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PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

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February 17-20, 1995

SPECIAL SESSION

ON

DISCOURSE IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN

LANGUAGES

Berkeley Linguistics Society
Berkeley, California, USA

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edited by

Leela Bilmes

Anita C. Liang

Weera Ostapirat

Berkeley Linguistics Society

The following corrections concern only format and not content. We apologize for any inconvenience.

p. 85
(2) Concepcion: *ivong*   *up- -u- unang*   *complaint for impeachment*
                    DEM.DIST.T.LNK   first-.LNK   complaint for impeachment
       tungkol doon   *sa oto*   *kadilak*   [KADILAK:161-162]
       about   **DEM.DIST**.O   O automobile   Cadillac

'That first complaint for impeachment about **that** Cadillac (car).'

p. 85
(3) Morato: *huwag   ninyong*   *sabihin na*   *itoy*
                     NEG.IMP 2PL.N.LNK   say   LNK   **DEM.PROX**.T-INV
       binigay sa office of the vice president   [KADILAK:405-406]
       given   O office of the vice president

'Don't say that **this** (car) was given to the Office of the Vice President.'

p. 87-88
(7) Jessica: *kailangan siguro ipaliwanag natin bakit Filipino hindi ho*
                 need   maybe clarify   1N.N why Filipino NEG POL
       Pilipino at saka yung   *ating   pong   alpabeto*
       Pilipino and then **DEM.DIST**.T.LNK 1IN.LNK POL.LNK alphabet
       wala   pong   letrang [ɛf] *e*   [ɛfe]
       NEG.EXIST POL.LNK letter.LNK 'F' PART 'F'   [PILIPINO:86-92]

'We need to clarify why 'Filipino', not 'Pilipino' even though the letter 'F' [ɛf], uh, 'F' [ɛfe] doesn't exist in our alphabet.'

p. 89
(9) deVera: *unang-una   miyembro ako   nung*   *delegasyon*
                first-LNK-first   member   1S.T **DEM.DIST**.N.LNK delegation
       na   nagpunta sa preparatory meeting sa New York   at pupunta ako   pupunta
       LNK went   O preparatory meeting O New York and will.go 1S.T will.go
       ako   sa Cairo
       1S.T O Cairo   [POPULATION:120-121]

'I am the lead member of **that** delegation that went to the preparatory meeting in New York, and I will go to Cairo.'

p.89
(10) deVera: *sa ibang   bansa ito*   *ay legal a hindi sinabi*
                 O other.LNK   nation **DEM.PROX**.T INV legal uh NEG said
       na   dapat maging legal ito   *sa lahat ng bansa*
       LNK   must become legal **DEM.DIST**.T O all   N nation

                                                        [POPULATION:206-207]

'**This** (abortion) is legal in other nations. (I) didn't say that **this** (abortion) must become legal in all nations.'

p.90
(11) deVera: *a   gusto ko   lang linawin na   nung*   *nagputa*
                 uh want 1S.N. just clarify LNK DEM.DIST.N.LNK went
       kami   sa New York hindi namin sinuportahan ang abortion
       1EX.T O New York NEG 1EX.N support   T abortion

                                                        [POPULATION:124-127]

'Uh, I just want to clarify that those, we who went to New York, we didn't support abortion.'

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The following papers were presented at the conference but do not appear in this volume:

Framing Achenese: Language Choice and Discourse Structures in Aceh
    MARK DURIE

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GENERAL SESSION

PARASESSION

Preface

The study of linguistic structure beyond the sentence has contributed greatly not only to the understanding of grammatical structure; it has also yielded insights into the nature of social interaction; and the cultural and linguistic principles by which a text is constructed. The papers in this volume all shed light on discourse from these perspectives at the same time that they lift discussion out of the usual Western context and place it into the less-studied reaches of Southeast Asia.

The bulk of papers in this volume contribute to the understanding of grammatical structure. In some of these works, structural categories are discussed with respect to their pragmatic and discourse functions: Solnit's work on elaborate expressions, Shi's investigation of the degrees of givenness of Chinese noun phrases, Fincke's examination of Tagalog's 3-way deictic system, Brainard's discussion of perfectivity in Upper Tanudan Kalinga, Schiller's autolexical approach to Khmer particles, and L. Bilmes's analysis of the role of metaphor in the grammaticalization of Thai *come* and *go* all elucidate different aspects of what constitutes discourse in Southeast Asian languages. In other articles, researchers begin with specific texts, written and spoken, and investigate the structural patterns and functions found within them. This approach is exemplified by Zhou's work on pronouns in Chinese narratives, Ewing's on Javanese Cirebon, and Biq's examination of causal sequencing patterns in both spoken (i.e. conversation) and written (i.e. newspaper) texts.

Discourse is also studied as a way of getting at the social context in which linguistic acts take place; the papers in this volume reflect this emphasis as well. J. Bilmes's conversation analysis of a negotiation among Thai villagers illustrates the two dimensions of meaning in interaction, one constrained by the local culture (i.e., how a harvest of rice is to be divided up), and the other perhaps universal (i.e., how the broader social positions of participants are established). Iwasaki and Horie discuss the linguistic cues used by Thai speakers to achieve the appropriate speech level (or register). Finally, Becker considers the problems of translation, and warns the (Western) philologist not to take her own textbuilding principles for granted when working out a translation of a distant text like the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* .

We would like to thank all of our fellow graduate students who helped make another BLS Special Session a success.

A. C. Liang
Leela Bilmes
Weera Ostapirat

Giving Distance its Due
(On 'Mutual Translatability')[1]

A. L. Becker
University of Michigan

"The problem with such a no-nonsense approach to things, one which extracts the general from the particular and then sets the particular aside as detail, illustration, background, or qualification, is that it leaves us helpless in the face of the very difference we need to explore."

--Clifford Geertz (1995:40), *After the Fact*

Translation is a great emptier, and much was lost when the *Rāmāyana* was brought to Java and Bali from India—on the west wind.

The Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* is in large part a translation (about 70% translation and 30% original, according to C. Hooykaas, who compared it, word by word, line by line, with its Sanskrit source, the *Bhatti-kāvya*. Much was added, and much was lost in the transmission (Hooykaas 1955).

It seems to be a general phenomenon that when a foreign system of writing comes to a people, the task of the first few centuries is largely translating from the foreign philology associated with the writing (philology in Kroeber's sense of a collection of prior texts and the equipment to get at them). That is, writing does not come as a pure technology, if there is such a thing, but with a rich content already in place, a philology.

The Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* was an act of translation across unrelated languages—except you could say that they came together and became related in this work. We know little about the marriage of Sanskrit and Old Javanese which gave rise to the translation language called Kawi. The language of Java (the mother? father?) at that time (prior to the 10th century) is largely silent, unrecorded. No one is very sure what was happening noetically at the time when the composition took place more than a thousand years ago.

Anyone who has read it would agree, I think, that the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* is a work of great beauty and power. One can see why it has been such an exemplary prior text, in Java and particularly in Bali. The Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* has been the source of many genres of theatre, of poetry and recitation, and of visual representations, of names, and of public philosophy (e.g. the code of the good ruler, spoken by Rama as he turns over political power to his brother). I'd like to look closely at a particular passage from the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* —a passage believed by Professor Hooykaas and others to be original, not a translation but an elaboration of the original, composed in the translation language.

I'd like to discuss not its source, the Sanskrit text it was translated from, but a later stage in the life of the translation: the stage when it undergoes further translation into English.[2]

But first I would like to frame the translating within a larger question—larger only in the sense that a frame is larger than a picture and sometimes even engulfs, overwhelms the picture. The frame here is a consideration that comes to me from Roman Jakobson—the key term is *mutual translatability*. How close or distant is any one language to or from any other language? What are the differences, and how do they matter in translating?

The term mutual translatability comes from Roman Jakobson's essay on translation which many of us read back a while ago in the early 60's, called "On linguistic aspects of translation." Consider for a moment the paragraph from which I've taken the term mutual translatability:

"Equivalence in difference is the cardinal problem of language and the pivotal concern of linguistics. Like any receiver of verbal messages, the linguist acts as their interpreter..."

[Jakobson will continue this yoking of everday language use and what linguists do: both interpret the verbal messages they receive. He continues.]

"...No linguistic specimen may be interpreted by the science of language without a translation of its signs into other signs of the same system or into signs of another system..."

[All linguistics profoundly involves translation, either within a language—or across languages. Now comes the term.]

"...Any comparison of two languages implies an examination of their mutual translatability; widespread practice of interlingual communication, particularly translating activities, must be kept under constant scrutiny by linguistic science." (Jakobson 1959:2)

[Do we do that, *scrutinize* the mutual translatability of languages? *Mutual translatability?*]

How do we study mutual translatability? (I'll leave the "why" to the end of this essay.) There are major obstacles. The biggest obstacle may be what Michael Polanyi called "transparency" (Polanyi 1975). If I say, "Look at Livia over there!" I want you to look through my words at someone or something outside them. Everyday languaging operates that way, for the most part. We look through language as if it were transparent...unless for some reason it gets opaque. I think of frost on a windshield calling attention to the windshield. In the same way we tend to look "through" distant texts. Historians look through to learn what Java was like back then. Anthropologists look through them to find ancient Javanese cultural patterns. Linguists look through them at historic Austronesian grammatical

relations and lexical forms. When one is **using** language, i.e. languaging, opaqueness is pathological—it gets in the way of looking through. But the study of mutual translatability seems to require a high degree of opaqueness—the partial loss of normal transparency: Call it translucence, since we require the light of some degree of equivalence in order to see the medium at all.

I know only one way to study "mutual translatability." That is to hold up the translation and its source, side by side, and sort out the exuberances and the deficiencies, exposing as much surface as possible.[3] What things are in the translation but have no counterparts in the source text? Those are the exuberances. What things (of any sort) are in the source text but have no counterparts in the translation? The deficiencies (Oretga y Gasset 1955). And do it both ways—into and out of each language, as a meditation on a translation, sorting out the equivalencies in the differences, and just as assiduously, the differences in the equivalences, so as to keep it as mutual as possible.

One of the most pleasant actvities in the study of philology is to carry out this comparison, to meditate on a translation and its source in this way. A translation may have been hard to achieve, even unpleasant in the turning of many dictionary pages, but having got one, the activity of comparison always seems engaging, a kind of drama involving all kinds of meanings, clashing and merging in the space between the texts.

It's not just the drama of actors and goals and instruments and settings and times in two languages but, necessarily, also the particular drama of their once-upon-a-time composition, by some one, some particular utterer, some where, some time, and for some reason. And also there emerges the equally particular drama of memory, the unfolding evocations of prior texts in different readers and hearers, then and now, here and there. These equivalences and differences of memory are especially provocative, and probably are the most difficult to realize.

Bits of all of this drama emerge in that time after a translation has been achieved when one then looks back and forth, from the translation to its source, and back again. (This is a slow version of the esthetic of reading from a bilingual edition, where translation and text face each other, and footnotes grow up from the bottom.)[4] I'd like to go through some stages of that comparison with you, as a way of scutinizing mutual translatability.

The Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* is called in Javanese a *kakawin. Ka-kawi-an*: the kawi-ing of the *Rāmāyana*. Kawi is the name for the literary language resulting from the marriage of Old Javanese and Sanskrit. Let me telescope several centuries of the very unfinished philological study of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* into a few observations about it.

The composition of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* must have been an extraordinary incursion into the language of Java. Composing it meant telling and explaining a huge story from a distant culture across the sea, using exotic Sanskrit vocabulary in every line, finding counterparts for Sanskrit morphology and syntax in a totally unrelated language, writing in Sanskrit meters, and working under the

assumption that Sanskrit was the language of the Gods and thereby the language of Truth. As in all translation, much was left behind, and much was added.

All translation has an edge of aggression. But I think it was a momentous language marriage, not a rape, this early translation from Sanskrit to Kawi.

It was not a spoken, everyday language that emerged from this union but an artifice, a literary artifact, called Kawi. The literary language emerges first, and, in Thoreau's words about language, "the chisel of a thousand years retouches it."[5]

It seems clear that the chisel of a thousand years has touched the *Rāmāyana Kakawin*. It has been dated back to before 930 C.E. by some scholars, and new versions keep appearing to the present. A detailed picture of that early translating back in 10th century Java and its subsequent transmision and reshaping through its history—the biography of the living text—awaits a far better scholar than I. Hooykaas has laid the groundwork.

Let me instead think about people of our time and place in the act of translating Old Javanese into English, scrutinizing, in Jakobson's words, their mutual translatability, sorting out their differences and equivalences.

Let us plunge right in to the story. Rama and the monkey army arrive at the southern tip of India. Between them and Sri Lanka is the Gulf of Mannar. Rama now knows, from Hanuman, just where Sita is across the gulf, and Rama himself is at a very high pitch of excitement and so in his ardor to rescue Sita. his love gives rise to hatred toward the obstacle before him. We see the ugly side of power. Rama shoots a flaming arrow into the sea, and it boils and the fish begin to die— *maletuk utek nya sumirat sakeng tutuk*—their brains burst out from their heads. Oysters vomit pearls. The sea fills with a putrid smell. The god of that sea-realm, Baruna, speaks quietly to Rama, and lays out the dreadful consequences of what Rama is doing. Rama takes back his arrow, and sends the monkeys to find rocks in order to build a causeway across to Lanka.

In perfect balance, what Rama has done to the sea the monkeys proceed to do to the land. The monkeys go amuck as they frighten and scatter the animals of the forest and tear huge rocks from the earth. Oddly, none of this seems to bother Rama or the gods. It is less a rape than a ravishment, as one friend suggests.[6] Then comes the passage I'd like to present in translation and after that look at the original via that translation.[7]

> There was one monkey alone, big as a mountain, cruel and wild,
> Self-absorbed he was and violent, never sought help,
> He struck the slope of the mountain, a shower of noise, trees snapped and
>   smashed,
> Stones cracked split shattered, spread out, crashed, in a thunder of sound.

> All at once he tore up that whole mountain, huge and high as it was,
> Compare him to a lover going amuck, not attending to gentleness,

The mountain—think it a girl, crying, ravished,
And the water of lakes rising up banks and shores was like her overflowing
       tears.

A pair of swans and a band of cranes cried out in grief,
Loud, then swarmed with black bees, flew up in clouds,
Birds with young sang out together, all wept, loud,
Think of that as the voice of the mountain in the pain of assault.

A strong wind howling penetrates the deep caves,
Like her breathing in the embrace of that ape,
The clouds moving on the slopes of the mountain were blown away,
Think of her torn sarong billowing every which way, baring her.

Torn up gemstones flash fly, and even emeralds scatter, all strewn down the
       slope,
Think of her jewelled sash, cut away, cast away glittering,
And the trees bend in the wind, the mangoes, the banyans, the asanas,
Like the opened, loosened, released hair coil of the shikarinī.

That last word, *shikarinī*, takes us back to the artifice, to the act of composition itself. It is the name of a Sanskrit metric line, the name of the meter that these particular lines have been composed in, with light (.) and heavy (-) syllables:

$$. - - / - - - / . . . / . . - / - . . / . .$$

This is the recurring rhythm in Kawi of each of the lines translated above. This particular rhythm sets the lines translated above apart from the rest of that chapter (*sarggah*) of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana*.

    And the word, *shikarinī*, is also a triple pun in Sanskrit, refering not only to the name of a verse form, but also to the girl's garlanded hair coil, and further to the mountain itself. It is a feminine form of 'mountain', diminutive ... and perhaps the inspiration for the whole elaborate comparison lies in that word. Madhav Despande told me about the meter:

> "The bunching of heavy syllables in the beginning seems to give a feeling of a slow climb with the bunching of light syllables giving a feeling of a steep incline, or quick gait. Perhaps the word refers to such a sound image of a hill. The names of Sanskrit meters are generally indicative of such sound images."

As noted above, Hooykaas shows us that this passage is not to be found in the Sanskrit source, the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*. It is widely assumed that it is original in Kawi, an expansion, not a translation. What is being translated is a Sanskritic form of verse, based on light and heavy syllabic weight, including vowel length, into a language in which vowel length was not contrastive. A set of rules for length in Kawi is created, elaborated from Sanskrit (e.g. a vowel resulting from sandhi is considered long; a vowel before a consonant cluster is considered long, etc.).

But the fun is looking back, as I said, at the mutual translatability of Kawi and modern English, the differences and the equivalences. For that we need a glossing. I know no other way to begin.[8]

Paradigm of Glosses (Text from Santosa 1980)

Sarggah XV, stanzas 64 - 68, glossed
NOTE: The stars (*) are place holders for what seem to me untranslatable morphemes.

Stanza 64.

Hanéki	wré	tunggal	kagiri-giri	göng	nyogra	magalak
Be this	ape	alone	* mountain	big	NYA-strong	* wild
	one		awsome		cruel	
	unique		frightful			

ahangkārāmbĕk		nyān	guragada	tan	angān	tulungana
self	mind	NYA-N*	insolent	not	desire	help *
			violent	will		

tinĕmpuh	nyāng	pārśwādbhuta	kaparupuh		puh	kayu	pukah
* hit	NYA-NG	flank marvel	* thunder		smash	tree	break
	side wonder		noise				
	mountain						

bĕlah	bĕntar	śīrnga	ng	watu	kumalasā	syūh	kabarubuh
cleft	split	broken	NG	rock	* spread	crush	* thunder
					(like mat)		

Stanza 65.

Wawang	sinwab	nyékang	gunung	atiśayeng	göng	nyan
At once	*uproot	NYAIKANG	mtn.	superiorING	big	NYA-N
				exceed		

aruhur
*high

kadi	lwir	ning	kāmi	sĕdĕng	agul-agul	tan	wruh	ing	aris
like	form	N-I- NG	lover	while	amuck	not	know	I-NG	calm
	kind								soft
									slow

gunung	yāngken	kanyā	kadi	ta	manangis	yan	rinabhasa
m'ntain	YA like	girl	like	*	* weep	YA N	*
	consider						ravishment
							attack

kalimbak	sakweh	ning	talaga	kaharan	luh	nya	humilī
*surge	* all	N-I- NG	lake	* like	tears	NYA	*flow
wavy				be-named			

Stanza 66.

Saśoka	ng	hangsā	salakibini	muwah	sārasa	masū
*sorrow	NG	swan	* male/f'male	also	crane	* bound
						joined

humung	lāwan	kumbang	bhramita	ya	mibĕr	yeng	awang-awang
*noise	with	bl'k bee	restless	YA	*fly	YA-I-NG	clouds

manuk	mānak	monĕng	muni	ya	manangis	kapw	ya	humung
bird	*child	*long	sound	YA	*weep	all	YA	*noise
		for	voice					

Ya	tāngken	śabdā	ning	gunung	alara	wet	nyān
YA	TA like	voice	N NG	m'ntain	*pain	cause	NYA N
					sorrow		

rinabhasa
* ravisment

Stanza 67.

Angin	mādrĕs	humyus	tumama	ya	rikang	gahwaraguhā	
wind	*force	* howl	*enter	YA	to-IKA-NG	deep	cave

| | hard | sigh | penetrate |
| | fast | | |

ya	tekoswasa	nyān	pinĕkul	ikanang	wānarabala
YA	TA *breathing	NYA-N	* hug	IKA* NG	ape warrior
	embrace				
	battle				

katūb	pwekang	megha	pracalita	ri	pārśwa	nya	mapasah
hit	PWA* NG	cloud	moving	to	mtn.side	NYA * *	split
blow			waving		ribs		break

ya	tāngkĕn	ken-kenyān	rusak	abayangan	tulya	kawudan
YA	TA compare	sarong NYA-N	torn	wavering	like	* expose
		kain	flapping			undress

Stanza 68.

| Manik | mabhrā | lumrang | marakata | ri | himbang | nya | sumawur |
| gems | shine | *spread | emerald | to | slope | NYA | * scatter |

ya	tāngkĕn	kĕndit	nyojwala	kasarakat	tulya	ya	pĕgat
YA	TA compare	belt	NYA flame	* strewn	like	YA	cut
		girdle	flash	splashed			

| lumampah | pwékang | poh | asana | waringin | dé | nikang | angin |
| * move | PWA* | NG | mango ? | banyan | cause | N-IKA-NG | wind |

kadi	pwāsāk	moré	ikana	ta	gĕlung	ning	sikarinī
as if	PWA opened	let down	IKA *	TA hair-coil	of NG	mountain
	loosened	hang					k.o.meter

This paradigm of glosses, my tool of comparison, is very ugly, like a tangle of electrode wires on a smiling face. It is, from an esthetic point of view, totally tasteless. Could it ever become an art-form, this paradigmatic translation? Well, maybe so...built more artistically upon the esthetics of reading and reciting bilingual texts, which many people do for pleasure, including people in Balinese reading clubs. But, on the other hand, it may be important that this paradigm of glosses remain ugly, and hence less seductive, helping the text keep its distance. It seems to me a means justified by the end, the scrutiny of mutual translatability.

Most of the columns in the paradigm of glosses could be expanded without much effort, and that seems a proper corrective for the too common assumption in modern glossing that there are word to word matches across languages, especially distant languages. For instance, take one of the richer terms, **ahangkārāmbĕk** in line 2 of the first stanza. It carries four of the five heavies of the meter in that line.

ahangkārāmbĕk

```
.   -     - -    -
*  self       mind
```

It's a Sanskrit-Javanese compound, a text-internal glossing, a creation, perhaps by the original composer. Like Dante, the composer of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* was a word-maker. To describe the first Sanskrit part, **ahangkāra**, Zoetmulder and Robson's *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (Zoetmulder and Robson 1982) gives us:

> "Conception of one's individuality, the egotistic self (one of the stages in the evolution of the **prakrti**), selfishness, pride, conceit, arrogance; selfish, proud, etc.; (also in more favourable sense) self-confidence, confident, courageous" (p. 28)

For the second part of the compound, **ambĕk**, the Old Javanese part, they give us:

> "inner man, mind or heart (as seat of emotions, moods, inclinations, etc. cf hati), inner disposition or attitude (as opp. to external behavior), character; inclination, desire, intention" (p. 60-61)

To scrutinize the mutual translatability of just that term, **ahangkārāmbĕk**, invites a massive glossing. We come to the edge of what James Matisoff might call micromania. But we also get a glimpse of the Sanskritic-Javanese mindset that this whole passage might evoke in an early reader or hearers of the text. Do we recognize in the violent ape a stage in the evolution of the **prakrti**—what in modern English could be glossed as 'the mind'? A stage in the evolution of the mind? Does this passage show us the kind of power a king uses and doesn't always control, at this stage in the evolution of his mind?

There are some philologists who call this kind of close scrutiny adventurism, an unwarranted exoticizing of the text. I would say it is giving distance its due.

It should be clear by now, too, that I'm suggesting that the ravishing of the mountain is an appropriate metaphor for the violent, aggressive moves of the translator. Here's George Steiner's (1975:298) description of that aggression, from the final chapter of his *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*:

"The translator invades, extracts, and brings home. The simile is that of the open-cast mine left an empty scar in the landscape."[9]

In this movement back and forth from English to Old Javanese, would this particular reading (i.e. comparing the act of translation to ecological ravishment) be possible in the earlier lives of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana*? I think it could be read that way even then, too, and there are several terminological bridges to that reading: the pun on the mountain-girl-meter at the end of the passage, and, if stages in the evolution of the mind (**prakṛti**) is relevant here, then the further observation that the first definition of the related term **prakṛta** in the *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* also is relevant:

> "1. composition, arrangement, story, (prob. also:) rewriting (retelling) in another medium (from Sanskrit to Javanese, from poetry to prose)" (Zoetmulder and Robson 1982:1388-1389)

———

Back to equivalences and differences.

Equivalences between the Kawi and the English are above all what one might call sociobiological—we can imagine live beings acting in recognizable environments. We can imagine the big ape tearing up rocks and frightening the birds. We can imagine the ravishing. The metaphor is one we use now, with strip mining or clear-cutting. It comes as a small shock to find such a modern-seeming sensibility in a Kawi poem. It makes people then seem more like us, their language more transparent. Equivalences, above all, do that.

Differences between the Kawi and the English are in another realm, but they frost up that transparency. Look at just the first line. It is just as hard to parse as it is to gloss.

Hanéki wré—There's this monkey, as yet unidentified. We must remember to strip the tense off the English verb.

Hanéki wré tunggal—There's this monkey by himself. I think we have to translate **tunggal** as a predicate of **wré** 'monkey'—he is alone, unique, one of a kind. (I.e. it isn't a deictic or an article.) Another translation—to avoid the English "there is" construction—might be 'Stands this ape unique'. It's a common Kawi figure—two predicates with a common subject between them. It occurs in almost every line of the passage.

Hanéki wré tunggal kagiri-giri göng nya—'Stands this ape unique frightful size of him'. This phrase as a unit is another predicate. Although **giri** suggests a Sanskrit word for mountain and is probably meant to do that here—it is also a Javanese word, always reduplicated, 'frightful' or 'awesome'. The *ka*- makes it not an act but something that happens to one. What is 'frightful' is the 'bigness' **göng** of him.

Hanéki wré tunggal kagiri-giri göng nyogra—'Stands this ape unique frightful size of him cruel'. Another predicate. The final vowel of **-nya** and the initial vowel of **ugra** blend to make **nyogra**. Furthermore, like **wré** earlier, the **nya** here is a topic between two predicates.

Hanéki wré tunggal kagiri-giri göng nyogra magalak—'Stands this ape unique frightful size of him cruel wild'. Yet another predicate, with **ma-**, untranslatable like all Kawi predicate affixes, but sometimes called stative or middle voice by philologists more confident than I of the translatability of these categories.

Is there a sentence here? We have to stretch English to make it so. There's a topic and an array of predicates. The line is the unit, and sentencing it may be a little too aggressive. Does it make a difference? Certainly, if we are intent on scrutinizing mutual translatability, noticing differences.

All this is terribly rushed, telescoped, over-packed. There are plenty more differences in these and the following lines, and my goal here is not an exhaustive list of them. I'm interested in something else, something that it is hard to put a name on, more elusive: the elusive figures of Kawi, to paraphrase John Okell on literary Burmese. You might call it the rhetoric of Kawi, the figures of language that these old poets shaped and reshaped with the chisel of a thousand years. I don't want to obscure them more than I have to.

Underlying them is the grammar of the focus affixes on the predicates and also the elaborate system of deixis in Kawi, which I have described before (see Becker 1995). In the paradigm of glosses above I mark the former with stars and the latter with capitals. Neither the focus system nor the elaborated deixis have easy English counterparts.

Just a word or two about the deictics. From the point of view of English, they have at least five different functions: they may be at once pronominal, demonstrative, relational, definitizing, and foregrounding. They seem to me equal in complexity and text-building importance to the English deixis of tense. It's not that we don't have words in English to do all these separate things—it's that we don't have single words that do them, and so we tend to say that there are several different meanings of them. That is, **nya** could be translated 'his or hers', 'the', 'that', 'such a', 'look!', 'by him/her'.

We are here on the turf of the linguist—sorting out the relations of the terms. Here linguistics feeds philology. I am recalling here, in my comments, some of the work of Foley on bondedness, of Fillmore on cases and deixis, of Givon on topic continuity, of Haas and Matisoff on nominal elaborate expressions, and much more. Each of them asked new questions and gave new insight about these kinds of structural relations.

———

Why do it? Where have we got to beyond the translation I started with? There are many answers:

We do it to see better what the original composers/translators were up to.

We do it to make us attend to what is happening and not achieve transparency too quickly.

Above all, I think, we attend to all this to make ourselves aware of the difficulty, the complexity, of doing what this unknown poet was doing. The difficulty of the task is an important part of the meaning of it. One must know, I think, something of how a work is produced and performed in order to be able to look through it. Surface skill is what gives credence to the deeper vision. Control of surfaces is a natural metonymy for larger kinds of control. In music, painting, philosophy, surface skill is the ground for taking any work seriously. In Old Java and Bali (and to some extent still), serious work was composed in forms we'd call poetic. On the poetic skill rested the seriousness with which one could take the composer.

One of the most important things the composer/translator of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* was doing was translating the Sanskritic verse forms themselves, finding Kawi ways to manifest them.

In Java, and in our own distant noetic past, this surface play, these sound images, this rich texture was not considered something non-essential, mere ornament. Javanese borrows a term **alangkara** from Sanskrit. We might gloss it as 'ornamentation', but only if we remember that like ornamentation itself (from **ornare**, 'to fit out, furnish, complete'.), *alangkara* suggests not the non-essential but the **alang** of the **kara**, the completion of the work (see Coomaraswamy 1981). Giving the work its due. In our time we have estheticized the sound-image, and hence made it unimportant. There has been a massive disassociation of sensibility, to use Eliot's famous term.

Look at that first line again, first the meter:

Hanéki wré tunggal kagiri-giri gŏng nyogra magalak

. - - - - - . . . . . - - . . . .

And then notice the recurrent g's and k's in this line. Each line is the domain of a recurrent sound. Compare the third line, with the dominant *pu-*:

tinĕmpuh nyāng pārśwādbhuta kaparupuh pun kayu pukah

And now imagine a requirement that any serious writer, physicist or political scientist, philosopher, lawyer, or linguist...skillfully produce this kind of texture, not as ornament but as proof of discipline, depth and care. As the completion of ideas. It is like formalizing a grammatical idea in linguistics.

Mutual Translatability? Perhaps the major difference between the translating from Sanskrit to Old Javanese and from Old Javanese to English, is in this different valuing of the surface. The Old Javanese author/translator/composer took the reshaping of the sound image as one of his central tasks. The modern translator

mostly sets the sound-image aside, in the name of transparency. In his essay, Jakobson calls this surface-play **paranomasia** and declares it untranslatable. I suspect that calling it untranslatable is a difference we have discerned in the close examination of the mutual translatability of Kawi and English, but it remained an equivalence between Sanskrit and Kawi.

Walter Benjamin (1968:76), in his highly provocative essay called "The Task of the Translator", seems to isolate just this task. "The task of the translator consists in finding that intended effect upon the language into which he is translating which produces in it the echo of the original."

Some can do this with artistry. (I think right away of the word play in Robert Pinsky's new translation of Dante's *Inferno* from Old Italian to Modern English.) Others of us make restitution and seek mutuality in notes and commentary, rather than just make another bad translation.

The question often comes up in seminars, what makes a bad translation. A recurring response is, no sense of sound. The lack of a sense of sound—of "surface"—is manifest in several different ways—on the one hand a bad translator can use very conventional English prosodies, cliched translationese. Or, on the other hand, a translator can try to translate "ideas"—"sense", "concepts"—usually with no consideration that those are at best evocations of our own prior texts. Or, one can try to make the reader take major part in the translating, become, in part, the translator, which is probably harder, even utopian, but it does have its own esthetic—the esthetic of a philologist, looking back and forth along the frontiers of mutual translatability.

Notes

1. I am grateful to many people for their suggestions and comments, and particularly, for extended critical commentary on a draft, to Nancy Florida, Joseph Vining, Alan Trachtenberg, Rhys Isaac, Deborah Tannen, Lauri Sears, James Boyd White, and Judith Becker.

2. Walter Benjamin (1968:71) writes of translation as a stage in the life of a work in his essay, "The Task of the Translator.": "The idea of life and afterlife in works of art should be regarded with an entirely unmetaphorical objectivity. Even in times of narrowly prejudiced thought there was an inkling that life was not limited to organic corporeality...The concept of life is **given its due** only if everything that has a history of its own, and is not merely the setting for history, is credited with life...Translations that are more than transmissions of subject matter come into being when in the course of its survival a work has reached the age of its fame."

3. Jose Ortega y Gasset (1992 [1937]), "On the Difficulty of Reading." See also Ralph Waldo Emerson (1876), "Plato": "Our strength is transitional, alternating; or, shall I say, a thread from two strands. The sea-shore, sea seen from shore, shore seen from sea; the taste of two metals in contact; and our enlarged powers at the approach and at the departure of a friend; the experience of poetic creativeness, which is not found in staying at home, nor yet in travelling, but in transitions from one to the other, which must therefore be adroitly managed to present as much transitional surface as possible" (p. 2).

4. Putting the original at the end of the translated text hinders this, even though it is difficult now to get editors to accept facing pages, or, even more important, to restore footnotes to the foot of pages, so that the movement across languages can be discussed as it happens. Nabakov (1955) put it well, in "Problems of Translation: *Onegin* in English": "I want translations with copious footnotes, footnotes reaching up like skyscrapers to the top of this or that page so as to leave only the gleam of one textual line between commentary and eternity."

5. Thoreau (1854) in *Walden* is writing of sounds as "the evidence of nature's health or sound state." He goes on, "Such is the never failing beauty and accuracy of language, the most perfect art in the world; the chisel of a thousand years retouches it."

6. The Kawi term is **rinabhasa**, which I first translated as 'rape'. The English adds a stronger moral condemnation than the episode seems to receive in Kawi. Nancy Florida suggested it might better be translated as 'ravishment' and I have followed her good advice. The Old Javanese *Rāmāyana,* like several versions in India, maintains what might be called a feminine perspective throughout, including the many erotic passages, as for example Hanuman's search for Sita which describes him peering into the bedroom windows of Lanka and lingering as a voyeur before the tender sexual play he discovers. Using the word 'ravishment' allows more dignity to the perspective of the Javanese author.

I might add that it seems to me there is far greater substance to the claim of feminine authorship of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* than, for instance, to Harold Bloom's guesses about the authorship of the *Book of J.*

7. This translation owes much to Soewito Santoso's (1980:388-9) English translation in his three volume edition of the *Ramayana Kakawin.* I have used for the most part his romanization of the text, based on Kern (1900).

8. A gloss in traditional philology was an explanation of a difficult term, inserted in the margin or between the lines of a manuscript. Glosses often grew into extended commentaries. In Latin, a foreign word requiring explanation was a *glossa,* from the Greek word for 'tongue' or 'language'. In modern linguistics, a gloss is an interlinear translation, often word by word, and sometimes mistakenly called "literal."

9. George Steiner (1975:800), in *After Babel,* temporalizes the act of translation into four stages: 1) an investment of trust that the thing translated is meaningful; then 2) aggression, described in the words cited above; then 3) appropriation when the new text begins life in a new language; and finally 4) reciprocity, when the distance is given its due. That fourth stage is called by Steiner "the crux of the metier and morals of translation."

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Dividing the Rice II: Achieving Agreement

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This paper concerns a negotiation that took place in a Northern Thai ricefield in 1988. At issue is how the harvested rice is to be divided between the owner of the field and the sharecropper. I will argue that there are in fact two kinds of negotiation taking place. One concerns the division of the rice. But they are also negotiating, in the sense of working out, their social relationship. The entire proceeding was audiotaped and transcribed. In an earlier paper, also titled "Dividing the Rice" (Bilmes 1992), I made some observations concerning culturally distinctive practices in this negotiation. I noted, for example, the occurrence of a genre of talk used by mediators, stylistically related to blessings, with standard content, expressions and constructions, and features of articulation. I found that these "admonitions" (as I called them) were fit into the talk in a certain way and repeatedly elicited certain responses and served certain functions. I found that, although anger is sometimes expressed very clearly, the *Mɨaŋ* (the main Northern Thai ethnic group, closely related in language and custom to both Central Thai and Lao) reaction to a declaration of anger is quite different from the reaction typical for at least many Americans. For an American, to declare that one is angry with an interlocutor is to "communicate," to begin a possibly therapeutic process of repairing a strained relationship. For the *Mɨaŋ* speaker, to declare anger is to exacerbate the situation. To say "I am angry" is itself an angry act. The first step in repairing a strained relationship is to <u>deny</u> anger. Finally, I found a normative preference for outcomes based on positive sentiment over those based on rights and justice.

My discussion here of the negotiation of relationships will add further information on the cultural dimensions of *Mɨaŋ* discourse. However, much of what emerges from the present analysis does not appear to me to be distinctively *Mɨaŋ* or Thai (on this point, see also Bilmes in press; Moerman 1988). I think that many of my conclusions have wide, if not universal, application. But perhaps the finding that Thai conversation is not all that exotic, and the discovery of the ways in which it is not exotic, are also of some interest and significance.

The setting, as I have indicated, is a ricefield. There is a sharecropper, Kɛ̄ɛw, 39 years old, and his wife, Dɛɛŋ, 39. (I put it this way because, although Dɛɛŋ plays a very important role in the negotiation, Kɛ̄ɛw is considered the head of the household and the ultimate decision-maker.) There is Dii, 70, the owner of the rice fields. There is Muun, 75, a former village headman, and presently a village representative to the district Land Rental Committee. Muun is ostensibly there to mediate, but he tends to negotiate on Dii's behalf. Also present are Căn, who is a villager working as my research assistant, myself, and two men who were hired by Dii and Muun respectively to help transport the harvested rice (Muun has stopped in

Dii's field on the way to his own). Late in the negotiation, Dii's sister arrives, but remains mostly in the background.

The rice, a four-acre crop, has been harvested and threshed, and is piled in the center of the field. What is occurring is most unusual. The sharecropper and the owner are negotiating over how the rice is to be divided. Dii (the owner) had, some months earlier, told Kɛ̂ɛw that this would be Kɛ̂ɛw's last year sharecropping these fields. Dii wanted his nephew to take over. Sharecroppers are not usually dealt with in this way, and Kɛ̂ɛw was angry. He was determined not to divide the rice in the usual fashion, but to demand more than the normal share. He had some power in this matter, since there was a national law that specified a division much more favorable to the tenant than the traditional division. The law, apparently, was formulated to deal with problems that existed mainly in other regions of the country, and the local officials encouraged the villagers to base their rice division on tradition and mutual agreement rather than on the law. In fact, I never witnessed or heard of a single case of rice being divided according to the stipulations of the law. Nevertheless, it appeared that the officials would have to enforce the law if a villager demanded it.

In the course of the negotiation, which lasted about 30 minutes from first proposal to final agreement, Dii made four proposals, specifying how he would be willing to divide the rice. Each succeeding proposal was in some way more generous than the last. The first proposal comes just minutes after Dii arrived at the field, where Kɛ̂ɛw and Dɛɛŋ were waiting. Muun is approaching as the exchange takes place.

       (1) first proposal[1]

24.   (2)

25. **Kɛ̂ɛw**: haw pǎn kn cday

26. **?:** (*)

27. **Dii:** hɛ̆ɛ

28. **Kɛ̂ɛw**: pɔ̂ɔ nɔ́ɔy pǎn cdǎy (°khǎaw°)

(2)

Kɛ̂ɛw : How will we divide?

?: (*)

Dii: Huh?

Kɛ̂ɛw: How will you divide (°the rice°)? ((He addresses Dii as Father nɔ́ɔy. nɔ́ɔy is a title indicating that the bearer was once, but is no longer, ordained as a novice. This is the usual way that villagers of inferior generation would address Dii.))

29.   (2)

30. **Dii:** pǎn yay (kɔ̀) pǎn kɔ̀ŋ (ná) lá kɔ̀ cà phɨ̀a hɨ̀ɨ khiŋ nâa kàa:

(2)

Dii: Divide how? Why, divide in half and I'll give you an extra share. ((The way this is phrased implies, "Of course we'll do it this way. How else?"))

31. Kɛ̃ɛw: ɔ̌ə pǎn kə̀ŋ khǎa bà aw

Kɛ̃ɛw: No, I won't divide in half.

32. Dii: ɛ̌ɛ ((starts high and rises))

Dii: Huh?

33. Kɛ̃ɛw: khǎa bà aw (.) bà toklɔŋ

Kɛ̃ɛw: I won't do it. (.) I don't agree.

34. (1)

(1)

35. Dii: bɔ̀ toklɔŋ nyía nyǎy

Dii: If you don't agree, what shall we do?

36. (2.5)

(2.5)

37. Kɛ̃ɛw: pǎn sǎam nán na

Kɛ̃ɛw: Divide in thirds. ((It is understood that Kɛ̃ɛw would get two thirds.))

38. Dii: phɔ́ pɔ̂ɔ nǎan wâa (*) pɔ̂n pěn (1) (*//*)

Dii: Because Father nǎan ((Muun)) said (*) He's (1) (*//*) ((nǎan is title for former monk))

39. Kɛ̃ɛw: ɔ̌ə bɔ̀ wâa (1.5) pɔ̂ɔ nǎan (pɔ̂ɔ nǎan maa la) (.5) lɛ́ khǎa bà toklɔŋ

Kɛ̃ɛw: I'm not talking about (1.5) Father nǎan (Father nǎan has come) (.5) and I don't agree.

40. (1)

(1)

41. Dii: à toklɔŋ kɔ̀ tǎamcǎy na:

Dii: If you don't agree, it's up to you ((literally—follow your heart))

42. Kɛ̃ɛw: ɔ̌ə

Kɛ̃ɛw: Yeah

43. (3)

(3)

Dii's first proposal is to divide in half, which is traditional. He would also give Kɛ̃ɛw an extra share of unspecified amount. He is actually offering more than he has ever given before. In the past, he has divided 50-50, with no extras, which is less generous than most other owners. The proposal is elicited by Kɛ̃ɛw's explicit question. Kɛ̃ɛw responds to the offer quite brusquely. It is unusual to hear villagers speak to each other with such anger (for that, my informants agreed, is what is expressed), especially a younger (Kɛ̃ɛw is 39) speaking to an elder (Dii is 70), and a poor sharecropper to a relatively wealthy owner. Kɛ̃ɛw does not even make a counterproposal until pressed by Dii, and then delays, as if reluctant to settle under any terms. Finally, he demands a division in thirds, it being understood that he would get two parts and Dii one.

This is only one of several points early in the negotiation where Kɛ̃ɛw expresses anger toward Dii. At another point, when Muun urges Kɛ̃ɛw to accept a traditional settlement, dividing the rice in half, this exchange takes place:

(2)

128. Kε̃εw: əə tham//madaa níi (.) man khwa:mdii khwaamsɔ̂ɔp kap kăn naa

Kε̃εw-: Yeah, usu//ally there is good feeling and affection, right?

129. Muun: (*) wâa

Muun: (*) say

130. Muun: mhm

Muun: mhm

131. Kε̃εw: əə (hăn) khwaamdi: khwaamsɔ̂ɔp kap kăan (.) păn kə̀ŋ kănpay

Kε̃εw: Yeah, good feeling and affection (.) and they divide in half.

132. Muun: nnân na kàa=

Muun: That's it.

133. Kε̃εw: =phăy ba khít naa

Kε̃εw: They don't calculate ((according to the law)).

134. Muun: nâa kàa

Muun: That's right.

135. Kε̃εw: mîa ((=mɯ-a)) badiawníi (.5) bmîi khwaamdii khwaamsɔ̂ɔp kap kăn lá maa păn kə̀ŋ thâa ba dãy

Kε̃εw: Now (.5) there is no good feeling or affection between us so it seems we can't divide in half.

136. Muun: (*) tăamcăy

Muun: (*) up to you

137. Kε̃εw: əə khāa bɔ̀ tokloŋ (.5) (*) wanníi khāa bɔ̀ pă//n

Kε̃εw: Yeah, I don't agree (.5) (*) today I won't divi//de.

Shortly after, there is an angry exchange in which Kε̃εw accuses Dii of breaking a promise, which Dii denies.[2]

Kε̃εw begins the negotiation (see extract 1) by asking Dii how he will divide the rice, thus according Dii the control of the situation which is his due by virtue of ownership, wealth, and age. But Dii's predictable proposal is brusquely rejected and followed by an inflexible demand by Kε̃εw. Both Kε̃εw's display of anger and his negotiating tactics constitute a derangement of normal social relationships. As I noted in my earlier paper, Muun consistently tries to reframe the situation as one based on Kε̃εw's needs and Dii's generosity, rather than as one in which the sharecropper is making demands based on legal power and a sense of justice.

A significan part of the rest of this occasion is devoted to repairing the situation. The following exchange occurs just after an angry episode in which Kε̃εw accuses Dii of having broken a promise:

(3)

233. Kε̃εw: əə tàa phăy ba (h)hú(h)á hehhaha

Kε̃εw: I don't say whose fault it (h)w(h)as hehhaha I'm not criticizing anyone hahaha.=

234. Dεεŋ: =əə

Dεεŋ: =Yeah

235. Kɛ̄ɛw: khǎa bɔ aw khòot hʉ̆ʉ phǎy // (sâk) khon lá

Kɛ̄ɛw: I'm not angry at anyone //at all.

236. Dɛɛŋ: (haw) bɔ khòot hʉ̆ʉ phǎy // (sák) khon ná // (yàaŋ) ūu kǎn ná

Dɛɛŋ: (We) aren't angry at anyone // at all // (like we said)

237. Kɛ̄ɛw: ǝǝ

Kɛ̄ɛw: Yeah

238. Dii: ba khòot naa níi tʉŋ ba // (khòot naa)

Dii: Don't be angry, you/we mustn't // be angry.

239. Kɛ̄ɛw: // ŋǝǝ (.) khǎa bɔ̀ khòot hʉ̆ʉ phǎy naa

Kɛ̄ɛw: // Yeah (.) I'm not angry at anyone.

240. Dɛɛŋ: ǝǝ ba khòot ba kîat hʉ̆ʉ phǎy sák khon ná

Dɛɛŋ: Yeah, we're not angry, we don't hate anyone at all.

241. (.5)

(.5)

242. Dii: mii kǎa suǔ (*) phɔɔ̀ naā mʉ̂aday kɔ̀ s̆ii khǎy kîat=

Dii: There's only you (*) Whenever I look at you, you look angry.=

243. Dɛɛŋ: =ɔɔ́: // bɔ cây (.5) pê̂n ba khòot ba (**)

Dɛɛŋ:=Oh:: // not so (.5) he's not angry, not (**)

244. Kɛ̄ɛw: ǝ̆ǝ khǎa bɔ kîat (.) (khǎa tʉŋ yŋ ía k hǎ bàa (.5) lâm: day yùu b aan (.) khǎa tʉŋ ba pay ɗii phǎy (.5) k hǎa sɔ́ kǐn hǎa kǐn khon diaw khǎa ta an ná

Kɛ̄ɛw: No, I don't hate [anyone] (.) I'm like this, I'm hardly (.5) at home (.) I don't go to see anyone (.5) I go out to seek a living myself, that's all.

This is the first of several exchanges in which Kɛ̄ɛw and Dɛɛŋ deny being angry. It is not surprising that Kɛ̄ɛw's expression of goodwill in excerpt (3) is immediately followed by another proposal from Dii. This time, Dii upgrades his offer; he says that he will "support" (that is, pay half of) the plowing and threshing costs. (Many owners in the area do this as a matter of course, but Dii never had.) Muun adds on Dii's behalf that he would give an extra share as well. Kɛ̄ɛw replies immediately:

(4)

249. Kɛ̄ɛw: ǝ̆ǝ (khǎa) ba aw (.5) pǎn s̆aam pǎn kàa (.) pǎn s̆aam pǎn (.) khǎa ca pǎn (.) thǎa pǎn s̆aam toklon a

Kɛ̄ɛw: No, (I) won't accept that (.5) I'll divide if we divide in three (.) in three I'll divide (.) I'll divide (.) If we divide in three, I agree.

Kɛ̄ɛw's refusal is immediate, but different from his earlier refusal in that, without prompting, he states his own conditions and says that if they are met he will agree to divide. He emphasizes that willingness several times. He has not changed his position, but his manner of expression shows some desire to reach an amicable agreement.

At this point, Muun appears to accept Kε̂εw's demand on Dii's behalf.

(5)

253. **Muun:** =pǎn sǎam // (khiŋ) (.) pǎn sǎam khiŋ ca aw sɔ̌ɔŋ sùan

Muun: =Divide in three // (you) (.) divide in thirds and you will take two parts.

254. **Kε̂εw:** khāa kɔ̀ tʉŋ ba dāy niua'

Kε̂εw-: I won't be able to work [these fields] again.

255. **Kε̂εw:** ɔ̄ə

Kε̂εw: Yeah.

256.   (.8)

    (.8)

257. **Dii:** kὲε pay kāa

Dii: It seems like too much.

258. **Muun:** nám lέεw hǎn mót

Muun: And then it will be done with.

Dii's protest is weak, suggesting his readiness to accept Kε̂εw's conditions. (In fact, I have very strong reasons to suppose that Dii had told Muun beforehand that he expected Kε̂εw to demand a one-third/two-thirds division and was ready to accept such a division.) Kε̂εw has been asking for a division in thirds since the beginning of the negotiation. That the concession comes at this point is perhaps not coincidental. Two important things have happened. First, Kε̂εw has progressed from demonstrations and even declarations of anger and ill-feeling to declarations of nonhostility. Second, Kε̂εw, for the first time, expresses himself in a way that shows some desire to settle. However, as Muun and Dii apparently concede a division in thirds, Kε̂εw adds to his demands. Muun says to divide in three and be done with it:

(6)

258. **Muun:** nám lέεw hǎn mót

Muun: And then it will be done with.

259. **Kε̂εw:** nám lέεw (nyǎŋ) (.5) kám dāy kám kâ- (.) lót maa hʉ̄ʉ khāa hε̂εm=

Kε̂εw: (What do you mean) done with (.5) support should support the cost- (.) of the tractor ((i.e., pay part of the cost, usually one half)) for me also=

260. **Dii:** =ɔ̄o ba // kâm lε (tɔ́)

Dii: Oh I won't // support that.

261. **Muun:** ɔ̄o (.) kâa lot phǎy wâa nyía // ân

Muun: Oh (.) the cost of the tractor, who does // like that?

262. **Kε̂εw:** ə (.) (*) bɔɔ kam bɔ̀ɔ kám kɔ̀ (*) khāa bɔ pǎn tʉ̂a // wannií khāa bɔ pǎn

Kε̂εw: a (.) (*) if you don't support don't support (*) I won't divide // Today I won't divide.

Both Dii and Muun seem shocked by Kɛ̂ɛw's new demand. Kɛ̂ɛw also returns to a coercive, uncompromising rhetoric, evident in the way he refuses the offer. Kɛ̂ɛw and Dɛɛŋ continue in this vein, reiterating at several points that Dii "must" support the cost of plowing. Moreover, they are not offering to negotiate the amount; they specify that Dii must pay one-half the cost.

Dii's third proposal is once again clearly occasioned by its sequential environment.

(7) third proposal

351. Dɛɛŋ: tǎam ɗii (*) pɔ̂n nyía' pɔ̂n kâm kǎn naa mot na´(.) kâm kâa hɛɛŋ // khon kɔ̀ kâm

Dɛɛŋ: According to (*) usual practice they all support (.) support the cost of labor ((threshing)) // also.

352. Kɛ̂ɛw: pɔ̂n kám kǔu khon=

Kɛ̂ɛw: They support everyone.=

353. Muun: =an nán pɔ̂n bɛ̀ɛŋ kɔ̀ŋ // lûu

muun: In those cases they divide in // half.

354. Dii: nán pɔ̂n bɛ̀ɛŋ kɔ̀ŋ (lɔɔ ʾii) dɛɛŋ=

Dii: There they divide in half, dɛɛŋ.=

355. Dɛɛŋ: =bɛ̀ɛŋ kɔ̀ŋ lá kɔ̀ kɔ̀ phɨ̀a k hǎaw hɨ̀ɨ hɛ̌ɛm pɔɔ cǎy ná (.) thǎam pɔ̂n tɔ́ (tǎam // kǎy tǎam him ɲii)

Dɛɛŋ: =Divide in half and give an extra, satisfactory share of rice (.) Ask them (in // this area).

356. Muun: (kɔ̀ nâa kàa) ca aw yàaŋ ân kɔ̀ dây // lûu

Muun: (That's it.) If you want to do it that way, that's // okay.

357. Dɛɛŋ: thaâ phɨ̀a k hǎaw (kháw // tɨŋ) pɔɔcǎy lá

Dɛɛŋ: If there is an extra share (they // will) be satisfied.

358. Dii: an nán ná ɲii (*) ɗii ɲî kɔ̀ kɨ́t cǎy // wâa ân na

Dii: That way (*) At this end I figured // like that

359. Dɛɛŋ: kâm (*) kâa lót thǎy (.) kâm kâa he:ŋ: ka- an kâa cāaŋ // tǐi hɛ̌ɛm

Dɛɛŋ: Support (*) the cost of the tractor (.) support the cost of labor, co- uh cost of hiring // threshers also.

360. Dii: ca phɨ̀a (.5) ca phɨ̀a hɨ̀ɨ ŋaam hɨ̀ɨ dii ná bɛ̀ɛŋ kɔ̀ŋ ná=

Dii: I would give (.5) give a lovely extra share if we were going to divide in half.=

361. Kɛ̂ɛw: =ahhoh=

Kɛ̂ɛw: =ahhoh=

362. Dii: =man // ba cūu

Dii: =He wouldn't agree.

363. Dɛɛŋ: ˙(*) bɛ̀ɛŋ kɔ̀ŋ ɲî kɔ̀ man kɔ̀ //tɨŋ ba bɛ̀ɛŋ tɨ̂a˙

Dɛɛŋ: ˙(*) divide in half there will // be no division.˙

364. Kɛ̂ɛw: bɛ̀ɛŋ kɔ̀ŋ kh āa ba bɛ̀ɛŋ

Kɛ̂ɛw: I won't divide in half.

Dɛɛŋ is speaking of how other sharecroppers divide in half, gèt support for their capital investments, and get an extra share as well. She continues in that vein

even after Muun (#356) offers to divide in that manner. Dii, understandably, sees Dɛɛŋ as possibly proposing a division in half, with extras, and proposes to do it that way, offering a generous extra share. This proposal, too, is immediately rejected.[3]

It is Dii's fourth proposal that will be the primary object of analytical interest. Unlike the first three proposals, the fourth is not visibly occasioned by the preceding talk. They have been discussing the amount of the harvest and related matters:

(8) fourth offer

625. Kêew: (pĭi níi man pay yàaŋ lɔ́ɔ khâaw pĭi níi)

Kêew: (This year is different ((i.e., better)), the rice this year.)

626. (2)

(2)

627. Dii: pĭi ni- (.) pi- kɔ̀ɔn nán dâay hok lɔ́ɔy // pǎay nɔ́

Dii: This year- (.) past years- we got more than six // hundred, didn't we.

628. Dɛɛŋ: (*)

Dɛɛŋ: (*)

629. (2)

(2)

630. Căn: // d ây hok lɔ́ɔy pǎay kaa

Căn: // You got more than six hundred?

631. Muun: (*) (.5) (**//*)

Muun: (*) (.5) (**//*)

632. Kêew: (*) (.) (*) (.5) (***)

Kêew: (*) (.) (*) (.5) (***)

633. Dɛɛŋ: an níi khâaw (nîaw)

Dɛɛŋ: This is (glutinous) rice.

634. Kêew: nîi man sày sám ba dâay (.) sày sám lá nîaw

Kêew: You can't plant the same strain of this rice repeatedly ((i.e., the yield will go down if you do)) (.) plant the same strain of glutinous rice.

635. (4.5)

(4.5)

636. Dii: câaŋ man tɔ́ (.) bèɛŋ sǎam á lɛ́ kɔ̀ (.) (*) (bà) phὲa // lá (ĩi tɔ́)

Dii: Let it go (.) divide in thirds and (.) (*) (won't) give an extra share // (at all)

637. Muun: mhm (.) tokloŋ bèɛŋ sǎam lá kɔ̀ āw thɔ̂

Muun: mhm (.) Agree to divide in thirds. Take it.

638. Dii: khâaw cûa hěɛm // hâa tuaŋ kɔ̀ ba aw (*)

Dii: Seed rice is another // five thǎŋ ((50 kilograms)), I won't ask you for it (*) ((Dii had given them 50 kilograms of rice for seed))

639. Muun: dîi: lá kà (.) (*) tokloŋ lɔ́ɔ

Muun: That's fine. (.) (*) agree

640. (2)

(2)

641. Muun: tǎamcǎy sŭu (tɔ́ nɔ́)

Muun: It's up to you.

642. (1.5)

(1.5)

643. Dii: pay (tĩi) (*) (.) pay tây hěɛm kam yùu

Dii: You're going to (*) (.) going to the southern fields again.

644. **Muun:** əə // (*)   **Muun:** Yeah // (*)

645. **Dɛɛŋ:** ((clears throat))   **Dɛɛŋ:** ((clears throat))

646. **?:** (***)   **?:** (***)

647. **Muun:** pûn lâw nák lôɔ   **Muun:** There's a lot of whiskey there.

649. **Kɛ̄ɛw:** (*//*) nə́   **Kɛ̄ɛw:** (*//*)

650. **Dɛɛŋ:**(***)   **Dɛɛŋ:**(***)

651. **?:?:?::** ((four seconds of overlapping speech and laughter))   **?:?:?::** ((four seconds of overlapping speech and laughter))

652. **Jack:** pɔ̂ɔ nǎan pay lɛ́   **Jack:** Father Muun is going.

653. (.8)   (.8)

654. **Căn:** pɔ̂ɔ nǎan .hh heh (.) pɔ̂ɔ nǎan pə̂ncà pay tîi Duaŋ//Kɛ̄ɛw yùu   **Căn:** Father ((Muun)) .hh heh (.) Father (Muun) will go to the field where Duaŋ//Kɛ̄ɛw is.

655. **Dii:** nàŋsʉ̌ʉ maa h ɛ̄ɛm lá lôɔ (.) nàŋsʉ̌ʉ (.) tîi cāw man (.5) // pěn kamakaǎn (nán lɛ̂)   **Dii:** The papers came again (.) the official papers (.) uh (.) he's a committee member ((possible interpretation))

656. **Căn:** (*)   **Căn:** (*)

657. (1.8)   (1.8)

658. **Dii:** kamakaǎn (kum) tîi din nia   **Dii:** land (administration) committee

659. (4)   (4)

660. **Căn:** an   **Căn:** uh

661. (6)   (6)

662. **Dii:** wâa nyay (.) dāy sùan (.) sùan câw naa (.5) toklɔŋ kɔ̀   **Dii:** What do you say? (.) You'll get a part (.) a part of the owner's share (.5) do you agree? ((He is repeating the offer to divide in thirds))

663. (2)   (2)

664. **Dɛɛŋ:** kɔɔn an bà kâm sák nɔ́ɔy nîi tɐŋ bà khây toklɔŋ naa (man man // *)   **Dɛɛŋ:** If uh you don't support us at all we won't want to agree. (It it // *)

665. **Kɛ̄ɛw:** kám sák nɔ́ɔy (phɔ̂ŋ) (.5) // kám khā sák nɔ́ɔy (.8) ə̂ə   **Kɛ̄ɛw:** Support a bit (.5) // support me a bit (.8) yeah

666. **Dɛɛŋ:** (**) tɔ̂ɔŋ ūu kǎan   **Dɛɛŋ:** (**) have to talk together

667. **Căn:** (lɛ́ɛw) sǒmmút // pɔ- (.) pɔ̂ɔ nɔ́ɔy ((clears throat)) cà (.) kâm kháw tadǎy kɔ̀   **Căn:** Then suppose // fa- (.) Father ((Dii)) ((clears throat)) how much will you support them.

668. **Dɛɛŋ:** ūu kǎan (**)   **Dɛɛŋ:** talk together (**)

669. **Dɛɛŋ:** (*//*) pɔ̂ɔ nɔ́ɔy lɔɔŋ wâa maa kam lɔɔ (*)   **Dɛɛŋ:** Father, go ahead and say a word.

670. **Căn:** kám pay h̆ia   **Căn:** Support them

671. Kɛ̄ɛw: ǝǝ lɔɔŋ wâa maa // kam pây (.) lɛ́ khāa cà păn pây

Kɛ̄ɛw: Yeah go ahead and say // the word (.) and I will divide.

672. Dɛɛŋ:(lɔɔŋ) u ˆu maa wâa kam cà kâm tɨ̄u kháw taday

Dɛɛŋ: (Go ahead and) say how much you will support us.

673. Kɛ̄ɛw: ǝǝ an níi khāa // cà wáy kìn hȋa (.) khāa tɨŋ bà dāy nyía năy sák ɓi ía

Kɛ̄ɛw: This I // will keep to eat (.) I won't be able to sharecrop anywhere.

674. Dɛɛŋ: (*****) (.) tɨŋ bà toklɔŋ // păn tɨ̂a

Dɛɛŋ: (*****) (.) won't agree to divide.

675. Kɛ̄ɛw: ɨɨ (**)

Kɛ̄ɛw: (**)

676. Dii: khāaw cɨ̂a hɛ̌ɛm hɛ̌ɛm hā: tuaŋ (tuay) nɔ́ (.) (ɓi khāaw hȃn ná) hāa kaa hok a

Dii: Seed rice is another another five thăŋ (.) (that rice) five or six.

Over the course of the negotiation, up to the point where Dii makes his fourth proposal, the discourse has been normalized in a number of ways. The accusations and expressions of anger have abated. The talk is less intensely focussed on Kɛ̄ɛw's demands and grievances. It has become somewhat more casual, digressing into such matters as the high cost of labor. Even the talk which is directly relevant to the negotiation seems less confrontational. Until turn #403, Kɛ̄ɛw and Dɛɛŋ had been making flat demands. They say a number of times that Dii <u>must</u> contribute half the cost of the plowing. However, in #403, Dɛɛŋ switches from *tɔɔŋ* (must) to the request form *khɔ̌ɔ*. From that point on, she and Kɛ̄ɛw cease using "must" and use only the request form. This establishes a proper, noncoercive, respectful discourse, and is one of the crucial moments in the negotiation. The use of *khɔ̌ɔ* permits the interpretation that Dii is yielding from generosity rather than from necessity. By switching from demand to request, they make it easier, less face-threatening, for Dii to accommodate them. At any rate, the discourse is normalized, relations are set right, and Dii is ready to make his proposal straightforwardly and aggressively (as compared to the tentative way in which he offers his second and third proposals).

In the talk immediately preceding Dii's fourth offer, they are talking about rice growing and crop yields. It is a fairly relaxed and casual passage, demonstrating the degree to which the emotions in the discussion have been defused. There is a 4.5 second pause in the conversation before Dii changes the topic by offering his proposal. But the placement of Dii's fourth proposal may be less haphazard than would appear at first glance. In #634, Kɛ̄ɛw mentions that one can't plant the same strain of glutinous rice two years in a row. It is perhaps no accident that the new element in Dii's proposal is to overlook the 50 kilograms of seed rice that he had provided Kɛ̄ɛw, a provision that was necessitated by Kɛ̄ɛw's decision to switch strains. The offer to divide in thirds is also new in that it is the first time that Dii explicitly agrees to divide in thirds, although it has been clear for some time that he

would acquiesce to such a division. As he makes the proposal, Muun joins in support. Then Muun leaves.

It is notable that Kẽεw and Dεεŋ do not respond to Dii's proposal until after he reiterates it in #662. In the conversation analytic writings on preference, a delay of response to a "first pair-part," such as an invitation or proposal, is taken to portend (for participants) a particular response from among a set of relevant possible responses. It is said to portend the "dispreferred" response, in this case, refusal (Pomerantz 1984; Heritage 1984). This formulation is, I think, faulty for at least two reasons. One is that there is an inadequate consideration of context (on this point, see Bilmes 1988). In this setting, rejections of Dii's proposals and Kẽεw's demands have regularly occurred without pauses or other hesitations. In this environment, hesitation in response to yet another proposal could very well be taken as a positive sign.

Secondly, the significance of delay itself has been misconstrued. It is true that delay is often taken, by participants, to portend refusal, and in fact it often <u>does</u> precede refusal, but this is a correlation that occurs through an indirect process. Delay is a marker of reluctance or trouble: The speaker is having some sort of problem with what he is about to say. Perhaps he cannot decide, or perhaps he is reluctant (or wants to show reluctance) to say what he is going to say. As it happens, refusal is generally a displeasing response, so, for the sake of politeness and solidarity, one might be reluctant (or at least want to put on a show of being reluctant) to refuse. But this depends on the speaker: how he feels and what he wants to communicate. In a negotiation setting, one might, for strategic reasons, want to refuse firmly and without hesitation, as one might if one wanted to communicate anger. And, conversely, one might want to show reluctance before accepting a proposal in a negotiation, so as to demonstrate that one is making a painful concession.[4] Although we may say generally that delay means trouble, the participants are left with the task of figuring out what sort of trouble is involved. Which brings us back to contextual considerations. In this instance, Dii has reason to take heart from their delay in responding. It has not been their pattern to delay refusals, and in negotiations one might expect acceptance to be delayed.

Dii clearly does not take the lack of response as in itself constituting a refusal, for in #662, after another long pause, he restates his proposal, marking the fact that he is referring to his previous proposal with "What do you say?"[5] As it turns out, they do, after all, refuse his proposal, but the fact that they did not immediately refuse in response to #636, and the formatting and expression of their response to #662, suggest a softening of their position and attitude. Dεεŋ's reply in #664 is preceded by two seconds of silence. Given that a refusal is what is ultimately produced, this suggests, for the first time in the negotiation, reluctance to refuse. The refusal is preceded by a conditional, rather than being a flat no. The condition is to contribute to plowing costs, but without stating a specific amount. This could indicate a softening of their position. Finally, the refusal itself is softened. Instead

of saying "we don't agree," she says something roughly translatable as "we won't want to agree."

In #665, Kɛ̃ɛw joins in, also asking for support without specifying an amount, and Dɛːŋ, in #666 and 668, makes utterances including "talk together," suggesting the possibility of negotiation. Căn, in #667, seems to sense where the negotiation is going, and asks Dii how much he would be willing to contribute to plowing costs. (Earlier in the discussion, Căn had urged K ɛ̃ɛw to accept the division in thirds, without further provisions.) Then Dɛɛŋ and Kɛ̃ɛw urge Dii to speak, to make a proposal (#669, 671, 672). They come very close here to explicitly saying that they will accept less than the half of the plowing costs that they had previously demanded. So, it turns out that the absence of an immediate response to Dii's proposal did indeed precede a softening of their position.

In a very brief space, the discussion progresses from Dii urging Kɛ̃ɛw to speak (in #662), to Dɛɛŋ saying they should talk about it together (#666/668), to Dɛɛŋ and Kɛ̃ɛw urging Dii to speak (#669/671/672). Dii does not respond to Dɛɛŋ's urging in #669. Kɛ̃ɛw (in #671) and Dɛɛŋ (in #672) proceed to urge him further in more elaborated forms. Kɛ̃ɛw adds an incentive ("say the word and I will divide"). Dɛɛŋ, in partial overlap, says more specifically what "the word" should concern, at the same time making it clear that they are ready to negotiate the amount of "support," that they are no longer fixed on one half the cost of plowing.[6]

Kɛ̃ɛw and Dɛɛŋ speak as a team, supporting each other's positions, speaking on each other's behalf, and echoing each other's words, as do Dii and Muun in #636-639. Such sequences can be found throughout the negotiation. The "teamness" of Kɛ̃ɛw and Dɛɛŋ is not discoverable merely in the fact that they are husband and wife and have common interests, but in the ways that they repeatedly "do being a team." And, as I showed in my earlier paper, Muun has to do special work in this negotiation on each occasion that he wants to take the role of mediator. This work is repeatedly necessary because of the frequent sequences in which he teams with Dii, not merely saying that Dii is correct but actually coproducing arguments and proposals.

In the case of Dii and Muun, social structural factors are clearly not sufficiently explanatory. We may note that Dii and Muun are of similar age and status, are both well-to-do landowners, are both, by current local standards, rather ungenerous with their sharecroppers. This might explain why they would act as a team. We might note that Muun is an elderly co-villager, a former headman, and a current member of the Land Rental Committee. This might explain why he would act as a mediator. But only in his actual performance can we ascertain that he acts as both team member and mediator and see when and how he manages the transitions from one role to the other.

Through all of Dɛɛŋ's, Kɛ̃ɛw's, and Căn's urgings, Dii does not respond. When he finally does respond, in #676, he does not refuse. While Dii does not refuse, neither does he make a new proposal. The absence of refusal is, once again, an encouraging sign. About five minutes later, 25.5 minutes into the

negotiation, Dii proposes to give 25 thăŋ (250 kilograms) of rice in support of the plowing costs. (Kɛ̃ɛw had initially asked for 60 thăŋ: one half the plowing costs.) Dii would also not ask for repayment of the five thăŋ of seed rice. More than three minutes later, Kɛ̃ɛw acknowledges the proposal, mentioning it to Dɛɛŋ, who had not heard it when it was first made. Dɛɛŋ bargains for another five thăŋ, arguing that the seed rice is already present in the pile of rice before them. (This argument has limited merit, since Dii will receive only one-third of that rice.) After another 2.5 minutes, Dii agrees and tells them to begin the division.

I have said that the discourse was normalized prior to Dii's fourth proposal. This is largely true. Anger had been suppressed and role relationships set right. Civility had been restored. But in one respect they had not yet achieved a proper negotiation. Although Dii had offerred compromises from his initial position, Kɛ̃ɛw had offerred nothing. In fact, when Muun capitulated to his initial requirements, he escalated his demands. Dii could offer to divide in thirds with no qualms about loss of face: He had already told certain others that he was ready to make such a division. But to simply give in to Kɛ̃ɛw's more extreme and unexpected demands would have left Dii looking as though he had been pushed around and bested, despite the achievement of a veneer of civility. It is only when Dɛɛŋ and Kɛ̃ɛw offer to compromise in #669-672 that it becomes apparent that they are appoaching an agreement. Dii will save some rice, but, perhaps more crucially, he will save face. Compromise is in itself meaningful, aside from what is compromised. In this connection, I recall a lawyer at the U.S. Federal Trade Commission suggesting to her colleagues that, when they negotiate penalties with a company that has violated the law, they ask for more than they will settle for, so that they can give a little instead of appearing hard and arrogant.

In some of its particulars, this negotiation is distinctively Mʉaŋ. This is necessarily so, if only because the participants are speaking Mʉaŋ. Also, though, their handling of anger, of mediation, and of their stances toward one another are shaped by the local culture. Nevertheless, the broader conclusions of this analysis, as well as various details of its conversational structure have, one suspects, a wider generality. Any negotiation, it would seem, has social as well as material dimensions. An agreement is not merely a division of material resources; it is an expression of social relationships and a public act, implicating the participants' social positions and personal efficacy. It is in the minute particulars of the local occasion: the vocabulary used, the pauses and hesitations, the placement of offers, the manner of proposal and refusal, and other such nuances of the talk, as well as the stated propositions: that these matters get worked out.

NOTES

[1] See Appendix for transcription conventions.

[2] One of my informants, commenting on Kɛ̃ɛw's evident anger, said "At least it didn't reach the khiŋ-haa stage." khiŋ and haa can be translated as 'you' and 'I' respectively. Mʉaŋ

pronouns occur in sets, expressing various degrees of intimacy and respect. (Names, kinship terms, and titles can also be used in place of pronouns. The speaker's choice is widened still further by the common practice of dropping the pronoun entirely.) *khiŋ* and *haə* is the most intimate pronoun set. In the village, it is used among age mates who have a close personal relationship. It is also frequently used by elders in addressing much younger persons whom they know well. My informant's observation may seem to be belied by the fact that Dii addresses Kɛ̃ɛw as *khiŋ* a number of times in this negotiation. This, however, is normal. What was worthy of note was that Kɛ̃ɛw, despite his evident anger, never went so far as to use *khiŋ* with Dii, which would have been gravely insulting. That is to say, the expressive meaning of pronoun use is conditioned by the social relationship of the participants.

[3] For a more detailed analysis of this exchange, see Bilmes (in press).

[4] This delay of acceptance can be seen in the way that Dii handles Kɛ̃ɛw's demand for division in thirds. One of my informants was told by Dii, the day before this negotiation took place, that he (Dii) supposed he would have to give Kɛ̃ɛw two-thirds. No doubt Dii told Muun the same thing, because, during the negotiation, it is Muun who concedes the two-thirds division. (See excerpt 5.) Dii makes a rather weak objection, which is ignored by Muun. This supports the supposition that he knows in advance that Dii will agree. Nevertheless, it is notable that Dii does not validate the offer made by Muun on his behalf. In fact, although Kɛ̃ɛw's first made his demand for a division in thirds at #37, it is not until #636 that Dii explicitly agrees to such a division.

[5] #662 reveals #643-661 as a parenthetical sequence. The proposal begun in #636 is taken to be still relevant and still in play, unfinished business. Without it, #662 would have been unintelligible, or at least ambiguous. He does not need to restate the proposal in #662 or even to use a "misplacement marker" to show that he is referring to something that occurred earlier. He picks up the proposal sequence just as if it had never been interrupted, thus marking the talk that intervened as parenthetical. It is in ways such as these that participants reveal the structure of conversation as they perceive it. (See Bilmes 1995 for a similar example.)

[6] Again, there is some contrast here with the usual position taken in conversation analysis, where it is supposed that delay or silence portend the "dispreferred" response. It is claimed that, when such delay occurs, the original speaker (i.e., the producer of the invitation, request, proposal, etc.) will frequently offer a modification, incentive, or some other form of addition to the first pair-part, seeking in effect either to avoid the dispreferred response or to provide an account for it (Davidson 1984). But in the case at hand, I have argued that Dii's delay is likely to be taken as a positive sign. The lack of an immediate refusal encourage Kɛ̃ɛw's and Dɛɛŋ to press on. We could still say that they are trying to avoid a dispreferred response, but they are not doing so because the delay has increased their expectation of such a response. They do so because the delay seems to enhance the possibility of a positive response.

APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

1. kammʉaŋ phonemes.

b: ḇ, as in "boy"

c: voiceless palatal affricate, similar to "j" in "John," but without the voicing.

d: ḏ, as in "dawn"

f: f̱, as in "fun"

h: ẖ, as in "happy"

k: voiceless, unaspirated, velar stop

kh: c̱, as in "cow," sometimes pronounced with affrication

l: ḻ, as in "lemon"

m: m̱, as in "man"

n: ṉ, as in "none"

ŋ: ṉg, as in "sing"

p: voiceless, unaspirated, bilabial stop

ph: p̱, as in "poem"

s: s̱, as in "some"

t: voiceless, unaspirated, postdental stop

th: ṯ, as in "top"

w: w̱, as in "woman"

y: y̱, as in "you"

a: low, central, unrounded vowel, similar to ọ in "not"

ɛ: low, front, unrounded vowel, similar to ạ in "mat"

e: mid, front, unrounded vowel, similar to ẹ in "bet"

i: high, front, unrounded vowel, similar to ị in "bit"

ɔ: low, back, unrounded vowel, similar to ọu in "bought"

o: mid, back, rounded vowel, similar to ọ in "note"

u: high, back, rounded vowel, similar to ọọ in "boot"

ʉ: high, central, unrounded vowel

ə: mid, central, unrounded vowel

doubling of vowel indicates lengthening (Vowel length is phonemic in kammʉaŋ.)

ẍ: low tone (x̱ represents a vowel)

x̂: falling tone

x́: high tone

x̌: rising tone

x̃: high falling tone

x: (with no tone marker) mid tone

x̄: This is not phonemic. I use it to indicate a mid tone vowel, stressed by slightly raised pitch and volume.

2. Other conventions.

(The transcript notation used here is the standard notation used in the conversation analytic literature, with one exception noted below.)

// indicates onset of overlapping utterance.

(0.0) indicates pause or silence, in seconds.

(words) indicates that the transcriber is not certain about whether the expression that appears in parentheses was actually what the speaker said. When the speaker's name appears in parentheses, the transcriber is not certain that the named person was in fact the speaker.

(**) indicates that the transcriber could not achieve a hearing. Each asterisk denotes .5 seconds of speech. (This is a departure from standard conversation analytic notation.)

wo(h)rd indicates breathy articulation, usually within-talk laughter.

((words)) indicates analyst's remarks.

^words^ indicates low volume speech.

words indicates louder than normal speech.

words indicates much louder than normal speech.

wo::rds indicates lengthening of sound which is followed by colons.

= is used at the end of one line and the beginning of another to indicate that the two lines are latched. When the two lines represent utterances of different speakers, there is no pause (but also no overlap) between them. The equal signs are also used to indicate a continuous flow of speech by a single speaker when the transcript shows an intervening line of interruptive talk.

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The Grammaticalization of Thai 'Come' and 'Go'*

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In his 1978 paper entitled "Directional modification in Thai fiction: The use of 'come' and 'go' in text building," Robert Bickner examines the discourse use of the words *paj* and *maa* in detail. He claims that varying use of *paj* and *maa* as main verbs, modals and postpositions builds coherence and texture into Thai text. Bickner looks at the words as used in a Thai short story and analyzes the effects on text building and coherence. What Bickner does not discuss in his work is the semantic development of *paj* and *maa*. Specifically, he does not discuss the issue of how the main verbs *paj* and *maa* are related to the modals and postpositions.

In this paper, I examine the grammaticalization of these two Thai verbs, the Thai equivalents for *go* and *come*. The term *grammaticalization* was coined by Antoine Meillet (1965) in his work *L'évolution des formes grammaticales*. In this work, Meillet claims that there are two ways in which grammatical forms develop. The first is analogy, and the second, which is the focus of Meillet's article, is grammaticalization. Grammaticalization is the name given to the process whereby a lexical content word becomes a grammatical word. Hopper and Traugott (1993), in their book *Grammaticalization*, state that "[w]hen a content word assumes the grammatical characteristics of a function word, that form is said to be 'grammaticalized'" (p. 4).

I hope to also show that the different grammaticalized forms form part of a grammaticalization continuum. Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) state:

> The evidence from grammaticization suggests that it is not worthwhile to search for the one abstract meaning of each gram...but rather it is better to study the different uses of grams as though they were links on a chain, one having given rise to another. (p. 17)

Indeed it looks as though the grammaticalized forms of *paj* and *maa* developed in this fashion. The picture is more convincing for *paj*, as it is the richer example of the two.

Before discussing *paj* and *maa*, I would like to briefly examine the English verb *go*. I would like to use this familiar instance of grammaticalization by way of introduction to the less familiar Thai examples.

Native English speakers would not dispute that, in the first sentence below, *go* is the sentence's main verb and that in the second sentence it can serve as the main or auxiliary verb:

      1)   John is going to the store.
      2)   John is going to eat dinner.

The main verb *go* is a basic motion verb that describes motion away from a deictic center (Lichtenberk 1991:490) to some other location. Sentence 1 is clear and unambiguous to English speakers. Sentence 2, however, where *go* can be analyzed as main verb or auxiliary, has two possible meanings. The first of these, with *go* as a main verb, is the following: "John is physically displacing himself in

order that he reach a destination where he will eat dinner." In this instance, we understand that John's movement is away from the speaker, or, in Lichtenberk's terminology, away from the deictic center (not always, but usually, coincident with the speaker of an utterance). The second interpretation of sentence 2 is of *go* as an auxiliary verb used to indicate the future: "John will eat dinner (in the future)."

The future usage *go* has been derived from its basic meaning as a spatial verb of motion. Metaphor, which is widely accepted as a common mode of semantic change, can account, at least in part, for the grammaticalization of *be going to* into an auxiliary with the grammatical function of indicating the future.

In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that we use metaphor to better understand and talk about abstract concepts in our world. We can describe abstract domains by mapping elements of concrete domains which are easier to understand onto the more abstract ones. Space, a tangible and visible domain, is much easier for human beings to conceptualize than time.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980), among others, propose that the metaphor TIME IS SPACE aids in our conceptual understanding of time. Hopper and Traugott (1993) confirm this in their statement that "...temporal terms can be derived metaphorically from the spatial term" (p. 79). Using the terminology of Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer (1991), we would want to claim that space is the metaphorical vehicle and time the metaphorical topic. For example, we can speak of the past being behind us. *The past* clearly refers to a time, whereas *behind* is a spatial term which in this context is used to describe a period of time that has gone by.

As for the case of *go*, the word indicates motion away from some reference point. Grammaticalized *be going to* signals the metaphorical distance of a future event from the present time. Figure 1 offers a pictorial aid to understanding this concept.
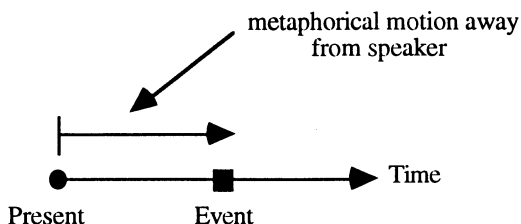
Figure 1.
(Adapted in part from Emanatian, 1992)

If we understand the metaphorical motion away from the speaker to the event as an anticipated time path, it is possible to see why *be going to* is used to indicate the future.

I will now turn to the two Thai motion verbs—*paj* and *maa*. These words can occur on their own as main verbs and can also co-occur with other verbs or verb phrases as preheads or after main verbs or other parts of speech as postheads. My assertion is that, based on similar developments in several other languages, such as English, and grammaticalization patterns in general, one can make an

educated guess at the semantic development of *paj* and *maa*. Before looking at the data, however, I would like to discuss the terms *prehead verb*, *prehead*, and *posthead* as used in this paper. In his *Thai Reference Grammar*, Richard Noss (1964) talks about modal verbs, modals, and postpositions. I will be adopting his framework here, but because of the fact that the these terms are used differently in the Indo-European tradition, and in order to avoid confusion, I will not adopt all of Noss' terminology. I will refer to Noss' modal verbs as prehead verbs, to his modals as preheads, and to his postpositions as postheads.

In the *Grammar*, Noss first talks about predications. They are "...any consecutive-order syntactic construction such that some lexeme or constituent other than the first lexeme or constituent can substitute for the whole construction" (1964:74). A predicator is any single lexeme that can substitute for the entire construction, while a more complex constituent that accomplishes the same function is a predicate. Noss' test to identify a predicator is to put a sentence in the form of a yes/no question. Consider the following example:

0a)   **jaaj tɔ̂ŋ paj talàad mǎj**
grandmother (mat.) must go market QST
Does grandma have to go to the market?

b)   **tɔ̂ŋ**
must
Yes.

c)   **mâj tɔ̂ŋ**
NEG must
No.

In this example, *tɔ̂ŋ* is the predicator, as it can substitute for the entire predication.

A prehead verb, in Noss' framework, is a predicator which has as its object another predicative or predicative expression. An object here is simply what follows the predicator, so the object in the preceding example is *paj talàad mǎj*. Thus *tɔ̂ŋ* is a prehead verb, and as the prehead verb, *tɔ̂ŋ* can take the negation. Whether a Thai word can be negated or not is a test to see if it is a verb *paj*, in this example, is the main verb.

Prehead verbs are to be distinguished, however, from prehead in Noss' framework. Preheads occur in the same linear position as prehead verbs, but they are not predicators. This means, of course, that a prehead may not substitute for a predication, while a prehead verb, like *tɔ̂ŋ* in example 0, can. In addition, a prehead cannot take negation while a prehead verb can.

The following example is from Noss, and I would like to use it here because I feel it illustrates the difference between prehead verbs and preheads quite nicely. Example 1a is of *àad*, a prehead verb, and example 1b is of *àad,* a prehead.[1]

1a) **mâj àad ca paj**
     NEG capable-of FUT go
     unable to go

b)   **àad ca mâj paj**
     apt-to FUT NEG go
     might not go

Aad as a prehead verb means 'capable of', and the same word as a prehead means 'apt to'. We can see from the above example that prehead verbs occupy the same linear position as preheads; however, the prehead can neither substitute for the entire phrase nor can it be negated. In the case just presented, the difference in syntactic category coincides with a meaning difference between the prehead verb in 1a and the prehead in 1b.

Confusion may arise due to the fact that certain of Noss' prehead verbs and preheads are homophonous, as in the preceding example. This also happens to be the case for *paj*, and it is sometimes tricky to draw a clear boundary separating these two categories, especially since the words occupy the same linear position syntactically. I would like to show that prehead verbs and preheads represent clines of grammaticalization. Prehead verbs are less grammaticalized forms, while preheads are more grammaticalized forms.

Another term that Noss uses differently than in the Indo-European tradition is "postposition". In Noss' words, "A postposition is any bound lexeme that occurs as a latter constituent of an expression, predication, enumeration or phrase, such that the larger construction (prior constituent plus postposition) is less than an entire clause" (1964:183). To avoid confusion with the nomenclature, I will refer to this category as "postheads."

paj as a main verb can be glossed as 'to go' in English and is a basic verb which describes motion away from a place. The following examples illustrate usage of *paj* as a main verb.

2)   **paj thĕɛw teŋ**
     go main square
     I went to the main square.

3)   **paj hɔ̌ɔŋ khun-samǎaj khà**
     go room PN POL
     I went to Khun Samay's room.

It should be noted that the speaker's location at the time of utterance is important in the selection of the verb *paj*. For example, sentence 2 is spoken by Choy, one of the characters in the novel *Si Phan Din*, once she has returned to her residence. We understand that Choy is no longer at the main square when this sentence is produced.

The same is true of sentence 3. Only a person who is not in Khun Samay's room at the time of utterance can use that particular sentence. So far, the Thai verb *paj* looks very similar, if not identical, to our English verb *go*.

The first form on the grammaticalization cline is the prehead verb *paj*. In the following example, *paj* is not the main verb. At the same time, the prehead verb *paj* has not entirely lost its "verbiness." Thai verbs can be identified by, among other things, the fact that they can be negated. When used as a prehead

verb, then, *paj* can still be negated, as in the following example, where *duu* is the main verb.

> 4a) **khǎaw mâj paj duu nǎŋ**
> 3 PERS NEG go see/watch movie
> She is not going to see a movie.

Please also recall that a prehead verb can substitute for its entire predication.

> b) **khǎaw paj duu nǎŋ mǎj**
> 3 PERS go see/watch movie
> Did she go to see a movie?

> c) **paj**   **mâj paj**
> go   NEG go
> Yes.   No.

The prehead verb *paj* precedes the main verb *duu*. It can be negated and it can substitute for its entire predication. Besides this, the idea of motion away from the speaker is still involved, as it is understood that the subject went to see the movie elsewhere. So the prehead verb is a slightly grammaticalized form of *paj*.

The following examples are of preheads. The prehead *paj* specifically means "to act away from the speaker or so as to affect interests other than the speaker and his group" (Noss, 1964:135). Preheads are less "verby" than prehead verbs and thus represent another stage of further grammaticalized forms.

> 6) **deeŋ paj wâa khǎaw**
> PN go criticize 3PERS
> Daeng criticized them.

> 7) **dǐaw ca paj tham hâj khǎaw krɔ̀od**
> moment FUT go make CAUS 3PERS angry
> Watch out you don't make her angry.

The use of prehead *paj* in example 6 emphasizes the fact that Daeng has gone off and criticized those other people. In this case, *paj* cannot substitute for the entire predication and is thus not a prehead verb and less "verby" than that previous stage of grammaticalized forms.

Example 7 is grammatical without the prehead *paj*. With *paj*, however, emphasis is placed on the notion of doing something to another person (making them angry). Weera Ostapirat (personal communication) commented that with *paj* the sentence seems more specific and more like a strict directive than if the lexeme were left out. Again, *paj* cannot substitute for the predication in 7, nor can it take the negation.

We have seen that as a prehead, *paj* does not in and of itself indicate the future as the English phrase *be going to* does, and in fact it can be used to talk about the past, as in 6. Rather, it indicates that an action has or will occur away from the speaker or deictic center. By 'away from', I mean that the action in question has either taken place in a physical location not near the speaker, or that

it will not affect the speaker and emphasis is placed on the outside party that will be affected. The following diagram captures this notion.

Speaker

Action of Subject   Affected Entity
                         or Location of Action
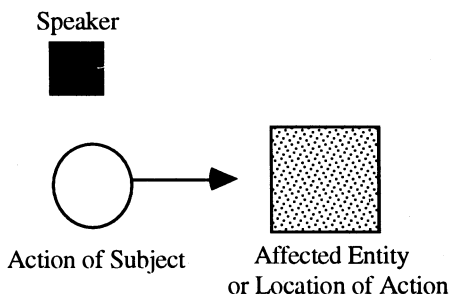
Figure 2.

A fourth use of the word *paj* is as a posthead occurring after the main verb of a sentence, or even after a noun phrase, adjective or adverb. When it occurs like this, *paj* can be said to describe "...orientation of action with respect to space and time relationships..." (Noss 1964:184) and specifically orientation "...away from the speaker, toward the future or an indefinite or irrelevant goal..." (Noss 1964:185). The following examples are of *paj* as a posthead following main verbs.

8)   **măa wîŋ paj naj bâan**
     dog run go in house
     The dog ran into the house (away from us).

9)   **lûuk-bɔn lòn lòŋ paj khâaŋ-lâaŋ**
     ball fall descend go downstairs
     The ball fell downstairs.

10) **khɔɔj paj kɔɔn**
     wait go before
     Wait a bit more   *or*   Keep on waiting.

The sentence in 8 has *paj* occurring after the sentence's main verb *wîŋ.* Using *paj* here indicates that the dog ran in the opposite direction of the speaker, into the house. Its presence here is crucial to sentence meaning, as deletion of postpositival *paj* completely alters its meaning. If we omit *paj* in sentence 8, the resultant meaning is "The dog runs (was running) inside the house" (*măa wîŋ naj bâan*) *paj* in 8 indicates where the dog ran to, as opposed to the location where he did his running.

In example 9, the sentence's main verb is *lòn.* The posthead *paj* indicates the direction of motion of the ball—away form the speaker. The speaker is clearly not downstairs at the time of utterance. *Paj* here still works with a motion verb and indicates the direction that the subject—the ball—is moving vis-à-vis the speaker.

Sentence 10, on the other hand, involves a spatio-temporal metaphor. It is a request that the hearer keep waiting or continue waiting into the future. We

conceive of the hearer as located at a certain metaphorical temporal location, the present. Her waiting will "go" or continue into the future, which is "in front" of her. Pictorially, the sentence may be represented as follows:
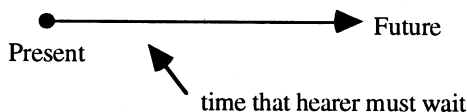
Figure 3.

In this schema, the future is conceptualized as an indefinite location in the distance. The main verb *paj* describes physical motion away from a geographical location. The posthead *paj* as used here describes metaphorical motion away from the present known time toward an undertermined point in the future.

So it would seem that postheads can be broken down into two loose subcategories thus far. The first is exemplified by examples 8 and 9, where *paj* continues to describe motion and directionality. At the same time, it is not the sentence's main verb, nor according to Noss, is it any sort of verb at all.

The second subcategory of posthead is exemplified in 10. Here we are no longer concerned with physical motion away from a particular location but rather metaphorical motion away from the present to an unspecified point in the future, as it involves spatio-temporal metaphor. It would seem that this second type is further along the cline of grammaticalization.

Noss claims that *paj* can also be used as a sort of adverbial marker meaning 'too, excessively' (1964:189). In this capacity, *paj* follows adjectives or adverbs instead of verbs.

11) **rew paj**
fast go
too fast

12) **mâag paj**
much go
too much

13) **pɛɛŋ paj**
expensive go
too expensive

It appears that in these instances *paj* has lost its verbal meaning and thus seems to be a more grammaticalized form than the posthead that follows verbs. I would argue, however, that the notion of metaphorical movement away from, and in these cases beyond, a given point is still relevant. Also, the adverbial phrases in which *paj* appears above would often modify verbs (were they to appear in complete sentences).

In 11, for example, we could assume that there is a particular reasonable speed that one should drive at. If someone is going too fast, she has exceeded this speed. The faster she goes, the further away she gets from the accepted speed.

too slow   reasonable speed   too fast
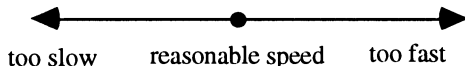
Figure 4.

Thus in this phrase *paj* conjures up the notion of exceeding or going past a certain predetermined spot or speed.

The same argument can be made for sentences 12 and 13. For 12 we can imagine a point which we know to be 'much' or 'a lot' already, and anything that goes beyond that point is too much. Similarly, if we know that a certain item is expensive if it costs x dollars, than any price that increases as it moves away from x dollars is too expensive (example 13) or "beyond" expensive.

Finally, as a posthead, *paj* can occur after a noun phrase, as in the following:

14)   **weekend thâd paj**
       weekend next go
       next weekend

15)   **tâŋ-tĕɛ wan nîi paj.².**
       since day this go
       from this day on...

Example 14 shows posthead *paj* following a noun phrase where a spatio-temporal metaphor is clearly at play. "Next weekend" is in the future, and we metaphorically advance towards it or "go" towards it. This example is similar to the sentence in 10 except that the amount of time that will transpire is known to us, since the weekend is a clear point in the future.

The last example given above also shows *paj* after a noun phrase. Like the last few examples, spatio-temporal metaphor is involved. The deictic *nîi* specifies that we are talking about "this day" (today), and that whatever we are discussing will begin at the present time and continue into the future. The following diagram, with the shaded line beginning at the "present" and moving toward the "future," is meant to illustrate this.

this day
(present)
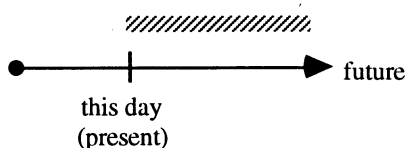
future

Figure 5.

Above I claimed that prehead verb *paj* serves to indicate the direction of an action away from a given point. The posthead *paj* exploits this notion of directionality, and as a posthead it can refer to the more abstract concept of future time, time that is ahead of, and also away from, the speaker. It would seem that a

meaning shift has occurred from the more specific to the more abstract. As a prehead verb and sometimes as a prehead, *paj* describes actions or events that take place physically away from the speaker. As a posthead, *paj* can still describe physical motion away from the speaker (cf. examples 8 and 9), but its use has been extended to talk about metaphorical motion through time as well, via the spatio-temporal metaphor referenced earlier. Furthermore, the posthead appears with not only verbs but with adverbs, adjectives, and noun phrases as well.

In summary, then, we have seen four functions of the Thai word *paj*. They are the following:

1. Main verb
2. Prehead Verb
3. Prehead
4. Posthead

In his paper "The grammaticization of the Japanese verbs *oku* and *shimau*", Ono claims that the subtle semantic differences between the two verbs are preserved even in their grammaticalized forms. The author remarks that the two words—put, place and finish, get rid of—remain opposites in meaning despite having undergone extensive grammaticalization. In Thai, the *paj/maa* verb pair parallels Japanese *oku* and *shimau*. We have just examined what I claim are grammaticalized forms of the verb *paj* 'to go'. The verb *maa* 'to come' is another basic verb of motion. Specifically, *maa* speaks of motion toward and not away from a place.

Used as a main verb, *maa* means approximately the same thing as English *come*.

16) **maa càg nǎj**
come from where
Where are you coming from? or Where do you come from?

17) **dɛɛŋ maa thîi talàad**
PN come at/place market
Daeng comes to the market.

18) **khǎaw maa juròob bɔ̀j**
3PERS come Europe often
She comes to Europe often.

As with *paj*, the speaker's location at the time of utterance is important in the selection of the verb *maa*. For instance, the utterance in 18 could not be used except by someone in Europe at the time it was said, or by someone who is usually in Europe.

Examples of *maa* as a prehead verb are harder to find than for *paj*. I attempted the yes/no test on several sentences, and many instances of *maa* failed to meet the crucial criterion of a prehead verb—that it be able to substitute for its predication.

19a) **maa kin khâw thîi bâan mǎj**
      come eat food place house QST
      Would you like to come over and eat at my house?

b)   ***maa *mâj maa**
c)   paj   m»aj paj

The question would not make sense if the person being invited were already at the house. The speaker's use of *maa* tells us that the invitee is not habitually at the speaker's home. For the invitee to reply with *maa* would be strange. Since she does not live with the host, she must use *paj* to indicate that the house is in a different physical location, away from her. So basically yes/no questions fail when concerning the second person due to the deictic character of *maa*.

If, however, the question is about a third person, *maa* meets all the requirements of a prehead verb. The following example is such a case.

20a) **khǎaw maa kin khâw thîi bâan mǎj**
      3 PERS come eat food place house QST
      Is she coming over to eat at our house?

b)   **maa   mâj maa**
      come   NEG come
      Yes.   No.

Here *maa* can substitute for the entire predication, and it can (and must) also take the negation for the sentence. We should recall that taking sentence negation is a characteristic of verbs and prehead verbs in Thai. For example, the sentence *khǎaw mâj maa kin thîi bâan* —'she didn't come over to eat at our house' or 'she isn't coming to eat at our house'—is perfectly grammatical.

On the other hand, there are many instances of *maa* as a prehead. The prehead indicates an "...act toward the speaker or so as to affect the speaker and his group" (p. 135). Consider the following:

21)   **ca hâj khǎaw maa jùu khâaŋ lâaŋ**
      FUT give 3PERS come stay side below
      I'm going to have her move downstairs (where I am).

22)   **dǐaw ca maa tham hâj kròod**
      moment FUT come do/make give angry
      Watch out you don't make me angry.

Whereas *paj* emphasized the effect on others, *maa* emphasizes the effect on oneself or one's group. By using *maa* in sentence 21, the speaker tells us that she is also downstairs and that the person moving will come closer to her.

Sentence 22 uses *maa* to emphasize the fact that the hearer's actions will serve to make the speaker angry (and not someone else). This idea is depicted below in Figure 6. Contrast this with Figure 1 for *paj*.

Affected Entity
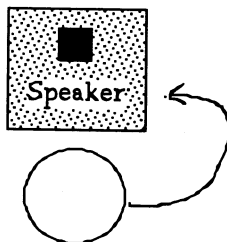
Action of Subject

Figure 6.

Finally, *maa* can be used as a posthead. Where *paj* involved orientation away from the speaker, posthead *maa* indicates orientation of action "...toward the speaker, up to the present or toward a definite, relevant, nearby goal" (Noss 1964:185). The sentences below use *maa* as a posthead.

23) **măa wîŋ maa naj bâan**
dog run come in house
The dog ran into the house (where we were).

24) **rót wîŋ maa thaaŋ sáaj**
car run come way left
A car is coming up on the left

25) **raw tham kaan-bâan maa nan lέεw**
we make homework come long already
We've been doing our homework for a long time now (already).

26) **...pen khon tîi jùu naj waŋ maa nan lέεw**
to be person that stay in palace come long (time) already
...she was someone who'd been in the palace for a long time now.

Sentence 23 should be compared to example 8, the "equivalent" *paj* sentence. *maa* indicates that the dog is in fact coming toward the speaker, that the speaker is inside the house.

In example 24, the speaker is, let's say, in a car, and there is another car alongside. The use of posthead *maa* tells us that the car is approaching on her left. The word follows the main verb, indicating the direction of motion that the other car is pursuing.

Example 25, on the other hand, uses *maa* as a posthead to talk metaphorically about a time period up to the present and possibly beyond.
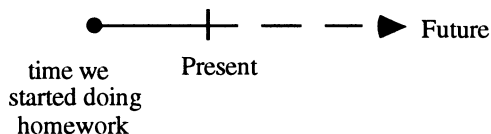
Figure 7.

Figure 7 shows that the activity was started in the past and metaphorically approaches or "comes" to the present. The activity can but does not necessarily continue on into the future.

Example 26 from *Si Phan Din* can be explained in a similar way. Here, Ploy remarks that Choy has obviously been living in the palace for a long time. The time at which Choy began living in the palace is a definite point in the past, the act of living there "comes", if you will, to the present, and in this case, we know it continues into the future.

In the following example, the posthead follows a noun phrase.

27)   **tâŋ-tɛ̀ɛ wan nán maa.³.**
        since day that come
        From that day (in the past) on...

The above phrase, like its *paj* counterpart, involves a spatio-temporal metaphor. Example 15 referred to the present (today) and the undetermined time period following it. The *maa* sentence, however, concerns a day in the past—"that day" —and the time period between it and the present (and perhaps beyond the present). Consider the following diagram:
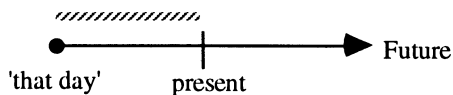
Figure 8.

Thus we see that *maa* has four related functions, just as *paj* does:

1.   Main verb
2.   PreheadVerb
3.   Prehead
4.   Posthead

I would like to conclude this paper with a few comments regarding the question of semantic weakening, or Meillet's "dégradation progressive." Sweetser points out that "[w]henever abstraction occurs...there is a loss of meaning" (1988:400). In the case of *paj* and *maa*, we could claim that the loss of real physical motion in the more grammaticalized forms is such a loss. On the other hand, I think that some specification through inferencing has taken place (Traugott 1988). Mainly, this specification concerns directionality and

metaphorical directed movement toward a temporal goal. Bickner's analysis of *paj* and *maa* in literary text supports the idea that the words are used in different ways to achieve particular pragmatic results.

Let's also consider the following observation from Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994:16):

> Since we are claiming that semantic substance evolves in grammaticization and that the meaning of the source construction determines the subsequent grammatical meaing, we are not surprised to find that certain more specific semantic nuances of the source construction can be retained in certain contexts long after grammaticization has begun.

This appears to be true of the grammaticalized forms of both *paj* and *maa*. The main verbs are motion verbs describing motion away from or toward a particular goal. As prehead verbs and preheads, *paj* and *maa* retain "verbiness" in only certain cases, but aspects of directionality in all cases. As postheads, the words can take on metaphorical meaning as well as serving to indicate physical relationships between objects. When spatio-temporal metaphor is involved, we still sense that motion, albeit metaphorical, is central. Choice of word will also determine the direction of that metaphorical motion, either toward or away from the present. Some of the most grammaticalized forms, those that follow adjectives or adverbs, carry the idea of metaphorically moving beyond a particular goal. At the same time, the context in which one can use a particular grammaticalized form is more specific than that in which one would use either of the main verbs.

It appears, then, that some loss of meaning is involved, mainly verbiness, but that the grammaticalized forms of *paj* and *maa* are far from being semantically void. I contend, on the contrary, that abstraction for pragmatic purposes makes meaning more specific, as Traugott suggests. Furthermore, the grammaticalized forms of *paj* and *maa* still have a clear relationship to their lexical source. Perhaps the fact that the two words remain opposites even in their grammaticalized forms provides the clearest evidence of this.

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[1]Native speakers disagree as to the grammaticality of 1a. One of my informants commented that although she would never say the phrase, she would not be surprised to see it in written Thai. Since at least half of my informants had no trouble with the phrase, I have chosen to leave the example in.

[2]From Noss, p.185

[3]From Noss, p.185.

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Chinese Causal Sequencing and Yinwei in Conversation and Press Reportage*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Aspects of the relationship between Chinese discourse and grammar have been the focus of numerous recent studies (see Biq, Tai, & Thompson (to appear) for references). While conversation as the primary source for detecting the behavior and evolution of grammar (including grammatical words and grammatical patterns) is established in most of these studies, variations across text types with regard to grammatical patternings have not been given due attention. This lag in research may now be amended by the various corpora of written Chinese that have recently become accessible.

This paper examines the sequencing of clauses expressing the causal relation as it is displayed in conversation and journalistic writing. Our corpus-based investigation suggests that forward linking (Li & Thompson 1981), which is widely accepted as canonical, is not necessarily the preferred order for expressing the causal relation. Through this study, we hope to show that grammar in use is more flexible and complex than most rule-based systems have tried to account for. Interactional factors arising from the functional nature of text types may both motivate and constrain variations of grammatical patternings.

2. THE BACKGROUND, PROBLEM, SCOPE OF STUDY, AND DATABASE

I was attracted to the topic of Chinese causal sequencing after reading Kirkpatrick (1993) and Young (1982; 1994). Both authors discuss a discourse pattern Chinese speakers tend to use to present their points in verbal exposition. Young focuses on the order by which Chinese speakers present their main point and supporting materials when they speak in English. Kirkpatrick focuses directly on how Chinese speakers do this in Mandarin. Both authors point out that, in speech settings such as answering a question at the question-answer session after a talk or offering one's own opinion at a budget meeting, Chinese speakers tend to present supporting materials for the main point *before* they explicitly deliver that point. In other words, Chinese speakers tend to start off their exposition by compiling a series of causes, reasons, evidences, motivations, or justifications, but wait to the end to reveal what all these are arguing for. The main point, in short, is often not presented early enough to let the hearer grasp the idea. The phenomenon is illustrated in the following two examples. In example 1., a Chinese businessman voices his opinion at a budget meeting conducted in English. In example 2., a

Chinese answers a question from the audience after his talk regarding the 1989 Beijing student movement. He was asked if foreign involvement was welcome by the students, and he tried to explain that he didn't know much about it. In both examples, the main point was not revealed until reasons were given.

1. (from Young 1994:32)
(One thing I would like to ask.) <u>BECAUSE</u> MOST OF OUR RAW MATERIALS ARE COMING FROM JAPAN AND ( ) THIS YEAR IS GOING UP AND UP AND, UH, IT's NOT REALLY, I THINK, AN INCREASE IN PRICE, BUT UH, WE LOSE A LOT IN EXCHANGE RATE. AND, SECONDLY, I UNDERSTAND WE'VE SPENT A LOT OF MONEY IN TV ADS LAST YEAR. <u>So</u>, in that case, I would like to suggest here: chop half of the budget in TV ads and spend a little money on Mad magazine.

2. (adapted from Kirkpatrick 1993:432-433)
1 dan *yinwei* wo meiyou   yudao zhege wenti/
  but because I   NEG:have meet this:M question
2 suiran   wode airen shi Aodaliya ren/   danshi ta   dangshi
  although my   wife be Australia person but   she then
3 zai Zhongguo you/ Beijing hukou/ suoyi   ta keneng ne
  in China   have Beijing permit therefore she can   PRT
4 bifangshuo shenzi gen youxing duiwu zou yi   zou{?}/
  for:example even with parade troop walk one walk
5 *yinwei* ta   juyou Beijing shimin shenfen
  because she have Beijing citizen status
6 zhege women meiyou   jin yi bu tantao
  this:M we   NEG:have enter one step discuss
7 wo mei banfa zai   shenru huida duibuqi le.
  I NEG way   again deep   reply sorry   PRT

'but <u>because</u> I haven't come across this question, (because) although my wife is Australian she had in China at the time a Beijing residence permit therefore she might for example even walk with the parading marchers because she has Beijing citizen status (so) we haven't further discussed this (so) I have no way in replying in any more depth, sorry.'

Young points out that American English speakers tend to find such Chinese speakers "inscrutable" because this Chinese discourse pattern "seem[s] to be the inverse of English discourse conventions in that definitive summary statements of main arguments are delayed until the end" (Young 1994:29).

While she uses socio-culturally constructed (thus particular) politeness conventions to account for the preference of this discourse pattern by Chinese, Young further argues that the fact that Chinese tend to place causes and reasons before the concluding main point at the discourse level is related to another fact,

i.e., in Chinese sentence structure the BECAUSE clause is placed before the SO clause. Kirkpatrick makes the same claim: the "reason preceding main point" tendency at the discourse level is a result of the recursive instantiation of the cause-preceding-consequence ordering at the sentence level.

I am in complete agreement with Young's argument that socio-culturally constructed politeness conventions can control, to a great extent, the decisions a speaker in a community makes with respect to each move she takes in communicative interaction (Biq (to appear)). I have nothing new to say with regard to this aspect of the issue in this paper. What I would rather want to take issue with is the particular linguistic pattern that both Young and Kirkpatrick appeal to in support of their argument, i.e., the "BECAUSE - SO" clause sequencing in Chinese. I respect the effort both authors have made in trying to relate motivations for discourse strategies with features in the linguistic structure. However, my research shows that the "reason before main point" (RN - MP henceforth) discourse tendency and the "BECAUSE - SO" clause sequencing are related to each other in ways more complicated than the straightforward analogical parallel that both authors have claimed.

About the sequencing order, Young (1994) does acknowledge the other possibility, i.e., the "main point before reason" (MP - RN henceforth) pattern, but she nonetheless claims that the RN - MP sequence is canonical in Chinese. Most linguists working on Chinese would probably agree with her: Almost all descriptions of Chinese clause combining acknowledge that the "MP - RN" pattern is possible. However, when the topic is touched upon, the forward linking RN - MP pattern is always the first that gets mentioned, while the backward linking MP - RN pattern is only mentioned "on the side" (e.g., Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981). These facts indirectly suggest that the "RN - MP" pattern is commonly accepted as the canonical form.

Is this conception about Chinese causal sequencing borne out by the facts? Do Chinese speakers really place reasons before the main point more than they do the reverse in actual use? While I have observed the RN - MP discourse strategy in Chinese speech described by Kirkpatrick (and, for that matter, in the English spoken by Chinese as described by Young), I also seemed to encounter many uses of the MP - RN sequence, especially in speech. Thus, an investigation of the Chinese causal sequencing order in actual use was in order.

The scope of the investigation, however, had to be narrowed down. Causal relations are hard to define from a purely semantic perspective. I decided to approach the notion in a humble but tangible way. There are many ways to express causal relations in Chinese. In addition to the two sequencing patterns concerning the order of the RN part and the MP part, one has the choices of using or not using linking elements: (a) having zero linking elements in both parts, (b) having one linking element (either the causal marker or the result marker) attached to one part, or (c) having two linking elements (both the causal marker and the result marker) attached to both parts. Moreover, there are several causal markers and result

markers available, especially in writing.[1] There also exist various ways in which each reason/result marker can be combined with result/reason markers. Since the English 'because' and its Chinese equivalent, *yinwei* 'because', both being the causal marker used most widely in speech and writing in their respective language, are apparently taken in Young's and Kirkpatrick's works as the only index for causal relations in their data, I have set the scope of this study on causal sequences that involve *yinwei* in order to obtain comparable data. While the reason part can vary in size (from as simple as an NP to as complicated as a group of clauses/sentences), *yinwei* is always located at its beginning. Thus, this study basically considers two sequencing patterns: "*yinwei* RN - MP" and "MP - *yinwei* RN."[2]

Next to be considered was the type of data to be examined. Since traditional treatments lack corpus-based investigation of actual use, descriptions of Chinese sentence and discourse structures tend to be based on the individual linguist's impressions and generalizations, which in turn tend to be biased by the written language. Could there be distributional variations among text types such as conversation and newspaper language? Could it be that "MP - *yinwei* RN" is used more often in speech and less often in writing while "*yinwei* RN - MP" is used more often in writing and less often in speech? What is the reason for that, if that is the case? Moreover, if that is the case, could it be the reason why the "*yinwei* RN - MP" is accepted as the canonical form? In order to answer these questions, I conducted an investigation into both conversation and (written) press reportage. Daily conversation is worth investigating because it is the most common context in which a language is situated. On the other hand, (written) press reportage is a good contrast to daily conversation for my purpose: The two genres occupy almost the two ends of a continuum of text types in terms of their gradation of "editedness" or "plannedness" (Biber 1988).

My speech database consists of five segments of naturally occurring Mandarin conversations of various lengths. The total length is about 120 minutes. (See appendix for transcription conventions.) My written database consists of the PH (*Pinyin Hanzi*) on-line corpus. It is a collection of news from China's official *Xinhua* (New China) News Agency during the period from January 1990 to March 1991 and is over four million Chinese characters in size. For ease of reference, I will henceforth refer to the conversation data as SP, and the press reportage data as PH.

In the remainder of this paper, I offer answers to the following research questions: First, are both "*yinwei* RN - MP" and "MP - *yinwei* RN" frequently used to express the causal relation in Chinese? What are their respective distributions in conversation and press reportage? Are there disparities in the distribution figures between the two orders across text types? What do they tell us about the relationship between text type variation and the two orders? Next, if, distributionally, the "*yinwei* RN - MP" order is not the canonical pattern, then how is the discourse strategy described in Kirkpatrick (and in Young) accounted for?

Finally, again, if distributionally the *"yinwei* RN - MP" order is not the canonical pattern, why has it been regarded as such?

3. RESULTS

We will first look at results from the conversation data, and then those from the press reportage.

3.1. *Yinwei* in Conversation

There are all together 99 valid *yinwei* tokens found in SP.[3] The stretch of talk prefaced by *yinwei* is overwhelmingly related in one way or another to the stretch of talk that is positioned before *yinwei*. However, the distribution is a little misleading if we don't look into the relationship between the two stretches of talk in each case.

TABLE 1. FUNCTIONS OF YINWEI IN SP

(total valid tokens: 99)

(1) CAUSE (ideationally causal relation)	67	68%
(2) ELABORATION	32	32%
(3) DISCOURSE REFLEXIVE USE	5	5%
(4) JUSTIFICATION FOR REQUEST/QUESTION	3	3%
(5) TOPIC RESUMPTION	7	7%
(a) linking ideationally causal elements (= (1))		68%
(b) linking interactionally related elements (= (2) to (5))		47%

Functionally, *yinwei* is not always used to preface a stretch of talk that is ideationally (propositionally) related to the prior talk as the reason, cause, motivation, or justification for whatever is said in that prior talk. In other words, the linking that *yinwei* establishes between two stretches of talk may not be directly concerned with the content of talk. Rather, the linking may be concerned with the discourse in which the talking is situated (cf. the "internal vs. external" distinction made in Halliday & Hasan 1976). As can be seen in Table 1., only type (1) is an ideationally motivated linking regarding a causal relation expressed in two stretches of talk connected by *yinwei*. Types (2) to (5) are rather interactionally motivated cases.[4] Due to space limititations, I can only give two examples here. Example 3. illustrates the ideational use; example 4., a case of elaboration, illustrates the interactional use.

3. CAUSE (IDEATIONAL USE)
((b explains why his English is no good:))

1b: fanzheng shi= yuanlai   ne,
       anyway be originally PRT
       'Anyways in the beginning',
2   meiyou   haohao   xue,
       NEG:have seriously study
       '(I) didn't study (English) seriously',
3   *yinwei* huahua bijiao   mang a,
       because painting relatively busy PRT
       ''cause painting took a lot of time',
4   ... dangran ye shi jingchang xiang toulan.
       of:course also be often   think save:trouble
       'Of course I was also lazy all the time.'

This is an example of an ideationally determined causal relation. The reason provided in line 3, that painting took a lot of time, and the consequence provided earlier in line 2, that the speaker didn't study English seriously, held a causal relation that was established on the basis of the propositional content.

4. ELABORATION (INTERACTIONAL USE)

1a: na ni   shi shuyu shenme?
       so you be belong what
       'so which (ethnicity) do you belong to?'
2b: wo shi= Hanzu,
       I   be   Han
       'I am Han',
3   yin[wei women shi hou-
       because we   be later
       '(t[hat's) because we la-'
4a: [ni shi @ ni shi Hanzu.
       you be   you be Han
       '[You're @ a Han'.
5b: houlai shuyu   zhege zhiminzhuyi qude@.
       later belong this:M colonialism go:DE
       'later colonized the area (and I ended up being there)@.'
6a: oh zheyangzi.
       oh this:way
       'Oh I see'.

Prior to this exchange, Speaker b was talking about the minority peoples in Yunnan. Speaker a was therefore a little surprised (line 4) when Speaker b said that he was a Han (the ethnic majority in China) after all. Speaker b sensed her reaction and explained why he, an ethnic majority, ended up being in Yunnan, a place known for minority peoples (lines 3 and 5). This elaboration was triggered by

Speaker a's reaction and *yinwei* in line 3 is an interactionally motivated use. Speaker b's Han ethnicity was in no way caused by his being in Yunnan due to colonialism! Therefore this is not an ideationally based causal use.

In some cases the speech prefaced by *yinwei* is related to the prior talk in more than one functional way. These cases were counted multiple times, thus the total percentage from type (1) to type (5) is larger than 100. As summarized in Table 1., almost half of all tokens (47%) are used to link two stretches of talk that are interactionally related. However, over two thirds of all tokens (68%) are still used to link two stretches of talk that ideationally hold a causal relation to each other.

Compared to results obtained in studies of how because is used in English conversation, our findings about *yinwei* in Mandarin conversation are anything but a surprise. Schleppegrell (1991) and Ford (1993; 1994) all suggest that because in American English conversation not only manifests functional diversity in different contexts but may sometimes connect upcoming talk to prior talk in multiple functional dimensions at once.

Next, let us look at the sequential relation. The surprising result is that sequentially, *yinwei* is overwhelmingly used in the MP - RN order. However, there are cases where the stretch of talk prefaced by *yinwei* can be seen as the RN part to both the prior talk and the following talk, thus creating sequentially indeterminate relationships. In our data, only three cases definitely manifest an RN - MP order, while nine cases can be interpreted in either the RN - MP order or the MP - RN order. Even if we assume that the nine indeterminate cases all belong to the RN - MP order and lump them with the former type, we still have only 12% of the entire conversational *yinwei* tokens that are used in the RN - MP order. A further examination of these 12 cases shows that all of them belong to type (1) in the functional classification, i.e., the ideationally determined causal relation. Thus, Table 2. shows that in the 67 type (1) tokens, 18% (n = 12) manifest the RN - MP sequencing while 82% (n = 55) manifest the MP - RN sequencing.

TABLE 2. CAUSAL YINWEI IN SP

yinwei RN - MP	12	18%
MP - *yinwei* RN	55	82%
total causal *yinwei* tokens:	67	100%

3.2. *Yinwei* in (Written) Press Reportage

There are 328 valid *yinwei* tokens found in PH.5 Among them, 31% (n = 102) display the RN - MP order while 69% (n = 226) display the MP - RN order. These figures, however, could be misleading. It was apparent that many news pieces in the PH Corpus were translations of the news provided by foreign news services. The Chinese used in these translated pieces could be influenced by the

original language. The causal sequencing could be a direct, literal rendition of the order used in the original language. In order to avoid potential interferences from the source language (of which I have no information), I separated the international news (or rather, news that is likely to be translated pieces) from the domestic news (or rather, news that is likely to have been written in Chinese in the first place). Table 3. shows the distribution of the two sequencing orders in international news, in domestic news, and in PH as a whole.

TABLE 3. *YINWEI* IN PH

	International		Domestic		Total	
yinwei RN - MP	19	13%	83	45%	102	31%
MP - *yinwei* RN	125	87%	101	55%	226	69%
Column Total	144	100%	184	100%	328	100%

The international pieces (n = 144 , 44% of the 328 total) do seem to go to extremes in terms of causal sequencing. Only 13% (n = 19) manifest an RN - MP order, while the rest 87% (n = 125) manifest a MP - RN order. By contrast, the domestic pieces (n = 184, 56% of the 328 total) show a much more balanced distribution between the two sequencings: 45% (n = 83) manifest an RN - MP order, while the rest 55% (n = 101) manifest an MP - RN order.

3.3. A Comparison of SP and PH

Now let us compare the figures of the two sequencing orders in SP and in PH. In order to avoid possible source language interference, I disregard the international news and use the domestic news as our PH data. I should also note that in this study it is assumed that no *yinwei* in PH is used for marking two interactionally connected (and ideationally NOT causally related) parts. Since all *yinwei* tokens in PH are assumed ideationally motivated causal markers, we will contrast the domestic news figures with those of the causal type in SP only. Table 4. shows that the sequencing distribution is quite balanced in PH but uneven in SP. The MP - RN order is significantly preferred to the RN - MP order in SP; it is slightly more often used than the RN - MP order in PH.

TABLE 4. *YINWEI* IN SP AND PH

	PH (Domestic News Only)	SP (Causal Type Only)
yinwei RN - MP	45%	18%
MP - *yinwei* RN	55%	82%

| Total | 100% | 100% |

We can answer our first research question now: Not only are both the RN - MP pattern and the MP - RN pattern used to express the causal relation with *yinwei*, but the MP - RN order is the preferred sequencing in SP and is at least as popular as the RN - MP order, if not more, in PH. Thus, the *"yinwei* RN - MP" sequence as the canonical order to express the causal relation is not confirmed by what Chinese speakers and writers do in actual use.

4. DISCUSSION

In section 2, we asked whether the disparities in the distribution can tell us anything about the relationship between the text type differences and the preference of the two orders. Our examination of the PH data did not find any significant functional distinctions between the two sequencing orders. They co-exist as free forms. As said above, the backward linking "MP - *yinwei* RN" sequence has a higher frequency (especially in international news) because it happens to be the preferred order in the source language.

The uneven distribution of the two orders in SP is a result of the constraint set by conversation as an extremely interactive text type. Conversation is characteristically spontaneous: both the turn structure and the content of the exchanges are locally managed. In order to use her turn most effectively, a speaker is forced to "get to the point" as much as she can. Therefore, the MP is most likely asserted prior to the RN, if the latter is intended to be offered at all, thus the prevalence of the backward linking "MP - *yinwei* RN" pattern. The forward linking *"yinwei* RN - MP" is dispreferred in SP because the MP is delayed in this sequence. This bears a conflict with the speaker's interest in using her turn most effectively.

Our next question is how Young's and Kirkpatrick's data are explained given our results. The answer to this question lies in the kinds of setting where verbal interactions occur. The settings where both authors collected their data include the following types: (1) answering a question at a Q-A session (after a talk, at a press conference, etc.), (2) interviewee speaking in an interview, (3) (simulated) business meetings where employees are asked to voice their opinions (through making requests for monetary funds, etc.), and (4) (simulated) presentations such as making a plea by a student to school officials. These are typical situations in which the speaker is given the floor and the interactional turn-taking system is temporarily suspended (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974). Under such circumstances, the speaker is expected to "give a speech": she is both allowed the luxury—or, expected to meet the challenge—of giving an elaborate exposition. This kind of setting is similar to the prototypical written language such as expository writing in the sense that the speaker/author is entitled to a sizable

time/space to work her points into an organized piece. While the socio-culturally oriented motivations (that Young appeals to in her studies, as pointed out earlier) favor the *"yinwei* RN - MP" order for Chinese speakers, the pre-allocated floor and the suspension of the turn-taking system in these settings further facilitate, rather than resist, this sequencing. Put in a markedness perspective, the distributions of the two orders are indicative of the two speech types in which they respectively dominate: the marked *"yinwei* RN - MP" order for the marked, turn-taking-suspended settings, and the unmarked "MP - *yinwei* RN" order for the unmarked conversation.

Now let us turn to the last question: Why has the forward linking *"yinwei* RN - MP" sequence been accepted as the canonical pattern when our data show the contrary? This question is complicated. First, other semantic relations that involve a subordinate element and a main element, such as the conditional relation and the concessive relation, are predominantly expressed by forward linking in both spoken and written Chinese. Backward linking is definitely the marked form. A priori, the causal relation, which also involves a semantically subordinate element and a semantically main element, is assumed to behave in the same way.

Next, most forms that express the causal relation do display a forward linking preference. For example, result markers, such as suoyi 'so, therefore', generally display a forward linking preference in both spoken and written Chinese (e.g., "RN - suoyi MP"). Other causal markers, such as youyu 'because, due to', which is frequently seen in writing and is renowned for its literary connotation, also display a forward linking preference. Finally, our data also confirm that the *"yinwei* RN - MP" order is not a minority in PH. All these facts support a forward linking generalization that causal relations are canonically expressed with the cause preceding the consequence, including when the marker is *yinwei*.

Compared with other forms marking "subordinate - main" relations, the behavior of *yinwei* could be a case of functional conformity overriding structural conformity. As suggested earlier, the backward linking preference in conversation should be accounted for by the interactional factor inherent in conversation. Furthermore, the near balanced distribution of the two orders (instead of a dominance of the forward linking over the backward linking) manifested in (the domestic news in) PH, could be the outcome of an on-going process of structural adaptation that was functionally motivated, originated from conversation, but has now reached the rather "conservative" text type of press reportage. For functional conformity overriding structural conformity, Ford (1993) documents a similar case in American English: As opposed to other adverbial clause types such as the conditional and the temporal that predominantly show a "subordinate - main" pattern, the cause clauses are most likely to follow the main clause. Conversational interaction is also suggested to explain the phenomenon. The Chinese case is, however, more complicated than the English case, since both of the two *yinwei* sequences are robust in the written language. Certainly more corpus-based

research, both diachronic and synchronic, in Chinese clause combining is required before any conclusion can be reached.

5. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In this paper, we have shown that in Mandarin conversations the *"yinwei* RN - MP" order, as opposed to the alternative *"MP - yinwei* RN" order, is highly unpopular, and by no means the preferred sequence, for expressing causal relations. Given that conversation is the most typical spoken form, we suggest that it is erroneous to assume that the *"yinwei* RN - MP" order is the canonical causal sequence and to take it as the linguistic basis to account for the phenomenon described in Kirkpatrick (1993) and Young (1982; 1994). Rather, the robustness of the *"yinwei* RN - MP" sequence in the turn-taking-suspended settings[6] should be accounted for in terms of the functional nature of the text type (as well as the socio-culturally constructed politeness conventions that Young (1982; 1994) appeals to).

The distributional discrepancies in the two orders between conversation and press reportage are similarly accounted for in terms of the functional differences between text types, which either facilitate or resist the occurrence of these patterns.

We have also shown that forward linking is generally preferred in Chinese for semantic relations that involve a subordinate element and a main element. While a formal-structural approach would render the prevalence of the postposed *yinwei* (especially in conversation) an odd exception to this general tendency, a functional perspective would take the prevalence of the postposed *yinwei* as a natural outcome of the impact of discourse interaction on grammar.

A major implication of this study is that causes for variations in grammar across text types can be traced to interactional factors that are inherent in those text types and crucial in shaping the functions of those text types. Corpus-based approaches to text types help us to better understand grammar as it adapts itself to the kind of discourse in which it is used. The same approaches also help us to better understand functional factors that motivate and constrain grammatical variation.

Shuanfan Huang, Lily I-wen Su, Sandy Thompson, and Wen-chen Wei. Needless to say, all remaining errors and inadequacies in the paper are my own.

NOTES

1 There are also a number of lexical items that are nouns, and not connectives, but whose prime function is to make explicit the causal/result relations that may exist between two clauses, sentences, or groups of sentences (Hoey 1993), e.g., *yuanyin* 'reason', *liyou* 'reason', and *jieguo* 'result'.

2 Details about variations within each of these two patterns due to the presence or absence of a result marker (such as *suoyi*) attached to the MP are complicated and will not be discussed in this paper.

3 SP *yinwei* tokens occurring in the following situations were considered invalid and disregarded in this study: (1) where indiscernible speech prevented me from determining the function of *yinwei*, and (2) where talk was interrupted or discontinued.

4 The distinction among types (2) to (5) is not so much a categorization as a preliminary characterization of the examples. Further refinement and reclassification is possible. However, for our purpose, types (2) to (5) have the commonality that they are cases in which the use of *yinwei* is not motivated by ideationally determined causal relation between the two connected stretches of talk.

5 A very small number of the *yinwei* tokens in PH was disregarded for this study. They all belonged to cases in which the direction of the causal sequence could not be determined within the context I specified when I did the on-line search by using the KWIC (Key Word In Context) concordance. The context was set as "80 characters to the left of the key expression and 80 characters to its right." This size was adequate to analyze most tokens.

6 There is in fact no statistics available to prove that the forward linking "*yinwei* RN - MP" sequencing is preferred to the backward linking alternative in the turn-taking-suspended settings. The most we can say at this point is only the following: According to our informal observation, the frequency of the forward linking pattern in those settings is noticeably higher than in conversations.

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APPENDIX. Transcription Conventions for the Conversational Data

The conversations were transcribed with the transcription system proposed in Du Bois et al. 1993. In order to reduce reading interferences, transcription notations with no direct bearing on the treatment of *yinwei* are not provided.

speaker identity/turn start	:
intonation unit	{carriage return}
truncated word	-
final intonation	.
continuing intonation	,
appeal intonation	?
beginning of speech overlap	[
lengthening	=
medium pause	…
laughter	@
researcher's comments	(( ))
researcher's English paraphrase	()
key words	underline

Functions of Marked Perfectivity in Expository Discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga (Philippines)*

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While attention has been given to the function of marked tense, in particular the 'historical present', little discussion has been given to the function of marked aspect, and what attention has been given to either of these has been confined mainly to narrative discourse. In this paper, I will discuss the functions of marked perfectivity in expository discourse[1] in Upper Tanudan Kalinga[2]. I will argue that perfectivity has two marked functions: the first signals that events occur sequentially, and the second draws the hearer's attention to a result, a key element in expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga.[3]

Verbal morphology in Upper Tanudan Kalinga expresses an aspectual opposition between perfectivity and imperfectivity.[4] Following Comrie's (1976) definitions, perfectivity indicates that a situation is viewed as a whole; no explicit reference is made to its internal temporal structure. Imperfectivity, on the other hand, indicates that a situation is viewed from within; here, explicit reference is made to the internal temporal structure of the situation. Perfectivity is often associated with past time; imperfectivity is usually associated with nonpast time which includes present and future time and also time as it is expressed in conditions and hypothetical situations. In a text, one member of this aspectual opposition is unmarked in that it occurs more frequently; the other member is marked, and occurs less frequently. The selection of unmarked and marked aspects is determined by discourse genre.

Imperfectivity, the unmarked aspect

In expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga, most finite verbs occur in imperfective aspect; specifically, 86% (125 out of 145) of the finite verbs that are the predicate of an independent clause occur in imperfective aspect. The remaining 14% (20 out of 145) occur in perfective aspect. The same relative distribution pattern is repeated for verbs that are predicates of dependent clauses. The pattern is repeated again for nominalized verbs that indicate aspect, in both independent and dependent clauses. As the more commonly occurring contrast, the imperfective is labeled the unmarked aspect. An example of a theme from an expository text is given in (1). Notice that all finite verbs and the nominalized verb, *mangor'anos*, occur in the imperfective.[5]

(1)

Sa	*'ose*	*mangor'anos*			*'atte*
		maN	*-'ala*	*-an*	*-na*	*-'os*

Sa 'ose mangor'anos 'atte
        maN -'ala -an -na -'os
T/SG one:LK IMPFT-get -NR-GEN/3SG-also OBL/SG

kinapangatna, 'ammangili kad 'atta
        man -mangili
leadership:GEN/3SG IMPFT-have.visitor whenever OBL/PL

mangilin 'ela da 'udum, 'awag gad
visitor:LK HORT GEN/3PL other EXT whenever

mabalinnak 'iyas 'onnu manukna
ma -balin -na -'ak
IMPFT-possible-ERG/3SG-SM piglet or chicken:GEN/3SG

'ayagana da mangili te
'ayag-an -na
call -IMPFT-ERG/3SG ABS/3PL visitor because

'ibi'inna de 'ili.
'i -bi'in -na
IMPFT-show.respect-ERG/3SG ABS/SG place

'As for another way of gaining his leadership, whenever he
receives the visitors of others, whenever he has the means,
such as a piglet or a chicken, he calls the visitor (to eat)
because he wants to show respect on behalf of the
community.'

Perfectivity, the marked aspect

In both independent and dependent clauses, a smaller number of finite verbs
occurs in perfective aspect. Since the perfective occurs less often than the
imperfective, it is labeled the marked aspect. A close examination of the perfective
finite verbs shows that some encode completed events that have taken place in past
time. Here, perfectivity is performing its typical function: since past events are
usually completed events, past completed events can be viewed as whole situations
and thus encoded in the perfective. Examples are given in (2)-(4).

(2) *Nanur'uk*   *'ag gorbiyan.*
    naN-tur'uk
    PFT-first.thunder TI yesterday.

    'It thundered for the first time yesterday.'

In (2), the perfective verb *nanur'uk* 'to thunder for the first time' reports an actual
event, and begins an explanation of the customs surrounding *tur'uk*, the first
thunder of the year.

(3)

>*Nu sa   tagu   we mangikatagutte*
> if   T/SG person LK live.by.means.of:OBL/SG
>
>*mantaguwanatta   sadi ye ni'ibaga*
>*   ni'i-baga*
> lifetime:GEN/3SG:OBL/PL that LK PFT -tell
>
>*manggodonge matagu.*
> straight:LK   live
>
> 'If a person lives by these standards that were mentioned
> earlier throughout his lifetime, he will live righteously.'
>
> [Literally: 'If a person lives his lifetime according to
> those things that were said earlier, he will live
> righteously.']

In the phrase *'atta sadi ye ni'ibaga* 'those things that were said earlier' in (3), the perfective verb *ni'ibaga* 'to say' refers to information that the speaker mentioned earlier in the same text.

(4)

>*'Awad gad   da   kasus, nu makasusan*
> EXT   whenever ABS/PL case   if have.a.case
>
>*de   'ose   boryan, 'ose   tagu, 'igagayamna*
> ABS/SG one:LK family one:LK person stay.home:ERG/3SG
>
>*ya 'ilintogna   kad   de   guru   kan da kasus*
> and mediate:ERG/3SG whenever ABS/SG trouble and PL case
>
>*kanande   "'A, gappiya   kan 'anuka*
> say:ERG/3PL:LK ah   thank.heavens OBL what's.his.name
>
>*ta 'ininggaw ta linintogana".*
>*   'in -inggaw   lintog -in-an-na*
> LK PFT-stay and mediate-PFT -ERG/3SG
>
> 'When there are cases, if a family or a person is involved
> in a case, he (the leader) will stay home (from work) and
> when he settles the trouble and the case, they will say,
> "Ah, thank heavens what's-his-name was here and he settled
> the case".'

In (4) the perfective verbs *'ininggaw* 'to stay' and *linintogan* 'to mediate' refer to events that have been completed from the perspective of the person uttering the quote.

Since encoding completed events occurring in past time is a typical function of perfectivity, this function is of little interest to us; however, once perfective verbs representing such events have been removed, some occurrences of the perfective still remain. The question is, what is the function of perfectivity in these cases?

Perfectivity and sequences of events

The remaining occurrences of perfectivity appear to perform two marked functions. The first function is local in scope and is associated with sequences of events.[6] In the available texts, sequences of events are encoded in two conjoined verbal clauses. If the events are viewed by the speaker as being chronologically ordered, the verb of the first clause will occur in imperfective aspect and the verb of the second clause in perfective aspect, as shown in (5) and (6).

(5)
> *Sana kad da   madagdaggup, nu   dumakore*
>   *dakor-um-   -'e*
> now when ABS/PL gather   when adult-IMPFT-LK
>
> *sadi ya na'apuwan,   siyos   ko'one*
>   *'apu   -na--an*
> that and grandparent-PFT   ABS/3SG:also do/make:LK
>
> *'upan 'antuttudu 'atte   'in'inon pagay da   matagu.*
> keep.on advise   OBL/SG way   EMPH GEN/3PL live
>
> 'When all this is taken together, if a man grows up that way
> and has grandchildren, he will keep on giving advice about
> how to live properly.'

In (5), the sequence of events is encoded in two conjoined dependent clauses. The events are stated in their natural chronological order: a man must become an adult before he can have grandchildren. The verb in the first conjoined clause, *dumakor* 'to grow up', occurs in imperfective aspect; the verb in the second, *na'apuwan* 'to be a grandparent', occurs in perfective aspect.

(6)
> *Sadi 'umpay   de   tenan   'ay   ni   laraki*
>   *ten -an*
> that   EMPH   ABS/SG leave-IMPFT EMPH ERG/SG man
>
> *de   'inana   kan 'amana   ya*
> ABS/SG mother:GEN/3SG and father:GEN/3SG and
>
> *ni'itipun 'atte   'asawane   boba'i.*
> *ni'i -tipun*
> PFT -join OBL/SG spouse:GEN/3SG woman
>
> 'That is when the man leaves his mother and his father
> and joins together with his wife.'

In (6), the sequence of events is encoded in two conjoined independent clauses. Again, the events are given in their natural chronological order: a man leaves his parents and then joins with his wife. Once more, the verb in the first conjoined clause, *tenan* 'to leave', occurs in imperfective aspect; the verb in the second, *ni'itipun* 'to join', occurs in perfective aspect.

The claim that perfectivity signals a chronologically ordered sequence of events is supported by comparing the sequences in (5) and (6) with those in (7) and (8) in which both verbs occur in imperfective aspect.

(7)   *Da   matalligan,*   *manduradurasda*
                          man -duraduras   -da
         T/PL have.*talligan*.spirit IMPFT-writhe.in.pain-ABS/3PL

         ya mang'it'ittada.
            man   -CVC -'ita   -da
         and IMPFT-CONT-gasp.for.breath-ABS/3PL

         'Those who have been afflicted by a *talligan* spirit, they
         writhe in pain and gasp for breath.'

In (7), the two conjoined events, *manduraduras* 'to writhe in pain' and *mang'it'itta* 'to gasp for breath', occur in the imperfective. The events have no natural chronological order in that it is not necessary for a person to writhe in pain before he or she gasps for breath. The speaker appears to be simply listing behaviors that are symptoms of the illness caused by the *talligan* spirit.

(8)

         Nu maka'ug'uggudkatte   *tagu ya*
           maka   -CVC -'ugud-ka   -'atte
         if   IMPFT-CONT-talk -ABS/2SG-OBL/SG person and

         pi'on   dika   gelatte   'aggasang
         like/want ABS/2SG EMPH:OBL/SG spirit.type

         tipakon,   ma'aggasanganka.
         tipak -on
         inflict-IMPFT be.afflicted.by.spirit:ABS/2SG

         'If you talk with a person (who has an *'aggasang* spirit)
         and the *'aggasang* spirit wants to afflict you, you will
         have a spirit illness.'

In (8), the two events in the conjoined clause, *maka'ug'uggud* 'to talk' and *pi'on tipakon* 'to want to inflict', also occur in the imperfective.[7] Again, there is no natural chronological order between the events. The context, in fact, suggests that the events overlap in time: the *'aggasang* spirit may decide to afflict a person with an illness while that person is talking with the one who is the host for the *'aggasang* spirit.

In these examples, it seems clear that perfectivity marks a series of events that are viewed by the speaker as chronologically ordered.

Perfectivity and results

The second marked function of perfectivity is to draw the hearer's attention to a result.[8] If we accept that perfectivity can signal that one event chronologically follows another, then it is a short step to the claim that perfectivity can also signal

that one event is the result of another. Consider first a sequence of chronologically ordered events in which the last event is a result.

(9)

> *Nu 'umali 'uroge lu'um 'atte boroy ya*
> if come snake:LK snake.type OBL/SG house and
>
> *'ilande sa kuwade 'aggasang,*
> see:IMPFT:ERG/3PL:LK T/SG own:GEN/3PL:LK spirit.type
>
> *lana'onda de long'agna ya*
> *lana-on -da*
> oil -IMPFT-ERG/3PL ABS/SG body:GEN/3SG and
>
> *'ummayaw de sadi ye 'urog.*
> *'umm-'ayaw*
> PFT -leave ABS/SG that LK snake
>
> 'If a *lu'um* snake comes into the house and they see that it
> is their own *'aggasang* spirit (in the snake), they will put
> oil on its body and that snake will leave.'

The main clause in (9) consists of two conjoined clauses encoding the events *lana'on* 'to place oil on something' and *'ummayaw* 'to leave'. The verb in the first conjoined clause occurs in the imperfective and the verb in the second in the perfective. While one could argue that here the perfective simply indicates that the events are chronologically ordered, it is clear from the context that the oil is placed on the snake in order to get it to leave the house.

A clause with only one verb offers more conclusive evidence that perfectivity is actually drawing attention to a result, rather than merely indicating that several events occur in chronological order. Consider (10).

(10)

> *'Oni.kade sadi 'adim pun pay da tagu*
> later:LK then not:LK MOD EMPH ERG/PL person
>
> *dingngor te ngon ta dongrom 'os de*
> *dongor-in-*
> listen -PFT because why LK listen:ERG/2SG also ABS/SG
>
> *katti ye pangat?*
> like.this LK leader
>
> 'Later on people will not listen to him because why should
> you listen to this kind of leader?'

Here, the perfective verb, *dingngor* 'to listen', is the only verb in its clause, and so it is clear that perfectivity cannot be marking a sequence of chronologically ordered events. The theme of the paragraph in which (10) is found is: a man who would be a leader must be concerned for the welfare of the community. (10) tells what will happen if the man is concerned only for the welfare of his family. As the first stated result for the paragraph theme, (10) forms the peak of the paragraph.

Notice that the sentence also contains a rhetorical question, a marked syntactic construction, which presents a reason for the result.[9]

Perfective aspect can also combine with nominalization to draw the hearer's attention to a result. Specifically, the nominalizer -an can be added to any finite verb and is another grammatical means of drawing attention to a result.[10] The following example contains a perfective verb nominalized by -an. The sentence is taken from a text advising young people to marry someone from their own village. The theme of the paragraph is that if a person marries someone from another place and goes to live in that place, he might return to his own village unexpectedly and humiliate his parents if they should have no animal to butcher for a meal to honor him, as custom dictates.

(11)

> *Lummawingan*   *'os*   *ni*   *'angosta*   *te*
> lawing-umm--an
> bad   -PFT -NR also GEN/SG feeling:GEN/1DL because
>
> *'ibagada*   *kad*   *'in*   *'ingis'il kane*   *"'Awad kad 'in*
> tell:ERG/3PL when CERT joke   say:LK   EXT   then CERT
>
> *wot pinggikda*   *kan   dikayu?"*
> then crush.in.hand:ERG/3PL OBL 2PL
>
> *nangdasanta*   *'ot*   *'atte*   *lawinge somsomok.*
> naN-'odas-an-ta
> PFT-find -NR-GEN/1DL then OBL/SG bad:LK   thought
>
> 'Our feelings will be hurt because when they make a joke,
> saying "Did they really have something to butcher for you?",
> we will end up having hurt feelings.'
>
> [Literally: 'There will be the hurt of our feelings because
> when they make a joke, saying "Did they really have
> something to butcher for you?", there will be our act of
> finding ourselves with hurt feelings.']

The two results in (11) are presented in clauses having perfective nominalized verbs: *lummawingan* 'the act of being bad or hurt' and *nangdasan* 'the act of finding'. Both results state that a person who causes his parents to be humiliated will end up with hurt feelings.

It is important to point out that while perfectivity can draw attention to results, results are not obligatorily encoded in perfective forms. To the contrary, results can be, and often are, presented in imperfective forms, as shown in (12).

(12)

    Nu 'adi ditos   lugaman 'atta   singkuwatte
    if   not ABS/1DL:LK place.weed OBL/PL owner:OBL/SG

    sane   talligan,   matoyta.
                      ma   -toy-ta
    this:LK spirit.type IMPFT-die-ABS/1DL

    'If the owner of this *talligan* spirit does not place an
    herb on us, we will die.'

In the texts considered for this study, 17 results are encoded in finite verbs. Of these finite verbs, 82% (14 out of 17) occur in the imperfective, and 18% (3 out of 17) in the perfective. In addition, 7 more results are encoded in verbs nominalized by *-an*. Of these, 57% (4 out of 7) occur in the imperfective and 43% (3 out of 7) in the perfective. Taken together, 75% (18 out of 24) of the results occur in the imperfective and 25% (6 out of 24) in the perfective.

It should also be noted that perfectivity does not appear to distinguish between those results that are paragraph peaks and those that are not. [11] Of the 24 results listed above, 17 are paragraph peaks. Of these, 76% (13 out of 17) occur in the imperfective, and 24% (4 out of 17) occur in the perfective. From these facts, we conclude that perfectivity is a means of drawing attention to results, but an optional one.

On the other hand, it is of interest that of the four paragraph peaks that present reasons, rather than results, all four occur in the imperfective; none occur in the perfective. Once perfective forms marking past completed events, and those marking sequences of events are removed, all remaining perfective forms are associated with results and no other kind of information. If this distribution pattern is determined by kinds of information and is not just the incidental consequence of a limited number of texts, then we conclude that although perfectivity is an optional means of drawing attention to results, it is a means of drawing attention to results, and only results.

Conclusion

In expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga, the majority of finite verbs and nominalized verbs that can indicate aspect occur in the imperfective. A smaller number of these forms occur in the perfective. Of these perfective forms, some encode completed events occurring in past time. For these forms, the perfective is performing its typical function. For the remaining forms, however, perfectivity performs two marked functions. One function is local in scope, and signals that a string of events are chronologically ordered. The other function is global in scope, and draws the hearer's attention to results, which are key elements in expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga. Taken together, these functions account for all the perfective forms in the data.

Abbreviations

ABS	absolutive	LK	linker
CERT	certainty	MOD	modal
CONT	continuous	NR	nominalizer
DL	dual	OBL	oblique
EMPH	emphatic	PFT	perfective
ERG	ergative	PL	plural
EX	exclusive	SG	singular
EXT	existential	SM	substitutemarker
GEN	genitive	T	topicmarker
HORT	hortatory	TI	time
IMPFT	imperfective		

Notes

* Portions of this paper have been published previously in Brainard (1991). Thanks is given to the Australian National University for permission to use that material in this paper.

1. Examples of expository, or explanatory, discourse are explanations of customs, such as those surrounding the planting and harvesting of rice, or marriage customs. The speaker's purpose in expository discourse is to explain and to prove. The surface structure of expository discourse is also used by speakers of Upper Tanudan Kalinga to mitigate hortatory discourse. (In this genre, the speaker's purpose is to persuade.) Mitigation is accomplished by using third person pronouns in examples of good and bad behavior and by addressing the hearers indirectly by means of first person dual pronouns (rather than second person pronouns). By employing the surface structure of expository discourse, a speaker can issue strong reproofs in a culturally acceptable way.

2. Upper Tanudan Kalinga is a member of the Central Cordilleran subgroup of Northern Philippine languages. It is spoken by about 3,000 people who live at the southern end of Tanudan Valley, Tanudan, Kalinga-Apayao, Luzon, Philippines. Upper Tanudan Kalinga is most closely related to Balangao, Bontoc, Kankanay, and Ifugao. This paper is based on seven expository texts that were gathered between 1982 and 1985 in the village of Lubo in Tanudan Valley while the author was living there, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The texts and their authors are listed below. The text *What is Marriage?* by Alfredo Tombali is included in Brainard (1991); all other texts are found in Brainard (1985).

Marriage	Victor Dalanao
Supernatural Illnesses	Dalen Do-ayan
The First Thunder and the First Flooding of the River	Lungayat Manao
How a Person Lives a Righteous Life	Alfredo Tombali
The Way People Became Leaders in the Old Days	Alfredo Tombali
What is Marriage?	Alfredo Tombali
What is a Child?	Alfredo Tombali

3. In a more detailed analysis (Brainard 1991), I suggest that expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga is composed of three key elements: theme, result, and contrast. Themes present the concepts that the speaker wants to explain or prove; results support those themes; and contrast (in the form of pairs of positive-negative sentences or adversative information) proves statements made by the speaker.

4. Verbal morphology also distinguishes between punctuality and durativity; however, an analysis of these aspects is beyond the scope of this paper.

5. Examples are given in orthographic representation. The symbol ' represents a glottal stop, which is always pronounced as a glottal stop. The symbol *k* represents what speakers of Upper Tanudan Kalinga call the 'silent k'. This phoneme is undergoing change: older speakers of the language pronounce the phoneme as [k]; younger speakers pronounce it as a glottal stop.

6. The association between perfectivity and sequences of events, mainly for events occurring in past time, has been noted by Hopper (1982:7,9) and Timberlake (1982:313) among others.

7. The verb *pi'on* 'to like/want' is a bare stem, and as such indicates imperfective aspect.

8. The association of perfectivity and results, primarily for events occurring in past time, has been noted by Comrie (1976:20-21) and Timberlake (1982:313).

9. Rhetorical questions in expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga function as strong negative assertions. (Rhetorical questions assume a negative response to the question.)

10. The nominalizer *-an* can be added to an imperfective verb as well as a perfective verb.

11. A paragraph peak is the first stated result or reason that supports the theme of the paragraph.

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TWO PATHWAYS TO IDENTIFIABILITY IN CIREBON JAVANESE[1]

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Speakers of Cirebon Javanese have at their disposal two kinds of morphological marking that can indicate that a referent in discourse is to be taken as identifiable. These are the demonstrative determiners and the erstwhile possessive suffix *-é*. While these morphemes share the function of indicating that a referent is identifiable, they are distinct in that they indicate different means by which this identification is achieved. After a brief discussion of identifiability, I will discuss examples from a corpus of naturally occurring language that illustrate the functional difference between these two types of morpheme. Finally I suggest that the findings about *-é* represent an example of one way that Cirebon Javanese differs from the Standard Javanese of Central Java.

1. Identifiability Pathway

A speaker's understanding of his or her interlocutor's cognitive state and of the interactional context informs the way ideas are packaged in discourse. The study of how language is shaped by such cognitive and interactional factors is called the study of Information Flow, and one important aspect of information flow is the notion of identifiability (Chafe 1994). An identifiable referent is one whose identity is shared by speaker and hearer. Referents can be identifiable through a variety of means. These have been called Identifiability Pathways by Du Bois and Thompson (1991) who propose the following taxonomy:

A. Speaker and hearer are identifiable by virtue of their role in the interaction.

B. Entities in the speech situation are identifiable by virtue of their presence.

C. Referents or propositions previously mentioned are identifiable. This is the classic case in which subsequent mention of a referent is marked by a definite article, such as *the* in English.

D. A referent may be anchored by another referent. A referent is anchored (Prince 1981) when another, already identifiable, referent is mentioned in the same NP as the referent in question.

E.   A referent may be identifiable by association through cognitive frame or cultural knowledge evoked in the discourse.

Pathways A, B, and C are similar in that identifiability is based on knowledge that speaker and hearer both have about a referent; that is, the referent is what Chafe has called directly shared. In contrast, D and E are pathways through which knowledge is indirectly shared by association with some other shared knowledge (Chafe 1994:96). In the following I will show that in spoken Cirebon Javanese, identifiable NP's marked with demonstrative determiners have an identifiability pathway based on their existence within either the speech setting or within previous discourse; that is, demonstratives mark directly shared referents. Identifiable NP's which are marked as such with the suffix -é are identifiable either through anchoring or through frame evoked association; that is, -é marks referents that are indirectly shared through association with some established entity or idea.

Cirebon Javanese is spoken by about 1.5 million people in the city of Cirebon and surrounding countryside, near the border of West and Central Java on the north coast of the island. The following examples are taken from transcripts of naturally occuring conversations and oral narratives recorded in the Cirebon region. In Cirebon Javanese, as in Standard Central Javanese, Indonesian, and many languages of the area, identifiability is not obligatorily marked; bare NP's may represent identifiable referents in their contexts. A very important and interesting question would be to ask when identifiability is and is not explicitly marked by speakers in discourse. This is however beyond the scope of the present study, which looks instead only at those cases where identifiability is explicitly marked, in order to demonstrate the difference in discourse function between the use of demonstratives and the suffix -é.

2. Demonstratives

Cirebon Javanese has a set of demonstratives showing three degrees of egocentric proximity. These can be used as pronouns, as determiners, and as adverbials. These each have three variants.

(1)   iki   kien   ki^2 'this'
       iku   kuen   ku   'that'
       ika   kaen   ka   'that DISTAL'

When the demonstratives are used pronominally, there is a discourse patterning differentiation between these forms; however, there is not a clear difference between them when used as determiners. Long and short forms will be treated as a single class for the purposes of this paper.

2.1. Calling attention to something in the physical context

When used as determiners, demonstratives can indicate that a referent is identifiable from the context in which the interaction is taking place, a function which would seem to derive naturally enough from their pointing nature. In example (2), Niti sells snacks door to door and this recording was made while a family sat on their front porch, sampling her wares and chatting with her.

```
(2)    Bi   Niti kiené sambel    ku,  .. sedurungé,
       Aunt N.   now  hot.sauce that     before
       'Aunt Niti now the hot sauce,    before,

       ... lagi kang kaen dipai     kaen beli?³
           when REL  that PASS.give that NEG
           at that time (you) put in some of that didn't you?'
```
(BINITI:977-979)

The speaker starts to ask about the hot sauce that is sitting with the snacks that Bi Niti is selling. He makes this referent identifiable by pointing verbally, if not physically, with the demonstrative *ku* to the hot sauce in the speech setting.

2.2. Calling attention to a previously mentioned referent

Demonstratives can also be used to indicate that a referent is identifiable from previous mention. In example (3), the referent 'motorcycle' has already been introduced and so occurs with a demonstrative determiner indicating that the referent is identifiable because it is the same as that previously mentioned.

```
(3)    Kaya-kaya  ya, beli bisa mandheg motor      kuen Ci.
       like-REDUP yes NEG  can   stop    motorcycle that Ci
       'It was like, the motorcycle couldn't stop Ci.'
```
(NGEREM:336-338)

A second example of identifiability from previous mention is (4) in which C has been lamenting that his family doesn't have a television and thus he doesn't have much exposure to the rest of Indonesia or the world.

```
(4)    W:   Lamun wis     manjing listrik    sih,
            if    already enter   electricity PRT
            'When (the village) gets electricity,

            kaya-kaya  bisa Ci.
            like-REDUP can  Ci
            it's like (they) could Ci.
```

```
Wong    tuwa énté usaha,
person old  2SG  try
Your parents could try,

nganunang    TV          konon    Ci
WORD.SEARCH television like.that Ci
you know [to get] a TV like that Ci.'
```

C: Iya=. Kuen sih, bisa-bisa baé.
       yes   that PRT can-REDUP only
       'Yes. That, (they) could just (do).

```
Tapi listrik    iki  kang suwé.
but  electricity this REL  long.time
But the electricity is what takes a long time.'
```

(NGEREM:2068-2075)

Speaker W introduces the notion of electricity into the discourse at the first line in the example. In his response in the last line of the example, C repeats the idea of electricity, here marking it as identifiable with a demonstrative, essentially pointing back to W's previous use of the word. The use of demonstratives to mark identifiability as illustrated here is, of course, a common phenomenon in languages throughout the world. Of more interest is the use of a possessive for indicating general identifiability, as discussed in the next section.

3. The Suffix -é

In this section I will first discuss the possessive use of -é in Cirebon Javanese and give examples which also illustrate identifiability through anchoring. I will then discuss how -e is also used more generally to indicate indirect, frame evoked identifiability in contexts where possession is no longer a relevant interpretation.

3.1. Possessives and Identifiability through Anchoring

The suffix -é in Javanese is generally taken to be a marker of possession. It is affixed to the NP representing the thing possessed. The possessor, if mentioned explicitly, then follows the -é suffixed NP.

(5)   Berarti kuen ku   na- -- nari ning umahé   Érwin.
       mean   that that   dance at house-É Erwin
       'That means they are dancing at Erwin's house.'

(BINITI:956-957)

In example (5) the possession of *umah* 'house' is indicated with the suffix -é,

followed by the possessor, indicated with the unmarked form *Érwin*.

In Standard Central Javanese -*é* is generally thought of as the third person possessive. First and second person possession, in the common speech level, are marked by the suffixes -*ku* and -*mu* respectively. The suffixes -*ku* and -*mu* do not occur in Cirebon Javanese and -*é* is used for all persons. In the following example *umahé* 'the (possessed) house' is used with both second and first person possession, each explicitly indicated with a free, unmarked, pronominal form.

```
(6)   J:    Luru manuk.  .. Ning umahé    ira ta?
            hunt bird       at  house-É 2SG QU
            '(so we'll go) hunting birds.  At your house is it?'

      A:    .. Iya, ning umahé    kita.
            yes  at   house-É 1SG
            'Yes, at my house.'
```
<div align="right">(DEMENAN:1223-1226)</div>

The referents of the NP's in bold face in examples (5) and (6) above are all identifiable through anchoring to another, already identifiable referent, explicitly mentioned within the NP. The house discussed in (5) is anchored by the presence of the proper noun *Érwin*, while the house discussed in (6) is anchored first by *ira* '2SG', then by *kita* '1SG'. Notice here that the anchoring is done by the NP's that are referring to the possessors, not by the suffix -*é* itself. Because of the very general nature of this possessive suffix there arises the question of whether -*é*, in Cirebon Javanese, is in fact in any sense referential. The evidence so far suggests that it may not be, given that it is used with all persons and with lexical and pronominal forms alike. In these cases reference is clear from the explicitly mentioned possessor. The suffix -*é* could be seen as indicating possession, but not performing any referring function.

An NP affixed with -*é* can also stand alone, without an explicitly mentioned possessor. In this case, the hearer is invited to make an appropriate inference as to the possessor's identity. This is illustrated in (7).

```
(7)   Kuen anak  pertama,
      that child first
      'She is the first child,

      Ya  berarti,
      yes mean
      So that means,

      disayang  pisan ning ibué     ya Dod?
      PASS.love very  by   mother-É yes Dod
      (her) mother really loves (her) right Dod?'
```
<div align="right">(DEMENAN:3862-3864)</div>

Here the possessor is not explicitly marked following *ibué* 'my, your, his, her, the mother'. Nonetheless, this is clearly understood from the context to mean the mother of the girl described as the first child at the beginning of the example.

As with any instance of inferencing, the appropriate conclusion may not be immediately obvious, and sometimes interactional repair or clarification may take place. This is illustrated in example (8).

```
(8)   K:     Alamaté    ning endi  Tin.
             address-É at   where Tin
             'What's the address Tin.'

      T:     .. Sapa.
                who
                  'Whose.'

      K:     Alamaté    énté.
             address-É 2SG
             'Your address.'
```

<div align="right">(DEMENAN:1158-1160)</div>

When speaker K mentions 'the address' in the first line, whose address is not explicitly stated. For whatever reason, T either cannot or chooses not to try to infer whose address is intended and asks for clarification. K responds with an explicitly specified possessive.

As mentioned above it does not seem necessary to assume that *-é* does any referring work in expressions with explicit possessors. But does *-é* do referring work when no explicit possessor is mentioned? While our understanding of possessive constructions in other languages might lead us to assume *-é* would be a referring, pronominal expression, I do not believe there is clear evidence that this must be the case in Cirebon Javanese. Participants in a predication are commonly not explicitly mentioned in Javanese. In such cases the hearer must infer the referents of such participants from context and world knowledge. I suggest that a similar situation obtains when *-é* is used with no overt possessor. The hearer is invited to infer the possessor. The suffix *-é* itself only indicates that some sort of possessive relationship obtains, without doing any actual referring work itself. *Ibué* in example (7) and the first occurrence of *alamaté* in example (8) then are not clear instances of anchoring. Like anchoring constructions, these are examples in which identifiability arises through a connection to some other identifiable referent. However, the possessing, identifying referent is not contained within the NP referring to the possessed, identified referent. In cases that do not include an overt mention of the possessor, it is hard to say that a strict form of anchoring occurs, although there is clearly a cognitive relationship established between two referents which leads to identifiability.

3.2. Frame evoked identifiability

Possession is one type of association that can obtain between referents and that can be exploited by speakers to make referents identifiable to their interlocutors. More general associations that are evoked from a cognitive frame and based on world knowledge can also be used to make a referent identifiable. In Cirebon Javanese the possessive suffix -é is also used to indicate an identifiability pathway of cognitive frame. As we saw, -é can be used not only with clearly specified possessors, but also when a possessor is only implied. The suffix -é is also used more generally when no specific possession can be inferred, but rather the referent is associated with a general set of ideas or knowledge evoked within the discourse. This is illustrated in (9), taken from a discussion about the detrimental effects of being too specialized in one style of music.

```
(9)    Coba koé   kapan nyanyi wadon.
       try  later when  sing   woman
       'Just think if a woman sings.

       kang nembang umpamané    lagu Élvi.
       REL  sing    for.example song Elvi
       who's singing let's say a song by Elvi.

       Ya  melodié  beli apal.
       Yes melody-É NEG  memorize.
       Well (you) won't understand the melody.'
```

<div align="right">(NGEREM:86-88)</div>

In example (9) the referent 'melody' has not been previously mentioned, yet is identifiable as the melody that one would need to know in order to accompany the woman mentioned in the first line of the example. The identifiability of 'melody' is accomplished through the frame evoked by mention of 'singing.' The notion of possession, even in a very abstract sense, does not seem relevant here. The melody is not necessarily being associated specifically with either Elvi (the original recording artist) or the current singer. Rather, the point is that from the frame evoked by mention of someone singing, we can infer the existence of a melody, which can then be taken as identifiable, even when first mentioned. It is because identifiability is evoked though this association between the already identifiable context of singing and the idea of melody that the NP *mélodi* is marked with the suffix -é.

The next example is taken from a conversational narrative about a man who was in a motorcycle accident.

```
(10)  Dadi a- nanjakan,      diga- --
      so      go.up.a.grade
      'So (he) was going up the grade,

      ditambahi      gasé thithik  ya.
      PASS-increase gas-É a.little yes
      then (he) accelerated a little right.'
```

<div align="right">(NGEREM:251-253)</div>

In this example, the gas has not been previously mentioned, but is clearly inferable from knowledge about how motorcycles work and how we ride them. It is the association evoked by our knowledge of motorcycles and how they work that is the pathway for the identifiability of the referent of *gas*, rather than a notion of possession of gas either by the motorcycle or by the driver.

In the following example the referent of *endhas* 'head' is identifiable from the interlocutors' understanding of the nature of snap-shots.

```
(11)  Poto       semono    jelasé,
      photograph that.much clear
      'Pictures that are that easy [to take],

      bisa, .. endhasé buntung kabéh Ér.
      can       head-É  cut.off all   Er
      can [end up with], the heads all cut off Er.'
```

<div align="right">(JOROKAN:1261-1263)</div>

While we understand that the heads in question belong to people presumably pictured in some photographs, it is not this possessive relationship which makes the referent 'heads' identifiable: these possessing people are themselves unidentifiable, indeed hypothetical, and can not be serving to anchor and identify *endhas* 'head'. The identifiability comes from general cultural knowledge of photographs: that they have content, and in the popular Javanese context in which this conversation took place this content almost always includes people, and thus presumably there will, or should be, heads in the photographs as well. It is these inferred heads that can be cut off with a cheap camera, and which are indicated as identifiable by the use of the suffix *-é*. These examples illustrate that *-é* can be used by speakers to indicate identifiability, without there being an anaphoric link to any previously mentioned or otherwise identifiable referent. In these cases it is indirect identifiability, based on cognitive frames and world knowledge, that is signalled by the use of *-é*.

The way identifiability is played out in interaction can be very subtle and complex. Du Bois and Thompson (1991) point out that the pathways to identifiability are by no means mutually exclusive. Speakers and hearers have many resources available to them to achieve understanding and they frequently make use

of multiple resources. It is not surprising then that the two types of identifiability marking in Cirebon Javanese that I have been discussing are not in some sort of complementary distribution. They can, and frequently do co-occur. This is illustrated in (12), taken from an oral narrative:

```
(12)  Mung,   ... nembé sedina  rong dina,
      only        just  one.day two day
      'Only, just one or two days later,

      lagi kangen-kangené Mas Krébét ning bojoné.
      when long.for-REDUP Mas Krebet to   wife-É
      While Mas Krebet longed for his wife.

      ... ning garwané.    ... Ya?
          to   wife.HON-É      yes
          for his wife.  Right?

      ...() Bo- -- .. Anu.
                     HESITATION
                     Um.

      Garwané    ki=, séda.
      wife.HON-É this died.HON
      His wife,  died.'
```

<div align="center">(TEDENG:560-508)</div>

In this example the referent of Mas Krebet's wife, *garwané*, is first successfully introduced in the third line.[4] Here the referent, even when first introduced, is identifiable through association with Mas Krebet, an example of typical anchoring though possession. As we would expect, this is indicated with the suffix *-é*. In the next mention, in the last line of the example, the referent is identifiable both through her relationship to Mas Krebet and through previous mention. In this example then, the use of *ki* 'this' helps to establish the discoursal continuity of the referent, while *-é* maintains our understanding of the semantic relationship of the referent to another referent in the story. We see here that two separate types of identifiability can be operating simultaneously, and that these different pathways are reflected in the different morphological marking of the NP in Cirebon Javanese.

4. Conclusion

In Cirebon Javanese the suffix *-é* indicates possession as well as more abstract relationships which make referents identifiable through an evoked cognitive frame. Unlike the cognate suffix in Standard Central Javanese, *-é* in Cirebon cannot be taken to indicate person, number, or any other cross-referenced

information. Nor does -*é* in Cirebon seem have a function of anaphoric reference. The central function of -*é* is to indicate identifiability through indirect association, either to another referent or more generally to a cognitive frame evoked in the discourse. This suffix -*é* seems to be in a process of grammaticization toward becoming a definite determiner signaling indirectly shared identifiability. As such a determiner, -*é* complements the demonstrative determiners, which indicate directly shared identifiability. That referents can be identifiable for multiple reasons, based for example on direct and indirect pathways, has been discussed in the literature, but in many languages these different pathways are often subsumed under a single type of definite morphology (e.g. *the* in English). The Cirebon Javanese data I have discussed here help confirm the cross-linguistic importance of the distinction between different pathways of identifiability and indeed highlight it by showing that languages can indicate these two different pathways with distinct morphology.

NOTES

1.   The data used in this study were collected during field work in Cirebon conducted between March 1993 and August 1994, with funding from Fulbright-Hayes and from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, with institutional support from the Indonesian Academy of Sciences and Atmajaya Catholic University. I would like to thank Wally Chafe, Susanna Cumming, Marianne Mithun, Danae Paolino, and Sandy Thompson for their helpful comments on this paper.

2.   The monosyllabic forms of the demonstrative also occur with a variety of initial consonants for example *li*, *lu*, *la*, and *gi*, *gu*, and *ga*.

3.   For ease of readability I have employed Standard Central Javanese spelling conventions in the orthography used here for Cirebon Javanese. These two varieties of Javanese are different enough that certain caveats are in order. In many parts of Cirebon final /a/ is still pronounced [a] rather than [ɔ]. An orthographic distinction between pairs of dental and retroflex stops is maintained although these have converged for most Cirebon speakers to a single pair: a voiceless dental or interdental stop, and a voiced alveolar stop. I have used the grapheme <e> to represent the phoneme /ə/ and the grapheme <é> to represent the phoneme /e/. There is a wide range of geographic and individual variation in the phonemic realization of /e/, which differs also from Standard Central Javanese; I have, therefore, not followed the Central Javanese convention of representing two allomorphs of this single phoneme with two separate graphemes.

4. The first vocalization referring to Mas Krebet's wife appears as *bojoné*, in the common form. The speaker then corrects himself, using the honorific *garwané*. It is this second, repaired vocalization that I am taking as the actually introduction of the referent.

ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	First person singular	PASS	Passive
2SG	Second person singular	QU	Question particle
HON	Honorific	REDUP	Reduplication
NEG	Negative	REL	Relative clause particle
PRT	Discourse particle		

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Following Du Bois et al. (1993).

..	Short pause
...	Long pause
.	Final intontonation contour
,	Continuing intonation contour
?	Appeal intonation contour
--	Truncated intonation unit
=	Lengthening
-	Truncated word

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Accord, Discord and Deixis in Tagalog Demonstratives
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1. Introduction[1]

Tagalog has a three-way deictic system.[2] This paper will present a new analysis of the alternation between the proximal, medial and distal forms of Tagalog demonstratives based on tracking propositions according to their interactional properties. The distal form is for propositions that have the interactional status of accord. When they have the status of discord, deixis indicates which participant made the proposition available to the interaction. The proximal form indicates the speaker, and the medial indicates all others.

2. Database

The database for this study consists of twelve episodes of the Philippine morning talk show *Kape at Balita* (Coffee and News). The topics of the shows are political, and there is only one topic for each half hour episode. The show is broadcast over the GMA television network out of Quezon City and is simulcast over DZBB radio. My twelve episodes were recorded from the televised form during the month of August 1994.

There are two hosts for the show, one in the radio studio and one in the television studio; there are television cameras in both studios, so what is going on in both places is shown at different times. The guests usually are in the television studio with the television host, but sometimes they call in by telephone. The show is all conversation, except for portions of the introductions to the episodes which are sometimes read, and the conversation is usually formal: turns are often long, and there is generally little overlap.

This data contain approximately 3,000 demonstrative tokens.[3] This analysis is based primarily on the tokens in five of the twelve episodes.

3. A previous analysis

As in many other languages, deixis in Tagalog demonstratives is usually analyzed in terms of space (Blake 1925, Llamzon 1976, Ramos 1971a, 1971b, Schachter and Otanes 1972). While there are a few variations, the traditional spatial analysis of the deictic forms is that the proximal is used for referents near the speaker, the medial is used for things near the addressee or not as close to the speaker, and the distal is used for things far away from all participants. Schachter and Otanes (1972) offer a two-part analysis. The traditional one above was associated with concrete referents, but deictic usage with things beside concrete objects was analyzed in terms of 'psychological distance' (Schachter and Otanes 1972:92). They argued that the deictic distinction indicates who is most closely associated with the referent. The proximal would be used to indicate the speaker, the medial would

indicate the addressee, and the distal would indicate that neither are associated.

4. Testing the traditional spatial deixis approach

The first question that needs to be asked of my data is whether the traditional spatial approach works for it or not; I will only address concrete referents to make the comments here relevant to Schachter and Otanes' analysis as well. Because the show's topics are political and, hence, mostly abstract, there is generally little interest in particular concrete objects, but I was able to find a few examples.

One of the twelve episodes was about impeachment charges that had been filed against Vice President Estrada. The situation arose when he received a $37,000 Cadillac from a friend in Los Angeles. The main focus of the charges had to do with whether it was appropriate for him to have the Office of the Vice President pay the exorbitant import tax on the car.

This episode offers an opportunity to test the spatial approach because the Cadillac is referred to often. If this approach is appropriate for my data, the deictic forms that participants use in referring to the car should indicate where the car is relative to the participants. Given that the car is in the Vice President's use, it is probably in the Manila area. There are four participants in the television studio; listing from the viewer's left, there are Representative Sergio Apostol, Justice Hermogenes Concepcion, Chairman Manuel Morato and television host Jessica Soho. In the radio studio, there is only the radio host Bobby Guanzon.

The following six examples illustrate the deictic forms that different participants use. First, Justice Concepcion uses both the proximal and distal forms. In example (1), he uses the emphatic form in which there are demonstratives before and after the nominal. His addressee is Bobby Guanzon in the radio studio. Therefore, in the traditional framework, he is locating the car closer to himself in the television studio than Bobby in the radio studio.

(1)[4] Concepcion: *dinoneyt ng a   kapatid ng vice president*
                    donated N   uh friend N   vice president
        itong   oto   ito   to the office of the vice
        DEM.PROX.T.LNK car.LNK **DEM.PROX**.T to the office of the vice
        president   [KADILAK:317-318]
        president
        'The friend of the Vice President donated **this** (very) car to the Office of the Vice President.'[5]

At another time, he uses the distal. His addressee, once again, is Bobby in the radio studio, so according to the traditional spatial analysis, the demonstrative would indicate that the car is far from both Concepcion and Bobby.

(2) Concepcion: *iyong*   *up- u- unang*   *complaint for*
         DEM.DIST.T.LNK   first-.LNK complaint for
*impeachment tungkol **doon***   *sa oto*   *kadilak*
impeachment about   **DEM.DIST**.O   O   automobile Cadillac
                                      [KADILAK:161-162]
'That first complaint for impeachment about **that** Cadillac (car)'

Another one of the guests in the television studio, Chairman Morato, uses the proximal and medial at different times. In example (3), he uses the proximal demonstrative. Here, Morato's addressee is Concepcion, so the demonstrative would indicate that the car is closer to Morato than to Concepcion, seated next to him.

(3) Morato: *huwag ninyong sabihin na **itoy***   *binigay sa*
   O   NEG.IMP 2PL.N.LNK say   LNK **DEM.PROX**.T-INV   given
office of the vice president   [KADILAK:405-406]
office of the vice president
'Don't say that **this** (car) was given to the Office of the Vice President.'

In the next example, he uses the medial in the emphatic form, as in example (1). Here, Morato's addressee is Concepcion yet again. These deictic tokens would indicate that the car is closer to Morato than Concepcion.

(4) Morato: *it is a conditional donation with a reversion clause na*
           it is a conditional donation with a reversion clause LNK
yan   *pong*   *kotse **yan***   *ay babalik*   *sa kanyang*
DEM.MED.T   POL-LNK car   **DEM.MED**.T INV will.return O   3S.O.LNK
kapatid after four years   [KADILAK:387-391]
friend   after four years
'It is a conditional donation with a reversion clause that **that** (very) car will return to his friend after four years.'

In example (5), Jessica Soho uses the medial demonstratives emphatically. Jessica's addressee is Morato; the demonstratives would indicate that the car is closer to Morato than Jessica.

(5) Jessica: *sinasabi ninyo chairman may duda ho kayo kung donation*
           say   2PL.N chairman EXIST doubt POL 2PL.O if   donation
*ho ba talaga **yang***   *kadilak na **yan***
POL Q? truly   **DEM.MED**.T.LNK Cadillac LNK **DEM.MED**.T
                                      [KADILAK:440-441]
'Are you saying, Chairman, you have doubts whether **that** (very) Cadillac was truly a donation?'

Lastly, the host in the radio studio, Bobby Guanzon uses the proximal. His addressee is Sergio Apostol, the third television guest. This form would indicate that the car is closer to Bobby in the radio studio than to Apostol in the television studio.

(6) Bobby: *itong*   *a complaint na to*   *ay nakasentro*
            DEM.DIST.T.LNK uh complaint LNK DEM.PROX.T INV centered
            *lang **dito**   sa kadilak*   [KADILAK:126]
            only **DEM.PROX**.O O Cadillac
            'This (very) complaint is centered just on **this** Cadillac.'

The traditional spatial approach clearly fails to predict the selection of deictic forms in these examples. The spatial interpretations of the tokens in all these examples fail to indicate where the car might be. Indeed, some examples are contradictory in a spatial analysis. (3) indicates the car is closer to Morato than to Concepcion while (4) indicates that it is closer to Concepcion than to Morato. Also, (1) would indicate that the car is closer to Concepcion in the television studio than to Bobby in the radio studio, but (6) would indicate that the car is closer to Bobby in the radio studio than to Apostol in the television studio. The car has to be either equidistant from both studios or closer to just one than the other.

5. A new analysis
The preceding section showed how a concrete spatial approach to deixis in demonstratives can fail. There has been a growing consensus that concrete space alone is not the basis of deixis in demonstratives. There have been analyses, such as Hanks (1990) on Maya and Laury (to appear) on Finnish, that have dispensed with concrete space being the basis of deixis and have put social relations of various sorts in its place. The approach I propose below is like these in that it does not involve concrete space, and the basis is social.

5.1 Basic notions
Discourse entities are things that can be tracked through the use of anaphora (DuBois 1980). Discourse entities always have something predicated of them. At the very least, the selection of a particular head noun in the referring expression predicates on category membership.

Referring involves what will be called *referring from* propositions, bringing predications relating to the discourse entity and its properties from other propositions into referring acts. Tracking occurs when some of the propositions being referred from were made available by the interaction. Propositions can be made available in the interaction in various ways. They can be explicitly stated, inferred or indicated by non-verbal behavior or the physical environment.

Deixis in Tagalog demonstratives is used to indicate propositions. When demonstratives are used refer to propositions, the deictic form gives some

information as to which propositions are being referred to. With discourse entities, the deictic form indicates propositions that are being referred from.

5.2 Accord and discord

The deictic distinction in Tagalog demonstratives reflects whether propositions are socially consistent with other propositions that are available to the interaction. When they are consistent, the propositions have the interactional status of accord, but when they are not, they have the status of discord. There are two main factors that determine whether a proposition has the status of accord or discord. One has to do with indications of knowledge. If all the participants' contributions to the interaction indicate that they know a proposition, i.e., if they all **act** as if the proposition is common knowledge, there is accord, but if some indicate not knowing it, there is discord. The other is indicated posture: how the proposition is characterized. If all the participants' characterizations of the proposition are socially consistent, there is accord, but there is discord when they are socially inconsistent.

Sometimes, speakers can observe other participants indicating knowledge or ignorance of propositions and characterizing propositions, but sometimes they cannot. In such situations, speakers often make inferences about indications of knowledge and posture.

The three-way deictic distinction indicates interactional status. When there is accord, the distal form is used by all participants. However, when there is discord, deixis indicates who made the proposition available to the interaction. If it is the speaker, the proximal is used, but if it is another participant, the medial is used.

5.2.1 Indicated knowledge

The interactional status of propositions is dependent, in part, on whether or not the participants indicate that they have knowledge of the propositions. The following examples illustrate how the indicated sharing or non-sharing of knowledge affect interactional status and, therefore, deixis.

Example (7) is just one of many in my database that shows how speakers use the distal form to indicate propositions that all participants act like they know. There is one episode in my database about Philippine national language policy. Tagalog is the national language, but it is called *Pilipino* or *Filipino* when being referred to as such. Like most Philippine languages, Tagalog has no labial-dental or bilabial fricatives and accordingly, has no 'F' in its alphabet. The lack of an 'F' in Tagalog orthography is something all literate Tagalog speakers would know. In the next example, the television host, Jessica Soho, questions the use of Filipino with an 'F'.

(7)　Jessica: *kailangan siguro ipaliwanag natin bakit Filipino hindi ho*
　　　　　　need　　maybe　clarify　　1N.N　why　Filipino　NEG　POL
　　　　Pilipino at saka yung　　　ating　　pong　alpabeto wala
　　　　Pilipino and then **DEM.DIST**.T.LNK　1IN.LNK POL.LNK alphabet NEG.EXIST

pong   letrang   [ɛf]   e   [ɛfe]
POL.LNK letter.LNK 'F'   PART 'F'
'We need to clarify why 'Filipino', not 'Pilipino' even though the letter 'F'
[ɛf], uh, 'F' [ɛfe] doesn't exist in our alphabet.'

Notice that in the second line she uses a distal demonstrative in referring to the alphabet. This is expected in my analysis. Here, the demonstrative is indicating that predications from propositions about the nature of the Tagalog alphabet, including the lack of an 'F' are being brought into the current proposition. Because these propositions are ones that the speaker can assume that the other participants know, the distal form is expected.

     Situations can lead speakers to infer that propositions are common knowledge can arise in various ways. Another is through all being exposed to the same event. An episode about the Cairo population conference illustrates this. This United Nations conference was held in Cairo fall 1994, a few weeks before this episode was recorded. The Catholic Church became involved in the conference because the preliminary document that was drafted in New York and was to be approved in Cairo included a section on abortion. Cardinal Sin, the Archbishop of Manila, made a speech on television the day before this episode was recorded. He argued that the Philippines should not send representatives to the conference because participation could lead to the Philippines being forced to legalize abortion. From the interaction, it is clear that all the participants watched Cardinal Sin's speech, so they can assume that they share a set of propositions from it. Therefore, every time in the interaction that speakers refer from propositions conveyed by Sin in his speech and use a demonstrative, the distal form should be used.

     One of the guests is J. Prospero deVera; he is one of the government officials that is still planning to go to the Cairo conference despite the Cardinal's appeal. Jessica Soho, the television host, asks him about the Cardinal's speech; example (8) is part of her question.

(8) Jessica: *ano   hong   assessment ninyo **doon**   sa   nakita*
               what POL.LNK assessment 2PL.N **DEM.DIST.O** O saw
        ninyong   kahapon   [POPULATION:105]
        2PL.N.LNK yesterday
        'What is your assessment of **that** which you saw yesterday?'

Here, Jessica uses a demonstrative in referring to what deVera saw on television: the Cardinal's speech. In referring to the speech, she is referring from the propositions conveyed within it; she clearly wants him to discuss what was said, not some other aspect of the program. Therefore, the distal form is the one expected, and that is the one she uses.

     DeVera follows with a long turn responding to this question. In his speech, the Cardinal said several things about the delegations to the New York and Cairo

meetings, both of which deVera is a part of, and about deVera himself. By answering the question, deVera is essentially responding to the Cardinal's allegations. Because of this, he repeatedly refers from the Cardinal's speech with demonstratives and uses the distal. Example (9) is a part of this turn.

(9) deVera: *unang-una   miyembro ako **nung**   delegasyon na*
delegation   first-LNK-first member   1S.T   **DEM.DIST**.N.LNK
                 LNK

nagpunta sa preparatory meeting sa New York at   pupunta ako
went   O   preparatory meeeing O   New York and will.go 1S.T
pupunta ako sa Cairo   [POPULATION:120-121]
will.go 1S.T O Cairo
'I am the lead member of **that** delegation that went to the preparatory meeting in New York, and I will go to Cairo.'

In this example, deVera is discussing the delegation's attendance at various conferences despite the Cardinal's arguments. He uses a demonstrative in referring to the delegation to New York. He is responding to the Cardinal's speech here and referring from it, so he uses the distal form.

The three preceding examples have shown how referring from a proposition that can be inferred to be shared knowledge goes along with accord status and the use of the distal form. The next example will show how there is discord when there are indications that the proposition being evoked is not shared knowledge. In this example, like many others in my data, this sort of discord is indicated by the use of the proximal or medial. Continuing with a later portion of the episode on the Cairo conference, the radio host Lito Villarosa asks deVera about a statement he made at the preparatory meeting in New York. The host asks him whether he discussed the legalization of abortion. Apparently, the Cardinal said that he had said something like this, and the Cardinal was the host's only source on this. DeVera's response indicates that the Cardinal's charge was based on something that he said, but that it was inaccurate. In example (10), deVera gives his own characterization of what he had said.

(10) deVera: *sa ibang   bansa **ito**   ay legal a   hindi sinabi*
             O other.LNK nation **DEM.PROX**.T INV legal uh NEG said
*na   dapat maging legal **ito**   sa lahat ng bansa*
LNK   must become legal **DEM.DIST**.T O all N
nation   legal

                                         [POPULATION:206-207]
'**This** (abortion) is legal in other nations. (I) didn't say that **this** (abortion) must become legal in all nations.'

Notice here that deVera uses proximal demonstratives twice in referring to abortion.

The demonstratives are referring from the propositions that are conveyed by the clauses they are in, and also from other statements to the same effect earlier in the same turn. Since the radio host indicates in the question that these propositions were unknown to him, and the speaker is the one making them available, my analysis suggests the proximal would be used, and that is the form that occurs.

This example also exemplifies how Schachter and Otanes' analysis for non-concrete referents repeatedly fails to work for my data. Recall that they said that when demonstratives are used in referring to non-concrete referents, deixis indicates with whom the referent is identified. According to Schachter and Otanes' analysis, deVera is indicating that he identifies with abortion by using the proximal form to refer to it. However, at other times in the episode, deVera explicitly states what he is doing about abortion in his official capacity, as in the following.

(11) deVera: *a gusto ko lang linawin na nung* *nagputa*
DEM.DIST.N.LNK uh want 1S.N just clarify LNK went

kami sa New York hindi namin sinuportahan ang abortion
1EX.T O New York NEG 1EX.N support T abortion
[POPULATION:124-127]

'Uh, I just want to clarify that those, we who went to New York, we didn't support abortion.'

This quote clearly indicates that deVera is not part of any official action to legalize abortion. He is working to disassociate himself with abortion.

5.2.2 Indicated posture

The examples above showed how participants indicating knowledge or ignorance of propositions affected which deictic form speakers use. The ones below show the effect of participants' characterizations being socially consistent or not. To begin, I will show how clear social inconsistencies in indicated postures about propositions establish discord. Here, I return to the show about the Vice President and the Cadillac.

Two of the participants in this episode are entirely opposed to each other. Chairman Morato has been backing the impeachment process. Almost a year before, he was a newspaper editor, and he wrote an editorial listing the allegations against Vice President Estrada that came to be the core of the impeachment charges. The other participant is Justice Concepcion. He is a former justice and is the Vice President's attorney.

At one point, the radio host Bobby Guanzon asks Concepcion a question. Bobby does not mention Morato, but he does bring up some of Morato's allegations. In essence, what he does is ask Concepcion to respond to Morato's allegations. Concepcion makes a lengthy response. He says what Morato's allegations are so he can then explicitly disagree with them. One of the allegations that he says Morato

made was that the Cadillac was given to the Vice President. He then proceeds to assert his opposing view. The example here is the same as (1).

(12) Concepcion: *dinoneyt ng a kapatid ng vice president*
                donated N uh friend N vice president
               itong   *oto*   *ito*   *to the office of the vice*
               DEM.PROX.T.LNK car.LNK DEM.PROX.T to the office of the vice
               president   [KADILAK:317-318]
               president
               'The friend of the Vice President donated **this** (very) car to the Office of the Vice President.'

Morato makes it clear at other times that he has a posture toward the proposition in (12) that is inconsistent with the speaker's. Concepcion used demonstratives in referring to the car. The demonstratives are indicating that the car is being tracked from the propositions conveyed by the clause itself and preceding sections of his turn. He is drawing from propositions in his own line of argument, not others, such as those supplied by Morato. With the clear social inconsistency in posture, there is discord. With this and the fact that it is the speaker making the proposition available to the interaction, the proximal form is suggested by my analysis. The proximal is what he used both times. This is a frequently-occurring pattern in my data.

       Concepcion continues for a while longer, discussing other allegations. As his turn ends, Morato begins. The first thing he says is example (13).

(13) Morato: *hindi po totoo **yan***   *Justice*   [KADILAK: 378]
            NEG   POL   true   **DEM.MED**.T   Justice
            '**That**'s not true, Justice.'

This sentence is clearly confrontational; it's quite clear that Concepcion would assert his truthfulness. By saying this, Morato is clearly indicating that he disagrees with what Concepcion said. Because of the disagreement, there is discord. Since Concepcion was the one making his turn and its content available to the interaction, Concepcion should be the one indicated through deixis. He is not the speaker, so the medial would be the appropriate form. That is the one that Morato uses. The use of the medial in such situations is also quite common in my data.

       The claim about social consistency in indicated posture holds up too. There is a common pattern in which all participants indicate consistent postures toward a proposition or group of propositions, and distal forms are used when referring from them. One example can be found in an episode about environmental issues. The discussion gets into the topic of the pollution of the Pasig River which runs through Manila. A consensus was established among the participants that the most significant source of pollution was from squatters living along the river disposing of their wastes into the waters. One of the guests mentions that sixty percent of the waste in the

Pasig River comes from squatters and discusses plans for relocating them. The radio host Bobby Guanzon says that he feels that the squatting problem is quite bad and calls for change. The television host Jessica Soho mentions that she had thought about the problem of water pollution. She says that she has observed the same pattern of people living near waterways and polluting in other parts of the country. She suggests that the pattern of behavior is due to cultural attitudes and calls for cultural change. Part of this is example (14).

(14) Jessica: *bakit pagka- nakatira ang mga tao   sa daluyan ng tubig*
             why   reside   T   PL   person O source   N   water
      sa ilog o sa dagat? sila   yung   madudumi ano sila
      O river or O ocean   3PL.T **DEM.DIST.T.LNK** will.pollute what 3PL.T
      yung   nagdudump   [ENVIRONMENT:980-985]
      DEM.DIST.T.LNK are.dumping
      'Why do people live near a source of water, a river or the ocean? They are **those** who will pollute. Well, they are **those** who are dumping.'

In this example, Jessica uses demonstratives in referring to the polluters and dumpers. The demonstratives indicate that Jessica is referring from the propositions in her turn; some of the propositions she is tracking from are those about *mga tao* 'people' earlier in the quote. This is new information to the interaction in that she is generalizing about the Philippines, not just the Pasig River. However, what she says in the example is clearly based on the consensus that the others had reached about the squatters on the Pasig. With this consensus, the speaker can infer that others will indicate a posture like hers toward the propositions in her speech. With no social inconsistency in posture, the distal is predicted, and that is the form she used both times.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have shown how Tagalog speakers use deixis in demonstratives to indicate two things about propositions: who made the propositions available to the current interaction and whether there is social inconsistency in their contributions regarding the propositions. The two factors that I demonstrated as affecting deixis are: 1) whether all participants indicate knowledge of the propositions, and 2) whether all indicate a consistent posture. I showed that the proximal form is used when there is discord and the speaker was the one who made the proposition available to the interaction, and the medial form was shown to be used when it was another participant. The distal is the form used when there is accord.

My analysis is strongly social and does not appeal to concrete space or a space metaphor. I have shown how the traditional spatial approach and Schachter and Otanes' 'psychological distance' approach for non-concrete referents do not account for the distribution of deictic forms in my data. This data raises the question whether my social analysis is appropriate for other sorts of topics and genres as well. Are

there situations in which a concrete spatial analysis of deixis is necessary? The only way to address this question is to examine natural interactions in which the participants are likely to be concerned with spatial relations. This is an important question for further research.

Notes

1. I thank Susanna Cumming, Jack DuBois, Nicholas Kibre, Marianne Mithun, Carl Rubino, Robin Shoaps, and Sandra Thompson for their helpful comments. I also thank my Tagalog consultant and transcriptionist Cheryl Contreras. However, any errors in this paper are my own.

2. Some sources argue that there is a four-way deictic distinction, but Schachter and Otanes (1972) mention that the nearest of the four is used little, if at all, by educated Manila speakers. This form was essentially absent from my data, and I am not considering it in my study.

3. For this study, I looked at all sorts of uses of the demonstratives except for usage in the compound *mayroon* and when demonstratives are used as verb roots.

4. A list of abbreviations precedes the references at the end of the paper.

5. Notice that I have translated *kapatid* here as 'friend'. The literal meaning is 'sibling', but other portions of the interaction make it clear that the donor was not Vice President Estrada's brother.

Abbreviations

DEM	demonstrative	MED	medial
DIST	distal	N	non-trigger
IMP	imperative	NEG	negative
IMV	inversion	O	oblique
LNK	linker	POL	polite
PL	plural	1IN	first person plural inclusive
PROX	proximate	2PL	second person plural
Q?	question marker	3S	third person singular
T	trigger	3PL	third person plural
1S	first person singular		

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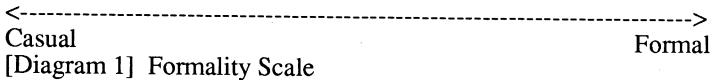# Creating the Middle Ground Register in Thai Conversation*

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1. MIDDLE GROUND REGISTER

Speaking at the proper speech level register is one of the most important considerations for individuals engaged in conversation. A particular register exhibits the participants' awareness of, among other things, such variables as the relative power difference and psychological distance between them, and the speech event situation (Brown and Gilman 1960; Hymes 1972; Halliday 1978; Brown and Levinson 1978 among others). In this paper we will investigate how Thai speakers create appropriate speech levels using various linguistic cues.

At the outset, we identify two types of registers: the 'protocol' register and the 'middle ground' register. Protocol register is called for when all the variables mentioned above are clearly determined (e.g., commoner's first encounter with a king). Middle ground register is required when one or more of the variables is not easily specifiable (e.g., college freshmen who have just gotten acquainted with each other) or is in conflict with another or other variables. The protocol register used in non-ambiguous social situations is static, while the middle ground register (or MGR) which is necessary when negotiating the appropriate speech level in ambiguous situations is fluid. It is this second type of dynamic register which we examine in this paper.

We propose to define the speech registers by two scales, the Formality Scale and the Deference Scale. The degree of formality is set along the Formality Scale (as shown in Diagram 1) according to the speech event situation.

```
<------------------------------------------------------------------------->
Casual                                                              Formal
[Diagram 1]  Formality Scale
```

When a speech participant assesses the situation to be extremely formal, the formality value is at or near the right most point on the scale shown above. When a speech participant assesses the situation to be very informal or casual, the value is at or near the other extreme (the left most point on the scale).

Independent of the Formality Scale there exists the Deference Scale which is elucidated by the relative power difference and the psychological distance between the interlocutors. Deference embodies a special bond that exists between two individuals who are not equal in terms of age, social rank and/or occupation but who feel affection for each other. This affection can be an intimacy coalesced with respect that an inferior has for the superior or fondness that a superior feels for an inferior. By definition, deference does not exist between two equals or between two strangers.

A speech level within the MGR may be specified by using the Formality Scale (the horizontal axis) and the Deference Scale (the vertical axis) and may be represented by a point in space as is represented by Diagram 2 below. The higher end of the Deferential Scale indicates a higher degree of deference and the lower end a lower degree.
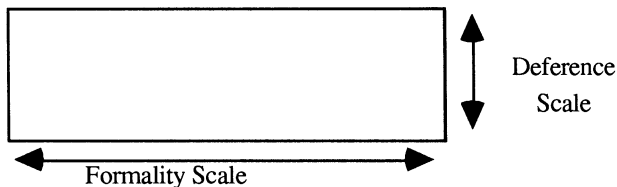
[Diagram 2] MGR Space

The proposed conceptualization of speech levels finds its support in the theory of politeness suggested by R. Lakoff (1973, 1975, 1977, 1979). According to Lakoff, conversation participants employ three rules of politeness: 1. Formality, 2. Deference, and 3. Camaraderie. Formality makes interlocutors "keep aloof" from each other, while Camaraderie makes interlocutors show sympathy with each other and recognize in-group membership. Deference "recognizes the existence of both participants and their relationship" (Lakoff 1979:63). It is extremely important to observe that Deference is a distinct strategy from Formality and Camaraderie: Lakoff maintains that while Formality and Camaraderie politeness strategies cannot be used together, it is possible to have both Deference and Formality, or both Deference and Camaraderie. This suggests that while Formality and Camaraderie define a single scale (i.e., our Formality Scale), Deference constitutes an independent one (i.e., our Deference Scale).

Three important matters concerning the middle ground registers and speech levels should be noted before we embark on our discussion of the relevant phenomena in Thai. First, in the most global view, it can be said that a register and speech level is the result of blending various types of "contextualization cues" (Gumperz 1982), including turn taking behaviors, paralinguistic features, exclamations, non-verbal cues, topic choice and so forth. In a more restricted view, the register is conceived as a result of linguistic cues such as honorific lexemes, pronouns, address terms, and particles. In this paper, we investigate register and speech level phenomena only in the latter more restricted sense. Second, the middle ground register is observed at word, sentence and discourse levels. Both at the word and the sentence levels a speaker sometimes mixes different types of register coding cues (Agha 1993:151). The middle ground register is also a product of discourse: a speaker regulates the use of various cues at different stages in discourse. Third, participants with non-equal status use different register conceptualizations. While one participant might maintain a rather formal speech level, the other may try to use a less formal level. As long as the participants consider each other's register appropriate, the register remains more or less stagnant, but if one participant considers the other's register inappropriate, he may try to alter his own speech level or encourage the other to change the speech level.

2. REGISTER CODING CUES IN THAI CONVERSATION

Thai has several grammaticalized cues which encode speech levels. In our research, we have identified three such cues: (a) speech participant reference terms, (b) speech level markers, and (c) pragmatic particles. In this paper we will examine only the first two cues for their distribution and frequency, leaving the

discussion of pragmatic particles for future analysis.[1] These cues dynamically intermingle and shape various degrees and shades of register.
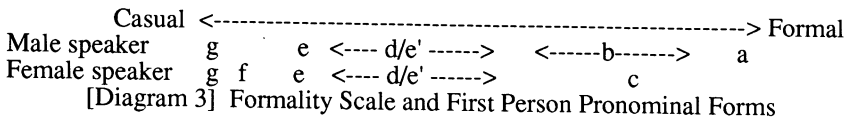
2.1. *Speech act participant reference terms*

Thai has an extremely large inventory of terms that refer to speech act participants (Cooke 1968, Campbell 1969, Palakornkul 1972), and these terms can be classified into three major types: pronominals, personal names, and nominals.[2]

2.1.1. Pronominals: First person pronominals used frequently are described below. Description of each pronominal is a modification from Cooke (1968).

a. *kraphŏm* (1st-m): male addressing high-ranking nonroyalty, or in a very formal situation. b. *phŏm* (1st-m): general polite term used by males speaking to equals and superiors. c. *dichán* (1st-f): female speaking to superiors; formally to equals. d. *chán* (1st-f/m): male speaking to inferior or female intimate; female speaking to an intimate equal or inferior. e. *raw* (1st-m/f): superior to inferior; between friends of the same sex, referring to oneself in soliloquy. e'. *raw* (1st-m/f): general first person plural. f. *kháw* (1st-f): young woman speaking to an intimate. g. *kuu* (1st-m/f): nonrestraint form, male speaking to a close male friend; female to female among close intimates
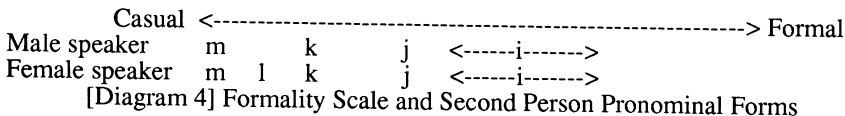
Pronominal forms indicate different points on the Formality Scale. Diagram 3 below is an attempt to show the approximate points at which each first person pronominal form falls on the scale. Those with arrows extending on both sides are general forms applicable in larger contexts than those without arrows.

```
         Casual  <--------------------------------------------------------> Formal
Male speaker       g        e  <---- d/e' ------>     <------b------->     a
Female speaker     g   f    e  <---- d/e' ------>                    c
```
         [Diagram 3] Formality Scale and First Person Pronominal Forms

Commonly used second person pronominals are as follows:

i. *khun* (2nd-m/f): general polite term used to equals and superiors. j. *naaj* (2nd-m/f): general friendly term used by male to male and female equals; female to female equals. k. *raw* (2nd-m/f): speaking to inferiors. l. *thəə* (2nd-f): female speaking to inferiors or intimate equals. m. *mɯŋ* (2nd-m/f). male speaking to intimate male; occasionally used by or to females

Diagram 4 below shows the formality of each second person pronominal form.

```
         Casual  <--------------------------------------------------------> Formal
Male speaker       m        k        j   <------i------->
Female speaker     m   l    k        j   <------i------->
```
         [Diagram 4] Formality Scale and Second Person Pronominal Forms

The speaker chooses first and second person pronominal forms which are appropriate for the speech situation. Also, the speaker may employ (and does so quite frequently) what is called the zero form to refer to him/herself or the addressee, when wishing to actively avoid register specification (Palakornkul 1972:28-9).

2.1.2. Personal Names: Personal names are also used as speech act participant referent terms. In Thailand, most people have, besides a given name and a surname,[3] a nickname or a abbreviated given name. A given name (non-abbreviated or abbreviated) or a nickname is often used instead of pronominals referring to the first and second persons. For example an individual whose given name is *phichaj*, and whose nickname is *lék* may be addressed one of the following ways: (1) *khun phichaj* (the most formal form consisting of a title *khun* (same form as the formal "you" in 2.1.1) and the given name), (2) *khun lék* (the next formal form consisting of a title *khun* and the nickname), (3) *phichaj* (given name alone, the less formal form), and (4) *lék* (the nickname alone, the most casual form). In the most casual setting, he may also refers to himself as *lék.*

2.1.3. Nominal terms
2.1.3.1 Occupational terms: Occupational terms (e.g., *mɔ̌ɔ* 'doctor,' *khruu* 'teacher' and *ʔacaan* 'professor') may also be used instead of the first and second person pronominals. All occupational terms, which usually denote superior, but sometimes non-superior (e.g., *choofɜ̀ə* 'chauffeur'), indicate formal level of speech. All of these occupational terms may be followed by a given name (and sometimes by a nickname) (e.g., *ʔacaan phichaj*).
2.1.3.2. Kin terms: Kin terms are also used as speech act participant reference terms, but they are different from all other such terms in that they are sensitive to the Deference Scale rather than the degree of formality, as most of these terms assume human relational concepts (e.g., *phîi* 'older siblings,' *náa* 'mother's younger sibling,' *luŋ* 'older brother of parents,' and *pâa* 'older sister of parents.') Deference, as defined earlier, is a special bond that exists between two individuals who are close but are not equal, and it embodies affection, i.e., friendliness, respect and fondness.

The most widely used kin term, *phîi*, for example, is employed by a younger speaker to refer to an older addressee (who may or may not be a blood relative), denoting the power difference, which may be interpreted as respect, and at the same time the smaller psychological distance, which is interpreted as intimacy (Cooke 1968:50). When used by an older speaker to refer to himself, *phîi* acknowledges his responsibility associated with his senior status and his fondness towards his inferior. The term *nǔu* 'mouse,' though not a kin term in the strict sense, is a counterpart to *phîi* and refers to the less powerful party in an interaction.[4] Thus the "I-You" relationship may be expressed by "*phîi-nǔu*" (from the superior's point of view) or "*nǔu-phîi*" (from the inferior's point of view). Although these words that specify deference are independent of formality, such deference is more readily expressed in an informal situation. Thus these words tend to appear in less formal conversation and when the two interlocutors call each other with these terms, the speech level is casual yet deferential.

In Diagram 5 below, these words of deference (indicated by Xs) are compared with terms which are not sensitive to Deference (indicated by Ys and Zs). The actual form of non-deference will be selected depending on the

formality of the speech event: if the situation is informal, the format Nickname (speaker's) - Nickname (addressee's) may be selected (Ys in the diagram) and "*phŏm-khun*" for example, may be selected (Zs in the diagram) if the situation is formal.
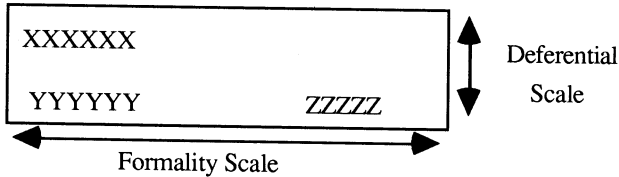
[Diagram 5] Formality Scale and Personal Names

2.2 Speech level markers

Most speech level markers are markers of the level of formality. For example, *khá* (female)/*khráp* (male) and their phonological variants[5] are formal speech level markers. A phonologically reduced form, *há* and its variants (used by both male and female speakers) are markers of mid-level formality. There are also the very casual speech style markers *wá* ("unrestrained, or coarse, or familiar ... may convey aggressiveness ... Chiefly used between males but occasionally used by or to females" Cooke 1989:27) and *wóoy* ("unrestrained or coarse, or familiar ... used chiefly between males" Cooke 1989:28), which code an extremely casual speech register.

Casual <--> Formal
wá / wóoy   *há*   *khá/khráp*
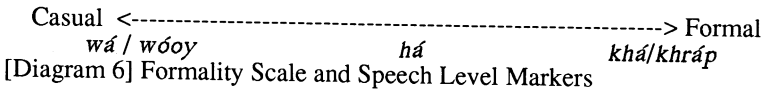
[Diagram 6] Formality Scale and Speech Level Markers

To summarize, most register coding cues specify degrees of formality along the Formality Scale, but some are sensitive to deference. Various types of middle ground register are created by mixing these cues. The most interesting mixture is perhaps the mixture of a cue that codes casual register and a cue that codes deference since this combination could create a informal yet deferentially polite speech level.

3. CREATING MID GROUND REGISTER
3.1. Register coding at the word level

Words that are of different degrees of formality and of different types may be combined. Thus, *khun mɔ̆ɔ* 'doctor,' is more formal than *mɔ̆ɔ* by itself. Also, when the title *khun*, which codes a formal level, and *pâa* 'older sister of parents,' which codes deference, are combined (i.e., *khun pâa*), both dimensions of the register can be manifested with one noun phrase.

3.2. Register coding within a sentence

Utterance (1) below clearly is a sentence with high formality because it contains the pronominal *phŏm* (1st-m) (see Diagram 3) and the formal speech level marker *kháp* (see Diagram 6).

(1)[6] 133 F: phŏm kɔ̂ mâysâap na kháp
            1st-m HP NEG know P SLM   "I don't know either."

Another item of formality in this utterance, which is not in the scope of our current discussion, is the verb *sâap* 'know,' which is a formal equivalent of a more general *rúu* 'know.' No items showing deference appear in this sentence. Observe now sentence (2) below.

(2) 74 M: lian laam   côp máy ha   "Did you graduate from
           study R. University finish Q   SLM   Ramkhamheang University?"

The style in example (2) is less formal than (1) because it is marked by the mid-level formality marker, *há*, with the zero form for the agent. Deference is not coded in this utterance as in (1) above. This is one type of a sentence which is often found in the MGR. (3) below, however, is an even clearer case of an MGR sentence.

(3) 5 J: nŭu phǜŋ maa thǜŋ thii-nía
         1st ASP come arrive here-P   "I have just arrived here."

Utterance (3) is different in two ways from (1) and (2). It is deferentially polite because of the use of the subject *nŭu* (a nominal form) which denotes 'friendliness' and 'respect' towards the interlocutor as we discussed earlier. (3) is also different from (1) and (2) in that it is not marked by any speech level markers. Thus (3) is a typical utterance of MGR. Now observe (4).

(4) 1 K: ʔûm yùu troŋ nǎy ʔa
         (name) stay where   P   "Where have you been?"

The speaker (male) of (4) refers to his addressee (female) as *ʔûm* which is the addressee's nickname. This is a sign of casual speech and it often appears in conversations between very close friends. The lack of one of the polite speech level markers *khráp/kháp* here is thus predictable and appropriate. The same nickname may also be used as the first person reference term as we will see in the next section.

Unless a person is speaking in a rigid protocol register, he can freely mix different types of register coding cues in order to adjust his speech style with precision. The middle ground register refers to the space in which such adjustment of speech style is made.

3.3 Register coding in conversation discourse
    We have seen in the above section that different kinds of speech level are created by mixing various cues within one sentence. We need, however, to also examine how speech level is achieved in discourse since speech level is a phenomenon holistically recognized. For this purpose we examined four different types of conversations. All the examples in the previous section except (1) are from the following four conversations which constitute our data base. The length of each conversation data set was measured in terms of intonation units (IU) (Chafe 1993; 1994) as indicated by the number in the parentheses. Most IUs relevant for our discussion are of the clausal type.

(a) "Students" - (298 IU): A casual conversation between male and female students, recorded on campus at Mahidol University (Salaya, Thailand). (b) "Interview" (306 IU): A job interview between a male interviewer and a female interviewee who has applied for a waitress position at a hotel in Bangkok. (c) "Teachers" - (210 IU): A conversation between a senior and a junior college teacher, both female, recorded in a school office in Bangkok. (d) "Earthquake" (285 IU): A conversation between two strangers (both students studying at colleges in Los Angeles) talking about their personal experiences during the Northridge earthquake.

Below we will examine how frequently different register coding cues are employed and by whom. The register coding cues we examine are (i) first person reference terms in the subject position, (ii) second person reference terms in the subject position, and (iii) speech level markers.

3.3.1. "Students"

	Zero	Pronominal	Name	Kin term	Total
Male	49	1 (chán)	6 (nickname)	0	56
Female	43	0	15 (nickname)	0	58

[Table 1] First Person Reference (in the subject position)

The most striking feature found in this very informal conversation is the abundant use of nicknames by both speakers to refer to themselves as Table 1 shows: the male student used his own nickname to refer to himself six times and the female student used her own nickname to refer to herself 15 times. This feature itself sets the conversation at a very informal level.

	Zero	Pronominal	Name	Kin term	Total
Male	7	0	4 (nickname)	0	11
Female	6	0	0	0	6

[Table 2] Second Person Reference (in the subject position)

Table 2 also shows a feature of informal register. The male speaker used the female student's nickname, ʃûm, four times when referring to her. (See example (4) in the previous section.) Predictably, neither speakers employed the first and second person formal pronominal forms in this conversation.

	khá/khráp	há	wá ʔ wóoy	Total
Male	0	0	6 / 1	7
Female	0	0	1 / 0	1

[Table 3] Speech Level Markers

Another sign of the casual conversation is the lack of formal and mid-formality speech level markers (khá/khrápʔhá) as seen in Table 3. However, both the male and female speaker marked their utterances with wá and wóoy. All three tables indicate that various register coding cues are working in concert to create a very informal, casual conversation.

3.3.2. "Interview"

This is the most formal conversation among the four we examined. Since the objective of this conversation is to solicit information about the female applicant for the job, it is natural that both the interviewer and the interviewee talk about her.

	Zero	Pronominal	Name	Kin term	Total
Male	6	1 (*phǒm*)	0	0	7
Female	40	2 (*raw*)	0	0	42

[Table 4] First Person Reference (in the subject position)

We see in Table 4 that the male interviewer used *phǒm* once to code the speech level as formal, but in the other 6 cases, he used the zero form. His use of the zero form instead of *phǒm* may be interpreted as his attempt to make the job interview less formal and less threatening for the interviewee. This point is supported when we look at speech level markers in Table 6 below. The female interviewee's form of choice was the zero form (40 out of 42 cases). She used *raw* twice: one as the first person singular self address term (i.e., she is talking to herself) and one as the first person plural. The formality level of plural *raw* is general (not too formal and not too casual) and that of the self addressing *raw* is neutral. We also note from Tables 3 and 4 that neither of the speakers used kin terms which code deferential politeness.

	Zero	Pronominal	Name	Kin term	Total
Male	25	0	0	0	25
Female	0	0	0	0	0

[Table 5] Second Person Reference (in the subject position)

Only the male interviewer used the second person reference term, which took the form of zero. If the conversation is more formal, we expect some uses of *khun*, a formal second person referent form. Again avoiding *khun*, the interviewer tries not to make the interview too formal.

	khá//khráp	*há*	*wá ʔ wóoy*	Total
Male	2	22	0	24
Female	34	5	0	39

[Table 6] Speech Level Markers

The assumption that the interviewer tried to make the interview session easier for the interviewee is supported by the interviewer's abundant use of the mid-level formality marker *há* (22 times) rather than the high formality marker of *khráp* (2 times). While the interviewer attempts to make the conversation less formal, the interviewee maintained the higher formality by choosing *khá* most of the time (34 times) over the mid-level *há* (5 times).

This phenomenon is typical for a conversation between two unequal participants. The two participants use two different kinds of speech levels. The female interviewee maintains a certain level of formality with the formal speech level marker but her insistent avoidance of formal pronominal forms keep the .speech level from reaching the most formal level. The male interviewer aims at a slightly lower speech level with the use of the mid-level speech level marker.

This pattern of interaction suggests that the inferior status speaker is restrained more than the superior status speaker in keeping the formality level. Finally no deferential politeness is present since the interlocutors do not have any informal personal relations.

3.3.3. "Teachers"

This conversation took place between two female college teachers in their office (semi-casual speech event situation). While the two teachers know each other well (closer psychological distance), there is still an age and rank difference between them (larger power difference), and the subordinate teacher clearly shows features of MGR.

	Zero	Pronominal	Name	Kin term	Total
Senior	23	0	0	0	23
Junior	7	1 (*chán*)	0	6 (*nǔu*)	14

[Table 7] First Person Reference (in the subject position)

Here we observe a striking difference between the senior and junior teacher's usage of first person reference terms. The senior teacher avoided overt forms completely, leaving no sign of formality level or deference. The junior teacher, on the other hand, used overt forms half of the time when she mentioned herself as the subject, using *chán* once and *nǔu* six times. This shows that the junior teacher codes deferential politeness most of the time (*nǔu*) with a hint of equal status (*chán*). (Recall that according to Cooke (1968), *chán* is used by a 'female speaking to an intimate female or inferior.)

	Zero	Pronominal	Name	Kin term	Total
Senior	3	0	0	1 (*nǔu*)	4
Junior	9	0	0	7 (*phǐi*)	16

[Table 8] Second Person Reference (in the subject position)

Table 8 also shows the senior teacher's reluctance to make the conversation either too formal or too casual, although she displayed a slight move towards the deferential speech by using *nǔu* once. On the other hand, the junior teacher tries to emphasize deference with the frequent use of *phǐi*.

	khá/khráp	*há*	*wá ? wóoy*	Total
Senior	0	3	0	3
Junior	0	17	0	17

[Table 9] Speech Level Markers

Since this conversation is not formal as Tables 7 and 8 show, it is predicted that the female formal speech marker *khá* does not appear, which is confirmed in Table 9. The junior colleague, however, used *há* 17 times (compared to 3 times by her elder interlocutor) to keep the conversation from falling to the casual level.

In this conversation, the senior teacher generally avoids both formality and deference. However, the less powerful uses more tokens of mid-formality and deferential politeness. This leads to the frequent use of MGR sentences. Typical MGR sentences are given below.

(5) 29 J: phíi   ca   ʔaw ʔaray há
               older sister ASP take what SLM   "What do you want?"

(6) 14 J: nŭu   mây mii kaaw
               mouse NEG have glue   "I don't have glue."

In (5) the kin term, *phíi*, denotes both respect and intimacy, and the mid-formal style marker *há* denotes the not-too-formal and not-too-casual level. This is a very typical MGR sentence. In (6), on the other hand, the junior teacher only indicates deference by using *nŭu* which refers to herself, but does not specify the level of formality. In other words, the same speaker is not always consistent in coding formality and deference within one conversation. By producing different types of utterances, the interlocutors negotiate various shades of register in discourse.

3.3.4. "Earthquake"
Although the participants in this conversation were strangers to each other (a greater psychological distance) and one student was four years senior to the other (a slight relative power difference), they shared common background in student status, home country and so forth (smaller psychological distance). This situation is likely to induce MGR.

	Zero	Pronominal	Name	Kin term	Total
Senior	21	1 (*raw*)	0	0	22
Junior	19	1 (*raw*)	4 (nickname)	0	24

[Table 10] First Person Reference (in the subject position)

There are about the same number of first person references by the two speakers. The senior student preferred the zero form, and so did the junior. However, the junior also used her own nickname four times. This gives an impression that the junior student is trying to make the conversation more casual. The senior student, however, used neither her own nickname nor her interlocutor's nickname because perhaps she wanted to emphasize the slight age difference, or perhaps she still felt psychological distance despite the similar background. Also noteworthy is the fact that the senior's use of *raw* is plural (and thus general), but the junior's use is singular, whose formality level is rather low, unlike the self addressing *raw* we saw in "Interview." The use of her own nickname and singular *raw* by the younger speaker suggests that unlike the interviewer in "Interview" and the junior teacher in "Teachers," it is the younger speaker in this conversation who suggested a move towards a less formal speech level, by emphasizing common background rather than the slight age difference (But see Table 12 below).

	Zero	Pronominal	Name	Kin term	Total
Senior	1	0	1 (nickname)	0	2
Junior	2	0	0	1 (*phíi*)	3

[Table 11] Second Person Reference (in the subject position)

Here the senior student referred to the junior with the zero form and her nickname once each. The junior referred to the senior with the zero form twice and with

phíi once. Although the numbers are small, this kind of fluctuation is typical in the MGR conversation.

	khá/kháp	*há*	*wá ʔ wóoy*	Total
Senior	0	0	0	0
Junior	3	12	0	15

[Table 12] Speech Level Markers

This table shows the different speech behaviors between the two speakers most vividly. The junior used the formal marker *khá* three times and mid-level formal maker *há* twelve times. The senior student used neither. Thus, on the one hand, the junior speaker tried to make the conversation more casual; but as we saw in Table 10, she still maintained a certain level of formality.

In "Interview," "Teachers," and "Earthquake," we saw active speech level negotiations between interlocutors, which is the essence of the middle ground register.

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Speech level register is an elusive phenomenon, but intuitively recognized by all speech participants. This paper has tried to analyze this otherwise evasive happening in natural conversation by examining concrete register coding cues. We argued that register is generally not a static phenomenon but a dynamic process in which speech level is continually negotiated by the participants. What we termed the middle ground register (MGR) is the space in which creation, negotiation and modification of speech level occurs. Since the MGR is defined by two independent variables, the Formality Scale and the Deference Scale, interlocutors may carry on a conversation in a casual but respectful tone.

We believe that the speech level register is closely related to politeness phenomena, a target of much recent debate in the area of pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Discussions on politeness, however, are largely based on constructed data as pointed out by Agha (1994:284), Hymes (1986:78) and others. Thus we also hope to have provided a direction for the research of politeness which takes actual data seriously.

Notes:

* This paper is dedicated to the late John Hinds, who died in September, 1994. The two authors of this paper appreciate his leadership in the field of discourse study and his friendship. His memory is a driving force behind the present article. Data used for this paper was collected with funding from University of California's Pacific Rim Research Program (1993-4) and ISOP Small Grant of University of California, Los Angeles (1992-3).

[1] Pragmatic particles show speaker's modal attitudes and interactional concerns. Discussions on these particles are found in Peyasantiwong (1981) and Cooke (1989).

[2] Besides forms for the speech act participants, Thai also has many terms that refer to the third person. Cooke, for example, lists eight 'third person forms' (1968:18-9).

[3] The use of surnames is extremely limited. In conversation, hardly ever are they used.

[4] Cooke (1986) describes *nŭu* as follows: "depreciatory and friendly or intimate term denoting a child, or sometimes an adult female younger than ego, and occasionally even an adult male younger than ego. (As the second person referent form, it is used for) young male children and females up to adolescent age; (as the first person referent form, it is used) by female adults speaking to older persons, especially to females, even those only slightly older than themselves."

5 The tone on *kha* may vary depending on the type of sentence with which it appears. For example, it is the rising tone if the sentence is a question, but is the falling tone if it is a statement. *khráp* is very often pronounced as *kháp* especially in a less formal conversation.

6 Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: ASP (aspect), HP (highlighting particle), NEG (negative), P (pragmatic particle), Q (question marker), SLM (speech level marker).

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NOT YES, NOT NO: THE ZEN OF KHMER DISCOURSE PARTICLES

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0. Introduction

This paper will examine the Khmer discourse particles *tee* and *baat*, focusing primarily on the former, which is more problematic. I'll present a multi-modular analysis of their illocutionary, discourse, syntactic and semantic properties. The goal is two-fold. As can be seen from the data (on the handout), tee has a wide range of uses. The word *tee* has been previously discussed in descriptive grammars and in one analytical paper (Eilfort & Schiller 1990).

Typically (e.g., Huffman 1970, Jacob 1974, Headley 1977) these particles are presented in dictionaries and pedagogical work by simply listing a variety of examples (3). One goal of this paper is to unify the disjoint listings into a coherent explanation which covers the wide range of applications of the particle. I will also compare the use of *tee* to certain English tags, such as "...or not" and the areal A-not-A construction.

1. Description

The need for clarification on the description of tee is clear when one compares standard dictionary entries and grammars with the data presented below. To vastly oversimplify, the literature gives the impression that *tee* means 'no' and *baat* (and the equivalent for female speakers, *caa*) means 'yes'.

1.1 First hypothesis: 'yes/no'

Although *tee* does resemble the English response 'yes', it is clear from (1) that neither *tee* nor *baat* bears the entire positive or negative value by itself.

1)   The Khmer particles *baat* and *tee*
    Replies to
    look *baan* *teñ* *mhoup?*
    sir   get   buy food
    'Have you bought the food?'
  a. *baat,* *teñ*
    RESP buy
    'Yes'
  b. *baat,* *mɯɯn* *toən* *teñ* *tee*
    RESP not   yet buy prt.
    'No, I haven't bought it yet.'
  c. *baat,* *nɯɯŋ* *teñ*
    RESP will buy
    'No, but I will buy it.'
  d. *baat,* *tee*
    RESP prt.
    'No.'

1.2 Second hypothesis:

Looking at additional data (2-5), we find that the situation seems quite complicated. In (2), the word functions to indicate that the question is supposed to be answered 'Yes' or 'No'. It is functionally equivalent to the English 'or not?' tag, and to gloss (2) as 'Do you have a wife or not?' is possible. There is also a clear parallel in the A-not A question form found in many languages of the area, where the equivalent of the 'or' particle is almost never found. Khmer may eventually drop it as well, since it is a language where lexemes which are not required for grammatical or communicative import are often eliminated, especially if they are readily available from the context of an utterance.

2)   In yes/no questions
       look   mien   prapuən   (ruɯɯ)   tee?
       sir   have   wife   (or)   prt.
       Have you a wife?

Judith Jacob's dictionary includes the listing presented n (3), where *l?ɔ:* translates to 'good' and *ruɯ:* to 'or', the latter also seen in example (2).

3)   Dictionary entry in Jacob 1974:
       (i) (not) ...at all; indeed;
             muɯn l?ɔ: ___   it is not good
             l?ɔ: ___   it is indeed not good
       (ii) (in question) or not?
             l?ɔ: ___?   Is it good?
             l?ɔ: ruɯ: ___   Is it good?

From this, we might conclude that *tee* adds a negative polarity to the sentence, even if the sentence already contains a negation element (cf. 1b and the first dictionary entry in 3i). That seems to work well, though the effect in (3i) is to strengthen the emphasis of the negation, as Jacob's gloss indicates. That is a discourse effect we will return to below in the discussion of the discourse-function component. So we have a variety of uses of negation, some coordination, some discourse, but none which are traditional verb phrase or sentential negators, except in cases where the explicit negator mµn (or its synonyms) is also present, as in 3i above and 4-5 below). So we can't classify *tee* grammatically as belonging to the same class of negators as *muɯn* .

4)   In negative statements
       khñom   mɔɔk   muɯn   baan   tee
       I   come   not   able   prt.
       I couldn't make it.
5)   *khñom   muɯn   nuɯŋ   rih   kɨt   yaaŋ   naa   tee!*
       I   not   will   choose think   manner   prt.   prt.
       'There is no way for me to decide!'
       [Literally: I will not choose in any manner!]

Before we try to make a nice neat rule that encapsulates our observations about the obligatory co-occurrence restrictions on *tee* and *muɯn*, it is important to consider additional data. In (6) the negation is incorporated in a negative polarity

item (cf. *mien* 'have'). Note that in this case there is no independent negation particle.

6)   *kmien*   *hien*   *təu naa*   *mɔɔk*   *naa*   *tee.*
         not-have   dare   go   prt.   come   prt.   prt.
         'He never goes anywhere.'

In (7), we see that the notion of "negative" must be enlarged to include sentences which involve the notion 'only'.

7)   In constructions with 'only'
                khñom   *ceh*   *taɛ*   *rien*   *tee.*
                I   know-how   only   study   prt.
                All I know is how to study.

1.3 A third suggestion: just describe it

We must be careful, however, not to over-extend the analysis. We could just say that *tee* is a generalized negation marker that applies to everything but straightforward VP-negation, as well as to indicate questions, and is found at the end of and utterance. That's not a particularly convincing description, however.

Yet this is exactly the kind of problem we run into when attempting to describe Southeast Asian languages, with their lack of inflectional morphology and abundance of so-called particles. Now let's try to strip down and clarify the definition. We will have to adjust utterance-final to sentence-final or verb phrase final, a definition which depends on the framework of analysis being used.

In (8), we must include the initial *tee* as part of the utterance, though it can be syntactic sentential unit unto itself, or some adjunct of a sentential unit.

8)   In negative replies
                tee,   *khñom*   *mɯɯn*   *thvəə*   *kruu*   *baŋriən tee*
                prt.   I   not   do   teacher   teach   prt.
         'No, I'm not a teacher.'

I won't delve into theory-internal matters here, except to say that in my view *tee* is an element which combines with a sentential unit to form another sentential unit, and is found in sentence final position as a result of natural default relations from syntax to discourse function, which I'll return to later.

We see in (9), that content questions never take *tee*,

9)   *thŋai*   *nih*   *pʋ?*   *hnəŋ*   *mɔɔk*   *maon*   *ponmaan*   *(*tee)?*
         day   this   group   that   come   hour   how-much
         'What time are those people coming today?'

nor do requests for action (10).

10)   *soum*   *ni?iey*   *prap*   *khñom*   *?əmpii*   *srok*
        please   speak   tell   me   about   country

        khmaɛ   *mədaaŋ*   *tiet*   *məəl*
        Khmer   one-time   more   look
        'Please tell me again about Cambodia.'

So we must reduce the notion of a question marker to a marker of yes-no questions, and if we might be able to attribute this quality to the 'no' portion of the yes-no question. What about the question-marking aspects, then? Well get back to them. Let's postpone the formulation of a lexical entry just a bit more, because there are still some purely descriptive problems. Semantically, we have been suggesting that negation—the denial of a proposition—is involved.

Example (11) demonstrates that *tee* is not always appropriate even when the statement involves the denial of a previous assertion. It must be at the start of the utterance, not the end, when followed by an assertion of a proposition the speaker does not want to negate.

11) a. *tee,   khñom thvəə   kruu   peet   (*tee)*
       prt.   I   do   teacher medicine
       'No, I'm a doctor.'

   b. *khñom thvəə   kruu   peet   tee*
      I   do   teacher medicine   prt
      'Am I a doctor?' (marked, but acceptable given appropriate context)

   c. *khñom mɯɯn   thvəə   kruu   peet   tee*
      I   not   do t   eacher   medicine   prt.
      'I'm not a doctor.'

So we are going to have to account for the differences in scope resulting from the position of the particle.

We have not yet exhausted the paradigmatic properties of the item. It turns out that the position usually occupied by *tee* at the end of the sentence is restricted, and can only be occupied by one lexeme. (12) shows that there is another particle which is used in a similar manner, but this particle *soh* is restricted to utterances which are quite strong in their emphasis.

12)   *khñom mɯɯn   daɛl   təu soh!*
       I   not   ever   go   at all
       'I've never been there!'

Negative imperatives (13) also fail to trigger the use of *tee*.

13)   kom   pruəy   (*tee)!
       don't worry

Finally, (14) shows that the presence of a clitic *taɛ* not only does not automatically force the use of *tee*, but can even reject it. The tee of negation is in complementary distribution with *laəy* and *sɔh* , which are intensifiers of negation. On the other hand, yes/no question tee is in complementary distribution with markers of imperativity and information questions.

14)   *khñom mɯɯn   baan   dəŋ   thaa   koət   kɔmpung-taɛ*
       I   not   get   know   say   prn.   Prog. Aspect
       sasee   sɔmbot (*tee).
       write   letter
       'I didn't know he was in the middle of writing a letter.'

2. An Autolexical analysis

Having assembled a set of elusively related facts about the word, let's take a look at the problem from a variety of perspectives. The autolexical approach demands that each lexical item in a language be listed with information concerning its phonology, morphology, syntax, logico-semantics, discourse-function, illocutionary properties and real-world meaning. We try to determine the behavior of the item in each of these dimensions.

For *tee*, some of this work was done in Eilfort & Schiller (1990), and for the purposes of this paper I'll use the syntactic and logico-semantic analysis of that paper, and concentrate on the illocutionary and discourse properties. As the 1990 paper pointed out, *tee* has the illocutionary function of passing information, except in the case of yes/no questions. We claimed that in yes/no questions the result of adding *tee* to the utterance is not an assertion. This was represented in an autolexical entry (15).

15) *tee*   (in yes/no questions)
           syntax: S/S
           logico-semantics: nil
           morphology: X,
           illocutionary: +IP _____[-assertion]
           Interface: default

Most of that analysis, is, I believe, correct The phonological representation is uncontroversial, even if the transcription systems for Khmer vary widely. Syntactically, we chose to analyze it as an item which combines with a sentential unit and returns a sentential unit. In specifying the logico-semantics as nil, we claimed that where a proposition was actually negated, it was another negative particle in the utterance that provided that information, and that *tee* plays no direct role in the propositional logic of the utterance. Morphologically, the particle is inert and does not combine with any other items in the morphosyntax.

All that is fine, but then we come to the listing pertaining to the illocutionary module. There I believed we made an error.

Without concerning ourselves with theory-internal details such as whether [assertion] is an appropriate feature for the Illocutionary dimension, I think it is more appropriate to discuss this aspect of yes/no questions in terms of the Discourse-Function dimension reflected in the listing (16).

16) *tee*   (in yes/no questions)
           syntax: S>>S
           logico-semantics: nil
           morphology: inert
           illocutionary: [+IP -SR]
           discourse function: [+Focus]
           Interface: default

I have jettisoned the ±assertion feature, which now seems terribly ad hoc anyway, in favor of an analysis involving an existing feature, speaker responsibility, and have added a listing the discourse-function dimension. In a yes/no question, the proposition is added to the discourse context and the addressee

is prompted to comment on it (thus the obvious parallel with English 'or not' tags, cf. ex. 2). That the item is in focus is not only evidenced by its position, but *tee* also usually bears phonetic stress.

The position of tee is determined by the cross-modular interface The interface is governed by the Generalized Interface Principle (Sadock and Schiller 1993) which demands that the structure of each dimension correspond to the structure of other dimensions as closely as possible. This is why elements of a syntactic category S>>S are, as a universal tendency, found outside the main clause or inserted as parenthetical, if their content is primarily discourse-functional or illocutionary in nature. In other approaches, one might describe these functions as "metalinguistic" or "extragrammatical" but the autolexical view is that these dimensions are as much a part of the grammar of a language as the syntax and semantics, and that lexical entries include this grammatical information, using a system of categories and combinatories which are of the same nature as those of syntax, morphology and so on.

The autolexical approach combines the listing in (16) with a set of default relationships that apply across dimensions, which may be language specific or universal tendencies. In the present case, the relationship of the categories specified at the illocutionary and discourse-function levels is usually to category that combine with higher syntactic levels such as sentences rather than more atomic levels such as nouns, verbs, etc. This is reminiscent of the long-standing observation that interjections and parenthetical tend to be found at constituent boundaries.
As for the other uses of tee, the lexical entry in (17) is appropriate:

17) *tee*

syntax:	S>>S
logico-semantics:	nil
morphology:	inert
illocutionary:	+IP+SR
discourse function:	[+Focus]
Interface:	default

The difference in the two listings is confined to a single feature on the illocutionary level. In the case of the yes-no question, the speaker is not taking responsibility for the propositions contained in the utterance, but merely offering them as possibilities, or, perhaps via a Gricean mechanism, a request. In the remaining examples, the speaker does take responsibility for the statement.

This is intuitively appealing to an autolexicalist, because in our framework we expect polysemy to produce items which differ either on a single level, or, if on multiple levels, then there should be a predictable "default" relationship between those levels. For example, if we find a word used as both a verb and an adjective, we expect that the adjective involves the assignment of a property to an entity, and that the verb is a two-place predicate, the sort of thing one often finds in early stages of language acquisition by children.

3 . Conclusion

I hope that this presentation of the behavior of the discourse particle *tee* will serve as a contribution not only to the understanding of Khmer, but also to the analysis of Southeast Asian discourse particles in general, and that the method employed, involving autonomous representations of discourse, illocution, logico-

semantics, syntax and their lexical entries can be used to enrich our understanding of these elusive phenomena.

I do realize that in this brief presentation I have only hinted at details and specifics of the Autolexical framework, but suggest that it can be of great practical value when brought to bear on the tricky question of lexicography. Whether or not one adopts the specific dimensions of the Autolexical approach and their internal representations, the process of viewing the different relationships words have from different grammatical perspectives can help clarify the description of these items, and make life easier for future researches who can test the descriptions and refine them as needed.

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ON DEGREES OF GIVENNESS: AN ANALYSIS
OF NOUN PHRASES IN SOME CHINESE CONSTRUCTIONS

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1. Introduction. Many linguists have treated given versus new information as a binary distinction. However, in recent years other linguists have realized the problems of that distinction. They began to consider the degrees of givenness. Among those arguing for degrees of givenness are Jones & Jones 1979, Givon 1987, Gundel 1989, Prince 1981, 1992. Prince (1981) argues that NPs which represent discourse entities are impossible to be grouped into 'two homogeneous and discrete sets' (234). Some NPs are felt to be familiar to the hearer, but they are familiar in a number of different ways; some are somehow felt to be unfamiliar to the hearer, yet they are new in different ways. She therefore proposes a taxonomy of assumed familiarity which consists of three big categories of New, Inferable, and Evoked.

Her category New is subdivided into Brand-new and Unused. In the case of Brand-new the hearer has to create a new entity in order to comprehend a text. In the case of Unused, the hearer may be assumed to have the corresponding entity in his/her model. Unused entities are, according to Prince (1992), Discourse-new but Hearer-old;[1] that is, they may not be textually evoked at the moment of utterance, but the hearer is familiar with the entities as in (1) from Prince (1981:233). If the utterances are in a discourse initial position, *Noam Chomsky* is Unused and *a bus* is Brand-new:

(1) a. <u>Noam Chomsky</u> went to Penn.
   b. I got on <u>a bus</u> yesterday and the driver was drunk.

Brand-new entities are further subdivided into Brand-new Anchored and Unanchored. An NP in Brand-new Anchored category is linked to another discourse entity by means of another NP. For example, the hearer creates a new entity *a guy* in a *guy I work with* by relating it to the old entity I, the speaker, which makes it seem less new than entities without such an anchor.

The category Inferable contains Noncontaining Inferable and Containing Inferable. Prince (1981) defines inferable entities as those that the hearer is assumed to be able to infer through logical reasoning. Later she (1992) further discusses Inferable and Containing Inferable and makes a distinction between the two subcategories. An entity is inferable if the speaker is sure that the hearer can, based on his background knowledge, relate a Discourse-new entity to a 'trigger' entity which is Discourse-old (evoked), and therefore able to infer the entity in question as in (2) from Prince (1992:305) where *the door* is inferable from *the Bastille*:

(2) He passed by <u>the Bastille</u> and <u>the door</u> was painted purple.

Containing Inferable works in the same way as Inferable except that 'the entity which triggers the inference is not, as in the case of the Inferable, necessarily in the prior discourse, but is rather *within the NP itself*' (Prince 1992:307).

(3) <u>The door of the Bastille</u> was painted purple. (Prince 1992:307)

Finally the category of Evoked is subdivided into Textually Evoked and Situationally Evoked. It is an Evoked entity if the NP representing it has its coreferent in the prior discourse. 'Situationally Evoked entities represent discourse participants and salient features of the extratextual context' (Prince 1981:236). Prince then offers the following familiarity scale: Evoked > Unused > Inferable > Containing Inferable > Brand New Anchored > Brand New.

This paper reports the result of an application of Prince's taxonomy of assumed familiarity into the study of some Chinese NPs and argues that although Prince's taxonomy works well for some cases, for other cases, it needs to be refined. Specifically, Prince's category of Evoked cannot distinguish different levels and degrees of givenness among evoked NPs in Mandarin Chinese.

2. Data. The NPs discussed here represent four construction types. They include subject NPs of the motion verb <u>lai</u> 'come', and NPs in the <u>you</u> 'exist', <u>ba</u>, and <u>bei</u> constructions. The data for this study were drawn from twelve published short stories and one novel. I included all NPs in these constructions in the twelve stories and in Part 1 of the novel, which consisted of 101 pages. In addition, I included all subject NPs of <u>lai</u> in the entire novel, which was 353 pages long, and in two published audio tapes of children's stories. The examples were analyzed according to Prince's criteria, and put into different categories according to Prince's taxonomy. The number and percentage of occurrence in each category were recorded.

3. Subjects of <u>lai</u>. The verb <u>lai</u> 'come' in this construction is an intransitive verb signaling motion. The NPs involved in the motion are subjects and are found to be both in the postverbal and preverbal position. The data show that a difference in position signals a difference in the NPs' definiteness-status and degree of familiarity. A typical example is given in (4), where word order variation signals definiteness (Chinese has no articles).

(4) a. <u>ren</u>   lai   le.
       people come   PFV (Perfective)
       'The person has come.'
     b. lai   <u>ren</u>   le.
       come people PFV
       'There is somebody coming.'

The NP ren in (4a) has definite status; to make the sentence comprehensible the speaker must assume that the hearer is able to locate the person the speaker is talking about. So the utterance is appropriate when ren has been evoked in the prior discourse. The NP ren in (4b) has indefinite status and the hearer is not able to locate the person in his discourse model.

Chinese, as Li and Thompson (1981) and Gundel (1988) indicate, is a topic prominent language. Sentence initial position is usually reserved for the topic. Since Chinese requires definite NPs or generics in the topic position, we would expect that only NPs representing the leftmost entities in Prince's familiarity scale would appear before verb lai and only NPs signaling the rightmost entities would appear after lai.

Table 1. Analysis of Postverbal & Preverbal lai NPs (by Number and Percentage)

	Postverbal NPs (12)		Preverbal NPs (39)	
Evoked				
E	0	0.0%	27	69.2%
E + A	0	0.0%	4	10.3%
Total	0	0.0%	31	79.5%
Unused	0	0.0%	7	18.0%
Inferable				
Ic	0	0.0%	1	2.6%
New				
BN	7	58.3%	0	0.0%
BNa	1	8.3%	0	0.0%
BN + A	4	33.3%	0	0.0%
Total	12	100.0%	0	0.0%

*Notations as follows: BN=Brand-new BNa=Brand-new Anchored U=Unused I=Inferable
Ic=Containing Inferable E=Evoked Es=Situationally Evoked A=Attribute

The results confirm this expectation. Of 51 naturally occurring tokens, 39 NPs are preverbal and 12 postverbal. As expected, only NPs representing the leftmost entities appear before lai. Most of these are textually evoked, some in the category of Unused, and one in Containing Inferable. The 12 NPs that appear after lai are all New, with some Brand-new and others Brand-new Anchored.

31 NPs (79.5%) out of 39 are textually evoked, which shows that NPs representing Discourse-old entities have the strongest tendency to be placed before motion verb lai as in (5).

(5) yitian   daoshang   lai   le   yi wei
    one-day   isoland-on   come   PFV   one CL (Classifier)

<u>guairen</u>.   <u>zhe guairen</u>   yi   lai   ya,
strange-man this strange-man once come RF (Reduced forcefulness),
dahai   jiu xianqi le   dalang.
big-sea then surge PFV big-wave
'One day a strange man came to the island. Once this strange man
came big waves began to surge on the sea.' (Small Flying Dragon)

The strange man in (5) is first introduced into the discourse by means of an indefinite NP being placed postverbally. Once it is textually evoked it becomes a topic NP in preverbal position.

The NPs placed after <u>lai</u> represent new entities and have numerals plus classifiers as a signal of indefiniteness as in (6):

(6) a. yingmian   guo lai   <u>yi wei</u> mantou   baifa
       toward-face over come one CL all-over-head white-hair
       de   laoyeye.
       NOM (Nominalizer) old-grandpa
       'An old man with white hair all over his head walked toward us.'
       (Small Flying Dragon)
   b. you   lai   <u>liang ming</u> tanjian   de.
      more come   two   CL   visit-prisoner NOM
      'Here came two more persons visiting the prisoners.'
      (Zhonghua Ernü 12)

The data further show that highly salient entities with a form of pronominalization occur preverbally without exception as in (7). Postverbal pronominalization is ungrammatical in the <u>lai</u> construction as this position is reserved for unfamiliar entities only.

(7) a. <u>ta</u>   lai le,   hu   you zou   le;
       she come PFV, suddenly again walk-away PFV
       ta   zou   le,   Ø hu   you lai   le.
       she walk-away PFV, Ø suddenly again come PFV
       'She came, and suddenly walked away; she walked away and
       suddenly came back again.' (Xing: 85)
   b. *lai   <u>ta</u> le,   hu   you zou   le;
      come she PFV, suddenly again walked-away PFV

As shown in Table 1, seven preverbal NPs (18%) fall into the category of Unused. Prince's category of Unused can explain very well why some NPs representing Discourse-new and Hearer-old entities can appear before verb <u>lai</u>, while they are ungrammatical in postverbal position. An Unused entity is one which the speaker assumes that the hearer has in his/her discourse model although

it has not been textually evoked in the prior discourse. According to Prince's familiarity scale, NPs in the Unused category have a very high degree of familiarity, next only to evoked NPs. This explains why Unused NPs can appear in a topic position not in a postverbal position as in (8).

(8) a. "ni   meimei   lai   le."
        your younger-sister come PFV
        "shi ma?" wo shifen jingcha "nei   ge meimei?"
        BE Q   I greatly surprised which CL younger-sister
        '"Your younger sister has come."
        "Really," I was greatly surprised, "Which sister?"' (Xing: 63)
    b. * lai   ni   meimei   le
        come your younger-sister PFV

Example (8) appears at the very beginning of a dialogue. The hearer did not have this entity in mind at that moment, but obviously his own sister is familiar to him. Thus the speaker utters this as an initial sentence of a dialogue, assuming that the hearer can locate without mistake the entity the speaker is referring to. (8b) is unacceptable because an NP with high degree of general familiarity is placed in a position for unfamiliar NPs.

The seven cases of Unused NPs in preverbal position would have to be categorized as New if we define given as what is in the listener's consciousness at the moment of speech and new as not in the listener's consciousness at that moment, as is observed by Prince (1981). Under this analysis it is difficult to explain why new entities appear in topic position. Prince's distinction between Unused and New better handles the Chinese data.

4. The you Construction. The existential you construction has a subtype involving two verbs: you + NP + VP:

(9) you yi ge ren   zai waimian jiao men
        exist one CL person at outside call door
        'There's someone outside knocking at the door.' (Li & Thompson: 510)

The existential verb you has the function of introducing a new entity into discourse, so the NPs representing the entity are usually indefinite. The second verb describes this indefinite direct object.

Table 2. Analysis of <u>you</u> NPs (by Number and Percentage)

<u>you</u> NPs (103)		
Evoked	0	0.0%
Inferable		
I	3	2.9%
Ic	8	7.8%
I + A	2	1.9%
Total	13	12.6%
New		
BN	74	71.8%
BN + A	16	15.5%
Total	90	87.4%

Ninety NPs (87.4%) fall into the category of New. This figure makes sense as it correlates the levels of familiarity of <u>you</u> NPs with the NPs' property of being introduced into the discourse for the first time. Further elaboration and description of the NPs depend on their succeeding verbs. In the discourse the <u>you</u> NPs serve as cataphoric grounding as in (10).

(10) huran   you <u>yang dongxi</u> jielian   reng le   guolai   Ø
     suddenly exist CL something continuously throw CRS across-come Ø
     da zhong le ta de   tui, Ø shi   ta shuai le
     hit right PFV his NOM leg Ø cause him fall CRS (Currently relevant)
     yi jiao.
     one CL
     'Suddenly some things continuously came flying over, and hit him right in the leg, causing him to fall down.' (Cheng: 16)

In (10), *yang dongxi*, which is a new NP following the verb <u>you</u>, starts a topic chain which subsequently takes the form of zero anaphora in the succeeding discourse.

Although the majority of <u>you</u> NPs represent new entities, some are less unfamiliar. Prince's category of Inferable captures this difference. The Inferable category enables us to see different degrees of familiarity. NPs in this category show some connections with evoked, Discourse-old entities and therefore they do not sound totally new to the hearer. Without the category of Inferable we would have to group all the <u>you</u> NPs as homogeneously new, thus failing to capture the different degrees of givenness. Especially significant in this construction is the Containing Inferable as in (11).

(11) diaocha   zhizhong, jing   you <u>90% de haizi</u>
     investigation during   to-one's-surprise exist 90% NOM kids
     gaosu wo ...
     tell   me
     'During the investigation, there were 90% of the kids telling me ... '
     (Zhonghua Ernü 30)

In (11) *90% de haizi* '90 percent of the kids' falls into the category of Containing
Inferable. *The kids* is the container and *90%* is contained. The evoked entity *kids*
functions as a link contributing to familiarity.

    Prince's Inferable category also captures paired relationships among NPs,
such as doctor and patient, buyer and seller. When one is textually or situationally
evoked the other can be inferred and therefore will not appear as a surprise to the
hearer, as in (12).

(12) a. shichang you <u>maike</u> tingjian shi   wan le ... xin   yi
        often   exist buyer hear   moment late CRS   heart one
        ji   jiu ... han qilai: aizi! lü   dougao!
        hurry then   shout up Dwarf green cake
        'Often some buyers found it too late when they heard him ... then
        they would hurriedly shout, Dwarf! green bean cake!'
        (Xiaoshuo Yubao: 73)
     b. you <u>huanzhe</u> lai kan bing   le. wo ba xin   sai jin chouti.
        exist patient come see illness CRS I BA letter put in drawer
        'There is a patient coming to see the doctor. I put the letter into
        a drawer.'   (Xiaoshuo Yubao: 87)

In (12a) the whole previous context is about a Dwarf who sells green cakes for
a living, so the seller is situationally evoked. The seller becomes a trigger entity
which is not Hearer-new and the buyer's relationship with the trigger entity
makes it inferable. In (12b) the whole context establishes the first person narrator
in the story as a doctor who was on a night shift. The patient who comes to see
her seems to be expected.

    The finding of less unfamiliar entities represented by existential NPs as
mentioned above encourages us to take a new look at this subtype of the
existential construction in Chinese, especially when it is examined within a
discourse context. In (12a) and (b), buyers and patients are not new foci; rather
they are expectable. In contrast, the subsequent information that describes the
hearing in (12a) and coming to see the doctor in (12b) are new foci. The degree
of familiarity embodied in this paired relationship is greater than that of other <u>you</u>
NPs. Prince's inferable category captures this difference.

5. The <u>ba</u> NP. The most basic word order in Chinese is SVO. In the <u>ba</u> construction a direct object is fronted and placed after <u>ba</u> and before the verb: subject + ba direct object + verb as in (13):

(13) ni <u>ba   ta de   yisi</u>   jiang chu lai   le
     you BA 3sg GEN (Genitive) meaning talk   exit come CRS
     'You have explained what s/he meant.' (Li & Thompson: 463)

Li and Thompson (1981) claim that the <u>ba</u> NP is generally definite, specific or generic. For a direct object to be fronted as a <u>ba</u> NP, the object must be very prominent, gaining immediate attention in the discourse. Moreover, the more the verb elaborates or specifies how the direct object is being handled, the more appropriate it is to use the <u>ba</u> construction. From the perspective of topic-comment relations, some linguists (e.g. Wei 1989) argue that <u>ba</u> construction marks the direct object as a secondary topic. The direct object is fronted for certain pragmatic purposes such as emphasis and topic functions. Fahn (1993) argues that <u>ba</u> NPs share many properties with topics. Bearing all these properties of <u>ba</u> NPs in mind, we would expect them to represent entities at the leftmost end of Prince's familiarity scale.

Table 3. Analysis of <u>ba</u> NPs (by Number and Percentage)

ba NPs (125)		
Evoked		
E	65	50.0%
Es	1	0.8%
E + A	14	11.2%
Total	80	64.0%
Unused	3	2.4%
Inferable		
I	12	9.6%
I + A	12	9.6%
Ic	6	4.8%
Ic + A	2	1.6%
Total	32	25.6%
New		
BN	1	0.8%
BN + A	7	5.6%
BNa	2	1.6%
Total	10	8.0%

In 125 naturally occurring tokens, 80 (64%) fall into the category of Evoked. Although they are all textually evoked NPs, they express different degrees of givenness in different ways. The different devices the NPs use to express such degrees seem to follow very well Givon's (1987) scale of topic continuity devices:

> MOST PREDICTABLE TOPIC
> a. zero anaphora
> b. unstressed/clitic pronouns
> c. stressed/independent pronouns
> d. definite nouns
> e. modified definite nouns
> LEAST PREDICTABLE TOPIC   (Givon: 177)

(No zero anaphora is found in this construction). Degrees of givenness vary. Different degrees are expressed by syntactic marking, such as by pronouns, definite nouns, short modified nouns, and long modified nouns, ranging from definite NPs preceded by a long modifier to overt pronouns. Prince's category of including Evoked and Evoked plus attribute does not seem to be able to make a distinction between already-established salient entities and entities no longer in active status; that is, the distinction between active and 'semi-active' entities or the distinction between a close-by coreferent and a distant coreferent. Chafe (1992) states that 'Sooner or later, every active idea loses its active status … When an idea ceases to be fully active it becomes for a time semi-active. This is a state that functions as a holding area for ideas that may later be reactivated as they reenter the discourse' (270). The data show that for a semi-active idea to reenter the discourse it needs long modifiers to help the hearer to ease the process of retrieving the information which is in its holding status in his/her discourse model, as in (14).

14. wo die   ba li fu xianzhang   gei wang changzhang xie   de
    my father BA Li vice county-leader give Wang director   write GEN
    tiaozhi nachu   lai, qing wang changzhang bangmang. ta ba
    note   take-out come ask Wang director   help   he BA
    "ren   naodai cha dianer da   chu le   gou naozi" de qingxing
    people head   miss little beat out CRS dog head GEN situation
    you   shuo yi bian.
    again say one time
    'My father took out the note written by Vice County Director Li to factory director Wang, and asked Wang for help. He then described again how the farmers' heads were beaten like dogs' heads in a fight for the chemical fertilizer…'   (Xiaoshuo Yubao 39)

In (14), although <u>tiaozhi</u> 'note' is evoked, the second mention occurs some distance after the first, that is, 97 sentences or 18 paragraphs later. The use of a definite noun <u>tiaozhi</u> alone can cause confusion or takes longer to locate the referent. The same is true of NP <u>qingxing</u> 'situation'.

Moreover, when a pronominal is used as in (15b), not only has its referential salience been established, but it is also the center of the discourse topic and gains immediate attention, being in the hearer's consciousness:

15. henjiu   yilai   wo yizhi   xiang   zhe   ba (a) <u>zhe duan he</u>
    very-long ever-since I always thinking DUR BA   this CL   with
    <u>bianzhu, Luobinxun   yiqi   shi   de   jingli</u>   yi wengxue
    Bianzhu, Robinson   together moment GEN experience use literature
    de   xingshi biaoxian chu lai,   ceng ji   ci   bu
    GEN way   present exit come   ever several times not
    shizhen   de   shi zhe   ba (b)<u>ta</u> jilu   zai gaozhi shang ...
    lose-truthfulness Adv try DUR BA   it record at   paper on
    'For a long time I have been thinking of recording my stay with
    Bianzhu and Robinson in a story form, and I have tried several times
    to record it on paper...'   (Xiaoshuo Yubao 88)

The above examples show that although certain NPs have been homogeneously put into the category of Evoked they are not homogeneously given. What they demonstrate is different levels of givenness. In Prince's taxonomy, the category of Textually Evoked does not account for the difference between the use of definite nouns and overt pronouns.

6. The <u>bei</u> Construction and Zero Anaphora. The <u>bei</u> construction is a kind of adversative 'passive' expressing unfortunate consequences in which the direct object is fronted to function as a topic. The basic formula for the <u>bei</u> construction is: NP1 + bei + NP2 + VP as in (16). My analysis focuses on the fronted direct object -- NP1 -- which I term the <u>bei</u> NP.

(16) <u>ta</u> bei jiejie   da le.
     3sg by elder-sister beat PFV
     'He/She was beaten by his/her elder sister.'

As is predicted, a majority of the <u>bei</u> NPs -- 118 (81.4%) out of 145 -- fall into the category of Evoked. These NPs have been promoted into topic position by passivization, and as Gundel et al. (1989) claim, shared familiarity appears to be a necessary precondition for topichood. Of 118 tokens, 50 tokens (42.4% of the Evoked) use zero anaphora. Again the data show that within the category of Evoked there are different levels of givenness, with some NPs representing more given entities than others.

Table 4. Analysis of <u>bei</u> NPs (by Number and Percentage)

<u>bei</u> NPs (145)		
Evoked		
E	118	81.4%
Inferable		
I	8	5.5%
I + A	7	4.8%
Ic	1	0.7%
Ic + A	1	0.7%
Total	17	11.7%
New		
BN	2	1.4%
BN + A	4	2.8%
BNa	4	2.8%
Total	10	7.0%

As Gundel et al. (1989) state, 'the most highly activated entities are not only in the speaker and hearer's awareness, but are also at the center of attention at the current point in the discourse' (90). This status 'is a necessary condition for null anaphora' (90). My data show that in the <u>bei</u> construction when zero anaphora is used the hearer must have a very conscious awareness of that entity and realize its relevance in the discourse as a topic.

(17) a. Ø bei lingru,   Ø bei zaige,   Ø bei ansuan.   qi   feng
       Ø BEI insulted Ø BEI oppressed Ø BEI plotted-against chilly wind
       ku   yu zhi zhong, yi bai   wushi tian piaoyao er qu.
       bitter rain of midst one hundred fifty day float   then go
       '(He) had been insulted, oppressed, and plotted against; one hundred
       and fifty days passed by in the midst of chilly wind and bitter rain.'
       (Xing: 62)
     b. <u>ta</u> bei lingru,   <u>ta</u> bei zaige,   <u>ta</u> bei ansuan.
       he BEI insulted he BEI oppressed he BEI plotted-against

Example (17) is the first sentence in Chapter 5, Part 1, in the novel *Snow*. When the referent is highly activated and is in the hearer's consciousness zero anaphora can even appear in chapter initial position. The familiarity of the referent of the zero subject is so taken for granted that it does not need to be overtly expressed, and this allows extra attention to be drawn toward the forms of suffering the referent underwent. In contrast, with an overt pronoun subject as in (b), that referent needs to be kept in view and therefore it can't be taken for granted.

In Prince's Taxonomy, the category of Textually Evoked would have to cover both the use of zero and of pronouns in Chinese, thus failing to distinguish when each is appropriate or preferred in discourse. It thus seems that we need to subdivide this category further to show that the use of zero vs. an overt pronouns in Chinese involves different degrees of familiarity. Although Prince considered her scale to consist of discrete categories, what this may suggest is that it is best to view the scale as a continuum.

7. Conclusion. In this paper, I discussed NPs in four Chinese constructions and showed that they involve different levels of familiarity. Prince's category of Unused works well to explain such differences in degrees of givenness, especially in the lai construction. The category of Unused distinguishes Discourse-new and Hearer-new entities from Discourse-new and Hearer-old entities and therefore different levels of familiarity. Prince's category of Inferable plays the same role as Unused, distinguishing Brand-new entities from less unfamiliar ones. Specifically, it allows us to distinguish information statuses of different NPs in the same construction type, i.e. the you construction.

However, to account for the Chinese data Prince's taxonomy needs to be refined, especially the category of Evoked. The Chinese data show that NPs within the Evoked category express different degrees of givenness. In Chinese this distinction is linguistically significant since it is necessary to distinguish those evoked NPs expressed as definite NPs and overt pronouns from those represented in the form of zero anaphora.

NOTES

[1] Prince (1992) proposes four categories to describe old/new information statuses: Hearer-old, Hearer-new, Discourse-old, and Discourse-new. Hearer-old and Hearer-new define what is assumed by the speaker to be or not to be already known to the hearer, while Discourse-old and Discourse-new signal whether an entity has already been evoked in the prior discourse or not.

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Parallelism in Kayah Li Discourse: elaborate expressions and beyond

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1. Introduction. Let us define parallelism as, roughly, the binary repetition of linguistic features for rhythmic, esthetic or other expressive effect. This definition intentionally covers a very broad range of linguistic phenomena: repetition of all features of an item covers (full) reduplication, repetition of only some phonological features covers alliteration and rhyme, repetition of only semantic features covers synonym compounding and poetic/rhetorical parallelism, and so on.

Although all languages probably exhibit parallelism in some form, it has a special prominence in the linguistic area consisting of mainland Southeast Asia and China. Below are some examples from various languages of the area.

Full and partial reduplication; synonym and antonym compounds

Thai   *làp làp tɣ̀yn tɣ̀yn* 'sleep+sleep+rouse+rouse: sleep fitfully'. Full reduplication, antonymy.

lɔ̀ɔk luaŋ 'deceive+dupe: deceive, dupe'. Partial reduplication (alliteration), synonymy.

sŷa phâa 'shirt+lower.garment: clothes'. Quasi-antonymy.

Chinese   居住 *jūzhù* [tɕylʈʂuˊ]'reside+dwell: live, reside, dwell'. Partial reduplication (affricates, rounded vowels), synonymy.

買賣 *máimài* 'buy+sell: business, commerce'. Antonymy.

左右 *zuǒyòu* 'left+right: approximately'. Antonymy.

4-syllable Elaborate Expressions

Thai   *mǔu hèt pèt kàj* 'pig+mushroom+duck+chicken: various meats'. ABCD, B and C rhyme.

Chinese   乱七八糟 *luàn qī bā zāo* 'disordered+seven+eight+wretched: all messed up'. ABCD, A-D and B-C linked semantically.

天南地北 *tiān nán dì běi* 'heaven+south+earth+north: poles apart'. ABCD, A-C and B-D quasi-antonyms.

Lahu   *chi mû chi mì* 'this+heaven+this+earth: this land of ours' (Matisoff:82). ABAC, B-C quasi-antonyms.

Larger structures

Thai   *aw hǔu paj naa aw taa paj râj*

          'take+ear+go+field+take+eye+go+dry.field: pretend not to see'

Yu Mien   *diaŋ⁵ dzwei⁶ fim¹ ɲəu³, mien² dzwei⁶ ɲəu¹ tshjəu³*

          'tree+beautiful+core+twist, person+beautiful+heart+mean: a

          beautiful tree with a twisted core; an attractive person with a mean

          heart' (Lombard:336).

Vietnamese   khôn ba năm dại một giờ 'wise+one+year, stupid+one+hour: a

          year's wisdom can be ruined by an instant's foolishness' (Nguyen:70)

Chinese   7-syllable regulated verse of the Tang dynasty

江	月	去 '	人	只	數	尺
jiāng	yuè	qù	rén	[zhǐ]	shù	chǐ
KÆWNG	ngjwot	khjoH	NYIN	TSYE	sruH	tsyhek
RIVER-MOON		AWAY FROM	PERSON	ONLY	A FEW	FEET
=	=	=	≠	≠	≠	≠
風	燈	照	夜	欲	三	更
fēng	dēng	zhào	yè	yù	sān	gēng
PJUWNG	TONG	tsyewH	yæH	yowk	SAM	KÆNG
WIND-LANTERN		ILLUMINATE	NIGHT	WILL BE	THIRD	WATCH
=	=	=	=	≠	=	≠
沙	頭	宿	鷺	聯	拳	靜
shā	tóu	sù	lù	lián-quán		jìng
SRÆ	DUW	sjuwk	luH	LJEN-GJWEN		dzjengX
SAND-HEAD		ROOSTING-HERON		SINUOUS		STILL
=	≠	=	≠	≠	≠	≠
船	尾	跳	魚	潑	剌	鳴
chuán	wěi	tiào	yú	pō-là		míng
ZYWEN	mjijX	thewH	NGJO	phat-lat		MJÆNG
BOAT-TAIL		JUMPING-FISH		FLIP-FLOP		SOUND

rhyme

Items in BOLDFACE are 平聲 píngshēng (level tone); others are 仄聲 zèshēng (oblique tones).

'=' indicates that items above and below it have matching tones (píng/píng or zè/zè); '≠' indicates a píng/zè opposition.

☐ encloses tonally 'free' positions.   ◯ encloses 'elaborate' expressions.

☐ encloses lines with syntactic and semantic parallelism.   WHB 2/15/95

In the river the moon is but a few feet from the onlooker

The hurricane lamp shines in the night's third watch

On the sandbar the roosting heron in sinuous stillness

At the boat's stern the jumping fish plip-plop echoes.

          poem by Du Fu (712-770), display by W.H.Baxter, free translation by DBS

Languages outside of the mainland Southeast Asia-China area

English buy now pay later; garbage in, garbage out; pots 'n pans; shoes 'n socks.

Tagalog original ang sarap, original ang sangkap 'the flavor is original, the ingredients are original' (D.Gil)

Hebrew *al tikah čans, kah alians* 'don't take a chance, take Alliance [brand of tires]' (D. Gil)

I leave the reader to explore the many types and levels of parallelism in the Tang poem; note that the phonological parallelism extends to the four tones of Middle Chinese, which are for this purpose grouped into two types, one 'level' versus the three 'oblique'. Note also that the roosting heron is parallelistically opposed to the jumping fish, not only by stillness versus motion, but also by predator versus prey.

The preceding examples provide only a cursory survey of the range of parallelism in the mainland Southeast Asia-China area. The four-part structures known as Elaborate Expressions (the term was first applied by Haas (1964:xvii) to Thai) are perhaps the most distinctive, and the most characteristic of the area. The Kayah Li version of these falls into the type of parallelistic expression that is our main concern in this article.

2. Parallelism in Kayah Li. Kayah Li is a language of the Karen group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibetan, spoken in Kayah State of Burma and in adjacent parts of Thailand. This article deals with the Eastern dialect, as recorded by me in the vicinity of the capital of Mae Hong Son Province, Thailand.[1]

Before proceeding to our main concern, I will list the various types of parallelism found in Kayah Li.

We begin with two types of simple repetition or full reduplication: first, a sentence-final morpheme of reduplication, meaning 'also, in response'.[2]

(1) *vē ma ʔe kā phέ thέ ja ja*
  1s be.so eat COM simply pig flesh [redup]
  I ate only pork, too (as did he).

(2)   *ʔa cwá kⱭ̄ kⱭ̄*

   3 go COM [redup]

   He went along too.

There are also classifier constructions of the type *pwā nⱭ̄ pwā nⱭ̄* 'every+day+every+day: every day, day in day out'.

Parallel expressions involving less-than-full repetition fall into two types.

Type 1: unstructured, derived. This type may be represented by *kɛ́kīkɛ́kwa* 'V something long so part remains'. Its two main characteristics are:

a. Four-part structure with the pattern ABAC, either four full syllables (as in the above example) or two prefix+syllable pairs, e.g. *təplotəpjā* 'hurried'.

b. No internal syntactic structure, hence 'unstructured'. The whole expression is either a Verb or a Verb Particle.

Of the parts ABAC, the last part C or AC is in many cases also an independent morpheme of related meaning. In *kɛ́kīkɛ́kwa*, relevant items are *kwa* 'half' (Classifier) and *kɛ́kwa* 'be in half crosswise, on short axis'. This fact, plus some phonological patterning, suggests that most or all of this type can be analyzed as derivationally related to the part C morpheme; hence the description 'derived'.

Type 2: Grammatically-structured, non-derived.

This type comes in all sizes, and is the primary focus of this article. Below are a few examples indicating the range of possibilities.

disyllabic words. *hⱭ* 'pants' + *ca* 'shirt' *hⱭca* 'clothes'; *súsá* 'complicated' (not analyzable)

two disyllabic compounds. *ʔeho ʔehí* 'steal+steal(cp): steal and pilfer', *ʔokhrɛ́ ʔotɛ̀* 'orphaned+orphaned(cp): orphaned'

four full syllables. *hⱭ le ca le* 'pants+warm+shirt+warm: warm clothes', *thⱭ̄ sú kɛ̀ sá* 'water+com-+land+-plicated: country is complicated' (*thⱭ̄kɛ̀* 'water+country: country, land'; *súsá* 'complicated')

six full syllables. *khɛ́ sⱭ̄ pā sⱭ̄ pɔ̀ sⱭ̄* 'shot to death, cut to death, collided to death' (256.4)

two full clauses. *mɔ̀ lɛ hé ʔa domɛ́ lū ʔiplí sɔ sō, mɔ̀ lɛ tā domɛ lū ʔimū̄ sɔ plɔ* 'at evening they showed him a greenwood whip, at sundown they showed him a seedwood switch' (450.4).

Characteristics of Type 2 expressions.

a. They are of all sizes, from disyllabic words to paired clauses.

b. Those of four syllables or more have grammatical structure. For four syllables ABCD, the first two items AB bear a grammatical relation to each other, such as Verb-Object or Modifier/Head, and that relation is repeated between the third and fourth items CD.

c. There may or may not be phonetic parallelism.

d. The whole expression may be nominal, verbal or clausal.

3. Place of these expressions in the grammar. Type 1 parallel expressions are lexical items, in many cases derivationally related to some base morpheme. Type 2 expressions are not derived in the usual sense, but arise from the interaction between two mechanisms:

a. parallelism as a relation between morphemes, marked in the lexicon in the same way as the relation between nouns and their associated classifiers.

b. parallelism as an attribute of syntactic structures.

To illustrate some of the consequences of (b), consider the following examples of special behavior of syntactic structures within the scope of parallelism.

(a) Free occurrence of Bound morphemes. *thu* 'bird' in *jò bá dō thu bá be* 'rats how.many CLF, birds how.many CLF' (B.3 below). *thu* ordinarily does not occur on its own; cf. *thu tò* 'drongo', *thu thwâ* 'bulbul', *thuú* 'bird in general' (with suffix *û*).

(b) Intrusion of Noun into Verb Complex.

(3)   [*?iswá li   ?iswá lā   nɔ́*]$_{VC}$ *to*
            study book study book(cp) at.all   NEG
            not study at all

Ordinarily the Verb Complex cannot contain any Noun, with highly restricted exceptions. But this Verb Complex, terminated by the Verb Particle *nɔ́*, contains two: *li* 'written matter' and *lā* the Bound couplet-partner of *li*.

The two mechanisms (a) and (b) suffice to account for the entire range of Type 2 expressions. There is no basic form from which all others are derived, i.e. the disyllabic compounds are not reduced forms of the larger expressions, and the larger expressions are not expansions of the disyllabic forms. See Solnit forthcoming for arguments for this analysis.

4. Parallelism in discourse. Although extensive study of Kayah Li discourse genres remains to be done, there is a very obvious difference between more or less ordinary conversation and narrative on one hand, and two specialized genres known as *donē* and *ʔírō*. *donē* recounts legendary history, is largely or completely memorized, contains many archaic or obscure words, and makes use of a high degree of parallelism. *ʔírō* is chanted; beyond that I can say very little and will not deal with it here.

Parallelism is highly characteristic of *donē*, but it also occurs freely in ordinary conversation. Speakers vary in the degree of parallelism they use in conversation. My impression is that older speakers use more, but I also know certain younger people who use as much as any older speaker.

We proceed to examine three examples of discourse, one from *donē* and two from conversation. The examples are displayed in a format that indicates which portions consist of parallelistic structures and which do not, with parallelistic forms on the left half of the page and non-parallelistic stretches on the right. The parallelistic structures are arranged so that each element is aligned vertically with its parallelistically-linked counterpart. Within such parallelistic structures, a stray element that lacks a parallelistically-linked counterpart is vertically aligned with a blank. Consider for example segment (A.3) below, here reproduced without glosses:

(4) *ʔe nɔ́   to   mɔ́ du   dī bō*
     ʔe nɔ́ pa to   mɔ́ li   jɔ́ dʌ

Here the second occurrence of *ʔe nɔ́ to* 'not eat at all' is modified by the insertion of the durative particle *pa*, which is therefore shown as corresponding to nothing on the upper line. *mɔ́ du* 'great sky' and *mɔ́ li* 'bright sky' correspond parallelistically, as do *dī bō* 'umbilical cord' and *jɔ́ dʌ* 'monkey testicle(?)'.[3]

Example A: *donē*. Context: long ago the sky was rooted in the earth, as a mushroon by its stem (cf. Maspero 1950:185, and Chamberlain 1993 on this motif among Tai-speaking peoples). The stem put forth fruit every day. Bachelor (and other people?) get up early every day and obtain ripe fruit to eat; Lazy Man always arrives late and finds only unripe fruit. Lazy Man is angry and decides to cut the sky stem, wanting to harm Bachelor and his people.

PARALLELISM   NO PARALLELISM

(1) ʔa pā ʎ mɔ́ du dībō
     3 cut NS sky big   umbilical.cord
     pā ʎ mɔ́ li   jɔ̄   dʌ
     cut NS sky bright monkey testicle
     He cut the Great Sky's umbilical cord; he cut the Bright Sky's monkey-testicle

(2)   je   tə-je ʔa tūū sō bō
         brandish one-CLF 3 severed three CLF
     ʔa pā   tə-pā   ʔa tūū   bō sōswá   təpjā dɤ̄ mɔ́ lē
     3 cut   one-CLF 3 severed CLF six   rebound at sky base
     With a single sweep three cords were severed; with a single cut six cords were severed;
     they sprang back up to the sky.

                                             ʔo   cwá cē
                                             exist go   investigate

(3) ʔe nɔ́   to mɔ́ du dībō
     eat at.all   NEG sky big umbilical.cord
     ʔe nɔ́ pa to mɔ́ li   jɔ̄   dʌ   lɛdē ʔe sʌ̄ che pa
     eat at.all DUR NEG sky bright monkey testicle   starve eat die food DUR
     They went to look; they ate nothing of the Great Sky's umbilical cord; they ate
     nothing of the Bright Sky's monkey-testicle. They were starving.

(4) dɤ̄ phú dí   phēle
     at child unmarried   unmarried
         phú se   ʔo   pəlaə
         child unmarried exist unmarried
     As for the bachelor, the unmarried one

(5)   *déhʌ mɛ́ mɛ́ mò   phrɛ̀ dɔ̄   kū*
      ask   look look old.one aged village in
      déhʌ mɛ́ mɛ́   mò   bū   dɔ̄   chá   nʌ
      ask   look look old.one white village nearby PTC
      He asked to find out in the old one's village, he asked to find out near the white (-haired) one's village

The clear majority of this passage is in parallelistic form. Especially characteristic of the genre is the preponderance of full clauses in the parallelistic structures, although there are also smaller structures, as in segment (A.4), which is a parallelistic Topic expression followed by the parallelistic Comment clauses of (A.5). Parallels are strictly binary.

Example B. Monologue during conversation. The speaker is lamenting the poor harvest of the season just past, blaming it on the depradations of animal pests. This section is partly a tirade, partly a plea to the pests to not damage his crops so much. It may also be construed as pronouncing a curse on the pests, which runs the risk of retaliation; hence the first segment, implying that others may caution the speaker against cursing, but he is not to be deterred.

PARALLELISM					NO PARALLELISM

(1) *ʔíchɔ̄ təkhɛ́ ma   ʔíchɔ̄ me   me ʔū hé*

berate PTC   be.so berate don't don't they say

ʔíba   ma   ʔíba me me   ʔū hé nʌ

scold   be.so berate don't don't they say PTC

'Don't berate,' they say, 'Don't scold either,' they say

(2) *kʌ́ɔ̄: là   bɛcɔ̄*

cliff   master

cho   bɛce

mountain master

jòkhró   bɛcɔ̄

rat   master

jòkhró   bɛce

rat   master

Ah.. lord of cliffs, master of mountains, lord of rats, master of rats

                    vɛ̄ hɛ̄ kúklɛ̄   rùsɔ̄lɛ̄ khʌ̄ tə-na

                    1s go swidden [place] apex one-year

I worked the fields at the headwaters of Rusoleh for a year

(3) *jò bá   dō*

rat how.many CLF

thu bá   be tɛ̄   ma

bird how.many CLF PTC   be.so

How many rats, how many birds

(4) *hē* *ʔe* *tɯ*

    go   eat   in.group

    ka *ʔō* *plɔ́*   *lēkhē lū* *bʌ̄*

    come drink piled.up   PTC plurally here

    they went and ate in herds, came and drank in heaps here

(5) *ʔʌ̄* *təna* *vē lù*

    this one-year 1s luck

               vē bwí

               1s merit

               vē lù

               1s luck

                  tərʌ̄   *tā pəhē* *ŋē*

                  fortune   fall ahead front

    This year my luck, my merit, my luck and fortune are going downhill

(6) *na* *be*

    year manifest

    lē *lī*   *ma já* *já* *tɛ* *me ní*

    moon bright   be.so go.and go.and PTC don't PTC

                    me phɛ́ *ʔʌ̄ tə-na* *ma pɔ* *ʌ́ ní*

                    do   simply this one-year be.so enough NS PTC

    Next year, next time, don't do it! Do it just this year, that's enough!

(7) *dʌ̄*   *ma ʔe*   *dʌ̄*

    Cucurbita be.so eat   Cucurbita

    lù   *ma ʔe*   *lù*

    Momordica be.so eat   Momordica

    khro   *ma ʔe lɔ̄* *khro nʌ* *hō*

    yam   be.so eat use.up yam   PTC PTC

  The cucumbers they ate, the melons they ate, the yams they ate up.

(8)

> dɛ kē̄ pè vē̄ ma vē̄ hē̄ phjá rʌ́
> put leave BEN 1s be.so 1s go take PTC
>
> ma ʔa sūrɛ pa
> be.so 3 grueling PTC

What was left for me, I went to get it, but it was grueling.

Here parallelism is employed for eloquence, and possibly also for supernatural effect, suggested by the opening segment's allusion to others warning him against berating. Compared to Example A, the parallelistic structures include far fewer full clauses and more Noun Phrases, such as *jò bá dō thu bá be* 'how many rats, how many birds', or *vē̄ lù vē̄ bwí vē̄ lù tərʌ̄* 'my luck, my merit, my luck and fortune'. There are also several non-binary structures, such as the last-cited (unclear whether it is three parts or four), or the three-part expression in (B.7) 'the cucumbers they ate, the melons they ate, the yams they ate up'.

Example C. Conversation. Early in the cool season, local officials have been distributing blankets and warm clothes. The speaker's husband acted as spokesman for some especially poor people seeking these handouts.

PARALLELISM   NO PARALLELISM

(1)

> hú lû pé sī,   phɛ́ʌ sī,
> like L. mute and.them P.   and.them
>
> thɛ́rú pé nʌ ma
> T.   mute PTC be.so

Ones like Mute Lü, Phe'a, Mute Thehru

(2)

> kəjē̄ mò ʔo to
> person mother exist NEG
>
> phē̄ ʔo to
> father exist NEG

People without mother or father

(3)　　*kəjɛ̄　ʔo　khrɛ́*
　　　　person exist orphaned

　　　　　　ʔo　tɛ̀
　　　　　　exist orphaned(cp)

　　　　　　ʔo　lɤ̌
　　　　　　exist extra

　　　　　　ʔo　klɔ̄　　　　　　　　*ʔū　hɛ́ pjà　ʔa nʌ*
　　　　　　exist extra(cp)　　　　　3i　say BEN　3　PTC

People who are orphaned, outcast, abandoned; he spoke on their behalf

(4)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*ʔū　dʌ́ kā̄　ʔa nʌ ʔa rɛ́　jʌ́*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　3i　give COM　3　PTC 3　good NS

and they [officials] gave them [poor people] things, it was good

(5)　　*ʔʌ̄ ma　ʔū bɛ́*　　　　　　　　　*to*
　　　　this be.so 3i have.resources　　NEG

　　　　　　ʔū chū̄　　　　　　*to*　　　*ʔū ʔovī̄　dī̄*
　　　　　　3i have.resources(cp) NEG　　3i be.out.of cooked.rice

This is those without resources, with no wherewithal, without food

(6)　　*ʔū phri bɛ́*　　　　　*ʔū　hʌ*
　　　　3i buy　have.resources they pants

　　　　　　　　　　ʔū　ca to　　　*já　hɛ́ pɛ̀ ʔū nʌ*
　　　　　　　　　　3i　shirt NEG　　go.and speak BEN 3i PTC

They don't have the means to buy clothes; he spoke on their behalf

As in the preceding example of conversation, fewer of the parallelistic structures here cover a full clause; also clauses in general are shorter than in the *donɛ̄* example A. The parallelistic structures of segments (2) and (3) are simply a list of possible descriptions of the category of people in question. Unlike example B, there are no three-part parallel structures; all are binary.

Finally we may note that parallelism is not confined to monologues. Here is an exchange from the same conversation excerpted in Example C, with the interlocutors notated (K) and (P): (K) *ʔū dʌ́ rɛ́ lɤ̌ɔ́ ma bɛ́se ʔo to to nʌ* (P) *ŋ, ʔū síjɔ rʌ́ ʔa rʌ, ʔa bɛ́se rɛ́ kā̄ to ...* (K) *ʔū twà ʔū rɛ́ nʌ hō̄ ʔū já dʌ́ pɛ́ cɛ̀, ʔū*

mέ cὲ ʔū rέ ʔu twà '(K) Who they give better to is the blind. (P) Mm, they care for them, the ones with bad eyes/faces ... (K) Good-looking ones, they might not give them anything, they might not pay much attention to the good-looking ones.' The highlighted expressions combine *ʔū* 'they', *twà* 'beautiful', and *rέ* 'good', in two different orders, to mean 'good-looking ones'.

5. Conclusions. Parallelism is native to all levels of linguistic structure in Kayah Li. Grammatically, it reaches from word formation to text level. In discourse, all genres evince it, although in different form and to different degrees. One of the distinguishing marks of the *donē* genre is its high frequency of long clauses in binary parallelism. Conversation for its part has a varying frequency of parallel expressions, which include fewer full clauses and more Noun Phrases.

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[2]The transcription has IPA values. Tone marks, exemplified with the vowel /a/, are ā mid level, a (no mark) low level, á high level, à low falling. Low level and high level end with glottal stop before pause, low falling ends with creaky voice. Abbreviations used in glosses are: BEN = benefactive, CLF = classifier, COM = comitative, cp = couplet-partner (occurs only in parallel expressions), DUR = durative, i = indefinite, NEG = negative, NS = new situation, p = plural, PTC = unspecified particle, s = singular.

[3]The actual meaning of this expression remains unclear. dʌ is also 'egg', but 'testicle', as a body part, would be more appropriate in parallelism with 'umbilical cord'. Unfortunately I was unable to question the actual narrator of this donē about this point; the gloss 'monkey testicle' was provided by a different informant. This sort of semantic uncertainty is typical of the donē and ʔírō (song) genres.

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LOCAL AND GLOBAL COREFERENCES: THIRD-PERSON ZERO PRONOUN IN CHINESE WRITTEN NARRATIVES *

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0. Introduction

In this paper, I will show the distinction between two modes of third-person zero pronoun coreferences: locale coreference (LC) and global coreference (GC), in subject (/topic) positions in clauses in some classical and modern Chinese written narratives. I argue that third-person zero pronoun (Ø) and explicit pronouns in LC are purely anaphoric, as the artifacts of reference tracking computation by retaining antecedent NPs for Ø or tagging antecedent NPs and explicit pronouns in working memory, while Ø and explicit pronouns in GC are mental-deictic, as the artifacts of directly referring to conceptual tokens of individuals in mental models. Writers may have certain meta-knowledge of these modes of processing, and employ them as strategies in written discourse. Therefore, LC and GC serve as structures in written discourse comprehension, where they evoke respective processing modes in readers. I think that how these modes are employed as strategies underpins some cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences in written discourse.

In a metaphoric classification of pro-drop (Huang 1984), Chinese is considered a cool language, while English is considered a warm language, with pro-drop languages, such as Italian, in the middle. Chinese is different from pro-drop languages in that it does not have a verbal morphology to mark verb-subject agreement. Thus, Chinese relies more on discourse structures and pragmatics for the interpretation of zero pronouns, and allows more 'free' use of zero pronouns in discourse. For example, an English deictic zero pronoun is limited to second person, as in (1), whereas a Chinese deictic zero pronoun is not, as in (2).

(1) (You/*They) Don't talk.
(2) Speaker A: Wǒmen jìnqù ba. (Both speakers are at the entrance of a stadium.)
            We   enter P(article).
          'Let's go in there.'
   Speaker B: Bú huì ràng wǒ jìn ba? Wǒ méi yǒu piào.
            Not will allow I enter P. I not have ticket
          '(He/they, i.e. the gatekeeper(s)) won't allow me to enter, will
          he/they? I do not have a ticket.'

The zero pronoun in (2) is used deictically in reference to third person. This phenomenon might have prompted Xu's (1986) characterization of zero pronouns in Chinese as having complete freedom of referentiality. Regardless of the apparent 'free' reference, I will demonstrate with data that Ø's in the subject position are constrained in Chinese written narrative in LC and GC, the former of which is linear as conjoinability, and the latter of which is hierarchical as protagonist-driven.

This paper is divided into five sections. First, I will briefly review studies of coreference and Chinese Ø in discourse. Secondly, I will show how Ø is used in the LC mode in Chinese written narrative, as previous studies predict. Third, I will demonstrate how Ø is used in the GC mode in Chinese written narrative, contrary to the generalizations made in those previous studies. Fourth, I will discuss the relationship between these two modes of coreference and discourse production strategies from cognitive perspectives, and discuss how Ø and other pronouns are

used purely anaphorically in LC, and how they are used mental-deictically in GC. I will conclude this paper with implications from the distinction between the two modes of coreference in Chinese for studies of coreference in discourse in general.

1. Studies of coreference and Chinese Ø in discourse
    In this section, I briefly review some previous studies of coreference in discourse and Ø in discourse in Chinese, as the background for further discussion of modes of Ø coreference in discourse in Chinese written narrative.
    Coreferentiality is the focus in many studies in sentence-grammar (cf. Aoun 1985, Chomsky 1981, Huang 1984), while it is simply mentioned in passing in semantics and pragmatics (cf. Levinson 1983, Lyons 1977). Systematic analysis of coreferentiality in discourse is found in Givón's work (1983, 1989, 1990). Givón finds that coreferentiality is closely related to topicality along a syntactic coding scale, with the most continuous/accessible topic on the top in the following order, zero anaphora < unstressed/clitic pronoun < stressed/independent pronoun < R-dislocated definite noun, etc.. Thus, he proposes a number of measurements of (co)referentiality with respect to topicality in discourse. Two of them are referential distance (RD) and potential interference (PI) (Givón 1989:216-7, 1990:906-7), which are of particular concern in this study. RD measures the number of clauses (or elapsed time) from the last occurrence in the preceding discourse. The typical RD value is gradual with one clause for zero anaphora, 1-2 clauses for unstressed/ clitic pronouns, 2-3 clauses for stressed/independent pronouns, and 10 clauses for full definite nouns. The cognitive underpinning of RD is memory decay in discourse processing. PI measures the number of semantically compatible referents within the preceding 1-2 clauses in a discrete binary scale of presence vs. absence or in a three point scale of two presences vs. one presence vs. absence. The cognitive underpinning of PI is that competing referent searches seem to be a burden on memory in discourse processing. RD and PI predict that zero pronouns mostly occur in conjoined clauses with no semantically compatible referents in the preceding clauses, and topic nouns/pronouns are generally realized as topic or subject. Previous studies of Ø in discourse in Chinese by Tai (1978), Li & Thompson (1979, 1981), Chen (1984, 1987) and Huang (1994) all support Givón's (co)-reference measurements in terms of RD and PI.
    Tai (1978:311-39) observes that, within a given paragraph, the occurrence of Ø must meet three conditions: a) both the antecedent and its coreferential NP's are subjects; b) the clauses containing the coreferential NP's under consideration must be adjacent; and c) the clauses must be of the same type of description, that is, the same topic, while Ø is generally not allowed to cross paragraph boundaries.
    In an analysis of Ø in classical written narrative, Li & Thompson (1979) find that the occurrence of Ø is generally determined by conjoinability of clauses in a topic chain, and that the interpretation of Ø can not be explained on the basis of grammatical structural factors, but on the basis of contextual information and shared knowledge. As for a wide range of variations where conjoinability does not apply, they believe that it is due to individual's perception of the relationship between the world of events, the real world and the created world in the narratives.
    Chen (1984) proposes two conditions as the relevant parameters responsible for triggering Ø: the predictability condition (PC) and the negligibility condition (NC). The parameters bearing on the PC are availability vs. unavailability of competing nouns, low vs. high conjoinability with preceding clauses, and low vs. high in accessibility hierarchy (topic/subject < direct object <indirect object, etc.). The parameters bearing on the NC are specific vs. non-specific and generic reference,

positions in main vs. subordinate clauses, and animate vs. inanimate reference. Chen (1986) recognizes that narrative schemata play a role in interpreting PC and NC, but basically treats Ø clauses as subordinate clauses.

Huang (1994: 205-35) finds NP_1 ... P(ronoun)$_1$ ... $Ø_1$ as the distributional pattern of anaphora for the maintenance of reference in conversation in Chinese, where Ø occurs in conjoined clauses. He proposes that Givón's topic continuity hypothesis and Chafe's given-only hypothesis should be subsumed under his more general neo-Gricean pragmatic principles, and claims that anaphora is largely determined by the systematic interaction of the M-principle (Do not use a prolix, obscure or marked expression without reason) and I-principle (Do not say more than is required), constrained by Disjoint Reference Presumption (The arguments of a predicate are intended to be disjoint, unless marked otherwise), information saliency and general consistency conditions on conversation implicatures.

In sum, all the previous studies of Ø in Chinese discourse reviewed above support Givón's topic continuity hypothesis, and show consistent conformity of Ø occurrences to RD and PI measurements of coreferentiality in discourse.

2. Local coreference in Chinese written narratives

I demonstrate in this section how Ø is used in the LC mode in classical and modern Chinese written narratives, as previous studies generally predict.

According to Tai (1978), Li & Thompson (1979), Chen (1984, 1987) and Huang (1994), LC can be characterized as conjoinability of the clause with the antecedent NP as the subject, a clause with a pronoun (in conversation), and 1-n clause(s) containing Ø subjects as a continuous topic chain of clauses, without any clause containing a semantically compatible NP as potential interference in the subject position, as schematically shown in (3), where '...' stands for a clause.

(3) LC: (in)definite NP_i ..., $(P_i...)$, $Ø_i$ ..., $(Ø_i...)$

In LC, the antecedent NP may be definite or indefinite, while the number of clauses with Ø subject can range from one to fifteen, as seen in classical Chinese data from Liáozhāi Zhìyì by Pu Songling (1640-1715), and modern Chinese data from Xiāoxiao by Shen Congwen in 1929, and Fèidū by Jia Pingao in 1993.

In classical Chinese narrative, clauses with NPs and Øs form continuous topic chains of conjoined clauses in LC, as in (4) from Huàbì in Liáozhāi Zhìyì.

(4) a. *Jiāngxī Mèng Lóngtán* yǔ *Zhū Xiǎolián kè*   dūzhōng.
     Jiangxi Meng Longtan and Zhu stay-temporarily capital-in
   b. $Ø_1$ Ǒu shè yi lánruò, diànyú chánshè, jù bù kǎn hóngchǎng.
     once go a temple palace rooms both not very large
   c. Wéi yī *lǎo sēng* guàtǎ qízhōng. $Ø_2$ jiàn kè rù,
     only a old monk live it-in   see guest enter
   d. $Ø_3$ xiāo yī $Ø_4$ chū   yà $Ø_5$ dào xīng $Ø_6$ suí   xǐ.
     check cloth come-out meet   show like   follow like

'*Meng Longtan* from Jiangxi province and *Imperial Candidate Zhu* stayed in a hotel in the capital. (They)$_1$ one day visited a temple, (its) palace and rooms are not large. Only *an old monk* lived in it temporally. (He)$_2$ saw the guests come in. (He)$_3$ straightened his cloths and (he)$_4$ came out to greet (them). (He)$_5$ showed (their) likes, and (he)$_6$ followed (their) likes.'

The clauses with the NP and the clauses containing Øs are conjoined in two independent chains in (4). $Ø_1$ is coreferential with the NP *Meng Longtan* and *Zhu Xiaolian* in the first topic chain of two conjoined clauses, while $Ø$'s $_{2-6}$ are coreferential with *an old monk* in the subject position in the second topic chain of six clauses. Imperial Candidate Zhu is the protagonist in the short story. It seems that the protagonist and minor characters both are subject to LC, as further shown in (5) with the protagonist as the sole topic (from <u>Huàbì</u> in <u>Liáozhaī Zhìyì</u>).

(5) a. *Zhū fù*, $Ø_1$ bù gǎn shāo xì, $Ø_2$ é wén xiēshēng zhǐ fángnèi, fùchū.
  Zhu hide not dare little sound soon hear steps into room-in and-out
   b. Wèijī, fánxūan jìn yuǎn, xīn shāo ān,
  not-long noise gradually far heart little rest
   c. rán hùwài zhē yǒu láiwǎng yìlùn zhě. ...
  but room-outside always exist coming-going talking person

'Zhu hid (under the bed), (he)$_1$ did not dare to make any sound, (he)$_2$ soon heard steps into the room and out of it. Before long, the steps sounded farther and farther away, (his) heart felt a little relaxed, but there were always people talking while coming and going outside the room. ...'

In (5), the continuous topic chain consists of a clause containing the NP *Zhu* and two clauses containing Ø in the subject position. It is apparent that the topic chains of clauses in (4) and (5) do not have any clause containing an explicit pronominal subject bridging between one with a NP subject and one with a Ø subject, as Huang (1994) finds in conversation. This may be a difference between Ø distributional patterns in oral and written discourses.

Further, it is noticed that in classical Chinese written narrative LC may cross the boundaries of orthographic paragraphs, contrary to Tai's (1978) observation, as shown in (6) from <u>Huàbì</u> in <u>Liáozhaī Zhìyì</u>.

(6) a. *Zhū* zhù mù jiǔ, $Ø_1$ bù jué shényáo yìduō, $Ø_2$ huǎngrán yǐ sī,
  Zhu focus eye long, not feel soul-shaken will-seized as if fix thought
   b. shēng hū piāopiao, $Ø_3$ rú jiǎ yúnwù, $Ø_4$ yǐ dào bìshàng. #1
  body suddenly fly as-if fly cloud-fog already arrive wall-on
   c. $Ø_5$ jiàn diàngé chóngchong, fēi fù rénshì. Yì lǎo sēng ... Zhū ...
  See palace lay-lay not again lay-world A old monk ... Zhu ...

'. . . *Zhu* stared at (the lady in the wall painting) for a long time, (he)$_1$ could not but lose his mind, as if (he)$_2$ lost in thought, (his) body suddenly flew, as if (he)$_3$ flew the clouds, (he)$_4$ already arrived on the wall.
  (He)$_5$ saw palaces after palaces. This was not the earthly world anymore. An old monk ... Zhu ...'

(6a) and (6b) are part of the preceding paragraph, while (6c) is the beginning of the following paragraph. The chain headed by the clause containing the NP *Zhu* has five Ø's in five clauses, where a paragraph break separates the last clause with $Ø_5$ from the preceding five clauses containing the NP and the rest Ø's in the chain.
  The same phenomenon is also commonly found in modern Chinese written narrative. LC is also seen in (7) from <u>Xiāoxiao</u>, where Xiaoxiao is the protagonist, while others are minor characters in the story.

(7) a. *Xiāoxiao* hào gāo, $\emptyset_1$ yí gè rén chángchang pá dào cǎoliào duī shàng qù,
   Xiaoxiao like height, a C. person often climb to hay stack on go

b. $\emptyset_2$ bào le yǐjīn shú shuì de zhàngfū zài huái lǐ,
   carry Asp. already deeply sleep M(arker) husband in arm in

c. $\emptyset_3$ qīnqin de suíyì chàng zhe nà zì biānde shāngē, $\emptyset_4$ ..., $\emptyset_5$ ...
   softly M at-will sing Asp. those self compose folk-song

'*Xiaoxiao* likes places of height, (she)$_1$ often climbs up to the top of a hay stack without others, (she)$_2$ carries (her) already soundly sleeping husband in (her) arms, (she)$_3$ softly sings her own folk songs at will, (she)$_4$ ..., (she)$_5$ ...'

In (7), LC occurs in a chain of six conjoined clauses with five $\emptyset$'s, making a whole paragraph in the story. Again, no clause containing an explicit pronoun is found between the clause containing the NP and those containing $\emptyset$'s. LC is also found to cross paragraph boundaries in modern written narrative, as in (8) from <u>Xiāoxiao</u>

(8) a. *Xiāoxiao* biàn yě zhuāngchéng yào kū de yàngzi,
   Xiaoxiao then also pretend will cry M. look

b. $\emptyset_1$ yòng shǒu zhǐ zhe dìdi de kū liǎn, $\emptyset_2$ shuō, '...!' #
   with hand point Asp. younger-brother's cry face, say

c. Tiānqín luòyǔ rìzi hùnxiàoqù, $\emptyset_3$ měiri bàobao zhàngfū,
   shining raining time spend everyday carry-carry husband

d. $\emptyset_4$ yě bāng jiā zhōng zuò diǎn zháshì, ...
   also help family in do some household-work

' ... Then, *Xiaoxiao* pretends to cry too, (she)$_1$ points (her) hand at (her) baby husband's crying face, (she)$_2$ says '... !'
   Time goes by, whether it shines or rains. (She)$_3$ carries her baby husband now and then everyday, (she)$_4$ helps with some household work, ... (followed by 15 more $\emptyset$'s clauses in the chain, with two other chains containing some semantically incompatible nouns, before the next occurrence of the NP *Xiaoxiao*)'

In (8), it is observed that the antecedent NP and $\emptyset$'s$_{1-2}$ occur in those clauses in the preceding paragraph, while $\emptyset$'s$_{3-4}$ appear in the clauses in the following paragraph with 15 more clauses containing $\emptyset$ subject/topic in the chain.
   In sum, as previous studies predict, LC as characterized in (3) is commonly seen in classical and modern Chinese written narratives in topic chains with 1-15 clauses in the data examined. However, it is observed, contrary to Tai's (1978) observation in Chinese and observations in other studies (Dijk and Kintsch 1983, Hinds 1979, Reichman 1981), that in both classical and modern Chinese written narratives a topic chain of clauses may cross the boundary of orthographic paragraphs, with the antecedent NP and some $\emptyset$ subjects in clauses in the preceding paragraph, and some $\emptyset$ subjects in clauses in the following paragraph. $\emptyset$'s are also found to cross episode boundaries as defined in Dijk (1987), Dijk and Kintsch (1983), Tomlin (1987). LC in the Chinese written narrative data differs from Huang's (1994) basic distributional pattern of anaphora in conversation in Chinese. It is apparent that LC as characterized in (3) observes Givón's (1983, 1989, 1990) measurements of (co)referentiality in terms of RD and PI.

3. Global coreference in Chinese written narratives

In this section, I demonstrate how Ø is used in the GC mode in classical and modern Chinese written narratives, contrary to previous claims about Ø distributional pattern as conjoinability of clauses (cf. Tai 1978, Li & Thompson 1979, 1981, Chen 1984, 1987, Huang 1994).

GC can be characterized as nonconjoinability of the clause containing the 'antecedent' NP subject and 1-n clauses with a Ø subject, as a discontinuous topic chain that is broken by switch reference, as schematically illustrated in (9), where '...' stands for a clause.

(9) GC: definite NP_i ..., ($Ø_i$ ...) definite NP_j ..., ($Ø_j$ ...,) $Ø_i$ ..., ($Ø_i$ ...)

In (9), the second definite NP in the following clause is semantically compatible with the first definite NP in the preceding clause. Thus, it is a potential interference for a Ø in clauses following the one containing the second NP to be coreferential with the first NP (cf. Givón 1983, 1989, 1990). The second NP are often found to block coreference between a following Ø and the first NP in many languages. However, the data from Liáozhāi Zhìyì, Xiāoxiao and Fèidū support GC, as in (9).

In classical Chinese written narrative, it is observed that in the GC mode the clause with the 'antecedent' NP subject and the clauses containing Ø subjects are separated by a gap of a clause containing a definite NP in the subject position, as in (10) from the story of Xiǎocuì in Liáozhāi Zhìyì.

(10) a. *Nǚ* xiào lá Gōngzi. *Gōngzi* rù shì, $Ø_1$ dài pū yīshàng chén,
      Lady smile take husband Husband enter room, for remove clothes-on dust
   b. $Ø_2$ shì yǎn lèi. $Ø_3$ Mósuō zhànghén, $Ø_4$ ěr yǐ zǎi lì,
      wipe eye tear   Massage whipping-wound feed with dates nuts
   c. Gōngzi nǎi shōutì   yǐ xīn.
      Husband then collect-tear with happiness

'*The woman*, with a smile, took the husband away. *The husband* entered their room, (she)$_1$ dusted (his) clothes for (him), (she)$_2$ wiped (his) tear, (she)$_3$ massaged (his) wounds from the whipping, (she)$_4$ fed (him) with dates and nuts. Then, the husband stopped (his) tears with a smile. . .'

In (10), Ø's in the four following clauses are not coreferential with the subject NP *Gongzi* (the husband) in the immediately preceding clause, but with the subject NP *Nü* (the woman) in the next preceding clause two clauses away. Thus, the clause with the first definite NP and the clauses containing Ø's form a discontinuous topic chain, which is exactly like the pattern described in (9). This pattern apparently does not fit into the pictures of any previous studies of Chinese Ø in discourse (Tai 1978, Li & Thompson 1979, 1981, Chen 1984, 1987, Huang 1994) nor does it measure up to Givón's (1983, 1989, 1990) scales of coreferentiality in topicality. It should be noticed here that *Nü* (the woman) is the protagonist, while *Gongzi* (the husband) is a minor character, in the story. The difference between the protagonist and minor characters seems to be important in the GC mode of Ø use in Chinese written narrative, as also seen in other languages (cf. Chafe 1980, Clancy 1980).

In classical Chinese written narrative, it is also observed that in GC a discontinuous topic chain may cross the boundary of paragraphs and episodes, and tangle with other chains of clauses, as in (11) from Huàbì in Liáozhāi Zhìyì.

(11) a. *Zhū* cíqiě bù gǎn qián.　Nü huí shǒu, $\varnothing_1$ jǔ shǒuzhōng huā.
　　　Zhu hesitant not dare forward Lady return head,　hold hand-in　flower

　b. $\varnothing_2$ yáoyao zuò zhāo zhuāng, $\varnothing_3$ nǎi qū　*zhī*. #
　　　remotely make call gesture　　then follow s/he

　c. Shènèi　　jǐ wú rén, $\varnothing_4$ jù　　yōng zhī, $\varnothing_5$ yì bù kànjù,
　　　Room-inside quiet no one　hurriedly hold s/he　also not resist

　d. $\varnothing_6$ suí xìng xiáhào,　$\varnothing_7$ jìer bì mén qù, $\varnothing_8$ zhǔ wù ké, ...
　　　follow like make-love　then close door go　tell not cough, ...

'. . . *Zhu* was hesitant to follow. *The lady* turned around, (she)$_1$ raised the flower in (her) hand, (she)$_2$ waved it remotely as a welcome gesture. (He)$_3$ followed her.
　　There was nobody in the quiet room. (He)$_4$ hurriedly embraced *her*, (she)$_5$ did not resist at all, (she)$_6$ was willing and happy to make love. Then, (she)$_7$ closed the door to leave, (she)$_8$ told (him) not to make any sound . . .'

In (11), in the GC mode, the 'antecedent' NP *Zhu* and $\varnothing_3$ are separated by a gap of three clauses with a semantically compatible definite NP subject and $\varnothing$'s$_{1\text{-}2}$, and, across the boundary of two paragraphs, $\varnothing_4$ is five clauses away from the first NP *Zhu*, with a gap of an unrelated clause between $\varnothing_3$ and $\varnothing_4$ in the discontinuous chain. In contrast, in the LC mode also in (11), the second NP *Nü* (the lady) and $\varnothing_{1\text{-}2}$ form one of the continuous chains, where the three clauses containing them are conjoined, and the second chain in the LC mode is also formed with *zhi* (she) in the object position in the preceding clause and $\varnothing_{5\text{-}8}$ in four following clauses in conjunction. (11) seems further to indicate that GC is hierarchically applied to the protagonist, such as Zhu, but not to minor ones, such as Nü (the lady).

　　The phenomena of GC is commonly found in modern Chinese written narrative too, as in (12) from Xiāoxiao.

(12) a. Yúshì *Xiāoxiao* qīngshǒuqīngjiǎo　páqǐ　chuáng lái,
　　　Thus Xiaoxiao gentle-hand-gentle-foot climb-up bed　come

　b. $\varnothing_1$ shuìyǎn ménglúng zǒu dào chuángbiān, $\varnothing_2$ bǎ rén　bàoqǐ,
　　　sleep-eye fuzzy　walk to bed-side　　P. man carry-up,

　c. $\varnothing_3$ gěi tā kàn yuèliang, $\varnothing_4$ kàn xīngguāng, huò $\varnothing_5$ hùxiāng qù zhe,
　　　give him look moon　　look star　　or　each-other stare Asp.

　d. háiziqì de 'hāihai, kàn māo hē', $\varnothing_6$ zhèyàng hǎn zhe $\varnothing_7$ nàyàng hǒng zhe,
　　　childishly haihai look cat　P.　this-way cry Asp.　that way coax Asp.

　e. yúshì *zhàngfū* xiào le, $\varnothing_8$ wán le　yì huìer, $\varnothing_9$ mànman héshàng yǎn.
　　　thus husband smile Asp. play Asp. a while,　slowly　close-up eye

　f. Rén shuì le, $\varnothing_{10}$ fàngshàng chuáng, $\varnothing_{11}$ zhàn zài chuángbián kàn zhe, ...
　　　Man sleep Asp.　put-on　bed　　stand in bed-side　look Asp.

'. . . Therefore, *Xiaoxiao* gently got up, (she)$_1$ walked to the bed with fuzzy sleepy eyes, (she)$_2$ carried up the man (her baby husband), (she)$_3$ let him to look at the moon and (him)$_4$ to look at stars or (they)$_5$ stared at each other, 'haihai, look at the cat', (she)$_6$ cried childishly this way, (she)$_7$ pacified (him) that way, thus (her) *husband* began to smile, (he)$_8$ played for a while, (he)$_9$ slowly closed (his) eyes. *The man* fell asleep, (she)$_{10}$ put (him) on the bed, (she)$_{11}$ stood at the bedside looking at (him), . . . (Followed by six more clauses with $\varnothing$ subject being coreferential with the NP *Xiāoxiao*.)'

In (12), the clause with NP *Xiaoxiao* and those containing $\emptyset$'s$_{1-3, 6, 7, 10, 11}$ ... form a discontinuous topic chain of clauses, with a gap of two definite NP, *zhangfu* (her husband) and *ren* (the man), in the subject position in another chain of four clauses. These two definite NP's are not successful in interfering coreference between the 'antecedent NP *Xiaoxiao* and $\emptyset$'s $_{10, 11}$ .... Once again, it is the NP whose referent is the protagonist that occurs with $\emptyset$'s$_{1-3, 6, 7, 10, 11}$ ... in GC, whereas the NP whose referent is a minor character only appear with $\emptyset$'s $_{8-9}$ in LC.

In modern Chinese written narrative, GC is also found to cross boundaries of paragraphs, as in (13) from the novel of <u>Fèidū</u> (p.309)

(13) a. *Niǔ Yuèqǐng* láidào yèshì, $\emptyset_1$ duì mài láozāo   de tānzhǔ shuō:
     Niu Yueqin arrive night-market to sell fermented-sweet-rice M. vendor say

    b. 'Lái sān wǎn, měi wǎn wǒ sān gè jǐdàn de'.
     Give three bowls, every bowl lie three C. egg   P.

    c. *Mèng Yúnfáng* he *Zhào Jīngwǔ* jiù míngbái tāde yìsi   le,
     Meng Yunfang and Zhao Jingwu then know   her meaning Asp.

    d. Yìrén guòlái $\emptyset_2$ chī le yì wǎn. #
     Each come-over   eat Asp a bowl

    e. $\emptyset_3$ Huídào jiālǐ,   yǐjǐng shì yèlǐ liǎng diǎn.
     Arrive home-in already be night two   o'clock

    f. *Liú Yuè* zài tīngshì de shāfa shàng kàn shū, ... *Niǔ Yuèqǐng* duó le shū...
     Liu Yue in hall   M sofa on   read book ... Niu Yueqin seize Asp. book

'... *Niu Yueqing* arrived at the evening market, (she)$_1$ told the fermented-sweet- rice vendor, "Give (us) three bowls of fermented sweet rice. Put three eggs in each of them." *Meng Yunfang* and *Zhao Jingwu* knew what she meant, each (of them) came over, (they)$_2$ ate a bowl.

     (She)$_3$ returned home, (it) is already two o'clock in the morning. *Liu Yue* was reading a book on the sofa in the living room, ... *Niu Yueqing* took away the book ...'

In (13), the clause containing the first NP *Niu Yueqin* and the clause with $\emptyset$'s$_{1, 3}$ are coreferential, and form a discontinuous chain across another chain of three clauses with the definite NP, *Meng Yunfang* and *Zhao Jingwu*, and across the boundary of two paragraphs, while the following occurrence of the same NP under consideration is intervened by a third chain of two clauses with a definite NP *Liu Yue*. In this situation, both anaphoric and cataphoric relations should have been blocked (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976), but it is clearly not the case in (13). Niu Yueqing is one of the protagonists in the novel of <u>Fèidū</u>, though she is not the chief protagonist. The paragraphs in (13) occur in a section about her.

     In sum, GC characterized in (9) and witnessed by data from classical and modern Chinese narratives shows a coreferential pattern completely different from patterns observed and discussed in previous studies (Tai 1978, Li & Thompson 1979, Chen 1984, 1987 and Huang 1994). Unlike the LC mode, GC is characterized by its discontinuity between the clause with the 'antecedent' NP subject and the clause with a $\emptyset$ subject, and is hierarchically driven by the protagonist in short stories or by protagonists in novels. Thus, GC appears to challenge Givón's RD and PI, as claimed in Fox (1987a, 1987b). GC also challenges claims in discourse studies that pronominalization does not occur across paragraph and episode boundaries (cf. Dijk and Kintsch 1983, Hinds 1979, Reichman 1981, Tomlin 1987).

4. Mental/situation models in discourse and the use of Ø

 In this section, I review two cognitive theories of written discourse production and comprehension, and argue that Ø is used purely anaphorically in the LC mode, whereas Ø is used mental-deictically in the GC mode.

 Written discourse is traditionally treated as 'autonomous' and 'explicit', as compared to oral discourse, but recently also treated as 'dependant' and 'implicit' as oral discourse in terms of cognitive strategies in the two modes of communication (cf. Denhiere & Rossi 1991, Horowitz & Samuels 1987, Meutsch & Viehoff 1989, Nystrand 1986, 1987). In oral discourse, people often talk about the real world before their eyes, while in written discourse, the author always talks about a world in his mind. The author often assumes that readers know something about the mental world so that he does not write everything explicitly about it. On the hand, readers assume that the author knows that they know something about the mental world so that not everything is written explicitly about it. Thus, written discourse manifests the strategies the author has adopted in discourse production, and serves as structures or cues for readers' comprehension, of the mental world in creation in discourse (cf. Gernsbacher 1991, Morrow *et al* 1990). Two theories of the mental world in written discourse processing, 'mental models' (Johnson-Laird 1980,1983) and 'situation/episodic models' (Dijk & Kintsch 1983, Dijk 1987), are of particular interest in accounting for the distinction between LC and GC in this study.

 Johnson-Laird (1983) proposes that mental models are analogues of the real world in that they represent objects, states of affairs, sequence of events, the way the world is, and the social and psychological actions of daily life. Mental models are different from other two mental representations: propositional and imagery, the former of which are strings of symbols corresponding to natural language, and the latter of which are perceptual correlates of models from a particular point of view (p.397). In discourse processing, propositional representations are interpreted with respect to mental models (p.156.). Pronouns take referents in mental models, introduced by referential expressions, while a pronoun of laziness picks out a new referent by using the propositional representation of its antecedent (p. 392).

 Dijk and Kintsch (1983) propose that both the author and readers construct situation models in discourse production and comprehension by using knowledge of a fragment of the real world in the long-term memory. A situation model is 'an integrated structure of episodic information, collecting previous episodic information about some situation as well as instantiated general information from semantic memory' (p.344) and a schema with variable terminal categories. It is not made clear how situation models are difference from propositional representations, since their early position is that discourse is interpreted propositionally (cf. Kintsch and van Dijk 1978). In a later study, Dijk (1987) seems to suggest that situation models contain (concepts of) objects and people. Therefore, they are different from propositional representations. In the theory of situation models, like deictic pronouns, anaphoric pronouns refer to (concepts of) individuals in situation models, already referred to and identified by their antecedents (Dijk and Kintsch 1983:163).

 Against Johnson-Laird's referent-taking analysis and Dijk and Kintsch's universal deictic analysis, I propose that there is a cognitive distinction between purely anaphoric use of Ø's/explicit pronouns and mental-deictic use of them in written discourse processing. In the pure anaphoric mode, Ø's/explicit pronouns may be anaphorically used in discourse, when reference is computed with linguistic forms in working memory (cf. Fisher & Glanzer 1986, Glanzer & Nolan 1986). Working memory comprises an attentional controller and the central executive, supplemented by two subsystems: the phonological loop and visuospatial sketch pad,

and is the system for the temporary maintenance and manipulation of information for higher cognition like reading comprehension (Baddeley 1986, 1992a, 1992b). Two specific features of working memory are relevant here. First, the phonological loop can hold speech based information only for 1 to 2 seconds, and has a limited capacity to store either fewer phonologically longer forms or more phonologically shorter forms at a time, when it rehearses to retain them longer (Baddeley 1986, 1992a, 1992b, Schneider & Detweiler 1988). Secondly, previous studies (Bock & Loebell 1990, Glanzer et al 1981, Jarvella 1979, Levelt & Kelter 1982) further suggest that phonological forms are not retained as random words but in connection to surface syntactic structures, and that about five clauses of surface syntactic structures may be retained in the storage of working memory. Given the capacity limitations of working memory and linguistic forms in its storage, it is more efficient to compute reference either by tagging pronouns and their antecedent NP's in their linguistic forms, in the case of explicit pronouns, or by retaining the antecedent NP's, in the case of Ø, in working memory in the pure anaphoric mode (cf. Daneman & Carpenter 1980, Garrod & Garrod 1981, Just & Carpenter 1992). In the former case, an antecedent NP may no longer be rehearsed when its pronoun is tagged, whereas, in the latter case, an antecedent NP may be further rehearsed to meet the referential needs of surface structures with a Ø subject. The artifact of working memory limitations and of the processing mode occurs in the form of LC in discourse, as measured by Givón's (1983, 1989, 1991) referential measurements. However, when the tagging of pronouns and rehearsal of NP's for Ø's are interfered in reference computation, pronouns and Ø's may be used mental-deictically in reference to conceptual tokens of individuals in mental models in discourse. It is called 'mental-deictic', since Ø's and pronouns used in this mode only deictically refer to tokens of individuals in mental models, instead of deictically referring to individuals in the world. The mental-deictic use of a Ø/pronoun is similar to purely deictic use of a Ø/pronoun without pointing, as in (2). For example, a detective may simply utters 'He is leaving', without pointing, while he and his colleagues keep a surveillance on a suspect named 'John'. The deictic function of a Ø/pronoun is unambiguously carried out without pointing, since the situation creates no room for ambiguity. The mental-deictic use of a Ø/pronoun shows a stronger sense of recency, urgency, or continuity than an NP does in the same context. The same is found in written discourse, where mental models are created in such a manner that a Ø/pronoun is used mental-deictically, as in GC, without any ambiguity, as prompted by a stronger sense of recency, urgency, or continuity. Therefore, GC appears to be protagonist-driven so that a least ambiguous situation is created, where a Ø/pronoun is used mental-deictically to pick out the intended token of individuals in mental models.

Writers may not be aware of the exact cognitive processes in the two modes of reference computation in working memory. However, the way writers choose Ø's or third-person pronouns in written discourse indicates that they have some meta-knowledge of the effects of recency, urgency, or continuity created by Ø's or third-person pronouns, and may use them as discourse strategies to create such effects in readers. Readers also seem to have a feel for those effects, when LC and GC as artifacts or strategies of discourse production serve as structures in discourse comprehension, where LC also requires readers to tag pronouns and their antecedent NP's or rehearsing the antecedent NP's for Ø's in working memory storage in order to track referents, and GC makes readers to pick out referents directly from tokens of individuals in mental models. These artifacts are among the linguistic devices that trigger bottom-up and top-down processes in written discourse comprehension (cf. Caron 1992, Dijk & Kintsch 1983).

5. Conclusion

Previous studies made generalizations about LC, which do not account for GC, in classical and modern Chinese narratives. To account for the difference, I have argued that LC is the artifact of reference computation by tagging pronouns and antecedent NP's in their linguistic forms or by rehearsing antecedent NP's for Ø's in working memory in a pure anaphoric mode, while GC is the artifact of mental-deictically referring to conceptual tokens of individuals in mental/situation models. The distinction between pure anaphoric mode and mental-deictic mode of pronoun uses have some implications. First, the distinction defines, in terms of cognitive processing modes, what Givón's (1983, 1989, 1991) referential measurements are intended to measure and what they are not, against Fox's (1987a, 1987b) claims that they do not account for GC. Secondly, the distinction as appeared in Chinese written narrative suggests that writers may have some meta-knowledge of their referential choices and use them as strategies in written discourse production. This means that sometimes it may not be a writer's attention or focus that trigger the use of a pronoun or a noun in written discourse production, but his strategies to evoke the attention or focus from readers in discourse comprehension. Third, GC as a discourse strategy or referential practice is culturally based so that it is more accepted in one culture, while less so in another (cf. Hanks 1990). For example, GC is considered sloppy, and prescriptively discouraged in English rhetorics (cf. Dale 1992, Ebbitt & Ebbitt 1990, Rothwell 1971), though there is evidence of such use (cf. Fox 1987a, 1987b). On the other hand, GC is commonly seen in some Asian languages, some African languages, and Mayan languages (cf. Ennulat 1978, Gleason 1968, Grimes 1978, Hanks 1990), even when speakers of one of those languages speak a second language (cf. Chafe 1980, Clancy 1980). Fourth, GC as a referential practice may depend on a larger social and cultural context in discourse, while LC as artifacts of working memory limitations is more likely to be subject to on-line factors in oral discourse production (cf. Tomlin 1987, Tomlin & Pu 1991).

Notes

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1 The symbol # indicates the boundary between paragraphs in the original text.

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