have been too suffocating for a conversation to flow out comfortably.

#### 5.3.2 Disagreement and Partial Agreement

14 results out of the 200 randomly selected concordance lines in Appendix 1 represent the usage of discouraging seriousness when the hearer wants to oppose the speaker's argument. Instead of directly saying no or "I disagree" to the speaker, the hearer changes his or her wording into " " in the negative tone. In this way, the hearer can express his or her disagreement without embarrassing the speaker or ruining the atmosphere of discussion.

Sometimes, the respondent actually agrees with the speaker, but think the point the speaker makes is not the most important. On the contrary, other aspects of the issue are worth the speaker's attention and consideration as well, which indicates the respondent's partial disagreement.

#### **5.4 Connotations**

## 5.4.1. Broadening the Word " " to Negative Connotation

Among all the concordance lines in COPENS, the phrase " (Seriousness Warrior)" is an unexpected example that shows the negative attitude of the Internet users toward being serious. Someone is called " " when taking something so seriously that he or she becomes an irrational person in other people's eyes. The total number of the phrase " " is 157, which comprises 2.15% of the whole data. The following table lists some examples in COPENS.

NO.	Concordance Lines
#143	, ,
#166	, ,
#496	, ,
#640	, ,
#1778	, ,
#2396	, ,
#8571	, , 1.
#10072	, ,
#15049	, ,
#16218	? , , PTT

 Table 5. Examples of Concordance Lines with the Word "

,,

It is evident that some Internet users bluntly describe someone as , as in #640 and #2396, while more often, the speaker struggles with the extent to which the negative connotation should be imposed. In #496, the speaker wants to say the person under discussion is too serious, yet he does not want to make too much negative judgement about " " in his remarks, so he adds that one of his friends is also " ." Furthermore, in #143, " " (envoy)" because the speaker does not think " is replaced with " " should be discouraged, yet he changes his attitude by saying " (I'll seriously run)." The contradiction in these two examples shows that " " are generally and strongly held to be a virtuous personality trait. Nonetheless, people may face difficulty not imposing a negative " if the speaker shows an overtly serious attitude. connotation of the word "

# 5.4.2. Restricting the Word " " to Positive Connotation

While a part of the Internet users accept the negative connotation of the word """ more easily, a part of them insist on restricting the word to a positive connotation, as in the

example sentences in the below table.

Numbers	Concordance Lines		
#102	, ,		
#138	, ,	QQ	FB
#152			
#750	3. , , 4.		
#398	100 , ,	!!!	
#533	, ,		

 Table 6. Examples of Concordance Lines of "
 " with positive connotation

The above examples show a more affirmative tone toward "" by asking why it is wrong to be serious (#138 and #398) or how the speaker dislikes his or her comments not being treated seriously (#750). These concordance lines show that people actually have divided opinions toward the usage of "" during online discussion. Some people think the meaning of "" can be broadened to include that with negative connotations, while others still think should only have positive connotations.

### 6. Conclusions and Implications

Throughout this study, the word " " has been analyzed based on the negative tone in a sentence, collocations, and connotations, and the following table concludes and illustrates how the word is used in online text discussion.

		Context	Purpose (Who is serious)			
Narrative	1.	Something (the speaker or	The speaker is serious.			
Device		the public think) important				
Online	2.	Something sensitive	Either the speaker or the respondent is serious			
Interaction	3.	Asking and answering	to set or change into a serious atmosphere			
	questions, and replying		and ask the other party to be serious			
	4.	Answering, especially at	The speaker and respondent are both serious			
the end of the discussion			to soften the atmosphere			
	5.	Disagreement and partial	The speaker is serious, but the respondent i			
		agreement	not serious to soften the atmosphere			

Table 7. Usage, context, and purpose of " "

Connotation	6.	Broaden "	" to	The speaker and respondent are both seriou			
		negative conr	notation	to soften the atmosphere			
	7.	Restrict "	" to positive	The speaker is serious, but the respondent is			
		connotation		not serious to set or change into a serious			
				atmosphere and ask the other party to be			
				serious			

In the above table, " " can be used to strengthen or soften the attitude of the speaker or respondent. A serious speaker prefers a serious respondent (#2, #3, and #7). A non-serious speaker prefers a non-serious respondent (#5). Two serious speaker and respondent change into less serious ones (#4 and #6). However, when a serious speaker and a non-serious respondent meet, the speaker will complain about the respondent not being serious. Therefore, the Internet users still praise the serious attitude.

The finding of this study not only describes the emerging social phenomenon, but also tries to provide directions for future studies regarding semantic changes of words in the cyber sphere. Thanks to many specialized corpora such as Academia Sinica and COPENS, studies about authentic language use can be conducted, yet it needs futher research, addition of fuctions in corpora, or combinations of more computational skills to study more about implied meanings of corpus materials.

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Appendix 1. 200 Randomly Selected Concordance Lines of "" in COPENS

No.	Concordance Lines	Negation	Topics	Interaction	Agreement or Disagreement
1	, XDrz		G		
10	a , ,		GP		
20	,		В		
30	XD DDD , , ? TSbb :		X		D
40	- n - out , ,		X	А	
50	, ,		Е		
60	, ,		G	Т	
70	, ,		С		
80	,		E		D
90	, , 		В	R	
100	,		А		
110			S		

	, ,				
120	, ,		Р		
130	, ,		Р		
140	633 , ,		Р		D
150	, , ·		S	Q	
160	, ,		А		
170	) , ,>>>		А		
180	,		X	А	
190	···· ···· , ,		Х		D
200	, ,		X		
210	,		Р		D
220	" ITRI """, ,""" """		С		
230	, ,		В		
240	, ,	Ν	Е		
250	, ( =		Р		
260	, ,	Ν	S		
270	,		В		
280	po , ,	N	A		D
290	20 100 , ,		А		
300	, ,		Е		

310	, ,		А		
320	,		А		
330	, ,		Х		D
340	,		В	R	
350	, ,		А		
360	,		Х	Q	
370	"? , ", ", ", ,"		А		
380	, ,		А		
390	,		GP		
400	, ,		Р		
410	,		A		
420	, , ??		Х		D
430	, ,		В		
440	, , 3w	N	С		
450	, ,		X		
460	?1. :	N	С		
470	, ,	N	Р		
480	, ,		E		

490	" , ", ,"		А		
500	, ,		X	S	
510	,		A		
520	, ,		S	Т	А
530	,		S	DE	
540	(, ,)		В		А
550	, ,		S	D	
560	, ,		Х		
570	, 3. :		S		
580	, ,		G		
590	der ~ ~ ~, ,		Е		
600	+ , , ==	Ν	X		D
600 610	+ , , == , , 5566	N	X E	S	D
600 610 620	+ , , == , , , 5566 , , ,	N	X E B	S	D
600 610 620 630	+ , , == , , , 5566 , , , , ,	N	X E B A	S	D
<ul><li>600</li><li>610</li><li>620</li><li>630</li><li>640</li></ul>	+ , , == , , , 5566 , , , , , , ,	N	X E B A S	S	D
<ul> <li>600</li> <li>610</li> <li>620</li> <li>630</li> <li>640</li> <li>650</li> </ul>	+ , , == , , , 5566 , , , , , , , , ,	N N	X E B A S X	S	D
<ul> <li>600</li> <li>610</li> <li>620</li> <li>630</li> <li>640</li> <li>650</li> <li>660</li> </ul>	+ , , == , , , 5566 , , , , , , , , , , ,	N	X E B A S X X	S	D
<ul> <li>600</li> <li>610</li> <li>620</li> <li>630</li> <li>640</li> <li>650</li> <li>660</li> <li>670</li> </ul>	+ , , == , , , 5566 , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	N N	X E B A S X X G	S	D

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830	, ," ? """		Р		
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870	,		S		

880					, ,		X		
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990	", ," "	,			, ,		Р		
1000					, ,		GP		
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1620	,	N	Е	R	
1630	, ,		В		
1640	, ,	Ν	Р		
1650	, ,	N	В		
1660	• , ,		Р	S	А
1670	,		Р		
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1880	, ,		Е		
1890	, ,		В		
1900	,		А		
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Numbers	Concordance lines
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Appendix 2. Concordance Lines of " " in Negative Tone in Sinica Corpus

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