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The papers in this volume grew out of a one-day mini-conference held at UC Santa Barbara, Dec. 12, 1990 on East Asian Linguistics. The occasion was a celebration of the quarter during which the UCSB Linguistics Department was fortunate to host two eminent visiting scholars in Chinese linguistics, Professors Alain Peyraube and Hilary Chappell; this collection of papers is a tribute to their influence and to the high level of activity in functional approaches to East Asian languages in Southern California during the time they were here.

AFFECT and Japanese conditionals

Noriko Akatsuka, UCLA

1. Introduction

Traditionally, the conditional structure "if p, q" has primarily been associated with the speaker's rational ability, i.e., reasoning capacity (Refer to works in Traugott et al 1986) in the fields of linguistics, psychology and philosophy.¹ In this paper I wish to suggest that natural language conditionals are also important devices for encoding the speaker's AFFECT, the domain of I WANT rather than I THINK, where the relevant notions are DESIRABLE/UNDESIRABLE rather than TRUE/FALSE.

Specifically, I will argue that the Japanese language has grammaticized the speaker's attitude I WANT IT TO HAPPEN/NOT TO HAPPEN in the form of the conditional structure, "if p, q", where q is the speaker's subjective, evaluative judgment, DESIRABLE/UNDESIRABLE, towards the realization of p.

Evidence will be developed as follows: In Section 2, I will show that in Japanese the three conceptual categories, WISH/HOPE, SUGGESTION/ADVICE, and PERMISSION/OBLIGATION constitute a natural class in that all three **must** be expressed in terms of conditionals with the underlying structure, "If p, q" where q is the speaker's evaluative judgment as to whether the actualization of p is good or bad. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that our hypothesis can account for the otherwise anomalous acquisition of conditionals by Japanese children in cross-linguistic acquisition data (Clancy 1985; personal communication). Section 3 is an examination of the nature of double negation in Japanese expressions of obligation in light of our hypothesis. Section 4 is the conclusion.

2. WISH, ADVICE and PERMISSION.

Many languages of the world show an intimate relationship between conditionals and optatives, i.e., expressions of the speaker's wishes. For example, in English, "If only I could go with you!" is construed to mean "I wish I could go with you." In Japanese, both wishes and hopes **must** be expressed in the form of conditionals.²

¹ I am grateful to Pat Clancy for providing me with all the relevant information regarding Japanese children's acquisition of conditionals. Earlier versions of this paper were read at the following places: Southern California Japanese/Korean Linguistics Conference, August 1989; Dokkyo University, October 1989; Kanda University of Foreign Studies, November 1989; Hiroshima University, November 1989. Research reported on in this paper has been supported in part by an international cooperative research grant from Dokkyo University to Akio Kamio and by a research grant from the UCLA Academic senate.

² It is well-known that Japanese has many conditional patterns. See Kuno (1973) for an insightful discussion of the properties and constraints of individual patterns.

(1) WISH/HOPE

Issyo ni together	{	a. ike-tara, can go if	}	ii	n	dakedo.
		b. ikere-ba can go if		good	nom	though
		c. ikeru-to can go if				

lit. "If I could go with you, it would be good."

"If I can go with you, it is good."

Japanese does not have a subjunctive mood. Therefore, (1) can express either WISH or HOPE, depending upon the discourse context, i.e., the speaker's intention.

(2) I wish I could go with you.

I hope I can go with you.

There is another class of conditionals which do not have English counterparts, namely SUGGESTION/ADVICE conditionals. Consider

(3) - (5).

(3) SUGGESTION/ADVICE

Doo how	{	a. si-tara, do if	}	ii	deshoo	ka.
		b. sure-ba do if		good	wil be	Q
		c. ? suru-to do if				

lit: "If I do how, will it be good?" = "What should I do?"

(4) Koo this way	{	a. si-tara do if	}	ii.
		b. sure-ba do if		good
		c. ? suru-to do if		

lit: "If you do this way, it is good." = "Why don't you do it this way?"/"You should do this way."

(5) Atama ga itai toki niwa Anasin o
head sbj. hurt time at Anacin obj

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| {
a. nome-ba
drink if
b. non-dara
drink if
c. nomu-to
drink if } | ii.
good |
|--|-------------|

lit: "When your head hurts, it is good if you take Anacin."
 = "When you have a headache, you should take Anacin."

Note that regardless of whether one applies the wh-fronting rule, English examples "If I do how, will it be good?" and "How if I do, will it be good?", corresponding to the Japanese examples in (3), are ungrammatical. This shows that if VO languages like English were to choose conditional systems in place of modal verb systems, it would become impossible for the speaker to seek suggestions or advice. Needless to say, this would disqualify such VO languages as human languages.³

In addition to WISH/HOPE and SUGGESTION/ADVICE, Japanese uses conditional structures to express such concepts as permission and obligation.⁴

(6) PERMISSION

Tabe-temo ii.
 eat even if good

lit: "It is good even if you eat." = "You may eat."

(7) OBLIGATION

Tabenakere-ba ikenai/ dame da.
 eat Neg if no good no good

lit. "It is no good if you don't eat." = "You must eat."

It has been suggested that the use of conditionals for PERMISSION/OBLIGATION is a reflection of the preference of Japanese society toward indirect, round-about expressions for the sake of politeness (e.g. Alfonso 1966). Initially, this socio-cultural account seems plausible especially because of the double negation in expressing the notion of obligation. It turns out, however, that English grammar does not allow English speakers to ask permission not to do something using modal verbs. They must appeal to conditional structures just as Japanese speakers do. Compare the Japanese and English examples below.

³ Korean (Akatsuka 1989) and Burmese (Nishide, personal communication) are two other OV languages which express WISH/HOPE, SUGGESTION/ADVICE, and PERMISSION/OBLIGATION using conditionals. It is interesting to note that neither Turkish nor Mongolian, the two OV languages which are often associated with Japanese in genetic discussions, do not behave like Japanese in this regard.

⁴ Although there are many conditional patterns corresponding to "if p, q", there is only the temo 'even if/ even though' pattern, which corresponds to "even if p, q".

(8) Request for permission not to do something

J: Tabenaku-temo ii desu ka?
eat Neg even if good is Q

lit: "Is it good even if I don't eat?"

E: a. *May I not eat? (Cf. May I eat?)

b. *Can I not eat? (Cf. Can I eat?)

c. Is it all right if I don't eat?

This fact alone is sufficient to cast serious doubts on the validity of the politeness hypothesis. In the next section, I will show that the double negation at issue is rather a logical consequence of defining obligation in terms of permission.

I now propose that Japanese has grammaticized speaker attitude, I WANT IT TO HAPPEN/NOT TO HAPPEN in the form of conditionals. The three classes of conditionals, WISH/HOPE, SUGGESTION/ADVICE, and PERMISSION/OBLIGATION, form a natural class and they are all surface realizations of the logical structure which is as follows:

(9) IF p, q

where q is the speaker's evaluative judgment,

DESIRABLE/UNDESIRABLE, towards the realization of p.

The abstract meaning, "DESIRABLE" and "UNDESIRABLE" is lexicalized appropriately, according to discourse contexts.

(10) DESIRABLE (ii, ureshii, yoroshii, daizyoobu, kamawanai, etc.)

good happy fine all right not to mind

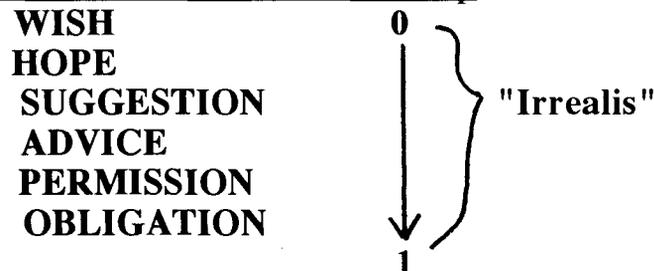
UNDESIRABLE (ikenai, dameda, iyada, zannenda, komaru, etc.)

no good no good dislike sorry terrible

For instance, in the case of WISH/HOPE conditionals, DESIRABLE and UNDESIRABLE will often be lexicalized with emotion-loaded lexical items such as "ureshii (happy)" and "komaru (terrible)", respectively.

Observe the following scale in (11):

(11) Speaker control over the realization of p



Note that not only do the three classes of conditionals constitute a coherent set of conceptual categories; more crucially, they constitute a natural scale in the domain of irrealis (non-actual world) representing the varying degrees of the speaker's inability to exert control over the actualization of

p. In the case of WISH, it is "zero". In the case of OBLIGATION, it approaches "1".

The person offering advice or suggestions is aware that the addressee may not comply. In other words, it is uncertain whether the addressee will find the realization of p to be desirable. In the case of PERMISSION/OBLIGATION conditionals, on the other hand, the person granting PERMISSION or imposing an OBLIGATION has much stronger control over the speech situation. This is because (i) s/he is higher in social status or professional authority than the addressee, and (ii) s/he knows in advance whether the addressee considers the realization of p to be desirable or not. However, even in the case of OBLIGATION, the speaker's uncertainty about the realization of p still remains. There is no guarantee that the addressee will carry out the course of action that the speaker has demanded.

It is important to point out that our analysis is diametrically opposed to the popular analysis of PERMISSION/OBLIGATION. The notion of PERMISSION/OBLIGATION has widely been analyzed under the name of "deontic modality". Previous analysis generally claims that epistemic modality, which involves the expression of the speaker's degree of commitment to the truth of a proposition (e.g. Helen may/must be there by now), is more subjective than deontic modality (e.g. You may/must eat that now). According to our view, "deontic modality" is, on the contrary, inherently more subjective than epistemic modality.⁵

The crucial evidence for the theory of conditionality I have presented here is provided by Japanese children's acquisition data (Clancy 1985 and personal communication). Cross-linguistic research on conditionality has consistently found that conditionals appear comparatively late in the course of language development (Bowerman, 1986).

Japanese acquisition data, however, provide a startling exception to the general finding that conditionals are acquired late. The earliest sentence-linking form in Japanese is -te, used to express temporal/causal relationships. At this very early stage, which typically involves only coordination, temporal sequence and causality in other languages, conditionals begin to appear in Japanese. Thus, Okubo (1967:104) cites the emergence of -tara 'if/when' only one month after the appearance of the first conjunction -te 'and/then/so', and before the emergence of kara 'because', toki 'when' and kedo 'but'. Furthermore, as early as 2 years and 3 months, -temo 'even if/even though' is found in Japanese in related constructions (Clancy, 1985; Okubo, 1967); in contrast, in English the

⁵ To my knowledge, no previous study of mood and modality discusses the use of conditionals as a functional equivalent of modal verbs in familiar Western languages (e.g. Palmer, 1986).

connectives though and although are not even reported in studies of conjunction extending through 4 years of age (Bloom et al., 1980).

The theory of conditionality developed here can provide the key to this apparent mystery. The Japanese children's early conditional sentences involve "deontic modality" of the PERMISSION/OBLIGATION type, as in Tabe-temo ii? "Lit. Even if I eat it, is it all right?" or Sawat-tara dame "Lit. If you touch it, it's bad" (Clancy, 1985). Since these evaluative meanings are not typically included in traditional analyses of the conceptual content of conditionals, these early uses of conditionals by Japanese children have not yet received a satisfactory analysis. The Japanese findings have been regarded as so anomalous, in fact, that acquisition researchers have even proposed that such uses should be ignored, as not involving "true conditionals" (Clancy, personal communication). Yet the analysis presented here provides a compelling explanation of the Japanese data: the earliest uses of conditionality in Japanese are accessible to very young children because they express an affect-based notion of conditionality, namely, the speaker's subjective evaluation of an event that is about to occur or is already in progress.

3. Obligation and double-negation

Having argued that Japanese has grammaticized the speaker's attitude, I WANT IT TO HAPPEN/NOT TO HAPPEN, in the form of conditional structures, I now turn back to the question of why Japanese uses double negation in expressing the meaning of obligation.

Observe the contrast of (a) and (b) below:

(12) May I { a. eat? }
 { b. *not eat? }

It is important to bear in mind that one cannot ask permission not to do something using English modal verbs. In sharp contrast, the Japanese system treats requests for permission to do something and not to do something in a parallel fashion. Compare (12) with its Japanese counterpart (13).

(13) { a. Tabete-mo } ii?
 { eat even if } good
 { b. Tabete-naku-mo }
 eat Neg. even if
 "Is it all right { a. even if I eat? }"
 { b. even if I don't eat? }

Note that in (a) the speaker wants to eat, while in (b) s/he does not.

The positive responses to the two types of request will be (14).

(14) PERMISSION GRANTED:

- { a.. Aa, tabe-temo
yeah eat even if } ii.
b. Aa, tabe-naku-temo } good
yeah eat Neg. even if
"Yeah, it is all right { a. even if you eat.
b. even if you don't eat. } "

One could paraphrase the response in (a) as "as for your request, 'is it all right to eat/not to eat?', it is all right.". That is, "p" of "even if p" reflects the addressee's (original speaker's) attitude, I WANT IT TO HAPPEN/NOT TO HAPPEN". This is evidenced by the fact that "even if p" can be simply omitted in (14). Both (a) and (b) can become a short answer, "aa, ii " meaning "yeah, that's fine". Similarly, the negative response will be as follows:

(15) PERMISSION NOT GRANTED:

- { a. Iya, tabe-tewa
No eat if } ike-nai.
b. Iya, tabe-naku-tewa } good Neg
No eat Neg. if

Again, one could paraphrase (a) as "as for your request, 'is it all right to eat/not to eat?', it is not all right".

Using Lyons' (1977) four classificatory terms, we could summarize the Japanese system in the following way:

- (16) GOOD (p)----Permission
GOOD (-p)---Exemption
-GOOD (p)----Prohibition
-GOOD (-p)---Obligation

According to Lyons, English has an obligation-based system. In contrast, Japanese has a permission-based system. When looked at in isolation without dialogical context, the Japanese equivalent of English, "You must eat", "tabe-naku-tewa ike-nai" sounds hopelessly round-about. However, it turns out that the double negation, which has often mistakenly been viewed as a politeness device, is a logical consequence of defining OBLIGATION in terms of PERMISSION. More specifically, the speaker is rejecting the addressee's request for permission not to do something.

4. Conclusion

Under the influence of formal logic, the central concern of the study of conditional sentences has long been the speaker's reasoning capacity. In this paper I have tried to demonstrate the importance of an affect-based

notion of conditionality in understanding the use and function of natural language conditionals.

In Japanese, the speaker attitude I WANT IT TO HAPPEN/NOT TO HAPPEN is grammaticized in the form of "if p, q", where q is the speaker's subjective, evaluative judgment, DESIRABLE/UNDESIRABLE towards the realization of p. Specifically, conditionals expressing WISH/HOPE, SUGGESTION/ADVICE, and PERMISSION/OBLIGATION constitute a natural scale in the domain of *irrealis*, reflecting the speaker's subjective evaluation of his/her inability to control the realization of p.

The present study is a challenge to the widely held belief that deontic modality is more objective than epistemic modality. According to our view, the speaker's attitude I WANT IT TO HAPPEN/NOT TO HAPPEN is at the core of deontic modality. Since the notion of I WANT IT TO HAPPEN/NOT TO HAPPEN is so basic and fundamental to human existence itself, deontic modality is inherently far more subjective. Epistemic modality, in contrast, expresses the speaker's commitment to the truth of a particular proposition. One could say then that epistemic modality is a grammaticization of the speaker attitude, I THINK IT TO BE TRUE/NOT TO BE TRUE.

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STRATEGIES FOR THE ASSERTION OF OBVIOUSNESS AND
DISAGREEMENT IN MANDARIN: A SEMANTIC STUDY OF
THE MODAL PARTICLE ME

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This paper sets out to provide a semantic analysis of a little-researched modal particle in Mandarin Chinese - me¹, which occurs structurally in sentence-final position and belongs to a set of discourse markers facilitating both conversational interaction and the expression of a variety of different attitudes on the part of the speaker.² The attitudinal value of these markers involves the coding of emotions as varied as surprise, exasperation, indignation and impatience. Indeed, in an early (phonetic) study of modal particles in Mandarin, Tchen (1938:78) observes 'l'emploi des particules dans les phrases n'est jamais exempt d'une certaine nuance de sentiments [the use of particles in sentences is never devoid of a special nuance of feeling]'.
Nevertheless, Tchen despairs ultimately of capturing the meaning of these particles, concluding that since each particle can express a number of diverse emotions and feelings, with new ones continually being added (1938:78-79), 'il serait donc vain de vouloir définir avec précision, la fonction des particules dans l'expression des éléments affectifs de la parole [it would be useless to try to precisely define the function of particles in the expression of emotional elements of speech]'. Despite this warning, we will set out to do just this in the case of the modal marker me.

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In this study, we use the definition of modality employed by Bybee (1985:165-169) and Palmer (1986) which is contrasted with that for mood. Mood is a grammatical category typically marked on the verb, exemplified in many European languages by the indicative, subjunctive and imperative, whereas modality concerns a much larger semantic field of realis and irrealis oppositions, illocutionary force as well as other discourse and pragmatic functions. Modality can be coded by a variety of

¹ I have chosen to represent the particle under discussion by me to indicate an unstressed atonal schwa vowel. In terms of segmental features, one could just as easily have chosen ma. However, for the purposes of distinguishing this modal marker from the interrogative marker ma (see section 3 below on the diachronic relationship), me is used in this paper. The crucial factor for the semantic study presented here is that interrogative ma and modal me are functionally distinct in contemporary spoken Mandarin. Note, however, that in written Chinese, the use of different ideographs distinguishes these two discourse markers.

In sum, there are many graphic and phonetic variants of this modal particle. Chao, for example, lists 6 ideographic variants (1968:801). Phonetically it is represented as ma, me and mo in various analyses and dictionaries, atonal in all cases.

² This paper was first presented at the East Asian Languages Workshop held at University of California, Santa Barbara on December 12, 1990. I would like to thank Alain Peyraube, Hongyin Tao and Sandra A. Thompson for their comments and discussion and Liu Mingchen for research assistance.

means such as modal verbs, modal adverbs and modal particles.

Similarly to the majority of Sino-Tibetan languages, Sinitic languages such as Mandarin are tenseless languages that possess, however, elaborate aspectual and modal systems (see Chappell 1990). In Sinitic, it is only recently, however, that the extensive sets of modal particles have received much attention in the form of detailed analysis: For the non-Mandarin Sinitic languages, it is particularly Cantonese which has been dealt with in depth in Kwok (1984) and Luke (1990), both using transcriptions of conversational data. The Cantonese sentence-final modal particles form a complex system of more than 30 basic particles that can yield over 100 combinations each with its own special nuance of meaning.³ Chao (1926) and Cheng (1977) similarly treat sentence-final particles in Wu (and two other dialects) and Taiwanese Min (Hokkien) respectively.

In the case of Mandarin, descriptions of its range of modal particles are to be found in grammars such as Liu (1964), Chao (1968), Li & Thompson (1981) and Zhang (1959) while analyses of specific particles such as the continuing debate on the function of [ne] are to be found in Alleton (1981), Chu (1984), King (1986) and Shifu (1984; 1985).

Particles are an integral part of colloquial speech, particularly in informal contexts, a point which is stressed in Luke's description (1990:10-11) of the pervasiveness of particles in natural speech for Cantonese:

'The regularity with which utterance particles occur in natural, mundane conversation in Cantonese is truly astounding. An informal count reveals that an utterance particle is found in continuous talk on the average of every 1.5 seconds. It is no exaggeration to say that they constitute one of the hallmarks of natural conversation in Cantonese.'

In a similar count of particles in a Mandarin informal conversation, I found that utterance-final particles occurred about every 6 seconds, with a somewhat lower frequency than in Cantonese, predictable given the disparity in the size of the set of particles in each language.⁴

To become a proficient speaker of a language which makes heavy use of utterance-final particles, as is the case for many East Asian languages, a knowledge of the communicative function, including emotive and attitudinal nuances of each particle is crucial. Hence, there is a corresponding need to expand studies of modal particle systems which typically are not well-covered in textbooks and language primers for Asian languages. The following analysis aims to make a small contribution in this direction.

This paper is organized in the following way: In section 1, a brief outline of the modal system in Mandarin is found.

³ Estimated number of particles and combinations in Cantonese is according to Luke (1990:1).

⁴ I counted particles in the 13-minute conversation 'China's Education System' (see appendix for details).

Section 2 presents the main semantic analysis of the particle me, based on a corpus of data from recorded texts in Mandarin.⁵ Section 3 examines the affect of genre on the use of particles while section 4 provides a brief comment on the diachronic relationship of the interrogative marker ma to the modal particle me focusing on how this lends further support to the semantic characterisation of me advocated in this study.

1. MANDARIN SYSTEM OF MODAL PARTICLES.

Other studies of modality in Chinese, such as Liu (1964) and Li & Thompson, focus on six main modal particles occurring in clause-final position. Zhang (1959) also considers a semantic classification of modal expressions in Mandarin.

In contrast to most of these studies, Chao (1968) distinguishes a total of 28 ways of marking modality in phrase-final or sentence-final position in Mandarin Chinese.⁶ Nonetheless, the first twelve modal particles listed by Chao correspond more or less to those found in Liu (1964), Li & Thompson (1981) and other grammars of Mandarin, given that Chao makes finer distinctions and posits polysemy for several of the main particles.

Reducing these twelve to seven, the functions of the main modal particles are summarized below on the basis of their semantic behaviour observed in discourse data.⁷ These modal particles mark clause and intonation unit junctures. Several are also used as topic markers within the clause separating off a topic from the rest of the sentence.⁸ We briefly exemplify each of these markers in Table 1 below:

⁵ The pinyin transcription system, officially adopted in PR China in 1958, is used to transliterate all the examples from the discourse data in this article. This conforms with common practice in Chinese linguistics and Chinese language teaching.

⁶ Chao's analysis is extraordinarily thorough and attentive to detail in its discussion of compound particles; treatment of fused and successive particles and particles common in southern dialects of Mandarin, even including two non-segmental phonemes (rising and falling endings affecting only the last syllable of a sentence).

⁷ See appendix for data used in this study.

⁸ The table of modal particles which follows simplifies the system and lists only the major or most characteristic functions of each particle. For a detailed discussion of the modal system as a whole, see Chao (1968) and Li & Thompson (1981).

TABLE 1: Mandarin Modal System

Particle Functions

1. BA (i) Codes suggestions (ii) Checks that hearer accepts the given proposition is a reasonable one: cf. 'solicit agreement from hearer' (Li & Thompson 1981)

Context: The speaker, Bing Bing, is unsure as to the exact time of arrival at camp and suggests 10 o'clock as the probable time, using particle ba to signal that the addressee may disagree at this point:

Example:

Wǒmen yí dào nàr de shíhou kěnéng
 1pl as:soon arrive there SUB time perhaps

shídiǎn ba
 10:o'clock BA

'Well, when we got there, it was around 10 o'clock, [I think]'

Bing 2:24

2. A/YA (i) Hortatory use in prompting or urging hearers to do something. (ii) Topic marker

Context: Overseas students on a camping trip with their English class are required to write a diary by their teacher. Some cheekily copy Bing Bing's entries to which she protests:

Example:

Wǒ shuō 'Nǐ bié lǎo chāo wǒ de ya!
 1sg say 2sg NEG:IMP always copy 1sg GEN YA

'I said 'Just stop always copying mine!' Bing 22:333

3. NE (i) Codes that a proposition is 'contrary to expectations' (ii) Topic marker (iii) Interrogative marker (mutually exclusive with ma- see below)

Example:

Context: Bing Bing professes a dislike of alfalfa sprouts in salad sandwiches. Her father tells her they are full of vitamin C and really very healthy, to which Bing Bing replies with a 'contrary to expectations' use of ne:

Wǒ hái bù rú duō chī diǎnr ne!
 1sg even NEG like more eat a:bit NE

'So I'd be better off eating more of them then!'
 Bing 14:212

4. MA (i) Interrogative marker for polar 'yes-no' questions

Example:

Nǐ zhīdao Shànghǎi Dàxué ma?
 2sg know Shanghai University MA

'Do you know Shanghai University?' Ed. 12:189

5. OU (i) Mild warnings and lively expression of opinion when the speaker believes the addressee may hold the contrary assumption.

Context: The interviewer asks a woman professor how long the craze to learn English will last:

Example:

Wǒ xiǎng zhèige kěnéng huì xiāngdāng
 1sg think this:CL perhaps can quite

jiù ou!
 long:time OU

'I'm afraid this could [last] for quite a long time!'
 Kubler & Ho 1982:19

6. ME (i) Codes obviousness and disagreement
 (ii) Topic marker

Context: A student points out why one of his personal names is 'Xiong' a character in the name for the Taiwanese city of Kaohsiung [Gaoxiong]:

Example:

Wǒ jiā zhùzài Gāoxióng me.
 1sg home live:at Kaohsiung ME

'You see, Kaohsiung's my hometown.' Kubler & Ho 1984:63

7. LE (i) Inception of a new state of affairs
 (ii) Episode-bounding
 (iii) Codes urgency in imperatives

Context: The woman speaker has, to her relief, finally found a place of study for her daughter. Particle le codes a new state of affairs and an episode boundary with a new topic being commenced straight after (see Chappell 1988):

Example:
 Liào-xià yíge xīnbìng le.
 leave-down one:CL worry LE

'Now I've put this worry aside.' Ed: 19:293

As remarked upon above, structurally these particles occur at the ends of groups of words whether they be phrases, intonation units, clauses or complex sentences. There is also general agreement that modal particles are both unstressed and atonal, determined by the fact that their syntactic position is prosodically weakest (cf. Tchen 1938:84). Chao (1968:795) describes this class of words as being bound and enclitic to the preceding syllable while they are simultaneously in construction with the whole preceding phrase.

Finally, Chao observes (1968:801) that the vowel of the two discourse markers me and ma is otherwise indistinguishable due to these two features of atonality of the syllable and its unstressed position at the end of the sentence, but points out, as do Kubler & Ho (1984:76), that they are used in utterances which are prosodically distinct. The particle ma as used in the question form, typically ends on a high pitch which is part of a rising intonation contour, whereas the opposite holds true for the modal particle me, which is part of a low intonation contour.

In section 2, we present the main analysis of me using data from transcriptions of narratives and conversations in Mandarin, and show that there are two main functions of me in utterance-final position (see appendix for sources of data).

2. THE ASSERTION OF OBVIOUSNESS AND DISAGREEMENT: ME

Liu (1964) makes the strongest claim concerning the emotional meaning attached to the modal particle. He states that it expresses impatience and disapproval with regard to an unreasonable, irrational or superfluous remark for something that is obvious.⁹ He uses the following examples (which contain "sentence-internal me" in our view):

8. Júzhǎng me, bú zuò qìchē?
 director ME NEG ride car
 'S/he's the director after all. Why shouldn't s/he travel in a car?'¹⁰

⁹ Original of indirect English quote in text above: (Me) wird gebraucht, wenn man zu einer unvernünftigen, unverständigen oder ueberfluessigen Bemerkung seine Ungeduld und seine Missbilligung zum Ausdruck bringt. Der Sprechende denkt bei sich: 'Es ist doch eine so selbstverstaendliche Sache! Warum begreift der Mann es denn nicht?'

¹⁰ Liu's original examples are unnumbered and are given in Chinese characters only. These have been transliterated using the pinyin system - as for all the language examples in this paper.

9. Xiàtiān me, dāngrán rè.
 summer ME of:course hot
 'It's summer after all, of course it's hot.'

Kubler & Ho (1984:76) define me as a 'final particle which indicates the speaker believes what he is saying to be quite obvious to the listener.' Chao lists me as his Particle 5 with two main uses which are reproduced below with the relevant examples (1968:801):

- 1) Pause particle with hesitation 'as for, in the case of, ... well'
10. Jīntiān wǒ bù néng, míngtiān me, dāi huìr
 today 1sg NEG able tomorrow ME wait a:bit
 zài shuō ba
 again say BA
 'I can't today; as for tomorrow, well, let's talk about it later.'¹¹

- 2) Dogmatic assertion: 'you should know', 'don't you see?'
11. Wǒ shuō de me! Nǐ jiù shì bù dǒng me!
 1sg say SUB ME 2sg then be NEG understand ME
 'I say it is! You just don't understand!'

The lexicographers of the Xinhua Zidian [New China Dictionary] (1986:300-301) also separate out the two uses of me identified by Chao, giving them different entries and different ideographs. The sentence-internal use labelled as 'pause particle' by Chao (see above) is found, for example, under the entry for an interrogative me as a particle used at the end of the first clause in a series 'having implied rhetorical force' (1986:306). The reader is not, however, enlightened as to the precise nature of this rhetorical force.¹² The meaning of utterance-final ma, listed separately under another atonal ma (with a different character), is then defined as something which is 'very evident, the logic is just like this'.

In contrast to the analyses above, this study based on discourse data turned up three main uses of the modal particle me, similar to but not completely identical to the two uses of me described by Liu (1964), Chao (1968) and the Xinhua Zidian [New China Dictionary] (1986).

The three main uses identified in the data were:

¹¹ Chao's examples are given in both Chinese characters and in the Gwoyeu Romatzyh Latin transliteration he devised, an ingenious system of tonal spelling. However, to be consistent within the analysis, I have retransliterated his examples into pinyin and also added the interlinear glossing.

¹² Li & Thompson (1981) do not discuss this particle.

I. In utterance-final position:

- (1) modal particle reminding the listener that the entire proposition is obvious or self-evident from the preceding discussion or from their shared cultural knowledge
- (2) modal particle used to express disagreement, possibly combined with indignation or impatience at the hearer's opposite point of view

II. In utterance-internal position:

- (3) topic marker resuming an earlier topic or shared subject matter at the end of a phrase or "sentence-internal" position, that is, in a not yet completed utterance

The third use of topic marker me generally resumed a previously mentioned subject matter - and was therefore 'obvious' to the discussion at hand in this manner. Liang et al (1982:71) label this use of me in a similar fashion to Chao (1968) [cited above] but in addition describe it as a 'deliberate pause particle drawing attention to the point made'. We do not discuss it further here, except to briefly point out the semantic relatedness to the sentence-final uses in section 2.2.

Next the main arguments for the analysis of this modal marker are presented and the semantic formulae are proposed for the two utterance-final functions of modal me as (1) marker of obviousness and (2) marker of disagreement in assertions. The analysis is made with reference to data from natural discourse texts (see Appendix for sources).

The semantic analysis makes use of a metalanguage composed of units of natural language which are successively applied in the reductive paraphrase of the invariant meaning of the modal particle. The explications of the semantic structure are given in the form of a restricted metasyntax in English.¹³

This is typical of the approach advocated by A. Wierzbicka (1972), (1980, (1985), (1987) and (1989).

2.1 [ME] AS MARKER OF AN OBVIOUS LOGICAL CONNECTION

The majority of examples of the particle me fell into the semantic category of expressing obviousness, neither belonging to a context of disagreement nor containing any affective component such as indignation or impatience.¹⁴ In this case,

¹³ The metalanguage uses basic words from English (see Wierzbicka 1972, 1980, 1987a, 1989) such as 'I', 'you', 'feel', 'want', 'don't want' and so on. We could also use the isomorphic primitives and near-primitives in Mandarin such as wo '1sg', ni '2sg', yao 'want', bu 'don't want' and xiang 'think', but eschew this for the convenience of the reader.

¹⁴ Out of a total of 15 utterance-final me in the corpora, 12 expressed obviousness and only 3, disagreement. There were a further 13 instances of me as topic markers in utterance-internal position. See section 3 below on the affect of genre and formality of context on the use of me.

me is used to assert a logical link between two propositions to the effect that one is the obvious consequence of the other. This use was typically found in explanatory contexts.

In one of the main corpora of data examined, the Pear [or Guava] Stories¹⁵, six examples of me out of a total of eleven instances were utterance-final and expressed obviousness, all providing excellent confirmation of our hypothesis. I choose three of these to exemplify the main semantic features of this particular use of me:

One storyteller used modal me to modify an utterance explaining why the little boy, who was the hero of the story, was not careful on his bike, bumped into a rock and fell off:

12. Yīnwèi xīn ... xīn huāng me
 because heart heart upset ME
 Tā tōu -le dōngxi.
 3sg steal -PFV thing
 'Because he was feeling upset, after all. He'd stolen something.'
 Pear I.13:47-49

Modal me does not solicit agreement from the listener as the particle ba does (cf. Li & Thompson 1981), nor is it used to signal that a situation is contrary to expectations in the same way that particle ne can be used. Rather, it is used to point out a connection between two states of affairs in order to ensure the listener understands why the particular sequence of events came about. In terms of interaction, it conveys that since the situation is clear and obvious, no further discussion need be entered into.

The same storyteller continued to recount what happened next after the little boy had fallen off his bike:

13. Ránhòu ne, tā ... jiù shāng le me.
 after NE 3sg then wounded INC ME

'After that, he'd hurt himself of course.'
 Pear I.13:56-58

Again, the implication is that the proposition contained in (13) is the reason why the little boy did not ride his bike again, but rather pushed it along: In fact, the speaker elaborated to this effect in the immediately following passage:

¹⁵ The English version of this short silent film is known as the Pear Stories. This was due to the fact that the designers of the film selected small green pears when filming the story near Berkeley, CA. In the 21 narratives collected in Taipei by Mary Erbaugh in 1976, only one narrator identifies the fruit as pears. Eleven identify the fruit as guavas and nine simply refer to this central prop as shuiguo or quozi, that is, 'fruit'. See also Erbaugh (1990).

14. *Tā shòu shāng le, jiù méi yǒu qí le.*
 3sg receive wound INC then NEG have ride INC

'He'd been hurt ... so he didn't ride anymore.'
 Pear I.13:59-61

In another example, the narrator explained why she thought another main character, 'the boy with the paddle ball', knew that the hat lying on the road belonged to the little boy:

15. *Jiù zhīdao yīdìng shì tā diào de ...yīnwèi*
 then know certainly be 3sg drop SUB because

tā kàn ... kàn tā zǒu -guo me
 3sg see see 3sg walk past ME

'He knew it was definitely the one dropped by him...because, well, he'd seen ...seen him walk by.'
 Pear I.11:134-5

A final example from the Pear/Guava Story corpus again displays the characteristic feature of obviousness in relating what the three boys did immediately upon receiving a piece of fruit each as a reward for helping the little boy:

16. *Jiéguǒ, chī bāle me.*
 next eat guava ME

'So (they) ate the guavas, of course.'
 Pear I.1:37-38

In the context of this story, this is an important juncture, as the boys are, without realizing it, walking along the road towards the orchard where the little boy had originally stolen the basket of fruit. The orchard owner is about to see them in the act of eating his pears [guavas]. Hence, the use of modal particle me here is stylistically effective in conveying that the three boys did what would be naturally expected of anyone, when given a present of fruit, all the while unaware that the fruit was stolen.

Next, we propose the semantic formula with reference to example (17) and continue the discussion of the semantics of the modal particle me in the form of justifying postulated semantic components:

17. *Nèige xiǎo háizi jiù bǒ-zhe jiǎo.*
 that:CL small child then limp-CONT foot

'Then the small child was limping.'

Diē-dǎo le me, bǒ-zhe jiǎo.
 trip-over INC ME limp-CONT foot

'You see, he'd fallen over so he was limping.'
 Pear II.5:82-83

SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION FOR THE me OF AN OBVIOUS LOGICAL CONNECTION

I say: Proposition X (*Diē-dǎo le me* = 'you see, [he'd] fallen over')
because I want you to understand why state of affairs Y happened (*bō-zhe jiǎo* '[he] was limping')
I think you can understand why this state of affairs came to be (Y = the boy's limping)
I say X has to be the cause of Y
I say this is true
There's nothing more to be said about it

What other analyses fail to point out in discussing the obviousness feature is that it is the direct consequence of either another situation or state of affairs mentioned in the preceding conversation or of some piece of shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer. For this first function of me, the feature of obviousness is not one that is 'dogmatically asserted' by the speaker, nor is there any expression of emotion on the part of the speaker.

Instead, this use of me is an explanatory one, linking the given situation with another known to both speaker and hearer and thus pointing out the logical 'cause and effect' connection between the two states of affairs. Hence what is self-evident is the link between this cause and effect, at least, in the view of the speaker. The example above is particularly clear with respect to these features since the speaker repeats that the little boy was limping and then points out the cause - his falling off the bike. It is the latter cause proposition which is marked by modal me as being self-evident as far as the speaker is concerned and thus, a cause which should also be self-evident for the hearer.

In other words, it is not the state of affairs itself which is 'obvious', but rather the link to some preceding cause which the speaker believes is indisputable. In the semantic explication given above, we attempt to represent the 'obviousness' component of meaning by 'I say proposition X has to be the cause of proposition Y. There's nothing more to say about it'. The assertive nature of the utterance modally modified by me is captured by the component 'I say this is true'. The semantic nature of assertions is discussed in detail Wierzbicka (1987).

In another corpus of data from a conversational text - 'China's Education System' - the particle me was used to express the obviousness of some situation in 6 examples out of a total of 17 instances of me. The proposition in two of these examples was coded as obvious because the main woman speaker (Speaker B) had just explained both situations in immediately prior parts of the conversation. For example (18), most of the entire preceding conversation had been devoted to recounting in minute detail how her daughter finally ended up gaining a place of study in a vocational college rather than the more prestigious polytechnical college. Nonetheless, speaker A misconstrues the situation and congratulates her on her daughter getting a place in a polytechnical college which sets

off a litany of repetition of the name of the category of school zhíyè gaōzhōng 'vocational college', ending in laughter:

18. A: Nǐmen jiā de dìyí-gè lǐxiǎng
 2pl family SUB first-CL ideal
 shíxiàn le, nǚr shàng zhōngzhuān.
 realize PFV daughter go polytechnical:college

'The first ideal of your family has been realized, your daughter is going to polytechnic.'

B: Bú shì zhōngzhuān, shì zhíyè
 NEG be polytechnical:college be vocational
 gaōzhōng.
 college
 'It's not a polytechnic, it's a vocational college.'

A: Zhíyè gaōzhōng
 vocational college
 'Vocational college'

C: Zhíyè gaōzhōng
 vocational college
 'Vocational college'

B: Zhíyè gaōzhōng
 vocational college
 'Vocational college'

C: Jiù shì zhíyè gaōzhōng me! (laughter)
 then be vocational college ME
 'So it's a Vocational college!' Ed.20:297-304

The final me-marked utterance puts a stop to the chorus of repeated phrases with the tacit acknowledgement that by this stage they can all agree, since it could not be more obvious.

In the second example, example (19), the woman host (speaker A) asks the visitor, speaker B, what kind of work her husband does, which B has, in fact, already mentioned some moments earlier:

19. A: Nǐ àirén gàn shénmo gōngzuò de?
 2sg spouse do what work SUB
 'What kind of work does your husband do?'

B: Jìjīngwěi de me!
 plan:economics:committee GEN ME
 'The Planning and Economics Committee, of course!
 Ed.29:452-453

All these examples of me thus share the semantic features of pointing out an obvious link to a prior situation or proposition. This use of me is compared in the following

discussion with the second function of me to express disagreement.

2.2 ME AS MARKER OF DISAGREEMENT IN THE FACE OF A SELF-EVIDENT SITUATION.

In the second related use of me in utterance-final position, the semantic component linking the consequent state of affairs with a preceding cause drops out. It is thus, highly suited to contexts of disagreement or where the speaker and addressee simply hold opposite points of view on a matter. In this use of me, the speaker's attitude that the 'situation is plainly so because I say so' is given in the form of a bald assertion without any hint of the possible rationale behind it.

This use of me could be more appropriately described as expressing that a situation is 'self-evident' (and thus does not require any explanation) rather than the obvious and logical consequence of some prior situation, as with the first use of me. This is seen in example (20) taken from a text recorded by Liang et al (1982:65) where the speakers were discussing the purpose of audiotapes as a language-teaching tool:

20.

L: Zhēnzhèng shuō ... shuō de huà me, nà shì
really speak speak SUB word ME that be
lìngwài yíjiàn shìqíng le. Nǐ děi xiān
another one:CL matter LE 2sg must first

tīngdèdǒng.
listen:understand

'To be really able to speak, that's another matter. You have to be able to understand first of all.'

H: Duì (hehehe). Néng tīngdèdǒng me.
right able listen:understand ME

'Well, of course you have to be able to understand it (first).'

Liang et al (1982:69) claim that the second instance of me in (20) is used to show 'a superior attitude on the part of the speaker'.

This does not mean to say that the me of disagreement cannot be used when some explanation has, in fact, been provided by a speaker in the preceding conversation. What is uppermost in the speaker's mind in (21) below, for example, was annoyance that the addressee did not appear to share her opinion, a feature which lead Chao to postulate the category of 'dogmatic assertion' (see section 1 above). In fact, in this particular example, it lead to a reassertion of her viewpoint:

The visitor, speaker B, recounted how she tried to persuade a visiting vice-chairman of the Planning and Economics Committee for whom her husband worked to find an

official reason for her husband to come to Australia. She describes her husband to the official as hardworking and conscientious but nonetheless always guilt-stricken about the quality of his work. As she recounted this, the man host, speaker C, laughs at her rather transparent ploy, to which Speaker B replies with an utterance modified by modal particle me, strongly expressing her indignation, given the obvious and true nature of the fact, from her point of view, that her husband is, indeed, hardworking and conscientious:

21. B: Wǒ shuō wǒ shì rènwéi tā méi yǒu
 Isg say Isg be believe 3sg NEG have
 shénme bìyào juéde nèijiù.
 what need feel guilty
 'I said [to the official] I didn't think he had any need to be guilt-stricken.'

C: (laughs)

B: Shì zhèi yàng de me!
 be this way SUB ME
 'Well, it really is like this!' Ed.28:440-441
 [with raised voice and high pitch]

In a context of disagreement, where the speaker strongly believes that the addressee or some other person has no right to hold the opposite view, indignation may be expressed through the use of me, as (21) well exemplifies. This component of meaning is not, however, an invariant meaning of the me of disagreement. The case is rather that its expression is facilitated by the special semantic features of this second function of me. We thus, find indignation being clearly expressed in example (22) above but not in (23) below, which is a mild case of disagreement.¹⁶

Hence, the me of disagreement is well-suited for use in conveying disagreement with the previous speaker in the form of asserting the opposite point of view. The second example from the same conversational text on China's education system is given in (22) where the speaker C offers no reason or elaboration as to why he disagrees with B in viewing overseas study as something beneficial:

22.
 B: Xiànzài shòu zhèi zhǒng chūguócháo yǐngxiǎng
 now suffer this kind go:abroad influence
 de rén tài duō le.
 SUB people too many INC
 'There are far too many people being influenced to go abroad.'

¹⁶ The original tapes for the Pear/Guava Stories and for the conversational text 'China's Education System' were carefully monitored for each example of me to check the intonational patterns. Of 15 instances of utterance-final me, only 2 showed use of a raised voice (the feature of loudness) and high pitch accompanying the expression of indignation. The remaining 13 were all spoken in a calm, quiet manner and low pitch.

C: Zhè yě shì hǎo shì me!
 this also be good matter ME
 'Well, this is a good thing too!' Ed.25:386-387
 [low intonation pitch, quiet voice]

In the database, I found only two examples of me in this category that contained a concomitant expression of indignation. Chao (1968:801, footnote 73) also notes the difficulty of finding such examples in a recollection of field work in China and his attempts to elicit what he labels the me of dogmatic assertion. From his description, this appears to correspond to our category of the me of disagreement. I reproduce his anecdote here, both because it is one of the few substantial comments on me to be found in the literature on Mandarin modal particles and also because of the instructive example of me it contains (my numbering):

Because this me involves a dogmatic and superior attitude on the part of the speaker, I have often found it difficult, on my field trips for dialect survey, to elicit the dialectal equivalents of this particle from the informants, who often felt diffident about assuming a dogmatic tone. I would take a pencil and say to the informant (in as near his dialect as I knew how) 'This is a pen.' 'No, this is a pencil.', he would say. 'No, it isn't.' 'Yes, it is.' And after a few times, if he got in the right mood, he would say impatiently,

23. Shì de me, zhè shì qiānbǐ me!
 be DE ME this be pencil ME
 'Yes it is, it is a pencil.'

But if the informant was a student who mistakenly thought that I had come out to teach him the standard National Language, instead of trying to learn from him, then it was often impossible to elicit the impatient, dogmatic mood of the particle me.

The second example of the me of indignant disagreement, apart from (21) above, also came from the conversational text on China's education system. It was uttered by a participant (Speaker A) who up to this point had been acting mostly as a listener. She used this modal particle to express her support of the main speaker (Speaker B) and indignation at the situation in general. Speaker B had already explained that her daughter's exam marks of 500 were well above the cut-off point of 420 for day attenders at the given polytechnical college and was about to finish by pointing out that despite the large leeway, her daughter was still not admitted. Speaker A performed a 'cooperative finish' for Speaker B at this point, using me to express her indignation at the system, which was then reiterated by Speaker B in, however, a neutral tone of voice:

24. B: Nǐ kàn wǒmen yǒu bāshífēn de yúdi
 2sg see 1pl have 80:point SUB leeway
 gēn
 with
 A: Zhōngzhuān me
 polytechnic ME
 [high pitch, raised voice, attenuated me]

B: Zhōngzhuān me
polytechnic ME [low pitch, neutral voice]
- 'You see, we had 80 points leeway over the'
- 'Polytechnic'
- 'With the polytechnic.' Ed. 6:86-88

In example (24), Speaker A supports Speaker B by her assertion of the self-evident nature of the situation and attitude of indignation with the inference that it should be clearly apparent to anyone that Speaker B's daughter had a large leeway over the cut-off point.

For this function of me, expressing disagreement combined with a possible feeling of indignation towards the addressee or state of affairs under discussion, the following explication is proposed. Note that the last component coding the expression of indignation is placed in parentheses since we have shown that it is not an invariant feature of meaning.

SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION FOR THE ME OF DISAGREEMENT IN
FACE OF A SELF-EVIDENT SITUATION

I say: Proposition X (*Shì zhèi yàng de me!* - 'It really is like this!')
because I don't think this state of affairs (Y) should have happened (*Tā ... juéde nèijiù* - 'His feeling guilt-stricken')
I say X is true
because anyone can see it's true
There's nothing more to say about it.

[I feel something bad towards you/them just now
because you/they should know that X is true too]

Given that the number of examples of me expressing an emotion is small and thus the precise nature difficult to pinpoint, we formulate the explication of this emotion in general terms to cover the possible manifestations of an impatient dogmatic mood (Chao 1968:801); discontent, indignation and resentment (Ōta 1987:334) or indignation and impatience as described in this study.

The semantic explications for these two main functions of utterance-final me clearly display shared components of meaning. First of all, they share the 'assertion' component 'I say this is true' (without the speaker necessarily wanting to explain why, an essential feature of assertions; see Wierzbicka 1987); and secondly the two formulae share one of the components used to synthesize the overall meaning of obviousness: 'There's nothing more to say about it.'

Furthermore, both formulae explicate the interactive discourse nature of the modal particle me which operates externally to the conversation with a text-cohesive function in the following two ways:

(i) When speakers tell the addressee their attitude about the given situation ('I say it's true') by means of me, they also want to cause the addressee to share this view: For the first use of me, we have the component 'because I want you to

understand why X happened' while for the second use of me, we have the more forceful 'because anyone can see it's true'. Note that this can be further combined with 'because you should know this is true too' when the emotive component is concomitantly expressed.

(ii) An explicit connection to a previous point in the conversation or narrative is made using me which the speaker thus comments upon. This is referred to as 'state of affairs (Y)'. - Defining me is thus not a case of modelling an explication for a grammatical construction or lexical item in vacuo but rather of displaying, by means of the semantic formula, how a relation of cause and effect is established between two states of affairs for the first use of me or of two opposing viewpoints for the second use of me.

As for distinct features of meaning, the second use of me discussed contains an optional component expressing the negative feeling of the speaker towards the addressee for holding the contrary view. This feeling is, however, short-lived: 'I feel something bad towards you/them just now'. Furthermore, its illocutionary force is one of a bald assertion that does not attempt to show any reasoning or logical connection, in contrast to the first use of me. The assertion is merely backed up by implicit reference to what others might think on the subject, that is, to general opinion ('I say this is true because anyone can see it's true'). As discussed above, these two components explicate the self-evident nature of the situation in the case of the me of disagreement.

In contrast to this, the semantic explication for the me of logical connection shows how the speaker uses it with the goal of pointing out a cause-and-effect sequence of events to an addressee in order that they, too, understand the situation.

The two uses of sentence-final me have been semantically distinguished in this section as discourse and modal markers. The me of logical connection is used to point out an obvious consequence and therefore has an explanatory role. The me of disagreement makes such an assertion with respect to an addressee who holds the opposite view, despite the self-evident truth of the situation from the speaker's point of view. This me contains a possible emotive element of indignation, impatience or exasperation.¹⁷

¹⁷ It could still be objected at this point that it is, nonetheless, a very subjective matter to ascertain whether an attitude, emotion or feeling is expressed through the use of this modal particle. The advantage, however, of using discourse data from recorded conversations and narratives is that, in being contextualized, the particular meaning at hand is clear and only serves to back up the claim of polysemy made here for me and its consequent separation into two main uses in sentence-final position.

3. GENRE AND THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT.

It has been pointed out that sentence particles tend to be used in more familiar and conversational settings in Chinese languages. Alleton (1981:955-96), Li & Thompson (1981:290) and Luke (1990:10), for example, all note the extreme rarity of sentence-final particles in scientific and historical texts. Consequently, in this section, we examine the effect of genre as well as the social relation of speaker to hearer to determine if these factors play a role in the selection or avoidance of me.¹⁸

Genre did, in fact, play an important role in determining which uses of me would occur. In the Pear/Guava Stories, for example, there were 11 examples of utterances modified by me. None of these expressed indignation, exasperation or impatience at the addressee for holding a view contrary to the speaker's. Five were utterance-internal topic markers and six were explanatory me pointing out an obvious cause to the addressee.

In the Pear/Guava Stories, the context was one of a formal interview where 19 young women, native speakers of Taipei Mandarin and for the main part, students, were asked by a faculty member of National Taiwan University to recount the story of the silent Pear film (see Erbaugh 1990). It would have been surprising to find the me of disagreement in such a formal and polite context where each dyad consisted typically of a teacher and a student and with the student as narrator. [Four interviews had teacher-teacher dyads that equally required politeness between two colleagues.]

In addition to this, the teacher explained at the beginning of each interview that she herself had not seen the film. The narrative which ensued is in most cases, a monologue, without interruptions from the interviewer that might otherwise have caused occasion for a reaction of disagreement, indignation or exasperation from the student.

The number of modal particles in the Pear/Guava Stories was very small when compared to the conversational texts: There was a total of 101 particles in the Pear/Guava Stories which approximates one in every 18 intonation units.¹⁹ The conversation on China's Education system contained 17 instances of me in only 13 minutes of conversation as opposed to the 11 tokens for the Pear/Guava Stories which take up 2 1/2 hours of recording time. This conversational text contained a total of 91 particles spread over 474 intonation units, giving an average of one particle every 5 intonation units.

Of the 17 me particles in this conversational text, 8 were topic markers; 6 were explanatory me and only 3 were the

¹⁸ Cao (1987), in a small sociolinguistic study, examines the affect of gender on the use of utterance-final particles in Mandarin, showing that women use them with a higher frequency than men.

¹⁹ Only the particles me, ne, ba, la, ou, ma and a/va were counted for the three main texts consulted. le was excluded due to its aspectual functions. The Pear/Guava Stories comprised 1804 intonation units.

me of disagreement. The three examples of the latter category all occurred in a clear context of disagreement. The six examples of sentence-final explanatory me were used as markers of an obvious consequence.

In a second conversational text analysed, 'Bing Bing goes camping', no instances of particle me were found at all, although there was otherwise a heavy usage of modal particles such as a/va, ne and la, totalling 180 particles in 523 intonation units or roughly one every third intonation unit. Once more, we can adduce stylistic factors such as genre as an explanatory factor. The conversation was for the most part a narrative by a twelve-year old girl recounting an excursion into the Victorian countryside to her father. Although she used the particle a often in serial fashion to prompt her listener and check that he was following the story, it seems that the genre may have determined that none of the uses of the modal particle me was appropriate. This passage was more descriptive than the one on China's education system and, like the Chinese Pear/Guava Stories, there was little interaction between speaker and hearer, the narrative being very seldom interrupted by questions from the father²⁰

Finally, note that the use of me as a topic marker was consistently easy to distinguish from a structural and semantic viewpoint. The 13 markers in this category out of a total of 28 instances of me found in the Pear/Guava Stories and the one conversational text were always found in incomplete utterances, such as those given in (25):

25. Tā zhèige dìfāng me,
 3sg this:CL place ME
- fǎnzhèng chùzhǎng me
 anyway division:head ME
- zhè chūlǐ de huì yě duō.
 this division:in SUB meeting also many

'You see, that place of his, well, anyway, for a division head, there are lots of meetings in the division too.' Ed. 26:406-408

What is striking is the semantic relatedness of these two functions of the particle me as topic marker and as modal marker expressing obviousness. When me is used in non-complete utterances, that is, sentence-internally, it is used to mark a topic that is known or should be in some way 'obvious' to both speaker and listener. The two examples in (25) refer to the place where the speaker's husband works and imply that the addressees should know about how busy a division director can be.

²⁰ Note, however, that unlike the Pear/Guava Stories, the context was not formal or polite, shown by the frequent jokes and laughter throughout the recording.

4. DIACHRONY OF ME.

In this final section, some features of the diachronic development of me are outlined for the reason that they are semantically revealing.

The particle me is related diachronically to the interrogative particle ma used in polar 'yes-no' questions in terms of both graphic form and, more importantly, function. For example, Ōta (1987:332) states that an earlier form of the ideograph for me was used to express 'displeasure' as well as marking the question form in sentence-final position from the beginning of the Song dynasty (960-1279 AD) onwards. Moreover, both Chao (1968:807-808) and Ōta (1987:333) concur that the combined modal and interrogative uses of particle ma (or me) derive from an earlier negative adverb used sentence-finally to mark the question form.²¹

There is also a close semantic relationship between a particular function of interrogative ma and the modal particle me in terms of rhetorical questions and the expression of obviousness: The rhetorical question in Mandarin is formed with the negative marker bù in combination with the interrogative particle ma. The verb 'to be' may also be present in conjunction with an embedded predicate, as in the case of the three examples which follow. (Note, however, that this verb is not an obligatory feature of the rhetorical question.) Chao (1968:800) describes the rhetorical question as typically 'suggesting a reply to the contrary' and Alleton (1988) as an 'inversion of negation'.

NP [SUBJECT] - BÙ [NEG]	}	PREDICATE	- MA
		SHÌ [BE]-EMBEDDED PREDICATE	

Three examples from the collected discourse data are given below of the rhetorical use of the interrogative particle ma to show how it is used to remind or prompt the listener of a fact obvious in the particular context and at the particular point of time: The reasons for this obviousness are twofold: In the first two examples, the speaker has told her listeners this information earlier in the conversation. In the third example, the obviousness of the situation is due to shared knowledge between father and daughter.

In (26) and (27), the speaker is building up her argument as to the often chaotic and contradictory nature of enrolment rules for schools and colleges in China. At this point, she is reminding her hearers of the two most important pieces of information in this argument, namely that her daughter had in fact gained a high score in her examinations and secondly, that they were hoping to gain admission to the most prestigious category for institutes of study - the polytechnical college. In example (28), from another

²¹ Strictly speaking, Chao makes this comment only with reference to the interrogative ma which he states is a reflex of an earlier negative adverb with initial consonant m-.

conversational text, the daughter reminds her father that she needed to be issued a sleeping bag for the camping trip, as at that time she did not have her own.

26. *Wǒmen* *nǚer* *bú* *shì* *kǎo* *-le* *wǔbǎi*
 lpl daughter NEG be examine PFV 500

fēn *me?*
 point Q

'Isn't it so that our daughter got an examination mark of 500?'
 Ed.2:26

27. *Wǒmen* *bú* *shì* *bào* *de* *Zhōngzhuān* *ma?*
 lpl NEG be apply SUB polytechnic Q

'Isn't it so that we applied for the polytechnical college?'
 Ed. 2:30

28. *Ránhòu* *ne,* *fā* *nèi-ge* *shuìdài,*
 then RP issue that-CL sleepin:bag

Wǒ *bú* *shì* *méi* *yǒu* *ma?*
 lsg NEG be NEG have Q

'Then they distributed the sleeping bags. Isn't it so that I didn't have one?'
 Bing 3:36

In using the rhetorical question form, the speaker challenges the listener to disagree with the embedded proposition. Since the listeners know the proposition is true (or should know that it is true, due to the 'obviousness factor'), when the normal situation applies, they cannot but agree.

It is this shared component of obviousness present in both constructions with modal me and rhetorical questions with ma which accounts for their semantic relatedness and belies shared stages of diachronic development.

5. CONCLUSION.

In this paper, we have examined the use of the modal particle me in Mandarin discourse and provided a semantic analysis of its two distinct but related uses in utterance-final position. The two uses distinguished were shown to belong to different contexts and with different pragmatic purposes for the speaker. The first use did not contain any component of feeling or emotion but merely asserted a causal link between two propositions to the effect that one was the obvious consequence of the other. This is the modal particle me of an obvious logical connection found in explanatory contexts.

By contrast, the second use of me was shown to have the possibility of expressing a negative emotion such as

indignation or impatience which is caused by what the speaker views to be a false opinion or misconception on the part of the addressee or a third party not present. The 'true' nature of the matter is asserted by the speaker as self-evident through the use of me. This is the modal particle me of disagreement found in contexts where, for example, speaker and addressee hold opposite views.

It was observed that the effect of genre on the use of the modal marker me was relevant. The particle me proved to be much less frequent in narrative texts than in conversational ones, a consequence of diminished interaction between speaker and addressee in the narrative form, also affected by the more formal context of one of the narrative corpora.

Finally, diachronic considerations were briefly outlined, with the significance for this semantic study being highlighted. The semantic relationship of the interrogative to rhetorical questions and markers of modality such as me was described.

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7. APPENDIX: PRIMARY SOURCES OF DISCOURSE DATA

1. BING BING GOES CAMPING (21 mins)

This conversation was recorded and transcribed by Liu Mingchen in April 1988 in Melbourne, following the guidelines of Du Bois et al (1991) at the request of the author. A 12-year old girl, Liu Bing Bing is the main speaker in this conversation. At the time of the conversation, Liu Bing Bing had just arrived in Australia from Beijing where she grew up. She recounts her experiences during a three-day camping trip with her English class and teachers to the Victorian countryside (Southeastern Australia) to her father. Reference to this transcription is made by the abbreviation 'Bing' after language examples.

2. CHINA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM (13 mins)

A second conversation between three adult native speakers of Mandarin was recorded and transcribed in September, 1988 in Melbourne, following the guidelines of Du Bois et al (1988), at the request of the author. The conversation takes place at the home of a married couple from Beijing. A third person, a woman friend of both, also originally from Hebei province in North China, drops in one Saturday evening to see them and relate the latest news from China. The conversation mainly concerns the difficulty her daughter has experienced in gaining a place at a polytechnical college (Zhong Zhuan) in China. Examples from this transcription are labelled 'Ed.'

3. CHINESE PEAR/GUAVA STORIES (ca. 2 1/2 hours)

The Chinese Pear/Guava Stories are a collection of transcriptions of Mandarin Chinese narratives based on two and a half hours of taping made by Mary Erbaugh at National Taiwan University (NTU) in Taipei, ROC in March, 1976. The 20 participants in the interviews comprized women college students or graduates at NTU and also 5 women teachers. All of the narrators were native speakers of Mandarin, mainly from monolingual non-Hokkien-speaking families. Examples from this corpus are referred to by the abbreviation 'Pear' in the analysis above.

The Appearance and Disappearance of a Case Marking Preposition in Malay¹

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1. Introduction

In modern Indonesian and Malaysian, the nationalized varieties of Malay, the preposition akan serves to mark a variety of oblique arguments. In the Classical Malay of the sixteenth century akan had, in addition, a direct argument marking function under certain conditions. The purpose of this paper is to examine the use of akan in a Classical Malay text and then contrast this with modern usage in order to suggest a pathway by which akan came to have this direct argument marking function and why it should have lost this function in the modern language.

The Malay language has been spoken in various dialects in much of the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay peninsula for thousands of years. At the time of European contact, the Classical Malay literary tradition had already developed in association with various royal courts in the region of the Strait of Malacca. Texts from this literary tradition which have survived to the present include the Hikayat, romances and histories composed from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. With the rise of nationalism in the early twentieth century, the Malay language passed down from the classical tradition was the foundation for the development of the national languages of both Indonesia and Malaysia (Anwar 1980). Cumming (1991) has argued that there is sufficient continuity between the literature of the Classical period and that of Modern Indonesian to warrant their comparison in studies of syntactic change.

In the present study I examine the use of akan in the first ten chapters of Sejarah Melayu ("The Malay Annals") originally composed in the sixteenth century. I have taken my data from the romanization of Shellabear (1915). Because the use of akan in Modern Indonesian is not nearly as frequent as that in Classical Malay, my discussion of modern akan will be based on descriptions in modern grammars, with some examples taken from Setiawan (1987), a collection of reprints from the popular news magazine Tempo.

A few notes on terminology are in order. I will use the terms proposed by Dixon (1979) for the direct arguments of a clause: A, O, and S. The term A refers to the more agent-like argument of a transitive clause, O to the more patient-like argument of a transitive clause, and S to the single argument of an intransitive clause. The voice system of Indonesian and Classical Malay has often been termed active/passive (e.g. Macdonald 1967), but because neither Indonesian nor Classical Malay uses voice in a way directly equivalent to what is often thought of as the active/passive distinction, I will use the more neutral term trigger-system (Cumming 1991). Clauses in which the A argument is obligatory or shared under conditions of clause combining are termed A-trigger clauses. The verbs of A-trigger clauses are usually prefixed with meng-. Similarly an O-trigger clause has an obligatory or shared O argument. Verbs of O-trigger clauses are typically marked with the prefix di-. Intransitive verbs are sometimes marked with meng- or other affixes, but are never marked with di-.

After briefly introducing some background material on Proto-Austronesian in Section 2 and some relevant morphosyntax in Classical Malay and Modern Indonesian in Section 3, I will discuss the use of akan in Modern Indonesian in Section 4. We then turn to an analysis of the various functions of akan in Classical Malay in Section 5, focusing especially on its O-marking

function. Section 6 then discusses the possible paths of morphosyntactic change that could have brought about the development of akan as a direct case marker and presents a possible mechanism for its subsequent disappearance in Modern Indonesian and Malaysian.

2. Proto-Austronesian

Proto-Austronesian (PAN) is reconstructed as having had the verbal suffixes **-aken* and **-i*. It is generally assumed that these derived diachronically from the prepositions **aken* and **i* through "preposition capture" (Starosta et al. 1982). These homophonous preposition-suffix pairs continued to co-exist synchronically in PAN. For the so called "Oceanic type" of Austronesian languages (including Malay), Pawley and Reid (1980) reconstruct the following meanings. The preposition **aken* had an instrumental meaning. As a verbal suffix, **-aken* marked the O for "indirect" case roles such as instrumental, concomitant, and causal. As a preposition, **i* denoted location, and as a verbal suffix **-i* marked the O for "direct" case roles such as patients, locations, and goals. The reflexes of these PAN suffixes in both Classical Malay and Modern Indonesian are -kan and -i. These reflexes have maintained contrasts similar to their PAN predecessors. It will be shown in Section 3 that these verbal suffixes are important in determining the status of arguments as direct or indirect. The PAN preposition **i* does not have a direct reflex in Malay. The reflex of PAN **aken* is, of course, akan, the topic of the present study.

3. The verbal suffixes -i and -kan

In both Classical Malay and Modern Indonesian the PAN suffixes **-aken* and **-i* appear as -kan and -i. The modern reflexes maintain contrasts similar to their proto-forms. These include a causative or benefactive meaning for -kan and a directional or locative meaning for -i (Macdonald 1976). The semantics of these two suffixes are actually very complex and a detailed analysis is beyond the scope of the present paper. One interesting note is that with some predications, especially those involving transfer, there can be ambiguity or overlap between -kan and -i. In the following constructed examples from Macdonald (1976:54-55), we see that the function of -kan to mark the O as benefactive, illustrated in (1), can be extended as in (2) to mark the O as dative.

(1) **Dia membelikan saya buku itu.**
 3SG A-TRG:buy:KAN 1SG book that
 'He bought the book for me.'

(2) **Dia memberikan saya buku itu.**
 3SG A-TRG:give:KAN 1SG book that
 'He gave me the book.'

On the other hand, the causative meaning of -kan often contrasts with the directional meaning of -i. With verbs of transfer this can mean that -i takes on the function of marking the O as recipient (goal of the transfer), while -kan marks the O as patient (that which is caused to be transferred). This is illustrated in (3) and (4), from Moeliono et al (1988a:443):

(3) **kemarin saya sudah mengirimkan buku**
 yesterday 1SG PERF A-TRG:send:KAN book
 'I already sent the books yesterday'

- (4) **nenek mengirimi kami jeruk**
 grandmother A-TRG:send:I 1PL.EX orange
 'Grandmother sent us oranges'

Thus with verbs of transfer, the -kan suffix might indicate that the O argument is a recipient as in (2), or that the O argument is a patient as in (3). Darjowidjojo (1976) suggests that part of the ambiguity rests in a certain amount of flexibility in word order with some verbs in A-trigger clauses, such as beri 'give'. He goes on to point out that the distinction between -kan and -i illustrated in (3) and (4) is much stricter in O-trigger clauses. In O-trigger clauses -kan does not have this ambiguity. In clauses like (5) -kan must indicate that the O is the patient; thus (6), in which the O is the recipient while the verb ends in -kan, is not acceptable:

- (5) **Pekerjaan itu diberikan (kepada) saya oleh dia.**
 job that O-TRG:give:KAN to 1SG by 3SG
 'The job was given to me by him.'

- (6) ***Saya diberikan pekerjaan itu oleh dia.**
 1SG O-TRG:give:KAN job that by 3SG
 'I given a job by him.'

This distinction will become important when it is necessary to make decisions about what can be considered as direct and oblique arguments in some of the Classical Malay examples to be examined later.

4. Akan in Modern Indonesian²

In Modern Indonesian akan marks the complement (either nominal or clausal) of intransitive verbs of psychological processes (Cumming 1991:168). Macdonald (1967) translates akan as 'involving'. The official Indonesian language dictionary defines akan as meaning 'to, about, toward, for,' (Moeliono et al. 1988a:14). Examples given in Macdonald (1967:98) include:

- (7) **Mina takut akan anjing besar itu.**
 Mina afraid AKAN³ dog big that
 'Mina is afraid of that big dog.'
- (8) **Ia bangga sekali akan anaknya**
 3SG proud very AKAN child.3POSS
 'He is very proud of his child.'

Other predications which can take akan for their complement include: cinta 'love', curiga 'suspicious', ingat 'remember', percaya 'believe', rindu 'yearn', suka 'like', tahu 'know', takut 'be afraid'. Motivation for analyzing these as intransitive predications includes the lack of transitive morphology (the diathesis prefixes meng- and di- or the applicative suffixes -kan and -i) and the fact that complements are not obligatory with these verbs. Complements marked with akan can also follow nouns referring to psychological processes, as in (9):

- (9) **pengakuan akan 'hak untuk mati'**
 acknowledgement AKAN right for die
 'recognition of the "right to die"' (Setiawan 1987:100)

Many of the bare verbal predications that take complements with akan also have affixed transitive forms. Thus, the intransitive perlu ‘to need’ in (10) has the explicitly transitive form memerlukan ‘to need’ in (11). This transitive form of the predication takes the thing needed as its O argument without the preposition akan.

- (10) **perlu akan suatu pemerintah yang kuat**⁴
 need AKAN INDEF government REL strong
 ‘need a strong government’ (Macdonald 1976:113)
- (11) **Kita memerlukan suatu pemerintah yang kuat.**
 1PL.INC A-TRG:need:KAN INDEF government REL strong
 ‘We need a strong government.’

Prescriptive grammars often point out that it is incorrect to include akan when the verb has transitive morphology. Moeliono et al. (1988b:141) state that any prepositions that can mark the complements of intransitive verbs should not be used when these verbs have transitive morphology. Thus while either tahu akan or tahu tentang ‘know about (something)’ is correct, the transitive mengetahui ‘to know (something)’ should take a direct argument and should not be followed by either akan or tentang. Earlier modern grammars make the specific claim that -kan is synchronically an “abbreviation of the preposition akan” (Maxwell 1882:54) and that one replaces the other in different constructions (Winstedt 1927). This strict prescriptivism is interesting for a study of language variation and change as it implies that some speakers are indeed engaging in the “illicit” linguistic activity. We can infer that for some speakers there may not be a direct synchronic connection between -kan and akan which constrains the use of prepositions to mark the O argument of verbs with transitive-like morphology.

5. Akan in Classical Malay

In Classical Malay the preposition akan had a variety of functions. It introduced the complements of psychological verbs as in Modern Indonesian and marked a number of other oblique arguments, as well as serving as the marker of the O argument in some clauses. In this section I analyze the instances of akan occurring in the first ten chapters of Sejarah Melayu. I will briefly describe its use with oblique arguments, then turn to a more detailed discussion of akan as a marker of O arguments.

5.1. Dative. Akan is used to mark recipients and benefactees in what are clearly oblique prepositional phrases. I will call this the dative function of akan. These dative prepositional phrases may modify nouns as in (12).

- (12) **Sekarang apa nasihatmu akan daku?**
 now what advice:2POSS AKAN 1SG
 ‘Now what is your advice for me?’ (SM 4.3)

The dative marked nominal may also be part of a verbal predication which has a clear O. In (13) the referent of the akan-marked argument is the benefactee.

- (13) **maka nabi Khidliir berbangkit sambil berdiri, serta**
 LINKER prophet Khidliir rise while stand and

menyebut nama Allah sabuhanahu wa taalah dan mengucap
say name Allah (ARABIC) and say

salawat akan segala nabi yang dahulu-dahulu.
prayer AKAN all prophets REL early-REDUP

'and Nabi Khidliir arose and recited the name of Allah s.w.t.
and recited prayers for all the prophets who came before.'
(SM 5.25)

5.2. Translative. Another use of akan in Classical Malay texts is to mark translative arguments. The term translative is taken from Finnish linguistics. In Finnish the translative case marks nouns and adjectives referring to that which something has become or changed into. This is a very common use of akan in the Classical Malay data I examined and is exemplified in (4) and (5).

(14) **Maka ada saorang saudara Raja Gongga Shah Johan**
LINKER exist one:person sibling Raja Gongga Shah Johan

perempuan, Tuan Puteri Zaris Gongga namanya, terlalu baik
female Tuan Puteri Zaris Gongga name:3POSS very good

parasnya; maka diambil oleh beginda akan isteri.
appearance:3POSS LINK O-TRG:take by 3ROYAL AKAN wife

'So there was a sister of Raja Gongga Shah Johan, named Tuan Puteri Zaris Gongga, who was very beautiful; so he took her as his wife.' (SM 11.22)

(15) **maka tanah itu diperbuatnya akan tempatnya**
LINKER lang that O-TRG:make:3AGT AKAN place:3POSS
'And he made the land his own place.' (SM 45.37)

Interestingly, the Finnish translative case marker, -ksi, is said to be a combination of two older case markers, both, like akan, originally meaning 'to' (Hakulinen 1979).

5.3. The Direct Argument Marker. Hopper (1983) and Cumming (1991) point out another function of akan, now apparently no longer found in Modern Indonesian, as the "optional" marker of the O argument in O-trigger (passive-like) clauses.⁵ In this section I will give examples of akan as an O-marker and then address the question of under what situations the "option" of using akan is exercised. This in turn will lead to a better understanding of how it came to have its O-marking function and may suggest why this function has disappeared in Modern Indonesian.

In many instances the analysis of akan as an O-marker is clear. These are cases in which no argument other than that marked with akan could be analyzed as the trigger of an O-trigger clause, as in example (16).

(16) **Maka oleh orang dalam negeri itu akan Raja Suran itu**
LINKER by people in country that AKAN Raja Suran that

dibawanya kepada rajanya
O-TRG:bring:3AGT to king:3POSS

'So the people of that country brought Raja Suran to their king.' (SM 15.3)

The verb of (16) is ditransitive and all three arguments are marked with prepositions, but the O is clearly the patient, Raja Suran, which is marked by akan. The recipient, rajanya 'their king', is an oblique argument as it is marked by kepada 'to', which never signals direct arguments. If akan were not interpreted as a direct case marker, the clause in (16) would have to be analyzed as having no direct arguments. There does not, however seem to be any independent evidence for the existence of direct-argumentless predications when the verb is marked with O-trigger morphology (Cumming 1991:48).

We saw in section 5.2 above that akan can mark translative arguments in Classical Malay. However, the O-marking function of akan takes precedence in the following two examples:

(17) **Maka oleh Raja Kida Hindi akan chunda beginda itu**
LINKER by Raja Kida Hindi AKAN grandchild 3ROYAL that

dinamai Raja Aristun Shah
O-TRG:name:I Raja Aristun Shah

'Then Raja Kida Hindi named his grandchild Raja Aristun Shah.' (SM 8.18)

(18) **Maka oleh beginda akan Badang itu dijadikan hulubalang.**
LINKER by 3ROYAL AKAN Badang that O-TRG:make chief
'And then his highness appointed Badang chief.' (SM 40.24)

In both of these examples the translative argument is unmarked for case, while the patient is marked as the O argument by akan.

Many of the occurrences of O-marking akan in Sejarah Melayu are in ditransitive clauses. In (16) above the O argument of the clause was the patient and was marked with akan while the recipient was marked as oblique with kepada 'to'. In (19) it is the recipient that is marked with akan, but it still seems clear that akan is marking the direct argument O because the patient is given oblique marking with the preposition dengan 'with'. This is reflected in the English translation.

(19) **dan pada keesokkan harinya maka dipersalini**
and on tomorrow day LINKER O-TRG:give.clothing:I

oleh Raja Iskandar akan Tuan Puteri Shahru 'l-Bariyah itu
by Raja Iskandar AKAN Tuan Puteri Shahru 'l-Bariyah that

dengan salengkap pakaian kerajaan.
with complete.set clothing royal

'An the next day, Raja Iskandar presented Tuan Puteri Shahru 'l-Bariyah with complete royal attire.' (SM 6.37)

Notice also that in (19) the verb is marked with the suffix *-i* which, as noted above, indicates that the O is the recipient. This further supports the claim that akan marks the O of O-trigger clauses. The contrast between *-i* which indicates the O is a recipient and -kan which indicates the O is a patient is nicely illustrated in (20).

(20) **Arakian maka dianugerahkan Raja Iskandar akan Tuan Puteri**
 LINKER LINKER O-TRG:give:KAN Raja Iskandar AKAN Tuan Puteri

Shahru 'l-Bariyah kembali kepada ayah-nya Raja Kida
 Shahru 'l-Bariyah return to father-3POSS Raja Kida

Hindi; maka dianugerahi oleh Raja Iskandar akan Puteri
 Hindi LINK DI:give:I by Raja Iskandar AKAN Puteri

Shahru 'l-Bariyah persalinan saratus kali.
 Shahru 'l-Bariyah clothing one.hundred time

'And so Raja Iskandar gave Tuan Puteri Shahru 'l-Bariyah back to her father; and Raja Iskandar gave Tuan Puteri Shahru l-Bariyah a hundred sets of clothing.' (SM 7.27-30)

In both clauses the princess Tuan Puteri Shahru 'l-Bariyah is the referent of the O argument, marked with akan. But she is the patient in the first clause, whose verb has the -kan suffix while she is the recipient in the second with an *-i* suffixed verb.

A clause like that in (21) might at first seem ambiguous as to whether akan is marking an oblique recipient (as it sometimes does in A-trigger clauses) or is indeed marking the direct O.

(21) **Maka oleh Sang Si Perba akan ananda beginda Sang**
 LINKER OLEH Sang Si Perba AKAN child 3ROYAL Sang

Nila-Utama itu dianugerahi beginda suatu makota kerajaan
 Nila-Utama that O-TRG:give:I 3ROYAL one crown royal

'And so Sang Si Perba gave his son, Sang Nila-Utama, a royal crown.' (SM 28.20)

It might be argued that in (21), makota kerajaan 'a royal crown' is actually the O and akan marks an oblique dative, not unlike the examples in section 5.1. However, the preceding discussion has shown the constancy with which akan marks a direct O argument in an O-trigger clause. This is supported further by the suffix *-i* on the verb which indicates that the O argument will be the recipient. Therefore, it is better to consider ananda 'child' the O argument, while makota 'crown' is an unmarked oblique, just as it is in the English free translation.

Thus far I have shown that, in addition to its many other functions, akan in Classical Malay can mark the O argument of O-trigger transitive clauses. This function has been described as "optional", and indeed not all the O's of O-trigger clauses in the portion of Sejarah Melayu I examined are marked with akan. Hopper (1984) suggests that akan is a marker of transitivity, much as the suffix -kan is. Cumming (1991), however, points out that many of the clauses with akan-marked O's are less than prototypically transitive in the sense of Hopper and Thompson

(1980). Either the O is minimally affected, or the verb is low in kinesic. However, a closer look at discourse factors affecting these clauses reveals that the choice of akan has much more to do with information flow and the referents of the O argument than it does with the semantics of the verb.

First, the majority of the referents of akan-marked O's are human. Of the sixteen occurrences of akan-marked O's in the text analyzed, fifteen (93%) have human referents. The exception in the data I examined is a human possession pinta bapa 'your (honorific) request'. All the human referents of akan-marked O's represent given information (Chafe 1987) at that point in the discourse, and indeed these human referents are the main protagonists in the discourse. The one non-human akan-marked O, while not given, was nonetheless identifiable by virtue of the preceding context (a discussion of the content of the request) and because the newly introduced referent pinta 'request' is modified by the given referent of bapa 'your (honorific)' and thus anchored (Prince 1981) to the discourse. It appears that akan consistently marks the O of O-trigger clauses when the referent is a major human protagonist (or a possession thereof).

To determine the extent of this generalization, I looked at O-trigger clauses that did not have akan-marked O's to see if any of these "should" take akan according to the claim made above. Because O-trigger clauses without akan far outnumber those that do have akan, I took a random sample of transitive clauses in the portion of the text analyzed. The sample included fifty-five clauses. Of these there were twenty-two O-trigger clauses without akan case marking. Of these, nine of the O's were not overtly expressed because of clause combining conditions and so could not possibly have been marked by akan or any other preposition. The remaining thirteen O's were realized as full noun-phrases (eleven) or pronouns (two), and these might have potentially taken akan as an indication of direct argument status. Ten of these thirteen O's have non-human referents. This fact is consistent with the claim that when akan is used, it marks human O's. Of the three non-akan-marked O's which do have human referents, one represents new information. This is consistent with the claim that when akan is used, it marks given human referents. The two given human O's which do not have akan are exceptions to the generalization about the use of akan outlined above. These cannot be adequately explained at this point, although it should be noted that in one case the referent had only just been introduced in the previous clause and was not established as an important protagonist, and in the other case the referent was in fact reintroduced after a paragraph of background information. Nonetheless, twenty out of twenty-two of the non-akan-marked O's in this sample are consistent with the earlier claim that the function of akan is to mark O's in O-trigger clauses whose referents are given human protagonists in the narrative (or occasionally their attributes.)

The reason more akan-marked O arguments are not found in the text has to do with the style of sentence construction in Classical Malay. A typical pattern in sentences in Sejarah Melayu is to establish a referent, usually in an intransitive or A-trigger clause, then proceed with a series of O-trigger clauses with the continuous referent the O, but not overtly expressed. Given this pattern, full noun phrase or pronominal O's in O-trigger clauses generally appear only when a sentence happens to begin with an O-trigger clause, or when a new O referent is introduced in the middle of a clause series. The instances when these full noun phrase O's appear with referents which are given human protagonists are precisely the instances when they are marked with akan.

5.4. Verbs of Perception and Psychological Processes. Classical Malay used akan to mark complements of psychological nouns (22) and verbs (23) as in Modern Indonesian.

(22) **raja hamba terlalu amat sekali kaseh-nya akan Raja Iskandar**
 king 1SG very very very love-3POSS AKAN Raja Iskandar
 'my king has great love for Raja Iskandar' (SM 5.9)

(23) **maka Merah Caga pun marah akan adinda itu**
 LINKER Merah Caga TOPIC be.angry AKAN younger.brother that
 'so Merah Caga was angry at his younger brother.' (SM 45.25)

The verbs in both (22) and (23) are intransitive and thus the akan-marked argument can be considered oblique. In (24) however, the verb of psychological process has been given transitive marking.

(24) **terlalu sangat dikasehi oleh Raja Kida Hindi akan dia.**
 very very O-TRG:love:I by Raja Kida Hindi AKAN 3SG
 'Raja Kida Hindi loved him very much.' (8.20)

The use of akan and the absence of any other possible O argument in this O-trigger clause whose verb has the transitive suffix -i suggests that dia 'he' must be interpreted as O, a direct argument in the clause.

Verb morphology does not always help to distinguish between direct and oblique arguments. It is widely accepted that di- marked verbs have an O argument, either overtly expressed or retrievable from the discourse context. In contrast, the prefix meng- which marks most A-trigger transitive verbs can also appear on intransitive verbs which thus have no O argument. This could lead to an interpretation of melihat 'see, look at' in (25) as an intransitive verb, and the thing seen as an oblique argument, as reflected in the English free translation.

(25) **shahadan maka hairan-lah hati Raja Iskandar melihat**
 LINKER LINKER surprised-LAH heart Raja Iskandar MENG-see

akan rupa Puteri Shahru 'l-Bariyah itu.
 AKAN form Puteri Shahru 'l-Bariyah that

'Raja Iskandar was amazed at to look at the beauty of Puteri Shahru 'l-Bariyah.' (SM 6.35)

This interpretation would be consistent with the claims made previously (Hopper 1983, Cumming 1991) that akan as O case marking only appears in O-trigger clauses. Yet there is nothing in the overt structure of (25) that precludes interpreting it as a transitive sentence with the O argument marked by akan, translatable as 'to see the beauty...'. This interpretation is reinforced by the existence of O-trigger clauses such as that in (26) in which the O of the verb dilihat 'O-TRG:see' is marked with akan. While no examples of this kind of construction occur in the portion of Sejarah Melayu that I analyzed, it is very common in some other examples of Hikayat as in (26) taken from the narrative Dewa Mandu (Chambert-Loir 1980):

(26) **Setelah dilihat oleh raja Herman Syah Peri akan orang**
 after O-TRG:see by raja Herman Syah Peri AKAN people

berjalan itu...
 walk those

'After Raja Herman Syah Peri saw those walking people...'
(DM 124.29)

6. Discussion

Heine (1990) points out that grammaticization processes are often unidirectional and proceed from more "concrete" functions to more "abstract". In his discussion of the functions of the dative case marker in two Nilo-Saharan languages, he further shows that this grammaticization does not proceed in a single line, but can branch into different semantic relationships. Thus he suggests that, in the languages he examined, the dative marker began with a basic allative meaning which split to have two meanings: goal and place. From the goal meaning, benefactive and dative meanings developed on the one hand, and purpose, reason, and manner meanings on the other. From the place meaning there developed meanings of time and possession.

Akan in Malay seems to have traveled a similar route. As noted earlier, akan comes ultimately from a Proto-Austronesian directional preposition. While it does not seem to retain a concrete meaning of physical movement in Classical Malay or Modern Indonesian, the directional metaphor is still closely linked with the basic meaning of akan which, as previously mentioned, is defined in the Moeliono et. al (1988a) as 'toward, to, for, about'. The more concrete meaning of akan that was still in prevalent use in Classical Malay was as a dative marker. Further, the avenue of change from a directional or dative marker to Translative, as appears to have occurred in Malay, is attested in Finnish.

While a change from dative marking to O marking does not appear to have occurred in the African languages discussed in Heine (1990), it has been noted in other languages by Givón (1976). He proposes that case roles form the hierarchy in (27), which in turn corresponds to the set of topicality hierarchies in (28).

(27) Agent > Dative > Accusative

(28) Human > Non-Human
Definite > Indefinite
More Involved Participant > Less Involved Participant

Givón (1976) suggests that grammatical phenomenon often spread down this hierarchy. For example, the Romance dative marker à has moved from marking datives to also marking human accusatives in Modern Spanish. It is now continuing to expand its sphere of marking to include definite non-human accusatives. This is precisely the direction in which akan was moving in Classical Malay. Previously a directional and dative marker, it came to mark O arguments, usually in O-trigger clauses. But it did not mark all O's. As a direct argument marker, akan generally marked only identifiable O's. This is possibly one of the reasons akan as a direct case marker occurred predominantly in O-trigger clauses, as the O's of these clauses are overwhelmingly given or at least identifiable, while A-trigger clauses frequently have indefinite O's. In addition we have seen that akan usually marked human referents O's (or their attributes), and more specifically only the most involved human referents, the main protagonists. The spread of akan from a directional and dative marker to an O marker for involved human referents is consistent with Givon's topicality hierarchy.

The next question is, why did this O-marking function disappear in Modern Indonesian? First, it should be clear by now that Classical Malay did not have a robust system of prepositional case marking. Rather it used a set number of prepositions to "optionally" mark case, apparently according to discourse constraints of topicality and involvement of referents. One scenario might be that there had once been a robust system of prepositional case marking which had begun to decay in Classical Malay, finally being lost in Modern Indonesian and Malaysian. But if we assume that syntactic change is unidirectional, and moves in the direction outlined above, then the more appropriate scenario is that Classical Malay was only just beginning to develop the use of prepositions for case marking of direct arguments. Thus in Modern Indonesian, the lack of case marking is not the result of a long process of eroding cases, but rather of an incipient case system that was cut down before it had had a chance to become a major part of the grammar.

What could have prevented the development of prepositional case marking of the O-argument in Malay? One possible answer is that the decline of akan as an O-marker was tied to the change in constituent order discussed in Cumming (1991). She convincingly argues that the shift from Classical Malay basic constituent order of Verb Trigger to the Trigger Verb order now basic to Modern Indonesian and Malaysian has to do with a reinterpretation of the discourse properties of different clause types. In Classical Malay, the main discourse function of the contrast between O-trigger and A-trigger clauses had to do with aspect and eventiveness. The word order of O-trigger clauses was flexible under certain pragmatic constraints, with frequent fronting of the O argument to denote topicality. It was a reanalysis of the basic function of this clause type as denoting topicality rather than eventiveness which led to the change in word order from Verb Trigger to Trigger Verb and gives these O-trigger clauses greater affinity with the passive constructions of other languages than they had had in Classical Malay. One possible scenario then is that with this new and robust system of marking topicality, the discourse function of the marginal case marking system that was just beginning to move into the grammar was usurped by the new change in constituent order. Other uses of akan, such as marking complements of perceptual verbs, were fairly independent of the discourse function of the new constituent order and so remained relatively intact into Modern Indonesian even after the O-marking function of akan faded away.

Notes

1. Thanks to Susanna Cumming, Charles Li, Marianne Mithun, and Sandra Thompson for valuable input that helped shape this paper. All shortcomings are, of course, my responsibility.
2. Akan also serves as a future tense marker in Modern Indonesian. This probably developed metaphorically from the directional meaning of the preposition akan, possibly through marking clauses of purpose (cf. Heine 1990, Genetti forthcoming). The present study, however, deals only with case marking and the development of tense will not be discussed here.
3. Because of its shifting meanings and functions, akan is not glossed in the examples. Its function should be clear in each case from the discussion.

4. In colloquial Indonesian unaffixed verbs of psychological processes are often used without prepositions and forms like:

perlu pemerintah yang kuat
need government REL strong
'need a strong government'

are quite common. This does not, however, have a direct bearing on the issue of prepositions used with affixed transitive verbs.

5. Hopper claims that akan is in complementary distribution with -kan. He suggests as motivation for this the fact that akan and -kan share the function of transitivizing (Hopper and Thompson 1980). This is reminiscent of the prescriptive constraint against using akan with -kan discussed in Section 4.2 above. Cumming (1991) however notes that akan does co-occur with verbs ending in -kan (as well as with verbs ending in -i and unaffixed verbs) in Classical Malay and thus suggests that -kan and akan should be considered to be synchronically independent in Classical Malay.

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The temporal system of noun-modifying (attributive) clauses in Korean from a typological perspective

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1. Introduction

The temporal system of noun-modifying (i.e., attributive) constructions in Korean reveals a number of puzzling phenomena to Korean scholars. First of all, it appears to be idiosyncratically different from the temporal system of predication constructions (C-K. Oh 1975; H-B. Choe 1977; K-S. Nam 1978; D-H. An 1980; Huh 1983). That is, temporal contrasts such as past/non-past or perfective/imperfective are apparently expressed with different morphological markings in attributive constructions and in predication constructions. Secondly, temporal contrasts appear to be manifested by different forms of attributive markers instead of independent temporal markers. That is, four different attributive markers have been recognized in the literature, each of which gives a different temporal flavor. Thirdly, time reference is inconsistently given depending on verb types. That is, the same morphology gives different time reference to what I call descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs.¹ Fourthly, the nature of temporal contrasts made in attributive constructions is elusive between whether they involve tense or aspect (C-K. Oh 1975; K-S. Nam 1978; D-W. Yang 1978). These phenomena have been noted in the literature without any explanation given, implying that they are simply idiosyncratic facts in Korean.

The purpose of this paper is to elucidate the above phenomena by giving a typological characterization of the temporal system of attributive constructions in Korean. I will show that the temporal system of attributive constructions in Korean exhibits a crosslinguistically common aspectual opposition between perfective and imperfective, the one typically manifested in creole languages, Persian, Lakhota, and West African languages such as Kru, Yoruba, and Igbo, etc. I will illustrate that all the phenomena mentioned above fall into place once we understand the nature of the temporal system of attributive constructions, and that they are not idiosyncratic phenomena in Korean, but typologically well-founded ones.

2. Data

In this study, I will use the following colloquial data.

- A. K&H: a face-to-face conversation between two male friends.
- B. S&H: a face-to-face conversation between two male friends.
- C. TC 1-2: telephone conversations between a father and son.
- D. Leah 1-8: informal notes and letters written by Leah, the author's cousin.
- E. The pear story (PS)1-2: informal spoken narratives describing a film the speakers saw.

¹ Descriptive verbs express attributive properties rather than actions or processes, and roughly correspond to adjectives in English. Non-descriptive verbs express actions, processes, and states of affairs that are not attributes. The distinction between descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs is based on their morphosyntactic patterning as well as their semantic nature. Descriptive verbs cannot occur in the so-called "progressive" construction (i.e., *V-ko iss-*). Descriptive verbs also do not take the (Non-prior) Imperfective suffix *-nûn-*. This distinction may be analogous to the general distinction between active (or non-stative) verbs and stative verbs in other languages. As pointed out in the literature (Comrie 1976; Bybee 1985), however, there is no universal lexical and/or morphosyntactic pattern that matches the semantic distinction between the two groups of verbs. Some semantically stative verbs behave morphosyntactically like active verbs in one language, whereas they behave like stative verbs in another language.

The use of actual discourse data is necessary to illustrate specific contexts where each temporal expression at issue is used, clear time references made by temporal expressions, and the general distribution of temporal expressions in actual uses of the language, and to avoid any controversy over the legitimacy or "grammaticality" of the examples cited. I will use some constructed examples as well, however, to clarify the issues under discussion. Those examples whose data sources are not specified are constructed data.

3. Structural description of attributive constructions in Korean

A verbal complex modifying a nominal (i.e., an attributive) in Korean consists of a verb stem followed by one of the two attributive suffixes, $-(\hat{u})n$ or $-(\hat{u})l$,² which I call the 'Realis Attributive' marker and the 'Irrealis-Attributive' marker respectively.³ This can be schematically represented as follows:

Verb stem { $-(\hat{u})n$ } Head NP
 $-(\hat{u})l$

The Realis-Attributive marker $-(\hat{u})n$ is used for attributive clauses which express real situations (realis-attributive clauses), and the Irrealis-Attributive marker $-(\hat{u})l$ is used for attributive clauses which express situations that have not taken place at a certain reference point and/or may take place subsequently (irrealis-attributive clauses). The Attributive markers may be preceded by other suffixes. It is some of these suffixes that concern us in this paper, because they constitute the temporal system of attributive clauses. Consider the following examples.

(1) a. $k\hat{u}l\ae s\hat{o} y\ae$ $-ne$ $-t\hat{u}l-\hat{u}n$ $k\hat{u}$ $-k\hat{o}$ $-l$ acu $hana-ssik$
 so this:child-side-PL-TOP that-thing-ACC quite one -each

acu $il\hat{o}hke$ $m\hat{o}k-\hat{u}my\hat{o}ns\hat{o}$ o $-n\hat{u}nte$
 quite like:this eat -SIMUL come-CIRCUM

--> b. o $-n\hat{u}n$ kil $-i$ $k\hat{u}$ $kwasuw\hat{o}n$ $iss..$ $kwasu$ $namu$
 come-ATTR road-NOM that orchard exist fruit tree

--> iss $-n\hat{u}n$ te $-e$ $-yo$
 exist-ATTR place-be:IE-DEF

c. $k\hat{u}nte$ $ince$ $k\hat{u}$ $kwasu$ $-e$ $ol\hat{u}$ $-\hat{o}$ $ka-\hat{o}s\hat{o}$
 then now that fruit:tree-LOC climb-CONN go-CONN

--> tta $-t\hat{o}n$ $salam$ $-i$ $ince$ $cantt\hat{u}k$ tta $-\hat{o}$ $kaci-ko$
 pick-ATTR person-NOM now to:capacity pick-CONN take -CONN

$n\ae li$ $-\hat{o}$ o $-\hat{o}s\hat{o}$
 put:down-CONN come-CONN

(PS 2: 62-67)

² The vowel $-\hat{u}-$ is deleted after stem-final vowels. We will represent the two attributive markers as $-\hat{u}n$ and $-\hat{u}l$ respectively.

³ In order to distinguish morphological categories from semantic categories, initial capitalization will be used in referring to morphological categories in individual languages, except for English glosses for Korean grammatical morphemes in texts, which will be represented with upper case.

- a. So these kids come on their way, eating, like one each,
- b. then, the road **they are coming along** is the one that leads to the place **where** the orchard... **that tree is**.
- c. Meanwhile, the guy **who was picking** fruit in the tree, now having picked a lot, comes down,

(2) oppa -ka cō pôn-e uli -tûl sônghwa -e
 big:brother-NOM that time-LOC 1PL-PL hard:pressing-LOC
 mos iki -ô cumun-ha-n mokma iss -ci?
 NEG(IMPOT) win-CONN order -do -ATTR wooden:horse exist-COMM
 (Leah 3: 8)
 '[You remember] the wooden horse you [lit. Big Brother] **ordered** the other day by giving in to [lit. not being able to win over] our hard-pressing pleas?'

(3) amato Europe -ccok -ûlo ka-] kô kath-æ
 maybe Europe -side -LOC go-IRRL:ATTR thing same-IE
 (Leah 8:100)
 'It seems like **it's going to be Europe that I will be traveling around.**'

(1b), (1c), and (2) are examples of realis attributive clauses, which are marked with the Realis Attributive suffix $-(\hat{u})n$. (3) is an example of an irrealis attributive clause, which is marked with the Irrealis Attributive $-(\hat{u})l$. The Irrealis Attributive constructions often correspond to adjectival infinitives in English, such as *môk-ûl kôs* 'eat-ATTR thing -- something to eat', *môk-ûl te* 'eat-ATTR place -- a place to eat', *môk-ûl tae* 'eat-ATTR time -- a time to eat'.⁴

Notice that there are actually three different forms for realis attributive constructions, which give different temporal flavors; as the translations indicate, the two instances of $-nûn$ in (1b) give a simultaneous or present time interpretation, $-(\hat{u})n$ in (2) a prior or past time interpretation, and $-tôn$ in (1c) a prior or past imperfective interpretation (progressive in fact in this example). Most of the literature considers the three forms for realis-attributive clauses as separate attributive markers. Even though such an analysis is tenable from a synchronic point of view, $-(\hat{u})n$ alone is the Realis Attributive marker, at least historically. The apparently different forms of the realis-attributive markers can be attributed to the addition of the temporal markers $-nû-$, which historically came from the Non-past Imperfective $-n\Lambda-$, or $-tô-$ or to the lack of any temporal markers. Synchronically, the decomposition of the three different attributive forms may not be too transparent except for the case of $-tôn$, for which the so-called Retrospective $-tô-$ is readily identifiable. From an analytical point of view, however, there are a number of points that lead up to the division of those forms into a temporal expression plus the invariant Realis-Attributive suffix $-(\hat{u})n$, which I am not going to discuss (see H-S. Lee (1991:186-189) for the detailed arguments). The following gives the formulation of the three realis-attributive markers:

- (4) The decomposition of realis attributive constructions
 (i) $-nûn < -nû + (\hat{u})n$: simultaneous
 (ii) $-(\hat{u})n < -\emptyset + (\hat{u})n$ (no temporal marker added): prior-perfective
 (iii) $-tôn < -tô + (\hat{u})n$: prior imperfective

Different temporal flavors associated with different realis attributive constructions can now be attributed to the temporal markers, $-nû-$ and $-tô-$, which precede the invariant Realis-Attributive suffix $-(\hat{u})n$ in contrast with the temporally unmarked case. Therefore, the

⁴ Since it is not directly involved in the temporal contrasts at issue in this paper, I will not talk about the Irrealis Attributive construction further.

temporal system of realis attributive clauses must be characterized by looking at the uses of those temporal markers and their semantic characteristics.

4. Temporal oppositions with non-descriptive verbs

As mentioned, the three different realis attributive constructions give different temporal flavors according to the different temporal markers. As in (2), the temporally unmarked form simply refers to a single situation (ordering the wooden horse) which took place in the past. The temporal adverbial expression *cô pôn-e* 'last time (lit. at that time)' confirms the time reference. Another example is given below:

- (5) [acik han pôn-to phyônci mos -ha] -n salam -tûl-i
yet one time-ADD letter NEG:IMPOT-do -ATTR person -PL-NOM

sutulukha -ni+kka nômu kwæssimhæ ha-ci ma
plenty -DET+INTERR too insolent:CONN do-NOML stop:IE

(Leah 8:9)

'Don't blame me too much [for not writing to you earlier], because there are plenty of people to whom I couldn't write even once.'

In (5) again, the temporally unmarked realis attributive construction simply expresses what happened in the past, that is, the speaker could not write to a lot of people.

In (1b), where *-nû-* is attached to the Attributive suffix *-(û)n*, on the other hand, the time references of the situations are simultaneous with the moment when the narrator watched the scene, and are presumably treated as simultaneous with the speech moment for the purpose of narration. The non-past or simultaneous time reference indicated by *-nû-* can be shown in the following example as well.

- (6) yôksi kûlæ-to [i Leah sængkakhæ cu] -nû+n oppa -nûn
after:all be:so-ADD this Leah think give -ATTR brother-TOP

sachon oppa -tûl cung -e oppa pakk-e ôps -ô
cousin big:brother-PL midst-LOC big:brother only-LOC not:exist -IE

(Leah 8:4)

'Despite all this, after all, you [big brother] are the only **one who cares for me [Leah]** among my cousin-brothers.'

As seen in (1b) and (6), *-nû-* refers not only to situations presently in progress as in the first example of (1b), but also to current states of affairs as in the second example of (1b) and to present habitual or generic situations as in (6).

In (1c), the attributive construction *-tô-n* refers to a situation that was taking place a while ago. As is the case with *-nû-*, what is referred to by *-tô-* is not limited to a past situation in progress as in (1c), but can also include a state of affairs that existed in the past, as in the following example.

- (7) i -kô [côn-puthô iss] -tô+n kô kath -ûnte
this-thing front-from exist-ATTR thing same-CIRCUM

(K&H:1)

'It looks like this is **the one that was here before**'

As a rough characterization, *-nû-* gives a non-past or simultaneous time reference, whereas *-tô-* and the temporally unmarked form give a past time reference. The difference between *-tô-* and the unmarked form may be characterized as perfective and imperfective, respectively, in some senses: *-ûn* simply indicates what happened in the past, whereas

-tô-n refers to either an ongoing situation in the past or a state of affairs that existed in the past. Note that *cumun-ha-n* 'order-do-ATTR' in (2) is translated with the Simple Past tense, and *ita-tô-n* 'pick-RETROS-ATTR' in (1c) with the Past Progressive form in English. Therefore, let us assume tentatively that *-(û)n*, the temporally unmarked form, expresses past perfective, and *-tô-n* expresses past imperfective, whereas *-nû-n* expresses non-past time reference (and presumably imperfective as well). This initial characterization of the three-way temporal contrast in realis attributive constructions illustrated in the above examples can be summarized as follows:

- (8) The three-way temporal contrast in realis attributive constructions (first approximation):
- (i) *-nû-n* : non-past (simultaneous with the speech moment)
 - (ii) *-(û)n* : past perfective (complete occurrence prior to the speech moment)
 - (iii) *-tô-n* : past imperfective (ongoing at some point in the past)

5. Temporal oppositions with descriptive verbs

The examples cited thus far are with non-descriptive verbs, for which I illustrated the three-way temporal oppositions made by the Non-Past *-nû-*, the Past-Imperfective *-tô-* and the morphologically unmarked Past Perfective. The temporal system in the attributive constructions needs further elaboration, however, because an interesting pattern occurs with descriptive verbs. That is, this three-way temporal contrast manifested by the three different attributive constructions is made only for non-descriptive verbs, not for descriptive verbs. For example,

- (9) a. ... [com nappû-ke sængki] -n æ -tûl-i -nte
a:little bad -RESUL have:a:look-ATTR child-PL-be-CIRCUM
- b. al -ko po-ni +kka com [coh]-ûn æ -tûl-i -a
know-CONN see-DET+INTERR a:little good -ATTR child-PL-be-IE
(PS1:44-45)
- a. ... they sort of look like bad boys,
b. but in fact, they are sort of good boys.

In the above example, the temporally unmarked *-ûn* is attached to descriptive verbs, *sængki-* 'have a look' in (9a) and *coh-* 'good' in (9b). What is interesting is the time reference of *-ûn* in (9a) and (9b). Unlike *-(û)n* in (2) and (5), which gives a past or prior time reference with non-descriptive verbs, *-(û)n* in (9) with the descriptive verbs gives a present or simultaneous time reference. Furthermore, *-nûn*, which gives the present time reference with non-descriptive verbs, as in (1b) and (6), cannot occur with descriptive verbs at all. Therefore, even though the time reference in (9a) and (9b) is clearly present time, *-nû-n* cannot be attached to descriptive verbs such as *sængki-ta* 'to have a look' and *coh-ta* 'good'. The following examples show the contrast between descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs more clearly.

- (10) [côki o] -nû+n [khi -ka cak] -ûn/*nûn
there come --ATTR height-NOM small -ATTR
- salam -i John-i -ta
person-NOM John-be-DECL
'The short one who is coming along is John.'
- (11) [ôce chac-a o] -n [khi -ka cak] -ûn
yesterday visit -CONN come-ATTR height-NOM small-ATTR

salam -i John-i -ôss -ta
 person-NOM John-be-ANT-DECL
 'The short man who visited us yesterday was John.'

In (11), the time reference within the attributive clause is past time, as the temporal adverbial *ôce* 'yesterday' indicates. So it is not surprising that *o-* 'come', a non-descriptive verb, is suffixed with *-(û)n* just as in (2) and (5), and so is *cak-* 'short', a descriptive verb. In (10), on the other hand, the time reference within the attributive clause is present time, as it describes a currently ongoing situation. However, the non-descriptive verb *o-* 'come' is suffixed with *-nûn*, whereas the descriptive verb *cak-* 'short' is suffixed with *-(û)n*. (10) and (11) clearly show that for descriptive verbs, no morphological opposition is made between *-nû-n* and *-(û)n*.

The asymmetric temporal pattern of descriptive and non-descriptive verbs suggests that the initial characterization of *-(û)n*, *-nû-n*, and *-tô-n* given in (5) needs to be revised. First of all, *-(û)n*, the temporally unmarked form, does not give past time reference exclusively. It gives past time reference with non-descriptive verbs in general, but non-past time reference with descriptive verbs. Therefore, I will claim that *-(û)n* simply expresses perfective, rather than past (or prior in relative tense) perfective. Secondly, the fact that *-nû-n* is not compatible with descriptive verbs suggests that the time referred to by *-nû-* cannot be simply non-past or simultaneous, because there is no reason why non-past or simultaneity should be incompatible with descriptive verbs. Note also that, as translated in (1b), *-nû-* can refer to ongoing situations as in *o-nûn* 'come-ATTR', as well as simple present situations as in *iss-nûn* 'exist-ATTR'. Therefore, the exact semantic nature of *-nû-* must be characterized in such a way as to accommodate the facts that descriptive verbs are not compatible with it, and that it may refer to ongoing situations, not just simple present. I will get to the exact semantic nature of the time reference made by *-nû-* shortly. For the moment, I hypothesize that it is non-past (or non-prior in relative tense) imperfective more than anything else.

The Past (or prior) Imperfective form *-tô-n* can occur with descriptive verbs as in (12) below, even though its occurrence with descriptive verbs is very rare in actual communication situations--there is no instance of *-tô-n* with descriptive verbs in the corpus used for this study.

(12) [kûttæ-n khi -ka cak] -tô+n æ -ka cikûm-ûn kôin -i -ta
 then -TOP height-NOM small -ATTR child-NOM now -TOP giant-be-DECL
 'That child, who was short then, is a giant now.'

Therefore, the temporal system of realis-attributive clauses can be summarized more precisely as follows:

(13) The temporal system in realis attributive constructions (second approximation):

	<u>Non-descriptive verbs</u>	<u>Descriptive verbs</u>
Non-past Imperfective	-nû-	*
Perfective	∅	∅
Past Imperfective	-tô-	-tô-

6. The unified temporal system of realis attributive constructions

The temporal system of realis attributive constructions characterized in (13) deserves attention in three respects:

- (i) For non-descriptive verbs, there is a morphological contrast between *-nû-* and the unmarked form, which with non-descriptive verbs gives respectively, a non-past interpretation, as in (1b) and (6), and a past-perfective interpretation, as in (2) and

- (5). For descriptive verbs, on the other hand, there is no such contrast, as shown in (9), (10) and (11).
- (ii) The morphologically unmarked form gives different time interpretations for descriptive and non-descriptive verbs. With non-descriptive verbs, *-ûn*, which does not contain any temporal morpheme, gives a past perfective time reference, as in (2) and (5). With descriptive verbs, on the other hand, *-ûn* does not give any explicit time reference, but simply expresses states described at some reference point, as illustrated in (9), (10) and (11).
 - (iii) What is more interesting is that descriptive verbs manifest the morphology which gives a past perfective interpretation for non-descriptive verbs, even when the time reference is clearly non-past. Note that *-nû-n* is incompatible with descriptive verbs.

Ignoring for the moment the existence of *-tô-* in Korean, which I assume expresses the past imperfective, this pattern of temporal contrasts (i.e., the incompatibility of the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nû-* with descriptive verbs and the different time interpretations of perfective morphology between descriptive and non-descriptive verbs) is not a phenomenon unique to Korean, but is cross-linguistically common. This phenomenon is similar to the one described by Comrie (1976:82-84, 116-122) for Yoruba, Igbo, and Persian among others, by Bickerton (1981:58, 160) for creole languages including Haitian Creole English, by Singler (1984:88) for Liberian English and Kru, and by Pamela Munro (p.c.) for Lakhota. What is common among these languages, including Korean, is (i) the morphologically unmarked form gives a past time or perfective interpretation for active verbs (non-descriptive verbs in the case of Korean), and a present time or non-past interpretation for stative verbs (descriptive verbs in the case of Korean); (ii) the forms that give non-past time reference for active verbs, which are often described as durative, non-punctual (Bickerton 1981), or imperfective (Comrie 1976) markers, occur only with active verbs, not with stative verbs.⁵ Consequently, only the morphologically unmarked form is available for stative verbs.

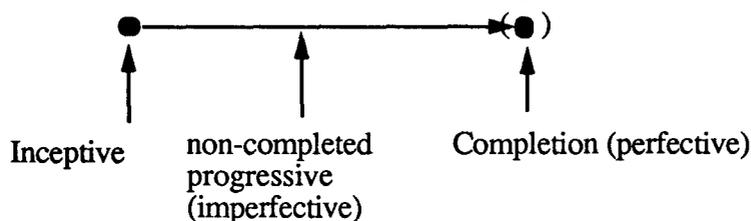
Comrie (1976) characterizes this phenomenon as morphological neutralization of the perfective/imperfective aspect for stative verbs, where the morphology of these verbs is expected to reflect that of the unmarked member of the opposition (1976:116). Comrie states that the morphologically unmarked form [i.e., perfective morphology] of a stative verb is taken to be [semantically] imperfective (1976:122). In this view, the semantics of statives seem to be considered as mismatched with their morphology. That is, a semantically imperfective situation [stative] is coded by perfective morphology [the unmarked form]. Without commenting on this mismatch in form-meaning relation, Comrie (1975:116) appeals to a morphological principle that, when some verb or verb form morphologically has only one aspectual form for some reason, it is the morphologically unmarked member of the opposition that is taken.

The Korean data discussed above are certainly consistent with Comrie's argument. That is, whereas non-descriptive verbs manifest a contrast between *-nû-n* and the temporally unmarked *-ûn*, descriptive verbs take only one of the two forms, the temporally unmarked one. There is a good reason to believe, however, that this is not a simple morphological neutralization, as assumed in Comrie (1976), but is a semantically well-motivated phenomenon. That is, the perfective morphology on stative verbs is perfectly justified by the semantic nature of stative verbs given a properly defined concept of perfectivity. A crucial pitfall in Comrie's view lies in the notion that morphologically unmarked stative verbs must be semantically imperfective. I believe this view results from a

⁵ Pam Munro (personal communication) points out that in Lakhota, *-han*, which she calls the "Progressive", can have past time reference, expressing past progressive. There may be some variation in the details of the cross-linguistic aspectual pattern discussed here.

failure to distinguish between the temporal view and the totality view of perfectivity. As I discussed in detail in H-S Lee (1991), the temporal view of perfectivity is concerned with the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to temporal junctures and/or phases of the situation described, as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

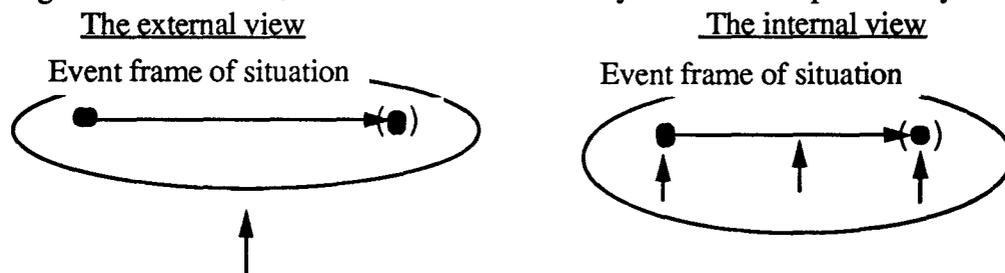
Figure 1. Aspectual distinctions in the temporal view



[Note] () indicates cases without terminal juncture

The totality view of perfectivity, on the other hand, is concerned with the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to the event frame of the situation described, such that if a situation is viewed outside of its event frame, it is presented as a wrapped-up whole, whereas if it is viewed within its event frame, it is presented as if the speaker concurrently experiences it, whatever phase of the situation is unfolded: beginning, middle or end. The perfectivity in the totality view can be illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2. The internal/external view in the totality dimension of perfectivity



That is, in the temporal view of perfectivity, a situation described is considered to be perfective when it has reached its end point. Therefore, stative verbs are considered to be imperfective in the temporal view of perfectivity, regardless of time reference, because the situation described is not referred to for its end point. In the totality view of perfectivity, on the other hand, what matters is whether the speaker's viewpoint is within the event frame of the situation described in reference to a concurrently evolving situation. In this view, statives are meant to be perfective, since states expressed with stative verbs lack an event frame within which its evolution can be considered. That is, situations described by stative verbs are always appreciated as unanalyzable wrapped-up wholes, hence are perfective. Therefore, if we assume that the morphological contrast manifested in those languages mentioned above, including Korean, is a linguistic coding of perfectivity in the totality view, morphologically unmarked stative verbs are understood as [semantically] perfective, naturally pairing with their perfective morphology.

The compatibility of perfective morphology with the semantics of stative verbs is further supported by the fact that even some active verbs with perfective morphology refer to current states of affairs rather than actions or activities in the past. For example,

- (14) cōki -sō ilōhke cacōnkō-lūl tha-n
 over:there-LOC like:this bicycle -ACC ride-ATTR

ônú yôca -æ -ka i -ccok-ûlu o -a
 certain female-child-NOM this-side-toward come-IE

(PS1: 34-35)

'... a girl on a bike is coming toward ...'

(15) *hwa -ttakci na _____ -n Leah*
 anger-clot come:out-ATTR Leah

(Leah 6:18)

'Leah, who is angry.'

In (14) above, the construction *tha-n* 'ride-ATTR' refers to a current state of affairs (a girl's being on a bike) rather than an action (e.g. riding a bike or having gotten on a bike). In (15), the attributive expression refers to Leah's current emotional state of being angry. The states of affairs expressed by non-descriptive verbs such as *tha-* 'get on' and *hwa-ttakci na-* 'get angry' above parallel those expressed by descriptive verbs. This semantic parallelism between the non-descriptive verbs in (14) and (15) and descriptive verbs in general suggests that, descriptive or non-descriptive, the morphologically unmarked form expresses a unified meaning, namely, the situations described are viewed as unanalyzable wholes, and thus without their internal development being appreciated, i.e., perfective in the totality view.

In the above, it is argued that the perfective morphology (morphologically unmarked) for stative verbs is perfectly justified by the semantic nature of statives, even though time reference is interpreted differently for active and stative verbs. The incompatibility of stative verbs with non-past (imperfective) forms also follows from the totality view of perfectivity. In the totality view of perfectivity, states cannot be taken as imperfective, since situations described by stative verbs in general do not have internal structure, and thus cannot be expressed with imperfective morphology. Therefore, the morphologically unmarked form in those languages mentioned above consistently represents perfective meaning both for active verbs and stative verbs. One remaining question, then, is why is there such a strong correlation between active verbs and past time reference and between stative verbs and non-past time reference in the use of perfective morphology? I will argue that the time reference is not a basic grammatical meaning of the forms, but is instead a derived interpretation. It would be odd to say that a given form gives different time reference depending on predicate types if it is indeed a marker of time reference. The close relationship between active verbs and past time reference, and between stative verbs and present time reference seems to be due to the correlation between the semantic nature of verbs and communicative patterns. It is quite natural that a situation which has already taken place is much easier to appreciate wholly. This is more so for events (i.e., active situations) than states (i.e., stative situations). In this regard, Welmers' (1973) characterization of the same phenomenon for Yoruba and Igbo is illuminating. Welmers (1973:346-347) characterizes perfective morphology (unmarked) in Yoruba and Igbo as 'factative', i.e., expressing "the most obvious fact about the verb in question, which in the case of active verbs is that the action was observed or took place, but for stative verbs is that the situation obtains at present".

In the preceding paragraphs, I have contended that the morphological contrast between Non-past Imperfective *-nú-* and the morphologically unmarked Perfective in Korean is similar to a cross-linguistically common pattern in Haitian Creole English, Liberian English, Kru, Yoruba, Igbo, as well as in Persian and Lakhota. Adding to this contrast the Retrospective suffix *-tô*, which I assume expresses past imperfective, the temporal system manifested in attributive clauses in Korean is now characterized as having a three-way contrast of perfective (without any specified time reference), which is morphologically unmarked, non-past imperfective (with the Non-past Imperfective *-nú-*), and past imperfective (with the Retrospective *-tô-*). As a unified temporal system for descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs, this can be summarized as follows:

(16) The temporal system of realis-attributive clauses:

Perfective:	Ø
Non-past Imperfective:	-nû-
Past Imperfective:	-tô-

This system now looks similar to the proto-Indo-European system that comprises the Aorist, which expresses perfective, the Imperfect, which expresses past imperfective, and the Present, which expresses present imperfective (Dahl 1985; Bybee and Dahl 1989). I will later compare different temporal systems among the languages cited here.

7. Further justification

In the preceding sections, I have proposed that the temporal system in attributive constructions in Korean exhibits the three-way aspectual opposition made by the Non-past Imperfective *-nû-*, the Past Imperfective (or so-called Retrospective) *-tô-*, in contrast with the temporally unmarked Perfective. I also have argued that the temporal oppositions made among these temporal markers are understood as the distinction between perfective and imperfective of the totality dimension rather than of the temporal dimension (H-S. Lee 1991), because only the totality view of perfectivity gives a reasonable account for the incompatibility of the Non-past Imperfective *-nû-* with descriptive verbs. In this section, I will further justify these proposals, by characterizing the semantic nature of *-nû-* and *-tô-*, and showing that any idea appealing to notions in the temporal dimension such as past/non-past tense, progressive, durative, or completion would not give a proper characterization of these temporal markers.

The semantic nature of *-nû-* as the (Non-past) Imperfective

The semantic and/or grammatical nature of *-nû-* (*-nûn-* in the predication construction) has not been agreed upon among scholars, as some believe it to be a Present (or Non-past) tense marker (H-B. Choe 1977; C-M. Lee 1987), others believe it to be a Progressive aspect marker as well as a Present tense marker (H-B. Choe 1977; S-H. Kim 1967; J-S. Na 1971), or a Processive Aspect marker (Martin 1954), and still others believe it to be an Indicative mood marker (H-M. Sohn 1975; S-O. Shin 1988). Some scholars even consider it meaningless, as simply a part of other morphemes such as the Attributive *-nû+n*, the Declarative *-nûn+ta*, the Unassimilated *-nûn+kun* (K-S. Nam 1978; D-H. An 1980; Huh 1983). The disagreement among these analyses comes from failure to fully accommodate the following facts.

- (i) *-nû-* always gives non-past (simultaneous in relative tense) time reference, as in all instances of the examples cited.
- (ii) *-nû-* may refer to habitual or generic situations, as in (6).
- (iii) *-nû-* may refer to ongoing situations, as in (1b) and (10).
- (iv) *-nû-* is lexically restricted so that it is not compatible with descriptive verbs.

Given the fact that *-nû-* consistently gives a present or non-past time reference, some may argue that it is a Present or Non-past tense marker. However, *-nû-* cannot be characterized as a Non-past tense marker. First of all, tense is a category that refers to a relative sequential relation between the situation described and a reference point, and the sequential relation of a situation to a reference point is independent of situation types (e.g. telic or atelic, punctual or non-punctual, active or stative, etc.) or verb types (e.g. descriptive or non-descriptive). That is, a tense category, say, non-past or simultaneous (as a relative tense concept) tense, would not be expected to have lexical restrictions in reference to situation types or verb types. As discussed earlier, however, the suffix *-nû-* is lexically restricted in its distribution. That is, the suffix *-nû-* occurs only with non-descriptive verbs, and cannot occur with descriptive verbs. If the suffix is simply a non-past (or simultaneous) tense marker, there is no reason why it should not occur with descriptive

verbs. Secondly, *-nû-* in predication constructions (i.e., *-nûn-*) is morphologically constrained as well. That is, among sentence-terminal suffixes, *-nûn-* can be attached only to the Unassimilated *-kun* and the Declarative *-ta*, both of which, along with *-nûn-* in their colloquial uses, express the speaker's concurrent experience of what has just been perceived (H-S. Lee 1991). If *-nû-* (or *-nûn-* in predication constructions) were indeed a true Non-past tense marker, it should not be morphologically constrained as it is, because the non-past time relation must be independent of the speaker's epistemic stance on the situation described. Finally, its semantic range is more than simple present tense. As shown in (1b) and (10), it may refer to ongoing situations as well as habitual or generic situations.

In order to accommodate the fact that it cannot be attached to descriptive verbs, one may argue that it is a Progressive or Processive aspect marker. This claim is also fallacious, because examples like the second instance of *-nû-* in (1b), and (6) clearly illustrate that it may refer to non-progressive habitual or generic situations. Furthermore, the suffix *-nû-* can even co-occur with a construction whose semantic nature is better suited for expressing situations in progress, that is, *-ko iss-* '-CONNECTIVE exist-' construction, which I assume expresses dynamic durative situations (H-S. Lee 1991). Example (17) below illustrates the use of the *-ko iss-* construction in expressing situations in progress, and (18) shows that the suffix *-nû-* can co-occur with the *-ko iss-* construction.

(17) *kû-nte acôssi-nûn kû wi-e olû -ô ka-sô tta -ko iss -ô*
 that-CIRCUM uncle -TOP that top-LOC climb-CONN go-CONN pick-CONN exist-IE
 (PS 1: 26)

'But the man is picking [pears], up in the tree.'

(18) *namu wi -esô kwail-ûl tta -ko iss -nû+n salam-i Suni-i -ta*
 tree top-LOC fruit -ACC pick-CONN exist-ATTR person-NOM Suni-be-DECL
 'The one who is picking fruits up in the tree is Suni.'

The fact that the suffix *-nû-* can be attached to the *-ko iss-* construction, which characteristically expresses situations in progress, suggests that expressing situations in progress is not its inherent meaning. The idea that the suffix *-nû-* cannot be a simple Progressive aspect marker can be further supported by the following example, where the suffix does not refer to the middle phase of the situation described.

(19) *cam -i kkæ -l ttæ -mata u -nû +n ai*
 sleep-NOM wake:up-ATTR time-every cry-ATTR child
 'The child who cries every time he wakes up'

The suffix *-nû-* in (19) refers to a situation that occurs simultaneously at the time of the reference point. Finally, the suffix *-nû-* cannot be a Progressive aspect marker, because its time reference is limited to present time (or simultaneous time in relative tense). If the suffix is a simple Progressive marker, it should freely refer to past (or prior) situations.

The claim that the suffix *-nû-* is an Indicative mood marker also cannot be substantiated. First of all, there is no reason why the indicative should be limited to non-past situations. Secondly, there is no reason why the indicative should be limited to non-descriptive verbs. In the literature, it is not even clear in what sense the suffix *-nû-* expresses an indicative mood.

In the above, I have illustrated that the suffix *-nû-* cannot be characterized as a Present (or Non-past) tense marker, or as a Progressive aspect marker, or as an Indicative mood marker. Now, I will argue that the suffix *-nû-* can best be characterized as an Imperfective marker in the totality dimension, that is, locating the speaker's viewpoint

within the event frame of the situation described such that the situation is presented as if the speaker concurrently experiences its evolution (H-S. Lee 1991). First, its parallelism in time reference and morphosyntactic behavior with the so-called non-punctual, durative or imperfective markers in Haitian Creole English, Liberian English, Kru, Yoruba, Igbo, as well as in Persian and Lakhota, strongly suggests that it must be understood as part of the cross-linguistically common aspectual opposition between perfective and imperfective. Secondly, the aspectual opposition between perfective and imperfective manifested in these languages, including Korean, must be understood as that in the totality dimension of perfectivity, which is concerned with the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to the event frame of the situation described, rather than the temporal dimension of perfectivity, which is concerned with the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to temporal phases and/or junctures of the situation. I have already shown that the suffix *-nû-* does not specifically refer to a middle phase of the situation described or to ongoingness and thus cannot be a Progressive marker, which is assumed to express a typical imperfective aspect in the temporal dimension of perfectivity. The following examples show that *-nû-* cannot even be characterized as expressing durative situations, another characteristic of imperfective aspect in the temporal dimension of perfectivity, as it can be freely used with punctual verbs without an iterative or habitual reading.

(20) *ceil nûc-ke tochakha-nû+n salam -i Suni-i -l+kô -i -a*
 most late-RESULT arrive -ATTR person-NOM Suni-be-ATTR+thing-be-IE
 'It will presumably be the last person who arrives [lit. the person who arrives latest] who is Suni.'

(21) *tûl -ô o -l ttæ kichim-ha-nû+n salam -ûl kiôkhæ -la*
 enter-CONN come-ATTR time cough-do-ATTR person-ACC remember-IMPER
 'Remember the one who coughs when he comes.'

In (20), what is expressed in the attributive clause with *tochakha-* 'arrive', a punctual verb, cannot be considered to be durative. Therefore, durativity is not an inherent meaning of the suffix *-nû-*. Similarly, in (21), what is expressed with *kichim-ha-nû+n salam* 'cough-do-ATTR person' does not imply multiple occurrences of coughing, which is inherently punctual in its single occurrence. Given the fact that what is referred to with the suffix *-nû-* is not necessarily ongoing or durative, the suffix cannot be characterized as expressing imperfective of any kind in the temporal dimension of perfectivity. Instead, the suffix expresses imperfective in the totality dimension of perfectivity, that is, locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described. The best evidence that the suffix *-nû-* expresses imperfective in the totality dimension of perfectivity comes from its use in predication constructions of the colloquial language. As mentioned earlier, the suffix can only be attached to the Declarative ending *-ta* and the Unassimilated ending *-kun(a)* among sentence-terminal suffixes. Combined with one of these two epistemic suffixes, what is indicated by *-nûn-* is the speaker's concurrent experience at the speech moment. For example,

(22) (Two people are waiting for a bus, and one of them sees a bus coming.)
ppôssû o -n -ta
 bus come-IMPV-DECL
 'Hey, a bus is coming.' or 'Here comes a bus.'

(22) is a typical utterance that can be made when a person spots something happening and tries to make the addressee aware of it. Therefore, (28) expresses a situation which the speaker concurrently experiences.

(23) *ilccik o -nûn -kuna*
 early come-IMPV-UNASSIM 'You are early.'

(23) can be uttered when the speaker sees a person coming in. Unlike the Declarative *-ta*, the Unassimilated *-kun* does not inform the addressee of any information, but simply expresses the speaker's perception. As is the case with the Declarative *-ta*, however, the suffix *-nân-* with the Unassimilated *-kun* as well indicates that the speaker's viewpoint is at the scene where the situation described takes place, i.e., within its event frame.

In sum, in order to accommodate the semantic range of the suffix *-nân-*, expressing non-past habitual or generic situations, situations in progress, and the speaker's concurrent experience, the fact that what is referred to may be punctual, the lexical constraint that it cannot occur with descriptive verbs, and its parallelism with imperfective markers in other languages cited above, the suffix is best characterized as expressing imperfective in the totality dimension of perfectivity. In the following, I will show that the so-called Retrospective *-tô-* also must be characterized as expressing imperfective in the totality dimension of perfectivity, but explicitly giving past time reference.

The semantic nature of *-tô-* as past imperfective

The suffix *-tô-* is known as a Retrospective marker, which locates the speaker's viewpoint at a moment of his or her perceptual experience in the past. This retrospective function is particularly prominent in predication constructions. For example,

- (24) uli -tu tûlôka-ni +kka koengcanghi
 1:PL-ADD enter -DET+INTERR remarkably
- kacokcôk-i -tû -la +ku
 familial -be-RETROS-INTROS+COMP (S&H: 331)

'[I tell you how it was] We too got in [there], and you know, it [the department] is very family-like.

In (24), the speaker is recalling what the atmosphere of the linguistic department of Seoul National University was like at the time he was admitted and became a student of the department.⁶

In the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions, on the other hand, the meaning of the past experience is not present, as is apparent in the earlier examples in (1c) and (7). Instead, it appears to express imperfective aspect of some sort; many scholars consider it to express past incomplete (H-S. Lee 1957), past progressive or durative state (S-B. Park 1935), past progressive (J-S. Na 1971), durative (I-S. Yang (1972)). As in the case of *-nân-*, however, the imperfectivity expressed with *-tô-* must be understood as that of the totality dimension rather than that of the temporal dimension, as any concept of the temporal view of perfectivity such as progressive, durative, non-completive, etc. would not characterize its function properly. First of all, like *-nân-*, *-tô-* is not a simple Progressive marker, as some scholars assume, because it can refer not only to past ongoing situations as in (1c), but also non-progressive durative situations as in (7). Also consider the following example.

- (25) i -kô -n Suni-ka sa -tô+n os -hako ttok kath-ta
 this-thing-TOP Suni-NOM buy-ATTR clothes-COM exactly same-DECL
 'This is exactly the same as the clothes (i) that Suni used to buy.
 (ii) that Suni was buying. }'

⁶ The present tense form in the second clause of the translation is the best attempt to give what *-tô-* is assumed to express in this case. It is intended to express that the speaker describes the past situation as if he or she concurrently perceives it.

For active verbs like *sa-ta* 'to buy', *-tô-* could express a habitual activity in the past, as in the translation (i), as well as a past situation in progress, as in the translation (ii). Whether it refers to a situation in progress or a habitual situation is not part of its inherent meaning, and must be determined within the discourse context. Furthermore, the time reference made with *-tô-* is limited to past (or prior), just as the time reference made with *-nû-* is non-past (or simultaneous). If *-tô-* is a general Progressive marker, it should be independent of time reference. The fact that *-tô-* is not a Progressive marker is more evident from (26) below, where *-tô-* even refers to a situation at its terminal juncture, that is, a situation which has already reached its endpoint, when it occurs with the Anterior *-ôss-*. For example,

(26) HANDY BED-la -ku ssô
 Handy bed-DECL-COMP write:CONN

noh-ass -ôss -tô+n kô -kuna
 put -ANT-ANT-ATTR thing-UNASSIM

(K&H: 55)

'[I see that] It was 'handy bed' that had been written down.'

In (26), the speaker recalls a previous moment when he saw something that was written down on a field bed. In this case, the viewpoint is located at the terminal juncture of the situation described, as the Anterior *-ôss-* indicates. Therefore, *-tô-* is clearly not a Progressive marker, not even a Past Progressive.

One may suggest that all the examples of *-tô-* cited so far can be subsumed under the meaning of durative. In (1c), (7), (25), and (26), the situations described are all considered as having taken place in an extended period of time. This durative meaning is even clearer when it is compared with (27) below, where the attributive construction without *-tô-* refers to a single specific occurrence of a situation in the past without any durative sense.

(27) i -kô -n Suni-ka sa -n os -hako ttok kath-ta
 this-thing-TOP Suni-NOM buy-ATTR clothes-COM exactly same-DECL
 'This is exactly the same as the clothes that Suni bought.'

Like *-nû-*, however, *-tô-* also cannot be characterized as a durative marker, because what is referred to by *-tô-* is independent of inherent durativity or punctuality. First, the meaning of durative cannot not exclusively characterize the use of *-tô-*, since inherent durativity fails to make a distinction between (28) and (29) below.

(28) UCLA-nûn Hyo-ka sip-nyôn tongan tani -tô+n hakkyo-i -ta
 UCLA-TOP Hyo-NOM ten-year during attend-ATTR school -be-DECL
 'UCLA is the school that Hyo attended for 10 years.'

(29) UCLA-nûn Hyo-ka sip-nyôn tongan tani -n hakkyo-i -ta
 UCLA-TOP Hyo-NOM ten-year during attend-ATTR school -be-DECL
 'UCLA is the school that Hyo attended for 10 years.'

Both examples describe a situation that took place in an extended period of time, as the temporal adverbial *sip-nyôn tongan* 'for ten years' specifies, and are translated as 'UCLA is the school that Hyo attended for 10 years.'. Therefore, the physical length of time duration is not an issue with respect to the use of *-tô-*, and thus the difference between (28) with *-tô-* and (29) without *-tô-* must be found somewhere else. The key difference seems to lie in the way the speaker assesses each situation. In (28), the speaker explicitly refers to the extended period of time during which the situation described takes place as if he or she looks into each phase of Hyo's schooling. That is, the speaker's viewpoint is

located within the event frame of the situation, and thus the situation is viewed internally. In (29), on the other hand, the speaker refers to "the whole period of 10 years as a single complete whole" (Comrie 1976:17).⁷ In this case, the situation is viewed externally without looking into its internal activities and phases. The fact that objective duration of time is not an issue in the use of the suffix *-tô-* suggests that the durative meaning is not a sufficient condition for the use of the suffix.

The durative meaning is not a necessary meaning either, as the suffix may refer to a punctual situation. For example,

(30)a. næ -ka Disney Land-e ka-ca -ko hæ-ss -ûl ttæ
 1SG-NOM Disney Land-LOC go-PROP-COMP do-ANT-ATTR time

sunkancôkûlo ppanccaki-tô+n ne nun-i
 instantaneously twinkle -ATTR you:GEN eye-NOM

acik-to nun-e sônha-ta
 still -ADD eye-LOC vivid -DECL

'The memory of the way your eyes **twinkled in a split second** when I proposed going to Disney Land still lingers.'

In (30), the speaker is simply recalling a event that took place instantaneously, i.e., a punctual situation, and thus there is no sense of ongoingness or durativity.

A further piece of evidence that *-tô-* cannot be a Progressive or Durative marker comes from the fact that like *-nû-*, *-tô-* also can occur with the dynamic durative *-ko iss-* construction in expressing a past situation in progress, as in (31) below.

(31) næ -ka ôce pang-e tûlôka-ss -ûl ttæ
 1:SG-NOM yesterday room-LOC enter -ANT-ATTR time

ssû -ko iss -tô +n ke mwô-nya
 write-CONN exist-ATTR thing:NOM what-INTERR

'What is it that you were writing when I entered the room yesterday?'

Since the progressive or durative meaning is already available from the *-ko iss-* construction, the function of *-tô-* must be more than expressing progressive or durative.

I have illustrated that the "imperfective" meaning obtained in the use of *-tô-* in attributive constructions should not be thought of as referring to those meanings of imperfective in the temporal dimension, such as durative, progressive, or uncompleted, since *-tô-* does not refer to any specific temporal juncture or a physical length of time. Instead, the suffix must be understood as locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described such that the speaker appreciates its internal structure as if he or she concurrently experiences it. That is, the suffix *-tô-* is characterized here as

⁷ The difference between (28) and (29) may be analogous to the difference between what is expressed with *l'Imparfait* (the Imperfect) and with *le Passé Simple* (the Simple Past--Past Definite in Comrie's terminology) in French. Comrie shows that the difference between the two constructions in French (e.g. *il régnait trente ans* vs. *il régna trente ans* 'he reigned for thirty years' respectively) does not lie in the objective length of time, but whether the speaker is concerned with the internal structuring of the situation described.

expressing the imperfective in the totality dimension of perfectivity. This characterization is compatible with its use in predication constructions as a Retrospective marker, as in (24). In those examples, the speaker's viewpoint is shifted back to a moment in the past when he or she perceived or observed the situation as it unfolded; that is, the situation is viewed within its event frame, i.e., imperfective in the totality dimension.

The notion of imperfective in the totality view of perfectivity as characterized here, i.e., locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described (internal view), provides a natural account for cases such as (26), (28), (30), and (31), which are problematic for any account that appeals to the notions of imperfective in the temporal view of perfectivity. The internal view analysis of *-tô-* allows reference to a punctual event the speaker experienced, as in (30), by locating his or her viewpoint at the moment of experiencing that punctual event. The internal view also allows reference to a situation in its terminal stage, as in (26), which is not possible with the notion of imperfective in the temporal view of perfectivity. The co-occurrence of *-tô-* with the dynamic durative *-ko iss-* construction, as in (31), is also no longer unexplainable, since the ongoing durative situation can be readily viewed internally. As for the difference between (28) and (29), both of which clearly refer to a situation that takes place for an extended period of time, the internal view analysis of *-tô-* suggests that what matters is not whether the situation described is punctual or durative, but whether internal individual activities within the overall situation described are appreciated or not. It is now clear that, as *-nû-* is characterized as expressing non-past imperfective aspect in the totality dimension, *-tô-* can be characterized as expressing past imperfective aspect, locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described.

In this section, I have shown that the semantic and grammatical nature of the temporal markers *-nû-* and *-tô-* is best characterized as expressing imperfective in contrast with the morphologically unmarked Perfective. Both *-nû-* and *-tô-* refer to the location of the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation such that the situation is described as if the speaker concurrently experiences its unfolding. In contrast, the morphologically unmarked Perfective refers to the location of the speaker's viewpoint outside of the event frame such that a situation is presented as a single wrapped-up whole without looking into its internal structure.

8. Concluding remarks: summary and crosslinguistic implication

In sum, the temporal system of attributive constructions in Korean comprises the Non-past (or Simultaneous) Imperfective *-nû-* and the Past (or Prior) Imperfective *tô-*, which is also known as the Retrospective marker in the literature, in contrast with the morphologically unmarked Perfective. The apparently different forms of attributive constructions are due to the addition of these temporal markers to the invariant Realis-Attributive suffix *-(û)n*. The perfective/imperfective opposition manifested in attributive constructions in Korean must be understood as that of the totality dimension of perfectivity, which is concerned with the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to the event frame of the situation described, that is, whether the viewpoint is inside or outside of the event frame, rather than that of the temporal dimension of perfectivity, which is concerned with the location of the viewpoint with respect to temporal junctures and phases of the situation, that is, whether the viewpoint is at the beginning, middle, or endpoint of the situation. This characterization of the temporal system of attributive constructions in Korean naturally accounts for why time reference is inconsistent for descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs, and why the Non-past Imperfective *-nû-* is not compatible with descriptive verbs.

One thing that should be noted is that the three-way aspectual opposition among the Non-past Imperfective *-nû-*, the Past Imperfective *-tô-*, and the morphologically unmarked Perfective is historically the basic temporal system in Korean. As I discussed in

detail in H-S. Lee (1991) (also in D-J. Choi 1988), this tripartite system had operated both in attributive constructions and predication constructions until the 15th century, when the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* started developing from the formerly Perfect *-ô iss-* '-CONNECTIVE exist-' construction. The development of *-ôss-* affected the temporal system only of predication constructions, however. As the suffix established its status in the verbal paradigm in predication constructions, the once unmarked Perfective came into contrast not only with the Non-past Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Past Imperfective *-tô-*, but also with the newly developed *-ôss-*. The functions of *-nûn-* and *-tô-* became more and more marginal--these suffixes constitute only 2.4% and 1.4%, respectively, of the sentence-terminal verbal complexes in the informal texts examined (as opposed to 17.3% of *-ôss-*), as their usage became restricted to the case of the speaker's concurrent experience or perception. Meanwhile, the conservative attributive constructions were not affected by the development of the Anterior suffix, and the tripartite aspectual system has remained intact. Now, it becomes clear why Modern Korean exhibits apparently idiosyncratic and inconsistent temporal systems in attributive and predication constructions. While the historically underlying tripartite system of the Non-past Imperfective *-nû-*, the Past Imperfective *-tô-*, and the unmarked Perfective form still operates in attributive constructions, the newly developed *-ôss-* created a new paradigmatic relation in predication constructions, that is, a two-way opposition between the Anterior *-ôss-* and the temporally unmarked form.

The temporal system of realis attributive constructions characterized in this study conforms to the crosslinguistically common aspectual pattern. The opposition between the Non-past Imperfective *-nû-* and the unmarked Perfective in Korean is parallel in time reference and morphosyntactic pattern with the one manifested in Persian, Lhakota, creole languages such as Guyanese, Liberian English, and Tok Pisin, and West African languages such as Yoruba, Igbo, and Kru. On the other hand, the three-way opposition among the Perfective, the Non-past Imperfective, and the Past Imperfective is similar to the Indo-European system. The following table gives a cross-linguistic comparison of temporal systems in these languages.

Table 1. Cross-linguistic patterns of aspectual distinctions:

	Perfective	Imperfective		Source
		Present	past	
<u>Creole system^a</u>				
Guyanese	∅		a	Bickerton 1981
Papiamentu	a	ta	tabata	Andersen 1990
<u>West African lg's</u>				
Yoruba	∅		ń	Welmers 1973
Igbo	∅		ńa	Comrie 1976
Lakhota	∅		han	Munro (p.c.)
Persian	∅		mi	Comrie 1976
Indo-European	Aorist	Present	Imperfect	Dahl 1985
Korean ^b	∅	nûn	tô	

- a. Similar patterns also occur in other creole languages such as Tok Pisin (Sankoff 1979:42) and Liberian English (Singler 1984), and also in Kru (Singler 1984:88).
- b. Prior to the 15th century and in the realis attributive constructions of Modern Korean.

Table 1 shows a remarkable parallelism among those typologically, genetically, and geographically unrelated languages. First of all, the Perfective forms in general give a past time reference to active verbs, and a non-past time reference to stative verbs. Secondly, the Imperfective forms cannot occur with stative verbs. Thirdly, the perfective category is expressed with a morphologically simpler form, mostly unmarked.⁸ Indo-European, Korean (in the realis attributive constructions of Modern Korean and in Middle Korean prior to the 15th century), and Papiamentu, a creole language (Andersen 1990), have a tripartite system that differentiates present and past tense for the category IMPERFECTIVE, instead of the two-way opposition of PERFECTIVE vs. IMPERFECTIVE, common in the other languages. However, even in the Korean and Indo-European systems, there are some points that lead to an assumption that the two-way distinction of PERFECTIVE and (PRESENT) IMPERFECTIVE may be the basic aspectual opposition. The Imperfect in the Indo-European system is historically a later development, with its form based on the Present stem of the verb (Comrie 1976: 83-84, 115). Therefore, the Proto-Indo-European system also had the two-way distinction historically. In Korean, the distribution of *-tô-* is limited, compared with the other members of the opposition in attributive constructions, i.e., the Imperfective *-nû-* and the temporally unmarked Perfective; see Table 2 below.

Table 2. Distribution of temporal suffixes in realis attributive constructions

	Non-descriptive	Descriptive	Existential	Total
∅	47	40	*	87 (48.6%)
nû	68	*	18	86 (48.0%)
tô	4	∅	2	6 (3.3%)
Total	119	40	20	179 (100%)

* refers to a morphological gap.

As seen in Table 2, *-tô-* is far less frequent (3.3%) than *-nû-* (48.0%) and the unmarked Perfective (48.6%) in attributive constructions, where *-tô-* is less constrained than in predication constructions, e.g. there is no "non-equi subject constraint". Therefore, it is plausible to say that the main temporal opposition (in attributive constructions) in Korean is made between the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nû-* and the unmarked Perfective. The fact that the opposition between the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nû-* and the unmarked Perfective in Korean is the one that parallels the pattern in other languages makes it more plausible to assume the basic two-way distinction cross-linguistically.

Transcription and abbreviations

In transcribing the data cited, the Yale transcription is used for consonants and the McCune-Reischauer system is used for vowels (except that ^ is used for ~ for vowel marking, as in *û* and *ô*, for keyboard convenience). For morpheme-by-morpheme glossing, the following abbreviations are used.

⁸ Even in Indo-European languages where PERFECTIVE is overtly marked as Aorist, it is considered to be morphologically unmarked, based on the criterion of regularity (Comrie 1976:114). That is, Aorists are more irregular than their oppositions, e.g. Present and Imperfect.

ACC: accusative	ADD: additive	ANT: anterior
ATTR: attributive	CIRCUM: circumstantial	CL: classifier
COM: comitative	COMM: commital	COMP: complementizer
CONN: connective	DECL: declarative	DEF: deferential
DET: determinative	FR: factual realization	IE: informal ending
IMPER: imperative	IMPFV: imperfective	IMPOT: impotential
INTERR: interrogative	INTROS: introspective	IRRL: irrealis
LOC: locative	NEG: negative	NOM: nominative
PL: plural	PROP: propositive	RESUL: resultative
RETROS: retrospective	SIMUL: simultaneous	TOP: topic
UNASSIM: unassimilated		

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Language contact in China:
Is Mandarin Chinese derived from a pidgin?*

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I. Introduction

To most of the world, China is a country steeped in the philosophical tradition of Confucius, sustained by an intensive agricultural economy, and inhabited by nearly a billion Han Chinese who, as speakers of the myriad Chinese dialects, have dominated the great plains of East Asia for several millennia. China, however, is also the country of 65-70 million people who, representing more than fifty nationalities and many more ethnic groups, are native speakers of languages ranging from Indo-European and Altaic in the North to Tibeto-Burman, Austronesian, Mon-Khmer, Kam-Tai, and Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) in the south.¹ Historically many of the non-Han ethnic groups had their own kingdoms with civilizations that were different but no less impressive than that of the Han Chinese. More significant than the immense linguistic and cultural diversity in China is the fact that for nearly half of the past two millennia, many non-Han ethnic groups ruled large parts of China and sometimes all of China. In other words, the Han Chinese dominated as often as they were dominated by other ethnic groups. Correlating with this historical seesaw in the struggle for domination between the Han and non-Han people was the rise and fall of the social status of the Han people and their language. Chinese, in other words, has not always been the prestige language, and contact-induced changes have occurred frequently in all of the languages in China. Yet it is only during the last two decades that some scholars have begun to delve into China's complex situation of languages in contact and its consequences, e.g. Ballard (1979), Hashimoto (1976a, 1976b, 1980, 1984), Li (1983, 1984, 1985), Nakajima (1989), Norman and Mei (1970), Okada (1986), etc. Among those scholars, Hashimoto has been singularly successful in drawing people's attention to the fact that there is a step-by-step typological transition of Chinese dialects from north to south (Hashimoto 1976). He attributed the cause of this typological gradation to Altaic influence in the north and Austro-Asiatic influence in the south. Indeed, the typological similarity between Altaic languages and Northern Chinese dialects is striking. This similarity is especially significant in light of its absence in Southern China where the Chinese dialects share a number of common features with Tibeto-Burman, Kam-Tai, and Hmong-Mien. Spurred on by the typological similarity between Altaic and Northern Chinese, Hashimoto (1984) hypothesized that

Northern Chinese originated as a pidgin created by speakers of Altaic languages during the Qing dynasty.² Hashimoto's hypothesis is supported by Okada (1986). I will examine the validity of this hypothesis in terms of the historical, social and linguistic evidence.

II. Historical and linguistic evidence

Even though we are not able to reconstruct the precise nature of contact-induced changes in Northern Chinese dialects during the past two millennia, there is no doubt that those dialects have been extensively influenced by Altaic languages on the basis of historical, social as well as linguistic evidence. The most recent intensive influence on Northern Chinese dialects occurred in early seventeenth century when the Manchu rulers conquered China and established the Qing dynasty. The sudden influx of Manchu soldiers and the prestige of Manchu as the language of the court and the royal family guaranteed that at a minimum, Manchu had a certain amount of impact on the Chinese dialect of the capital city, Peking. The Manchu soldiers, known as bannermen, had to learn Chinese in order to govern and communicate with the Han people. It is well-established that in learning a second language, a person's native language plays a role in shaping the outcome of his/her effort to acquire the second language (See Eckman, Bell and Nelson, 1984; Gass and Selinker, 1983; Krashen and Scarcella, 1980). The influence of the native language on the acquisition of a second language is subsumed under 'interference' in the study of contact-induced language change and second language acquisition. This type of interference typically results in what is called "foreigner-talk", which represents imperfect learning of a target language. The lexicon of an imperfectly learned second language is predominantly taken from the target language. Its "imperfection" is manifested in its phonology, morphology and syntactic-semantic structures, none of which can be dramatically different from those of the target language because a "foreigner-talk" language is mutually intelligible with the target language. Since the Manchu bannermen occupied prestigious and powerful positions in the Chinese society at the time, their imperfect Chinese probably had an impact on the language of the native Han people. However, "foreigner-talk" language should not be confused with pidgin. A fully developed "foreigner-talk" language has a normal-sized lexicon and a grammar that is as complex as that of the target language. A pidgin, however, draws its limited lexicon primarily from one language, called the "lexical source language", but its grammar is the result of dramatic simplification of all the languages spoken by the people who create the pidgin, including the lexical source language. As a consequence, a fully developed pidgin is not mutually intelligible with any of the native languages of its creators.³

If there is any validity to Hashimoto's claim that Northern Mandarin Chinese originated as a pidgin during the Qing dynasty,

the lexical source language for this pidgin must be Chinese. Let us examine the evidence.

(A.) Hashimoto (1984) cited Hidehiro Okada as a source for the information that the Manchu bannermen who resided in the inner city of Peking consisted of Mongols, Koreans, Russians, Chinese, as well as Manchus. However, it was Hashimoto (1984) not Okada (1986) who claimed that the common language that united such diverse ethnic groups among the bannermen was a 'pidgin language - heavily Manchunized Chinese or Sinicized Manchu'. The implication of the claim is that a pidgin with Chinese as its lexical source language was created by the bannermen because they did not share a common language. But the military organization of the Manchus was formed long before they conquered the Han Chinese and established the Qing dynasty. Even if the bannermen had to create a pidgin as their only means of communication, there would be neither sociological nor linguistic reason for them to use Chinese as the lexical source language before they invaded China in the early seventeenth century. After the establishment of the Qing dynasty, the bannermen became an elite ruling class. They resided in the inner city of the royal capital, Peking, and their position carried great prestige. All bannermen were recognized as Manchus regardless of their ancestral ethnic origin, and furthermore, deliberations on military affairs at the Qing court were conducted in Manchu. Okada (1980, 1986) wrote that the bannermen were of diverse ethnic origins only in the sense that some of them were descendants of various ethnic peoples conquered or absorbed by the Tungusic Manchus. Given all of the factors mentioned above, it is only sensible to surmise that in order for a man to be accepted as a Manchu and an elite bannerman during the Qing dynasty, he would have to have had the qualification of being a fluent speaker of the Manchu language. Thus, I see no social or historical reason for Hashimoto's claim that the bannermen living in the inner city of Peking during the Qing dynasty were forced to create a pidgin language in order to communicate with each other.

(B.) The linguistic evidence cited by Hashimoto (1984) for a pidgin language created by the bannermen, again, comes from Okada (1980, 1986). By the Qianlong period (1735-1796) of the Qing dynasty, the bannermen in Peking turned to literary activities including the performing arts as a way of reducing boredom during the years of peace. One genre of the bannermen's performing arts is a chantefable performed by one or two men. The musical instrument used to accompany the singing is sanxian 'three-string guitar'. According to Wadley (forthcoming), the melodies were extremely slow; often one word was held over many notes. The written records of these chantefables are known as zidi shu (Youth Book)⁴. According to Wadley (forthcoming) and Okada (1980, 1986), most of the surviving texts of 'Youth Book' are in Chinese. However, a few are preserved in a combination of Manchu and Chinese words. One such piece is called Katuri jetere (Eating Crab). A part of the text from "Eating Crab" was cited by both Hashimoto (1984) and Okada (1986) as evidence of a Chinese pidgin

language. I will cite the same excerpt from the text as Hashimoto and Okada did, except my citation here, the text as well as the translation, is taken from Wadley (forthcoming).⁵ (The italic words are Manchu, and the numerical superscript indicates Mandarin Chinese tones):

1. You³ yi⁴ ge age bu⁴ zhi¹ shi⁴ hala ai
 exist one CL sir not know be surname what
 There was once an honored sir, I know not his surname.
2. Ye³ bu⁴ zhi¹ colo jiao⁴-zuo⁴ ai niyalma
 also not know title be called what person
 I also don't know his title.
3. You⁴ bu⁴ zhi¹ manju monggo shi⁴ ujen cooha
 furthermore not know Manchu Mongol or respect army
 I furthermore don't know if he was a Manchu, a Mongol or a Chinese bannerman.
4. Geng⁴ bu zhi¹ na³ ge niru ya gūsa
 even more not know which CL banner company which banner
 And certainly don't know what company or which banner he was under.
5. Tokso de zhu⁴ le er⁴ nian² ban⁴
 village loc. live perf.asp. two year one-half
 He lived in the village two years and a half.
6. Gai -ha sargan uthai tuba -i man²zi jia¹
 take perf.part. wife then that gen. barbarian house
 And took a wife of a barbarian household of some other land.
7. Ye³ bu⁴ wen⁴ dancan ergi gebu hala shei² jia¹ nū³
 also not ask wife's family side name surname who house girl
 He didn't even inquire the surname or name, of whose household the girl was.
8. Hūlhi lampa i qu³ dao⁴ le jia¹
 confused chaotic gen. take a wife arrive perf. asp. house
 Just recklessly and chaotically took her into his family.

An examination of the Chinese as well as the Manchu components of this excerpt shows that not only is the vocabulary not impoverished but the Chinese and the Manchu grammatical structures are perfectly normal.

Consider, for example, the usage of such adverbials as ye 'also' in (2) and (7), you 'also' in (3), geng 'furthermore' in (4). These three adverbials are similar in meaning. Each of the sequence of utterances (2)-(4) begins with one of these adverbials. The author not only avoids repetition by beginning those three utterances with a different adverbial but also makes a perfect choice of adverbial for each of them. The use of these three adverbials demonstrates a high level of stylistic elegance and literary sophistication. Anyone who has had the experience of learning or teaching Chinese can attest to the difficulty of mastering the subtle semantic and pragmatic differences of these adverbials. Their presence alone is sufficient to dispel any suggestion that the grammatical structures of the Chinese language in this narrative is simplified as it would have been in a pidgin Chinese language.

Other examples demonstrating normal Chinese grammatical structures are the usage of the classifier in (1) and (4), the negative marker in (2), (3), (4) and (7), the perfective aspect marker in (5) and (8). In addition, (1) is a complex existential construction, and (2), (3), (4) and (7) all involve subordinate clauses.⁶

The most interesting grammatical property shown by the excerpt, however, involves the incorporation of the Manchu components into the Chinese language. Every single Manchu component is placed in a Chinese frame without violating the rules of Chinese grammar. Consider, for example, the first three utterances:

In the first utterance, age 'man', is a noun occurring in a slot where a noun is expected, i.e. Numeral + Classifier + . The next Manchu expression in the same utterance is hala ai 'what surname' which occurs after the Chinese copular verb shi. The copula in Chinese can take any noun phrase or clause as an object. hala ai 'what surname' is a noun phrase. Its word order 'hala (surname) ai (what)', i.e. head + modifier is permissible in Manchu but not permissible in Chinese. In other words, what we have here is a case of mixed language or code-switching, where the grammatical rules of each language are strictly observed.

In the second utterance, a subordinate clause occurs after the Chinese verb buzhi 'don't know', serving as its object in accordance with Chinese grammar. The subordinate clause is in Manchu except its verb is Chinese, jiao-zuo 'to have the name of, to be', which requires a noun phrase preceding it and a noun phrase following it in an unmarked clause. Both of these noun phrases are in Manchu, and one of them precedes the Chinese verb jiao-zuo while the other one follows it as required by the word order of Chinese.

The third utterance involves the expression, manju monggo shi ujen cooha 'Manchu Mongol be(in Chinese) Heavy-Armed bannerman'. Wadley's glossing of shi as the Chinese copular verb is troublesome. I believe that shi in this context of conjoining monggo and ujen cooha is an abbreviation of the conjoining particle, haishi 'or', whose first syllable is often de-stressed in conversation data and in fast speech frequently omitted.⁷ This is why the expression, manju monggo shi ujen cooha, has the reading "Manchu, Mongol or Heavy-Armed bannerman", which is a noun phrase occurring after the Chinese verb buzhi 'don't know' in accordance with the word order, NP + V + NP, of Chinese.

The fourth sentence contains the interesting phrase,

na ge niru
 which CL banner company
 "which banner company"

where a Manchu word niru 'banner company' serves as the head noun of a Chinese noun phrase with the structure of Demonstrative + Classifier + Head noun. Immediately following this noun phrase is a Manchu noun phrase, ya (which) gusa (banner). Both noun phrases, in an unmarked coordinate relation, occur after the Chinese verb buzhi 'don't know' according to Chinese grammar.

The fifth sentence begins with the Manchu locative phrase tokso (village) de (locative) where de is the Manchu locative case marker. This Manchu phrase is placed in the slot of a locative phrase in a Chinese sentence. If we replace tokso de with an equivalent Chinese locative phrase, zai cunzi-li 'in the village', the fifth sentence would be a normal Chinese sentence,

zai cunzi - li zhu - le er nian ban
 at village- in live - PFV two year half
 "(He) lived in the village two years and a half."

The sixth sentence is a fully grammatical Manchu construction except the Chinese noun phrase manzi jia 'barbarian family' which is a derogatory term referring to 'Chinese family'. A more literal translation of the sentence could be

"(and) then took a wife (from) a barbarian (Chinese) family of that area."

The seventh sentence has as its main verb the Chinese word wen 'ask'. Again, the Manchu expression, a noun phrase, immediately following the verb serving as part of the indirect object of the verb wen 'ask' fits perfectly into the Chinese syntactic frame.

The eighth sentence contains the Manchu phrase hulhi (confused) lampa (chaotic) i (genitive). The genitive marker i in Manchu may also mark a manner or instrumental adverbial phrase which is the function of this Manchu phrase. The presence of this

Manchu manner adverbial phrase dovetails into the Chinese syntactic frame of sentence (8). This Manchu manner adverbial phrase could be replaced with its Chinese equivalent, hun-tou hun-nao -de 'in a reckless and confused manner', to turn sentence (8) into a full-fledged Chinese sentence:⁸

hun - tou hun - nao - de qu dao - le jia
muddle- head muddle- brain- ADV take:wife reach- PFV home
"In a reckless and confused manner, (he) took the wife to
(his) home"

To sum up, a linguistic analysis of the excerpt from "Eating a Crab", shows that not only the Chinese as well as the Manchu components are grammatically regular, but the juxtaposition of Chinese and Manchu is, by no means, arbitrary. In fact, the juxtaposition is skillfully executed according to two principles: (i) There is no violation or simplification of the grammatical rules of the two languages. (ii) In almost all cases, the Manchu components are imbedded in Chinese grammatical frames in full accordance with the rules of Chinese grammar, including the verb-medial word order of clauses. An examination of the rest of the narrative/song, 'Eating Crab', shows that the above generalizations hold for the entire text.

The obvious conclusion drawn from the preceding linguistic analysis is that the language of the text from "Eating a Crab" is not a pidgin language. It is, instead, a mixed language artfully constructed by its author(s) who must be not only bilingual in Manchu and Chinese but also eloquent and stylistically sophisticated in their literary endeavour.

If the language of the text from "Eating a Crab" is not a pidgin, the question that needs to be answered is: What is the reason for using such a mixed language? Before attempting to answer this question, I should point out that a small degree of language mixing, especially in the form of lexical code-switching, is common in normal communication among bilingual people. Lexical code-switching occurs most frequently in situations in which a bilingual speaker, while speaking in language-1, finds it easier to use language-2 for a specific expression. For example, the bilingual Baonan people⁹, who normally speak in Baonan, always switch to Chinese for contemporary political expressions related to communism, and a bilingual person in a Chinese community in America often switches to Chinese in naming certain items of Chinese food¹⁰. But the mixing of Chinese and Manchu in the text of the chantefable "Eating Crab" goes beyond the level of code-switching in the lexicon. It involves code-switching at phrase and clause levels. Such a significant degree of language mixing must serve a special communicative function. I submit that the extensive and skillfully executed mixing of Manchu and Chinese shown in the text is for the purpose of displaying the author(s)' exceptional mastery of the two languages as well as for the purpose of being witty and humorous.

On the point of using mixed language to display exceptional mastery of two languages, let me cite an example in Baonan which I collected during one of my fieldtrips in southwestern Gansu, Western China. My native language consultant, Habib, is known to be the most articulate person among all of the Baonan villagers. In addition, he is also a highly successful entrepreneur. Besides his native tongue, he has near-native fluency in Chinese (Linxia dialect) and several other Baonan dialects. The following excerpt is the beginning of a long didactic narrative on the art of farming he gave in Baonan. I use the term 'didactic' because Habib understood that the purpose of the narrative was to teach me in his native Baonan language how to farm according to the Baonan way. I should also add that by the time I recorded this narrative, I had already worked with him full-time for four months, and he knew from the beginning of our association that my job was to learn from him his native Baonan language, and his job was to speak Baonan freely and naturally upon request.

- i) buda - né baonán gatpi .
 ve - genitive Baonan language
 (exclusive)
 'Our Baonan language.'
- ii) kesi .
 begin
 'Let me begin.'
- iii) ou - dé veri kai - dži gasi
 son - dative wife talk - subordinator concerning
 'Concerning talking to (your) son about (getting) a wife,
jidó si -wu -lii ,
 as soon as ten-five-six
 as soon as (he) reaches fifteen or sixteen,
 óda ómu veri kai - dži ok -dzó .
 father mother wife talk - subordinator give -imperfective
 his father and mother (will) be giving (him) talks (about taking)
 taking) a wife.'
- iv) veri kai - dži gasi ,
 wife talk - subordinator concerning
 'As for talking about a wife,
kesi gán kaŋ - né agi saŋ .
 begin first who -genitive daughter good
 one begins with (the question): whose daughter is good?'
- v) agi - né quísón ndza - dzó .
 girl - accusative match look - imperfective
 '(The boy's parents will) be considering the girl as a match.'
- vi) ndza - dži - saŋ - jidá gasi .
 look - subordinator good if
 'If (the boy's parents) consider (the girl) good,
 agi vendón , tsintsín sr - dzó .
 girl steady relation settle - imperfective
 (that is,) the girl is steady, a relation will be in the
 making.'
- vii) tsintsín sr - dži gasi
 relation settle - subordinator concerning
 'As for making a relation,
kesi ne si liqé quandaán .
 beginning this be one pivot
 the beginning is pivotal.'

In this example of mixed language, the basic frame is Baonan, and the Chinese components, which are underlined, are inserted into the frame in full accordance with the rules of Baonan grammar. The basic grammatical features of Baonan are typical of Altaic languages: verb-final word order, suffixal morphology, postpositional, full-fledged nominal case system, modifier precedes modified. For example, in (v), an oblique noun in Chinese, duican 'match', is placed before a Baonan verb, and in (vi) and (vii), the accusative Chinese noun, tcintcin 'relation', is placed before the Baonan verb, s 'settle'. The placement of these Chinese nouns obeys the verb-final word order of Baonan clauses. (vii) contains a copular verb phrase in Chinese, but the entire clause with its Baonan subject noun, n 'this', is verb-medial. That is because Baonan permits verb-medial word order in equational sentences.¹¹

The similarity between the Baonan-Chinese example and the Chinese-Manchu chantefable is that (i) both of them use one language as the basic grammatical frame, and (ii) both of them serve as an exhibition or display of the speaker/author's mastery of the languages involved. The motivation for the exhibition of exceptional linguistic ability in the Manchu-Chinese case derives from its genre as a performing art. The show-off aims to impress the audience composed of the performers' fellow bannermen who are bilingual in Manchu and Chinese. The motivation for my native Baonan consultant, Habib, I believe, is his pride and his reputation as the most eloquent person among the Baonan people.

It is difficult to demonstrate the humorous effect of clever and judicious mixing of two languages in a bilingual communicative situation. One reason is that this kind of humor cannot be illustrated out of a real communicative context. I can only say that I was familiar with the practice while living in Southern China among bilingual speakers of Mandarin and Cantonese which are not mutually intelligible, and the most effective way of achieving humor in mixing language occurs when the speaker successfully integrates slang and traditional idiomatic expressions from one language into another. In the case of the chantefable "Eating Crab", humor and wit are clearly desirable because they add to the entertainment value of the performance. For example, the word, manzi 'barbarian', in (6) is an instance of slang, a derogatory reference to the Chinese.

While the preceding linguistic evidence clearly points to the conclusion that the bannerman author(s) and performer(s) of "Eating Crab" were bilingual speakers of Manchu and Mandarin Chinese, there is ample social and historical information to support the same conclusion on the bilingual abilities of the Manchu bannermen at the time the Youth Book originated.

The Youth Book represents a particular genre of performing art practiced and created by the Manchu bannermen. It originated in the Qianlong period (1735-1796), the reign of the fifth emperor of the Qing dynasty. By the time Qianlong ascended the throne, the Qing dynasty had been in existence for nearly one

century. It was a period of peace and stability in China. The bannermen would have to be third or fourth generation residents of Peking, most probably Peking-born and very likely the descendants of mixed marriages between Manchu soldiers and Chinese women. I have already pointed out that the bannermen, being elite members of the Manchu ruling class, had to be speakers of Manchu. It stands to reason that the third or fourth generation bannermen of Peking also must have had a native command of the local language, Mandarin Chinese. There is only one possible situation where a small group of settlers, after three or four generations, would not have acquired the language of a huge native population. This situation requires total segregation of the settlers from the native population so that the children of the settlers could be prevented from acquiring the language of the land. But the Manchus were far from being isolated from the native Chinese population. In fact, the children of the elite bannermen were probably brought up by Chinese maid-servants and wet-nurses following the traditional practice of the rich and aristocratic classes in most societies including the Chinese. It is also a matter of historical record that the number one Manchu of the land at the time, Emperor Qianlong, was not only bilingual in Manchu and Chinese, but also a celebrated Chinese calligrapher and a connoisseur of Chinese art and literature.

III. Sociological evidence

In Section I, I argued that there is no evidence supporting the claim that the Manchu bannermen created a Chinese pidgin language. 'No evidence', however, does not imply no possibility for the existence of a Chinese pidgin language created by the Manchu bannermen. What I will argue in this section is that even if a Chinese pidgin language were created by the Manchu bannermen at the beginning of the Qing dynasty, the sociological factors were so forceful that such a pidgin language could not have displaced the native language of the Han Chinese population in Peking, not to mention the Chinese dialects of the massive population of Han Chinese in all of North China. These sociological factors at the beginning of the Qing dynasty were:

(i) The order of magnitude of the Han Chinese population of Northern China was in the tens of millions, whereas the order of magnitude of Manchu bannermen was at most in the tens of thousands.

(ii) The Han Chinese population was spread over an enormous geographical region in Northern China, whereas the Manchu bannermen concentrated primarily in Peking.

(iii) The Han Chinese had a long literary tradition which served as an immensely powerful symbol with which the Han Chinese identified themselves.

(iv) The Manchus adopted the Chinese administrative bureaucracy including the Chinese examination system for advancement in officialdom, all of which, with the exception of

military affairs in the Court, were conducted in the Chinese language.

One may generalize that if the above sociological factors hold for a contact situation involving any two languages, one being the prestige language of a small population of conquerors and the other being the language of the masses, the language that is most likely to be displaced will be the prestige language, not the language of the masses. The obvious reason is that under these sociological circumstances, the pressure will be on the conquerors to adopt the language of the masses in order to facilitate governing the latter. Furthermore, the vast majority of the masses will never come into contact with the language of the conquerors, especially before the advent of mass communication and compulsory education of the modern age.

The conquest of the Han Chinese by the Manchus was not the only time a contact situation with the aforementioned sociological factors occurred. One notable precedent was the Yuan dynasty involving the Mongols as conquerors. The conquest of India by the Moguls constitutes a similar example. One can also cite the conquest of England by the Normans, although the sociological factors in the case of Norman conquest were not half as strong as those in the conquest of China by the Mongols and the Manchus. In all of these examples, however, the language of the conquerors was displaced by the language of the masses.

What we can safely conclude at this point is that even though we cannot rule out the possibility that a pidgin Chinese might have been developed by the Manchu people at the beginning of the Qing dynasty, such a hypothetical pidgin, if it existed, could not have displaced the language of the Han Chinese population in Northern China.

Finally, it is not clear that one could consider a hypothetical pidgin Chinese a prestige form of speech during the Qing Dynasty even if it were spoken by the Manchu bannermen. Given that Manchu was the prestige language, the speakers of this hypothetical pidgin language might very well feel that it was merely a makeshift device for communicating with their Han subordinates, and therefore, there was no prestige attached to it from the point of view of both its speakers and the Han Chinese.

There is no doubt that the prestige language of the rulers during the Qing Dynasty was Manchu. But even in the case of Manchu which is no longer a living language, its prestige and its association with the royal family did not prevent it from being displaced by the dialects spoken by a sea of Han Chinese. The reason is not the so-called 'assimilative power' of the Han civilization, which smacks of Han chauvinism. The reason rests in those sociological factors mentioned above.

IV. Conclusion

I have shown that there is no evidence that the Manchu bannermen created a pidgin Chinese language. I have also shown that the sociological situation in China was such that it would be highly unlikely that the language of the masses could be

displaced by the language of a relatively small population of conquerors. It is worth noting that while some of the specific claims of Hashimoto (1984) did not stand up to a careful scrutiny of the facts and the data, his overall claim that because of contact, modern Chinese dialects show a step-by-step typological gradation from north to south is correct and significant. In the north, Chinese dialects have been influenced by Altaic languages. In the south, Chinese dialects have been influenced by a great variety of languages. I would like to add to Hashimoto's thesis the observation that in western China, some Chinese dialects have been influenced by Tibetan languages.¹²

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Notes

1. For a survey of the languages of China, see Ramsey (1987). In addition to the multitude of spoken languages, China also has scores of different written languages. Some of those written languages survive only in historical records and documents, e.g. Tocharian, hP'ags-pa, Jurchen, Xi-Xia (Tangut), Khitan, etc.
2. The Qing dynasty was founded in 1636 by the Manchu people whose language belonged to the Tungusic branch of the Altaic family. This dynasty was overturned in 1911.
3. For detailed discussions of pidginization as well as the differences between pidgin and "foreign-talk", see Romaine (1988) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988).
4. Wadley translates zidi shu as 'Amateurs' Song'. 'Youth Book' is a more literary translation than 'Amateurs' Song'. But 'Amateurs' Song' is more indicative of the content of zidi shu than 'Youth Book'.
5. Stephen Wadley not only provided me with a copy of his manuscript on Zidi shu but also answered my questions on Manchu grammar. I am grateful to him for helping me to understand the Manchu components of "Eating Crab".
6. Subordination as well as tense and aspect are usually not found in pidgin.
7. The standard stress pattern of bisyllabic words in Mandarin Chinese places the main stress on the last non-neutral syllable (See Chao, 1968). In isolation neither syllable of haishi 'or' has a neutral tone and therefore, the main stress falls on the second syllable.
8. The use of the genitive particle to mark a manner adverbial phrase is a striking structural similarity between Manchu and Northern Mandarin Chinese which has not been noted in extant literature. It is worth pointing out that in Southern Chinese dialects, e.g. Cantonese, manner adverbials are unmarked. One may wish to hypothesize that contact might have a role in this structural similarity between Mandarin and Manchu. If contact were indeed responsible for this similarity, one would still have to establish the direction of borrowing: Did Mandarin borrow this structure from Manchu or vice versa? According to A. Peyraube (personal communication), the earliest attested use of de, the genitive particle, as a marker for manner adverbial phrase is found in Chinese texts from Tang dynasty, more than seven centuries before the Manchus founded the Qing dynasty. This would cast doubt on the conjecture that the direction of borrowing was from Manchu to Chinese.

9. Baonan, also known as Bao-an, is a member of the Mongolian language family. It has two branches. One is located in the town of Bao-an in southeastern Qinghai Province of China, the other is located in Linxia area in southern Gansu Province of China. The Baonan language of Qinghai Province has been heavily influenced by Amdo Tibetan, whereas the Baonan language of Gansu Province has borrowed extensively from Chinese in both lexicon and grammar since the late 19th century. The bilingual Baonan people referred to here are members of the Gansu Baonan population. For more information on Baonan, see Li (1987 and forthcoming).

10. Here I am in disagreement with Weinreich (1968) who claims:

"The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence. If he does include expressions from another language, he may mark them off explicitly as 'quotations' by quotation marks in writing and by special voice modifications (slight pause, change in tempo, and the like) in speech." (p.73)

There is ample data of recorded speech of bilinguals which show that they switch from one language to another, especially in lexicon, within a single sentence without any voice modifications.

11. For further discussion of Baonan word order and equational sentences, see Li (1983).

12. A recent manuscript by Motoki Nakajima (1989) presents evidence of Tibetanization of the Xia-he (Labrong) dialect of Gansu Province. Another highly Tibetanized language is Wutun, spoken in the vicinity of the town, Bao-an, located in southeast Qinghai province appears to be a creole whose lexical source language is a Wu dialect spoken by the military garrison stationed there in Ming Dynasty. Most of the women taken as wives by the soldiers were Amdo Tibetans. The primary substratum interference came from Amdo Tibetan.

SOCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING REFERENCE IN JAPANESE:
WITH A SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON ANO HITO¹

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1. Introduction

In Japanese, there are many referential forms which occur along a continuum from explicit to implicit reference. In this paper, we will be focusing on the social factors influencing the use of one particular form of reference, ano hito 'that person', but first we would like to give some background on the different referential forms along the continuum. The most explicit form of reference is a full noun phrase, and the most implicit is zero anaphora (or lack of mention). Example (1) shows a typical use of a full NP:²

- (1) M: Duumagoo tte yuu kafe ga aru no yo.
Duumagoo QUOT say cafe SUB exist NOM PTCL

M: There is a cafe called Duumagoo.

Because full NPs are most explicit, they are generally used to introduce referents into the discourse (initial mention). As example (1) shows, this use of a full NP is often accompanied by a modifier such as an adjective or a relative clause.

In Japanese, zero anaphora, which is ellipsis or the lack of mention of a referent, is the equivalent of pronominal reference in a language like English, and several researchers have pointed out that it is the unmarked form for post-initial mentions in Japanese (cf. Hinds and Hinds 1979; Clancy 1980; Downing 1986). In general, this type of reference is used for referents which have already been introduced and continue to be referred to in the discourse. Such referents tend to be the main characters. Example (2) shows how zero anaphora is used:

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²In the examples, '=' indicates lengthening, and '- ' indicates a truncated word. Some of the data have been slightly modified to make the examples more readable.

(2) K: atte tara yappari tanoshii wake=?
see if of course fun reason

C: maamaa.
so-so

K: fun=.
mhm

C: de atte nai to=,
and see not and

K: un.
mhm

C: aitai toka omou kedo= atcau to tsumannai.
see:want or think but see and boring

K: When (you) see (her), are (you), of course, happy?

C: So-so.

K: Mhm.

C: If (I) don't see (her),

K: Mhm.

C: (I) feel like seeing (her), but if (I) see (her), (it's)
boring.

As can be seen, in this stretch of consecutive clauses, all the reference is performed by zero anaphora.

In Japanese, there is another set of referential forms, demonstratives such as sono and ano plus a noun. The nouns used in this form are usually relatively empty semantically. Examples of such nouns are hito which means 'person' and ko which means 'child'. Hereafter this form will be referred to as simply "demonstrative + noun". Demonstratives can be used in two different ways: deictically and anaphorically. Deictic terms are pointers; thus they are used to refer to the immediate physical environment of the speech event. Deictically, sono is used to refer to an object or person which is physically closer to the hearer than to the speaker, and ano is used to refer to an object or person that is distant from both the speaker and the hearer. Anaphoric reference, on the other hand, is not connected with the physical environment, but refers back to a previously mentioned entity. Thus when they are used anaphorically, sono and ano are usually both translated as 'that'. These anaphoric demonstrative + noun forms may be considered to fall between full NPs and zero anaphora on the continuum because they are less explicit than full NPs, as was shown in (1), and more explicit than zero anaphora, as was shown in (2).

2. Previous Research

Though most of the previous research on reference in Japanese has focused on full NPs or zero anaphora, there are a few studies which have dealt with the anaphoric use of

demonstrative + noun. For example, Kuno (1973) has claimed that, anaphorically, ano is used when both the speaker and hearer personally know the referent, and sono is used when the speaker believes that the hearer does not know the referent or when the speaker does not know the referent. In our data, there are several counterexamples to Kuno's claim. In example (3), for instance, the speaker does personally know the referent; in fact, she is his girlfriend. The hearer, on the other hand, has not met her, yet the speaker still uses ano to refer to her:

(3) C: demo kane motte nee mon ano hito.
but money have not NOM that person

C: But (she) does not have money, that person.

Though Kuno's analysis may provide a partial explanation for some uses of demonstrative + noun, it cannot account for examples like (3). This may be partially due to the fact that his analysis was based primarily on intuitions about constructed sentences and not tested on discourse samples.

There are also studies which could be used to predict the behavior of demonstrative + noun. For example, Givon's (1983) quantitative study of topic continuity shows that "referential distance" (the number of clauses between mentions) and "interference" (the number of intervening referents) influence speakers' choice of referential forms. Givon's definition of a continuous topic is basically one that is referred to, either implicitly or explicitly, throughout the discourse with few intervening clauses or referents. The less continuous a topic, the more "coding material" the speaker will use to refer to it. Hinds' (1983) study, which supports Givon's theory, showed that there is a continuum between full NPs and zero anaphora in Japanese. Hinds did not specifically study the form demonstrative + noun, but Givon's theory would predict that this form falls between full NPs and zero anaphora in terms of topic continuity because it is less explicit than full NPs and more explicit than zero anaphora. Clancy (1982) has also suggested that these forms are intermediate between full NPs and zero anaphora.

There are several reasons that theories such as Givon's (1983) cannot provide a complete explanation for the form demonstrative + noun in our data. First, such theories are primarily based on narrative data. A typical narrative involves main characters which are mentioned repeatedly throughout the story; thus topic continuity is important in the development of a coherent storyline. In contrast, our data consist of conversations which is a different genre. Topic continuity may differ from one genre to another, a possibility which has yet to be explored. It follows that theories based on a different genre would not be able to explain the use of referential forms in our data.

Second, the factors considered in such theories are largely cognitive in that a particular referent will fade from the speaker's consciousness over time or when another referent

becomes the focus of attention. While there is no doubt that these factors have an effect on the speaker's choice of referential forms, an analysis based solely on cognition does not give us a complete understanding of the use of the form demonstrative + noun because there are many other factors which could influence how the speaker chooses referential forms. Some examples include the history of lexical choice within the text, the speaker's motivation for producing the text, and most important for this analysis, the speaker's relationship with the hearer and attitude toward the referent. Indeed, studies by Duranti (1984) and Lee (1989) support the hypothesis that social factors have an important influence on referential choice. Duranti found that "social meaning", or the speaker's feeling about the referent, was one of the most important factors influencing the speaker's choice of pronoun versus demonstrative in Italian conversations. Similarly, Lee found that the speaker's attitude toward the referent influenced his/her choice of demonstratives versus other referential forms in Korean conversations and letters. Our Japanese data also support these analyses.

3. Data

The data used in this study were taken from twelve transcripts of spontaneous informal conversations involving from two to five participants.

4. Analysis

In this paper, by qualitatively examining each discourse context, we intend to show that social factors are at least as important as cognitive factors in influencing the speaker's choice of referential forms. To achieve this aim, we will be focusing on ano hito 'that person', which is a particular token of the anaphoric demonstrative + noun form. The main reason we have chosen to focus on ano hito is because it is very frequent in Japanese discourse. Specifically, we will suggest that one of the functions of the anaphoric demonstratives is to signal the speaker's stance (or attitude) toward the referent. In other words, the use of ano hito indicates a social/emotional distance between the speaker and the referent.

There are several pieces of evidence which support the idea that a complete explanation of the functions of anaphoric demonstratives in Japanese must take social factors into account. First of all, consider example (4):

(4) H: iwayuru furui taipu no eigyoo- moo
so-called old type of sales:person EMPH

T: ne.
PTCL

H: tenkeitekina eigyooman da kara ano hito.
typical sales:person be because that person

T: honto yan nacchau ano hito.
really disgusted become that person

H: Because (he) is an old world sales-

T: Yeah.

H: typical sales person, that person.

T: (I'm) really tired of that person.

In this example, there are instances of ano hito occurring in sequential clauses without clear intervening referents. Based on the analyses of both Clancy (1982) and Givon (1983), we would expect zero anaphora in the last clause because the referent has just been mentioned in the preceding clause, and there are no clear intervening referents. However, the use of the more explicit ano hito in the last clause can be explained by the speakers' stance toward the referent. In the context of the conversation, the participants were complaining about a co-worker. Clancy (1980) has suggested that zero anaphora is usually used for referents that are repeatedly mentioned throughout the discourse, and often the speaker empathizes with such referents. On the other hand, a more explicit form is usually used for peripheral referents, which are not mentioned as often, and are less likely to receive the speaker's empathy. Duranti (1984) has also found that in Italian, less explicit mention indicates empathy. In our data, the use of ano hito clearly indicates a certain social/emotional distance and thus a lack of empathy between the speaker and the referent.

In example (5), the same speakers are criticizing another co-worker who was promoted even though he was not very productive within the company:

(5) T: datte ano hito sa= jisseki mo nanimo nai deshoo.
because that person PTCL records too anything not probably

H: un nanka sore o oowarai shite.
mhm somehow that OBJ laugh do

T: ano hito mo datte hontoni iikagen da kara na.
that person too because really irrespon be because PTCL
-sible

kekkoo katte da kara ne ano hito ne=.
quite selfish be because PTCL that person PTCL

- T: Because that person does not have much experience or anything.
 H: Mhm, (they) laughed about it a lot.
 T: Because that person is irresponsible. (He) is selfish, that person.

Again, ano hito is used in sequential clauses without clear intervening referents. The use of ano hito in this example appears to be explained again by social/emotional distance; speaker T is indicating his stance toward the referent by using ano hito. Theories based solely on cognitive factors cannot account for this example because they would predict the use of zero anaphora instead of the explicit form ano hito in the latter part of this example.

In example (6), two speakers are talking about their friend and his relationships:

- (6) S: jibun ni ii zairyuu shika hanasanai deshoo
 self for good material anything but tell:not probably

ano hito tte sa=
 that person PTCL PTCL

kyakkanteki ni mitara yappari sorya= are da
 objective in see:if of course then that be

to omou na=a=
 that think PTCL

- O: suki ga atta tte iwaretemo
 unguarded point OBJ had QUOT say:PASS:even

- S: ano hito ni wa soutou sekinin ga aru
 that person for TOP considerable responsibility OBJ have

to omou na=
 that think PTCL

- S: (He) doesn't tell (you) anything unless it's good for him, that person. If (you) look at (it) objectively, of course, (I) think that way.
 O: Even if (he) is said to be careless,
 S: (I) think that person has considerable responsibility (for this situation).

This example again illustrates the use of ano hito as the indicator of social/emotional distance. The reappearance of the more explicit form ano hito, in the last line, after the referent has been repeatedly referred to in the preceding clauses cannot be accounted for by theories based solely on cognitive factors.

One thing to notice in examples (4) through (6) is that ano hito is often expressed after the predicate. (4), above, contains a good example of this. It is widely accepted that Japanese word order is predicate final (though the relative order

of the subject and object may vary). Indeed, studies by Saeki (1975) and Seko (1982) have shown that Japanese is verb-final in the overwhelming majority of clauses. However, a recent study by Ono and Suzuki (1991) suggests that the placement of a linguistic item after the predicate may be a device to convey pragmatic information such as the speaker's stance because it places the item in a more marked position. Additionally, in Japanese, other affective and stance-marking forms such as evidentials and pragmatic particles occur in the post-predicate position. Thus it is interesting to note that many instances of ano hito in our data occur in the post-predicate position. This constitutes another piece of evidence for our analysis which says that the use of ano hito is socially motivated.

One may also notice that the clausal semantics and pragmatic context of many of the examples are similar in that they involve situations where the person referred to by ano hito is not liked or at least not respected by the speaker. (7) through (10) are other examples which illustrate this point:

- (7) K: de zettai kore wa ano hito wa nikunderu toka
and absolutely this TOP that person TOP hate QUOT
ttsuteta.
saying

K: (They) were saying that that person hates (them) for sure.

- (8) S: saikin hijooni ano hito nanka kodomoppoku miete
recently very that person somehow childish look
shouganain da yo ne.
can't help be PTCL PTCL

S: Recently (I) can't help seeing that person as somehow childish.

- (9) O: ano hito soo ne damatterarenaide jibun de icchatte
that person so PTCL keep quiet:can:not self by say:end up
sorede mawari ni kekkoku kekkyoku hinan
and surrounding by after all after all accuse
sarechautte iu kawasouna tachiba na no yo ne.
PASS:end up say poor position be NOM PTCL PTCL

O: That person is someone you feel sorry for, who ends up pouring his heart out (to anyone who will listen), so finally, (he) gets accused by (the people) around (him).

- (10) S: ironna koto shiteru janai ano hito=.
various thing doing is:not that person

S: (He) is doing all kinds of (immoral) things, isn't (he), that person?

All of these clauses express propositions that indicate some type of negative affect such as dislike, hate, or scorn. The co-occurrence of ano hito and this type of negative semantic/pragmatic context also supports our analysis of ano hito as an indicator of social/emotional distance.

It is, however, important to emphasize that although our examples so far have all involved negative affect, it is social distance which we think is central to the use of ano hito, not negative affect. Specifically, though the initial motivation for the use of ano hito in some cases may seem to be negative affect, we believe that the speaker's intention may be to indicate social distance. That is, depending on the speaker's emotional state s/he may choose to project an amount of social distance which does not exist in the real world. In other words, what's important is the social distance projected by the speaker not the actual situation in the real world. In such a situation, the speaker is claiming that the referent of ano hito, who has performed some disagreeable act, has nothing to do with the speaker. In other words, the referent is socially distant from the speaker. Since negative affect (or emotion) seems to trigger the use of ano hito as the indicator of social distance in many cases, we have chosen to use the term "social/emotional distance" throughout this paper.

The present analysis may be supported by such cases as the following which shows that negative affect is not a necessary feature which always co-occurs with ano hito; social distance is enough to trigger its use:

(11) H: "ja sore ja uchi wa dekimasen wa."
then that then we TOP can:not PTCL

T: u=n.
mhm

H: uchi no shachoo yu-
our of president say

T: ii ne=.
good PTCL

H: dakara ne= ano hito taishita mon da yo.
so PTCL that person great person be PTCL

H: "Then we can't take (the job),"

T: mhm.

H: our president said.

T: Good.

H: So that person is a great guy.

This example is clearly devoid of negative affect; in fact, the statement is quite positive. What accounts for the use of ano hito in this case is the huge social distance between the employees and the president within a Japanese company. The use of ano hito in this example may be seen as reflecting this

distance.

The last piece of evidence which supports the analysis of ano hito as an indicator of social/emotional distance comes from its distribution in our database. We have found that most instances of ano hito come from only a few transcripts; these particular transcripts share certain characteristics. Specifically, in one conversation, the speakers are talking about a man and his relationships; the speakers don't like him, or at least, they don't like what he has been doing. In another conversation, two co-workers are talking about other people in the company who they don't like (i.e., certain co-workers) or who are socially distant from them (i.e., the president of the company they work for). In a third conversation, the participants are talking about the interactions between their Japanese friends and a stuffy German professor. In this case, it seems as though racial prejudice and in-group/out-group alliances are involved. It is evident that these conversations primarily involve some type of conflict or confrontation between the speakers and the referents. We may thus suggest that the nature of the topics and the participants in these conversations is primarily responsible for the frequent occurrence of ano hito.

We have seen a number of examples which illustrate that the use of ano hito is socially motivated. It is interesting to notice that the anaphoric use of ano hito can be related to its deictic meaning because in the anaphoric use it signals relative distance from the speaker. The use of ano hito to index social/emotional distance can thus be explained as a metaphorical extension of its deictic use to refer to objects or people which are spatially distant from both the speaker and the hearer.

5. Summary

To sum up, this study has shown that the use of at least one form of reference in Japanese is socially motivated. Specifically, we have shown that the combination of the demonstrative ano plus a semantically empty noun hito is used when the speaker wants to express social/emotional distance from the referent. The present results suggest that analyses which focus primarily on cognitive factors can only give a partial explanation for how the system of reference within a language functions. It is thus necessary to take into consideration not only cognitive factors but also social factors in order to fully understand referential choice. It further demonstrates the importance of examining real discourse contexts before making conclusions about the structure of language.

LIST of ABBREVIATIONS

EMPH:	emphatic
NOM:	nominalizer
OBJ:	object marker
PASS:	passive
PTCL:	particle
QUOT:	quotation
SUB:	subject marker
TOP:	topic marker

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GRAMMATICIZATION OF VIEWPOINT: A Study of Japanese Deictic Supporting Verbs

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Introduction¹

Japanese has deictic directional supporting verbs *-ku-ru* and *-ik-u*², which are related in form and meaning to full verbs, *ku-ru* 'come' and *ik-u* 'go'. They are 'deictic' in the sense that the 'speaker's location' or contextual reference point is the essential ingredient of the description of the usage. Prototypically, *-ku-ru* is used for spatial movement toward the speaker's location (1a) and *-ik-u* is used for movement away from the speaker or from one non-speaker location to another non-speaker location, i.e., movement which is not toward the speaker's location (1b).

(1)

a. Boku-ga ue-ni i-tara minna-mo nobotte-ki/*it-ta.
I-SUBJ top-at be-when everyone-too climb-come/*go-PST

'While I was on the top, everyone climbed up there.'

b. Mary-wa okotte soto-ni tobidashite-*ki/it-ta
Mary-TOP getting angry outside-to run out-*come/go-PST

'Mary, getting angry, ran out.'

The function of the supporting verbs *-ku-ru* and *-ik-u* is not limited to indicating specific spatial directions involving the current location of the speaker. Rather, these supporting verbs are specifically reserved to express the speaker's empathy³. The purpose of this paper is to explicate the use of *-ku-ru* and *-ik-u* as a grammaticization of empathy.

Grammatical independence of the supporting verbs

The supporting verbs and the corresponding full verbs follow the same principle of usage, i.e., *ku-ru* for motion toward the speaker and *ik-u* otherwise. Given the fact that *ku-ru* and *ik-u* are, like deictic directional verbs in other languages (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980), often used metaphorically to express non-spatial concepts (see examples in (2)), it is tempting to consider the supporting verbs as metaphorically extended uses of the full verbs.

¹ The following abbreviations will be used in interlinear translations:

ACC=accusative; COMP=complementizer; COP=copula; GEN=genitive; NEG=negative;
NOMZR=nominalizer; NPST=non-past; PASS=passive; PST=past; SUBJ=subject;
TOP=topic.

² These verbs have the following morphemic variants: *ku-ru* {ku- ~ ki- ~ ko-}; *ik-u* {ik- ~ it-}. Also, they have social deictic variants: *ku-ru* (peer) – *irasshar-u/oideninar-u* (alter-raising) – *mair-u* (ego-lowering); *ik-u* (peer) – *irasshar-u/oideninar-u* (alter-raising) – *mair-u* (ego-lowering).

³ For the notion of 'empathy' in connection with various syntactic phenomena, see Kuno 1976, 1987; Kuno & Kaburaki 1977.

(2)

- a. Zenshin-ni furue-ga ki-ta.
whole body-to tremor-SUBJ come-PST

'My whole body started trembling.
(lit. Tremors came to my whole body.)'

- b. Kimi-no shoojoo-wa fudan-no undoobusoku-kara
you-GEN symptom-TOP everyday-GEN lack of exercise-from
kite-i-ru.
come-BE-NPST

'Your symptom comes from lack of exercise in daily life.'

However, the supporting verbs carry out different grammatical and semantic functions than those of the full verbs, and they should be considered as an independent grammatical device.

The full verbs appear in sentences either by themselves (3) or as main verbs in the serial verb construction (4). The supporting verbs appear only in the serial verb construction, and they are semantically dependent upon the main verb although they behave like main verbs grammatically, undergoing inflectional changes (5).

(3)

- a. John-wa kinoo daigaku-ni ki-ta.
John-TOP yesterday university-to come-PST

'John came to the university yesterday.'

- b. Mary-wa kinoo yama-ni it-ta.
Mary-TOP yesterday mountain-to go-PST

'Mary went to the mountains yesterday.'

(4) Serial verb construction (*full verb + full verb*)

• *conjunction of separate actions*

- a. Kare-wa takusan-no juuyoo-na shiryoo-o atsumete
he-TOP many important material-ACC collect
ki-ta.
come-PST

'He came with many important materials. (He collected many important materials and came.)'

- b. Dareka-ga kaban-o oite it-ta.
somebody-SUBJ bag-ACC put go-PST

'Somebody left a bag. (Somebody put down a bag and went.)'

• *conjunction of simultaneous actions*

- c. Hikooki-de-wa zutto nemutte ki-ta.
 airplane-on-TOP all the way sleep come-PST
 'I slept all the way on the plane.'
 (lit. I came sleeping all the way on the plane.)
- d. Inu-ga kanojo-no tokoro-ni shinbun-o
 dog-SUBJ she-GEN place-to newspaper-ACC
 kuwaete it-ta.
 hold in mouth go-PST
 'The dog went to her holding the paper in his mouth.'

(5) **Serial verb construction (full verb + supporting verb)**

- a. Mishiranu otoko-ga chikazuite-ki-ta.
 unacquainted man-SUBJ approach-come-PST
 'A man whom I don't know approached me.'
- b. Taikiosen-ga dondon hirogatte-it-ta.
 air pollution-SUBJ rapidly spreading-go-PST
 'The air pollution had spread (out).'

The distinction between supporting verbs and full verbs is especially crucial in constructions like (4) and (5) where these two are indistinguishable in terms of surface form. Semantically, *ku-ru* and *ik-u* in (4) contribute as much to the sentence meaning as in (3), but the semantic contribution of *-ku-ru* and *-ik-u* in (5) is limited or partial compared to that of their counterparts in (3). The supporting verbs only indicate the direction of movement, not the movement as a whole. The difference is clearly revealed in (6), where the first elements of the serial verb construction are converted into adverbial clauses, leaving *ku-ru* and *ik-u* as independent verbs. There is no problem in making *ku-ru* and *ik-u* in (4) independent verbs (exx. 6 a-d). In (5), on the other hand, treating the directional verbs as independent verbs will cause a semantic problem which is absent in (5) (exx. 6 e-f).

(6)

- a. Kare-wa takusan-no juuyoo-na shiryoo-o
 he-TOP many important materials-ACC
 atsumete-kara ki-ta.
 collect-after come-PST
 'He came after he collected many important materials.'
- b. Dareka-ga kaban-o oi-ta-mama it-ta.
 somebody-SUBJ bag-ACC put-PST-leaving as it is go-PST
 'Somebody went having put down his bag.'
- c. Hikooki-de-wa zutto nemuri-nagara ki-ta.
 airplane-on-TOP all the way sleep-while come-PST
 'I slept all the way on the plane.'

- d. Inu-ga kanojo-no tokoro-ni shinbun-o
 dog-SUBJ she-GEN place-to newspaper-ACC
 kuwae-nagara it-ta.
 hold in mouth-while go-PST
 'The dog went to her holding the newspaper in his mouth.'
- e. *Mishiranu otoko-ga chikazuki-nagara ki-ta.
 unacquainted man-SUBJ approach-while come-PST
 *(lit.) A man whom I don't know came approaching me.'
- f. *Taikiosen-ga dondon hirogari-nagara it-ta.
 air pollution-SUBJ rapidly spread-while go-PST
 *(lit.) The air pollution went spreading.'

Thus, the supporting verbs *ku-ru* and *ik-u* in (5) have different syntactic and semantic functions than the full verbs in (4). Only one semantic feature of the full verbs, i.e., deictic directionality, has been grammaticized in the supporting verbs. As grammatical markers, the supporting verbs carry the independent function of marking deictic directionality.

Factors grammaticized in -ku-ru and -ik-u

The supporting verbs *-ku-ru* and *-ik-u* are prototypically used for spatial directions in relation to the 'speaker's location' or 'deictic center' (cf. Levinson 1983). But the 'speaker's location' in the sense of the spatial point where the speaker is at the time of utterance does not explain all the uses of *-ku-ru* and *-ik-u*.

Non-spatial domains

The directionality expressed by the supporting verbs is not necessarily in the domain of space. It can also be within the domain of time (directionality in progression of time) or within the domain of events (directionality in progress of an event or situation). The contextual reference point for temporal directionality is the temporal point where the speaker situates himself.

(7)

a. *approaching the reference point*

Kore-made-wa hito-o shinji-naide ikite-ki-ta.
 now-until-TOP people-ACC without believing live-come-PST
 'Until now I have been living without believing in people.'

b. *departing from the reference point*

Kore-kara-wa hito-o shinjite ikite-ik-oo.
 now-from-TOP people-ACC believing live-go-VOLITIONAL
 'From now on I will live believing in people.'

Directionality in the domain of events is perceived as a progression (developing or fading away) of the event or situation. The contextual reference point is a certain stage of the situation where the speaker situates himself. The development of the situation toward the stage where the speaker is, or where the speaker's interest lies, is expressed with *-ku-ru*, and the progression of the situation beyond the speaker's control or interest, or the progression of the situation toward its end, are expressed by *-ik-u*.

(8)

• *emergence of the situation, feeling, effect, etc.*

- a. Choosa-ga susum-i kakus-are-ta
 investigation-SUBJ progress-and hide-PASS-PST
 jijitsu-ga akiraka-ni natte-ki-ta.
 facts-SUBJ clear-to become-come-PST

'The investigation progressed and hidden facts have been revealed.'

- b. Watashi-wa kanojo-ga kyuuni kawai-soo-ni
 I-TOP she-SUBJ suddenly pitiful-to
 natte-ki-ta.
 become-come-PST

'I suddenly came to feel sorry for her.'

- c. Chuusha-ga kiite-kite netsu-ga
 shot-SUBJ take effect-come fever-SUBJ
 sagari-hajime-ta.
 fall-start-PST

'The shot has taken effect and the fever has started falling.'

• *fadeaway, progression of the situation*

- d. Kizutsuita fune-wa shizukani shizunde-it-ta.
 damaged ship-TOP quietly sink-go-PST

'The damaged ship was quietly sinking (into the water).'

- e. Sono otoko-wa yami-no naka-ni kiete-it-ta.
 that man-TOP darkness-GEN middle-in disappear-go-PST

'That man disappeared into the darkness.'

• *feeling of being left, feeling of remote(detached) movement*

- f. Kare-wa shir-anai-uchi-ni toshi-o totte-it-ta.
 he-TOP know-NEG-middle-in age-ACC gain-go-PST

'He was getting older without realizing it.'

(lit. He was getting older while he was not aware of it.)

- g. Jookyoo-wa dondon kawatte-ik-u.
 situation-TOP rapidly change-go-NPST
 'The situation will change rapidly.'

Relativity of the deictic center

The notion of the 'speaker's location' as the contextual reference point is based on the spatial notion of the location of the speaker at coding time, but it must be understood in more abstract terms.

(9)

- a. Kare-wa boku-no rusu-ni uchi-ni tazunete ki-ta.
 he-TOP I-GEN absence-at house-to visit come-PST
 'He came visiting my house when I was out.'
- b. Kare-wa boku-ga shitte-iru hito-no tokoro-ni
 he-TOP I-SUBJ know-be person-GEN place-to
 tazunete ki-ta.
 visit come-PST
 'He came visiting the place of the person whom I know.'

The use of *-ku-ru* in (9) shows that any location is comparable to the 'speaker's location' to the extent that the speaker can transfer his viewpoint to the location. This freedom in designating a location as the 'speaker's location' suggests that what we are talking about is better considered as 'speaker's territory'⁴, rather than 'speaker's location' proper. Also it should be noted that the notion of 'speaker's territory' is not absolute but relative. For example, (9b) is possible only when the speaker feels somehow closer to the person who is designated as the goal. Whether the location can be the 'speaker's territory' correlates with 'relative transferability of viewpoint'.

The notion of 'speaker's territory' is further related to such feelings as 'controllability' or 'personal significance': what is within the speaker's territory is more controllable and the speaker feels more commitment to it. Thus, when the speaker feels that the situation is comparatively controllable (10 a-b) or significant to his interests (11 a-b), he tends to see the development of a situation as development toward the speaker, which is indicated by the use of *-ku-ru*. When the situation is beyond the speaker's control (10 c-d) and has less significance for the speaker (11 c-d), he is more apt to express the situation as developing 'away' from the speaker's domain, which is indicated by *-ik-u*.

⁴ The notion of 'speaker's territory' here should not be confused with Kamio's (1979) 'speaker's territory of information'. Although both involve the speaker's subjectivity, the 'speaker's territory' consists of spatial or psychological points which the speaker chooses to treat as 'his own location', whereas the 'speaker's territory of information' refers to a category of information to which the speaker inherently has privileged access, such as the speaker's own feelings.

(10) controllability

- *controllable*: in contexts where the speaker can anticipate the situation and/or thinks that the situation can be handled.

a. Kare-no byoojoo-wa dondon akkashite-kite-iru.
he-GEN condition-TOP rapidly get worse-come-be
'His condition is rapidly getting worse (as expected).'

b. Hanseifu undoo-wa hageshiku
anti-government movement-TOP intense
natte-ki-sooda.
become-come-appears to be
'The anti-government movement appears to be intensifying
(but it is still within the range what we expect and
can handle).'

- *uncontrollable*: in contexts where the speaker cannot anticipate the situation and/or sees the situation as beyond his control.

c. Kare-no byoojoo-wa dondon akkashite-itte-iru.
he-GEN condition-TOP rapidly get worse-go-be
'His condition is rapidly getting worse
(beyond our anticipation or against our wish).'

d. Hanseifu undoo-wa hageshiku
anti-government movement-TOP intense
natte-iki-sooda.
become-go-appears to be
'The anti-government movement appears to be intensifying
(but I have no idea how far it will go).'

e. Kare-wa subete watashi-o mushi-shite
he-TOP for everything I-ACC ignore
kimete-ik-u
decide-go-NPST
'He makes one decision after another ignoring me.'

(11) commitment, interest

- *personal commitment, interest*: in contexts where the situation has some relevance or significance to the speaker or the person the speaker is empathizing with.

a. Kuraku natte-ki-tara akari-o tsuke-nasai-ne.
dark become-come-when light-ACC turn on-IMPER
'When it gets dark (for you), turn on the light.'

b. Mono-ga takaku natte-ki-tara (watashi-tachi)
 thing-SUBJ expensive become-come-when we [INC]
 minna-ga komar-u.
 everybody be in trouble-NPST

'If things become expensive, all of us will be in trouble.'

- *impersonal, detached observation*: in contexts where the situation does not have particular relevance or significance to the speaker or the person the speaker is empathizing with.

c. Hi-ga shizumi atari-wa shidaini kuraku
 sun-SUBJ setting around here-TOP gradually dark
 natte-ik-u.
 become-go-NPST

'The sun set and it is gradually getting dark around here.'

d. Mono-ga takaku natte-it-tara (hoka-no)
 thing-SUBJ expensive become-go-when other
 minna-ga komar-u.
 everybody-SUBJ be in trouble-NPST

'If things become expensive, other people will be in trouble (but not I).'

e. Kare-no shin'yoo-ga nakunatte-itte-mo
 he-GEN trust-SUBJ be lost-go-even if
 watashi-ni-wa kankei-nai.
 I-to-TOP relevance-not exist

'Even if people's trust in him disappears, it doesn't matter to me.'

What is within the speaker's territory is also more vivid and evokes more subjective feeling compared with something outside this territory. Thus, *-ku-ru* is associated with more subjective and vivid feeling, and *-ik-u* with a more objective or observational attitude, as in story-telling or reporting.

(12)

- *subjectivity, vividness*

a. Ashi-no itami-ga dandan hageshiku natte-ki-ta.
 leg-GEN pain-SUBJ gradually intense become-come-PST

'The pain in the (usu. my) leg has become worse.'

b. Kare-no inshoo-wa kyuu-ni yoku natte-ki-ta.
he-GEN image-TOP suddenly good become-come-PST

'His image suddenly got better
(usu. in the speaker's mind).'

• *objectivity*

c. Ashi-no itami-ga dandan hageshiku natte-it-ta.
leg-GEN pain-SUBJ gradually intense become-go-PST

'The pain in the (usu. other person's) leg has become worse.'

d. Kare-no inshoo-wa kyuu-ni yoku natte-it-ta.
he-GEN image-TOP suddenly good become-go-PST

'His image suddenly got better
(usu. in other person's mind).'

An event which develops toward a favorable result tends to be expressed with *-ku-ru* as development toward the speaker's territory. People allow a closer location for what they accept or feel close to. In accepting the situation into his own territory, one has an accepting or approving feeling toward it. On the other hand, an unaccepted or unapproved situation is not allowed to 'develop closer' and is associated with *-ik-u*.

(13)

• *accepting feeling toward the situation*

a. Kare-wa sonkei-dekiru ningen-ni natte-ki-ta.
he-TOP respect-able person-to become-come-PST

'He has become a respectable person.'

b. Ongaku-mo kawatte-kuru-to omo-u
music-also change-come-COMP think-NPST

'I think the music, too, will change (into a favorable kind).'

• *unaccepting feeling*

c. Kare-ga kudaranai ningen-ni natte-iku-no-wa
he-SUBJ worthless person-to become-go-NOMZR-TOP

zannen-da.
pitiful-COP

'It is a pity that he is becoming a worthless person.'

d. Ongaku-mo kawatte-ik-u.
music-also change-go-NPST

'(Good old) music will also change (into something foreign).'

The concept of the 'speaker's territory' can also be generalized into 'one's own territory', and designates the most expected or 'normal state' (cf. Clark 1974) of the

focused entity or situation. Thus, *-ku-ru* marks a change toward normal states of being or a return from abnormal states of being, and *-ik-u* is a departure from the normal state.

(14)

• *toward normal states*

- a. Ashita-wa futsuu-no kion-ni-made
 tomorrow-TOP ordinary-GEN temperature-to-up to
 sagatte-kuru-rashii.
 fall-come-hearsay
 'I heard the temperature is coming down to normal tomorrow.'
- b. Kare-mo yatto ichininmae-ni natte-ki-ta.
 he-also at last maturity-to become-come-PST
 'At last he has become a mature man.'

• *away from normal states*

- c. Taroo-wa fukai nemuri-ni ochite-it-ta.
 TOP deep sleep-to fall-go-PST
 'Taroo fell into a deep sleep.'
- d. Kare-wa aku-no michi-ni haitte-it-ta.
 he-TOP evil-GEN path-to enter-go-PST
 'He took the wrong path.
 (lit. He went into the evil path).'

The 'normal state' is a relative notion and is determined on the basis of social expectations. The inward directional verb *-ku-ru* in (14 a–b) expresses a change of state toward the expected state ((a) the ordinary temperature for that particular time of the year, or (b) a person with the socially expected degree of responsibility), while *-ik-u* (cf. 14 c–d) indicates the change is otherwise ((c) toward deep sleep (rather than normal conscious state), or (d) toward evil (rather than the path of righteousness)).

Note that it is not always clear which of the above factors motivate use of *-ku-ru* and *-ik-u* in a particular case. In many cases, these factors compete with each other in motivating one supporting verb over the other.

(15)

a. *temporal directionality vs. normal state*

Takashi-wa konogoro ki-ga hen-ni
 TOP recently mind-SUBJ strange-to
 natte-ki-ta-mitai-da.
 become-come-PST-seem-COP
 'Takashi's mind seems to have become strange.'

b. *temporal directionality vs. controllability*

Kodomo-ga te-ni oe-naku-natte-ki-ta.
 child-SUBJ hand-in can carry-NEG-become-come-PST
 'My child has become hard to deal with.'

c. *subjectivity vs. normal state*

Ashi-no kankaku-ga naku-natte-ki-ta.
legs-GEN sense-SUBJ non-existent-become-come-PST
'My legs got numb.
(lit. The sensation in my legs has become non-existent).'

In (15), of two possible factors, the first one has determined the choice of a deictic supporting verb. I will not get into the detail discussion in this paper on how the conflict between the factors is resolved.

The association of emotional perspectives with deictic directional verbs is not peculiar to Japanese. It can be observed also in English (Clark 1974). Clark observes that English *come* and *go*, when used metaphorically to refer to change of state, express directionality in terms of a 'normal state' and evaluative viewpoint. According to Clark, *come* is used for a change of state toward a 'normal state' or an approved end state (16 a–b, 17 a–b). On the other hand, *go* is used for change toward an abnormal state or an unapproved end state (16 c–d, 17 c–d).

(16) *Normal State* (from Clark 1974: 320)

• *toward a normal state*

- a. They quickly came/*went back to their senses.
- b. The motor came/*went to life again.

• *toward an abnormal state*

- c. He *came/went out of his mind.
- d. The motor *came/went dead.

(17) *Approved State* (from Clark 1974: 326–328)

• *toward an approved state*

- a. The plane came down (safely) near the lake.

• *toward states other than an approved state*

- b. The plane went down near the lake.

The crucial difference between this metaphorically extended use of deictic verbs in English and Japanese deictic supporting verbs lies in productivity. Japanese supporting verbs can be used far more freely and consistently than the English counterparts. This difference in distribution reinforces the view that *-ku-ru* and *-ik-u* are specialized grammatical devices rather than metaphorical extensions of the full verbs.

Core function of the deictic supporting verbs

The supporting verbs *-ku-ru* and *-ik-u* are, as we have seen, used to express more than just deictic direction with respect to a spatial reference point. Directionality can be seen in a great variety of domains. And the variety of situations which constitute the reference point is so extensive that a simple list of situations cannot exhaust all possibilities. Furthermore, judgements of where the reference point is can be totally different depending on the speaker's focus or attention. This strongly suggests that the reference point is not inherent in the situation-of-utterance; rather, a particular reference point is chosen as a reference point as the result of the maximum empathy in the speaker's mind based on his/her judgement about the context. Accordingly, *-ku-ru* is used to express direction of change or development toward the point with which the speaker has the greatest empathy,

and *-ik-u* expresses direction of change or development which does not lead to the focus of maximum empathy. Japanese directional supporting verbs function as grammatical devices which encode the peak of empathy in the speaker's mind.

Conclusion

In the present paper, I have attempted to explicate the function of the deictic directional supporting verbs, *-ku-ru* and *-ik-u*. Although the supporting verbs are semantically and probably historically related to the full verbs, they now have an independent status and function in Japanese grammar. This conclusion is supported by the facts that the variety of domains associated with the supporting verbs is very great (space, time, emotion) and that they are used productively. The deictic supporting verbs are used to indicate differences in subjective perspective. The distinction encoded by the deictic supporting verbs is represented by the spatial distinction between *coming*-direction and *going*-direction, but a full account of their usage is possible only by incorporating the notion of peak of empathy. Japanese deictic supporting verbs are a grammaticization of distinct subjective viewpoint based on the speaker's peak of empathy.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF CHINESE CLASSIFIERS*

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0. Introduction

A classifier (CL) is a word that theoretically 'must occur with a number and/or a demonstrative before a noun' (Li & Thompson, 1981):

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. 一本书 | 这本书 |
| yi ben shu | zhei ben shu |
| one - CL - book | this - CL - book |
| One book | This book |

For purposes of diachronic analysis, it will be useful and desirable to distinguish classifiers from measure words (MW), which are usually also considered as CL. Thus, the following distinction made by Tai & Wang (1990), Tai (1990) will be adopted: 'A classifier categorizes a class of nouns by picking out some salient perceptual properties, either physically- or functionally-based, which are permanently associated with the entities named by the class of nouns; a measure word does not categorize but denotes the quantity of the entity named by a noun' ¹.

These MW can indicate 1) standards for length, weight, volume and area; 2) aggregates; 3) containers ². They all are probably language universals, while the CL are not. CL exist not only in Chinese, of course, but also in many East-Asian languages, both Sino-Tibetan and non-Sino-Tibetan, but they have no equivalents in Indo-European languages.

When did Chinese CL appear? Did they appear in Early Archaic Chinese (11th-6th c. B.C.) or even in Pre-Archaic Chinese (14th-11th c. B.C.) as Dobson (1962), Huang Zaijun (1964), Greenberg (1975) - whose account is based on Dobson -, Pan Yunzhong (1982) and others think? Or did they only begin to appear under the Late Archaic period (5th-3rd c. B.C.) as is supposed by Wang Li (1958) or Ōta Tatsuo (1958)? I will present evidence for asserting that real CL appear not early than the Han times (2nd c. B.C.-3rd c. A.D.) or even later in Early Medieval Chinese, i.e. between the 3rd and the 6th c. A.D., and that they became prominent under the Late Medieval period, 7th-13th c. A.D.

It is generally accepted that there has been in Chinese a word order change of the CL/MW from a post-nominal position to a pre-nominal one:

2. Noun + Numeral + CL/MW > Num + CL/MW + N.

When did this change occur and why, or at least how? This is the second question I will try to answer after having analyzed (and presenting some statistical figures of the various occurrences) the following seven structures which are attested through the different stages of Chinese, from the Pre-Archaic period to the Late Medieval

period: A. Num + Noun, B. Noun + Num, C. Noun1 + Num + Noun2, D. Noun + Num + MW, E. Noun + Num + CL, F. Num + MW + Noun, G. Num + CL + Noun.

Finally, I will assume in the conclusion, in agreement with Erbaugh (1986) that the noun classifier system might be borrowed from Southeast Asian languages, probably Tai languages.

1. Pre-Archaic Chinese, 14th-11th c. B.C.

In Pre-Archaic Chinese, i.e. in the oracle bone inscriptions, the four following patterns A, B, C, D are used for expressing the quantification of the nouns.

A. Num + Noun

This is by far the most common pattern and it is also probably the oldest one, as Huang Zaijun (1964) points out³. Djamouri (1988) has found 871 instances of this order out of 1886 utterances (i.e. 46.18%) involving a NP quantified by a number. Most of the time, the NP is in an object position, thus following a verb.

3. 出一牛祖乙⁴

sacrifice - one - bovine - Ancestor - Yi
(One should) sacrifice one bovine animal to Ancestor Yi.

B. Noun + Num

This order, though less common than A is also widely used: 324 instances out of 1886 (i.e. 17.17%), also used mainly in an object position⁵:

4. 隻虎一鹿卅狐一百六十四麋一百五十九

capture - tiger - one - stag - thirty - fox - one - hundred - six - ten - four - deer - one - hundred - five - ten - nine
(We) captured one tiger, thirty stags, one hundred and sixty-four foxes and one hundred and fifty-nine deers.

Is there any difference between the two orders A and B? Probably not. Takashima (1984-1985) hypothesizes that the "Num + N" is more likely to be used when the noun conveys old information and the numeral new information, but this discourse-level distinction is hard to maintain in many cases where the two orders successively appear in the same sentence, as in:

5. 卅卅罍三三絲

millet wine - thirty - thirty - penned bovine - captive - three - three - silk

Thirty (vases of) wine, thirty penned bovine, three captives (and) three (rolls of) silk.

In fact we often find, as in 5, the two opposite orders successively following each other.

C. Noun1 + Num + Noun2

This pattern is not as common as the forms A and B, but it is also quite widespread. E.g.:

6. 羌十人

Qiang - ten - people
Ten Qiang.

7. 伐一百羌

human victim - one - hundred - Qiang
One hundred Qiang victims.

Here, the numeral determines the N2, and not the N1. It is indeed possible for an extra element X to be inserted between N1 and Num but not between Num and N2. Thus, it might be accurate to derive pattern B "N + Num" from pattern C after deleting the N2 ⁶.

Sometimes, the N2 is equivalent to the N1, as in:

8. 人十出六人

people - ten - and - six - people

Sixteen people.

9. 予于大甲羌一百羌印一牢

sacrifice- to - Dajia - Qiang - one - hundred - Qiang -
immolate - one - penned bovine

(We will) sacrifice one hundred Qiang to Dajia and immolate a
penned bovine (for him).

Some linguists (Hashimoto 1977, Yau 1986) have argued that the N2 in this C-pattern must be considered not as a noun but as a classifier. They call it echo-classifier, as the same phenomenon exists in Tibeto-Burman languages like Hani, Lahu, Jingpo, Naxi, etc., where the (echo-)classifiers are simply the repetition of the N followed by the number. E.g.:

10. tshoŋ tʰhiŋ tshoŋ (Hani) ⁷

man - one - man

One man.

11. qhâ? ni qhâ? (Lahu) ⁸

village - two - village

Two villages.

However, when the noun is disyllabic, the CL only consists of a partial repetition of the noun, as in:

12. aŋkhwŋ tʰhiŋ khwŋ (Hani)

foot - one - CL

One foot.

13. šú-lè? tē lè? (Lahu)

cigarette - one - CL

One cigarette.

As for the Pre-Archaic Chinese, there is no such situation. Moreover, there are only very few nouns (three, according to Djamouri, 1988) which can be used as N2 as well as N1 in the pattern "N1 + Num + N2". Thus, it will be preferable to consider that the items occurring in N2 position are nouns, as they are in N1 position, and not echo-classifiers.

D. Noun + Num + Measure Word

This pattern is not different from C, as the MW are nouns. Very few MW are attested in the oracle bone inscriptions, probably fewer than ten. E.g.:

14. 鬯六缶

millet wine - six - you

Six you of wine.

You is a noun expressing a container for measuring liquid (wine), as sheng 升 is (see e.g. 17), one you being smaller than one sheng. Yet, you is also a noun meaning "vase", as in:

15. 匚 匚 王 受 又

be - vase - king - receive - assistance
(If it) were a vase, the king would receive assistance (from the gods).

Other examples of the D-pattern:

16. 貝 廿 朋

shell - twenty - coupled string (which was probably a money unit)

Twenty coupled strings of shells⁹.

17. 新 鬯 二 升 一 卣

new - wine - two - sheng - one - you

Two sheng and one you-ful of new aromatic wine.

When a MW is involved in a NP quantified by a number, the order is always the one in D and never the one in F (i.e. "Num + MW + N"). Lastly, neither of the patterns E ("N + Num + CL") or G ("Num + CL + N") is attested in Pre-Archaic Chinese. Wang Li (1958) is right when he asserts that individual classifiers do not exist in the language of the oracle bone inscriptions.

Some linguists like Chen Mengjia (1956), Guan Xiechu (1953), Huang Zaijun (1964), etc. do not agree with Wang Li and claim that individual classifiers do exist. If we exclude from their lists the MW and the so-called "echo-classifiers", which are nouns, the only example they cite which could be analyzed as a CL is bing 丙, as in:

18. 马 五 十 丙

horse - five - ten - bing

Fifty horses.

19. 车 二 丙

carriage - two - bing

Two carriages.

However, bing should rather be considered as a noun and may be a MW, for its meaning is "a set of horses" (Djamouri 1988, Wang Li 1958).

2. Early Archaic Chinese, 11th-6th c. B.C.

The situation in Early Archaic Chinese is not very different from that of the Pre-Archaic period. The four patterns A, B, C, D are all attested. A is still by far the most common one while B is much less used. So is the C-form though we still have the two possibilities of the N2 being different from the N1 (e.g. 20) and the N2 being the same as the N1 (e.g. 21):

20. 子 七 人 (诗经:邶风)

son - seven - people

Seven sons.

21. 牛 三 百 五 十 五 牛 羊 卅 八 羊 (金文, cited in Pan Yunzhong, 1982)

ox - three - hundred - five - ten - five - ox - sheep - thirty - eight - sheep

Three hundred and fifty-five oxen and thirty-eight sheep.

The D-form is more frequent than in Pre-Archaic Chinese. Some forty MW are now found in the "N + Num + MW" pattern, like li 里, cun 寸 for measures of length, dou 斗 or yi 亿 for containers,

etc., which are new:

22. 朱三百亿 (诗:魏风)
grain - three - hundred - yi
Three hundred yi of grain.

As was the case for the Pre-Archaic period, some linguists (Huang 1964, Guan 1981) also think there are some occurrences of "N + Num + CL" (i.e. form E) in Early Archaic Chinese. If we exclude the instances they give which involve a MW or an "echo-classifier" - both nouns and not CL -, they also cite two words pi 匹 and liang 两 which indeed could be possibly interpreted as CL, as in:

23. 马四匹 (尚书:文侯之命)
horse - four - pi
Four horses.
24. 车三百两 (尚:书序)
chariot - three - hundred - liang
Three hundred chariots.

However, liang is probably not a CL because it still has a full lexical meaning, "two wheeled-chariot" ¹⁰; in the same way, pi could mean "a set of horses" (like bing in the Pre-Archaic period) or more likely "single, ordinary (horse)". Anyway, the number of occurrences of liang and pi are too low (there are only very few and scattered examples, the rule still being to have a number immediately followed by the nouns "horse" or "chariot") to allow us to claim that CL already exist during the Early Archaic period.

Lastly, there is no F-form and only one instance of a sentence which could be interpreted as a G-form:

25. 若有一介臣 (尚:秦誓)
if - have - one - CL - servant
If (I) had a servant...

This single example, out of thousands of "Num + N" quantified NP should be, of course, better considered as an interpolated passage, especially when we know that this G-pattern will still not be found in Late Archaic Chinese ¹¹.

Thus, we can conclude that the CL have not yet appeared. There are nonetheless more and more MW, used in pattern D.

3. Late Archaic Chinese, 5th-3rd c. B.C.

In Late Archaic Chinese, which is the Classical language par excellence, the A-pattern is still the most common one and B is becoming rarer and rarer ¹². C also tends to disappear. There are henceforth only some examples with ren 人 'people' in the N2 position, as in:

26. 女五人 (左传:僖二十三)
women - five - people
Five women.

On the other hand, the D-pattern is growing in importance. Numerous new MW are used, for length, weight, military units, surface area, containers, etc. ¹³. For example:

27. 陈文子有马十乘 (论语:公治长)
Chen Wenzi - have - horse - ten - a team of four
Chen Wenzi has ten teams of four horses.

But the most interesting for this Late Archaic period is undeniably the appearance of the F-form which did not exist in Early Archaic. E.g.:

28. 犹以一杯水救一车薪之火也 (孟子:告子上)
be like - with - one - glass - water - rescue - one - cart -
firewood - determinative particle - fire
It is like fighting a fire of a cart-full of firewood with
one glass of water.
29. 与之一筐珠 (左:哀二十)
give - him - one - basket - pearl
(He) gave him a basket of pearls.
30. 一筐食一瓢饮 (论:雍也)
one - basket - food - one - bowl - drink
One basket of food, one bowl of drink.

This form is not yet found with all the MW (we have no example with MW of length, surface area or volume), but it is quite widespread with the MW which are containers and is attested too with the ones which indicate weight, as in:

31. 一鼓铁 (左:昭二十九)
one - gu - iron
One gu of iron.

[One gu was 480 jin 斤 (pounds)].

32. 杀一牛取一豆肉 (韩非子:外储说右上)
kill - one - ox - take - one - dou (bushel?) - meat
(Whenever he) kills one ox, (he) takes (only) one dou of the
(beef) meat.

Although the D-form is still largely predominant, the occurrences of the F-form are far from being rare. Thus, it seems reasonable to date the appearance of pre-nominal MW and the change in 33 in the Late Archaic period:

33. Noun + Num + MW > Num + MW + Noun.

Why did such a change occur? It is difficult to answer this question, but if we admit - and there is much evidence for it - that Chinese has always been a language in which the modifier precedes the head in a NP¹⁴, we can assume that the "Num + MW" phrase has been moved to a pre-nominal position to comply with this order. Why then was the "Num + MW" phrase in a post-nominal position in Pre-Archaic and Early Archaic Chinese? It is because the "Num + MW" phrase of pattern D was probably not a modifier of the preceding noun. This pattern D is not different from pattern C "Noun1 + Num + Noun2", where the number is simply a modifier of the N2 and where "Num + N2" is not at all a modifier of the N1 but a predicate, as supposed by Ota (1958). The gradual disappearance of pattern C has provoked a reanalysis of pattern D: Num + MW has been reanalyzed as a modifier of the preceding noun, and the word order change D > F has thus naturally followed. This word order change has nevertheless not been obligatory, since the D-pattern is still used widely and the two orders will co-occur during a long period of time.

There would have been an intermediary stage between the two orders: 'Num + MW + determinative particle zhi 之 + N', as Pan Yunzhong (1982) supposes. E.g.:

34. 百亩之田 (孟:梁惠王.上)
 hundred - mu (acre?) - det. part. - field
 A hundred mu of field.
35. 以百里之地立为天子 (韩:燕却弑臣)
 with - hundred - li - det. part. - territory - rise - become
 - Heaven - Son
 (He) rose from one hundred (square) li of territory (to)
 become Son of Heaven.

However, it seems to me rash to hypothesize such an intermediate stage between D and F, for 34 and 35 are not different from 36-38 below, where the word following the number is not a special noun MW but a common noun and where the structure is "[Num+N1]NP + det. part. + N2":

36. 万乘之国 (孟:梁惠王.上)
 ten thousand - chariot - det. part. - state
 A state of ten thousand chariots (and not, of course, "ten thousand states").
37. 千室之邑 (论:公冶长)
 thousand - family - det. part. - small town
 A small town of thousand families (and not "a thousand small towns").
38. 用六马之足
 utilize - six - horse - det. part. - leg
 Utilize the legs of six horses.

Thus, 34 and 35 should respectively be understood rather as "a field of a hundred mu" and "a territory of a hundred (square)li".

Lastly, we will admit that there is no E-form nor G-form, i.e. there are no real CL under the Late Archaic period. This statement is obviously contrary to the opinion of most linguists who generally accept that the E-form, if not the G-form, already exists at that time, in addition to which some of them make a strong distinction between the MW, which could be either post-nominal (D) or pre-nominal (F), and the CL, which were always post-nominal (E) and never pre-nominal (G). See for instance Wang Li 1958, Ōta 1958, Huang 1961, etc.

The "classifiers" usually cited in such a E-form are: pi 匹 (for horse), liang 两 (for chariot), zhang 张 (for tent) or even ge 个 (for arrow)¹⁵. However, available examples are very rare. If we look at the following books, Lun yu, Meng zi, Xunzi, Zuo zhuan and Han Feizi - which best represent the Late Archaic period - we find only one occurrence of zhang, one of ge, one of liang, and several cases of pi, all in the Zuo zhuan. However, these occurrences are not certain to be CL. E.g.:

39. 子产以帷幕九张行 (左:昭十三)
 Zichan - with - big tent - small tent - nine - CL - go away
 Zichan went away with nine big and small tents.

In this example, zhang could also be interpreted as a verb "to set up" and the sentence would be "Zichan went away with nine tents to be set up". This interpretation - which is probably the one chosen by Couvreur (1914): "Zichan partit avec des tentures et des baldaquins pour dresser neuf tentes" - seems to me better. As Liu Shiru (1961) notices, it would be odd to have the first occurrence

of the CL zhang used with "tent" and not with "bow", because the original meaning of zhang is "to stretch a bow" and zhang had been commonly used then as a CL for bows a long time before it was used with tents or other objects.

40. 负矢五十个 (荀子: 议兵)

carry on the back - arrow - fifty - ten - CL

He carries on the back fifty arrows.

In this example 40, ge could also have its full lexical meaning "bamboo stem" as arrows are made from bamboo. Ge is to be used later as a general CL, after being used for counting bamboo sticks.

41. 革车三百两 (孟: 尽心下)

leather - chariot - three - hundred - CL

Three hundred leather-covered chariots.

Here too, liang could still have its full lexical meaning "two-wheeled chariot" and the structure would then be that of pattern C.

42. 皆赐玉五鼓马三匹 (左: 庄十八)

all - offer - precious stone - five - pair - horse - three - CL

He offered them all five pairs of precious stones (and) three horses.

There are five cases of pi with a numeral and ma 马 "horse", all in the Zuo zhuan, four of which being in the same passage (chapter zhao. 6) ¹⁶.

It is not impossible either that pi still has a full lexical meaning "single, ordinary", as the following example, where pi is not following a number and is obviously a noun or an adjective, seems to confirm:

43. 匹马隻轮无及者 (左: 僖三)

single - horse - single - wheel - negation - oppose - that which

Not one single horse nor a single wheel was against (him).

In any case, these "classifiers" cited above all have controversial interpretations. Moreover, there are very few occurrences, out of hundreds of quantified NP involving numbers immediately followed by the nouns "tent", "arrow", "chariot", "horse", etc. without anything between the number and the noun. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the CL have not yet appeared in the Late Archaic period.

4. Pre-Medieval (Han) Chinese, 2nd c. B.C.- 3rd c. A.D.

In Pre-Medieval Chinese, the A-pattern (e.g. 44) is still the most current one and B (e.g. 45) is by now very rare:

44. 以二女妻舜 (史记: 五帝本纪)

object marker - two - daughter - marry - Shun

(He) married (his) two daughters to Shun.

45. 骑数百 (史: 高祖本纪)

horseman - several - hundred

Several hundred horsemen.

Form C has almost disappeared, except in some instances where the N2 is the noun ren "people", as in:

46. 分予文君僮百人 (史:司马相如列传)
 distribute - give - Wenjun - slave - hundred - people
 (He) distributed a hundred slaves to Wenjun.
 The pattern D is still attested, as in:
 47. 献白璧一双...孔雀二双 (汉书:南粤王赵佗传)
 offer - white - jade - one - pair - peacock - two - pair
 (He) offered one pair of white jade, ... (and) two pairs of peacocks.

However, since the change occurred in Late Archaic Chinese from D ("N + Num + MW") to F ("Num + CL + N"), the F-pattern gradually supersedes the form D which becomes quite obsolete. The normal position of a MW in a NP now seems to be between the numeral and the noun, i.e. before the noun. Examples of F:

48. 则幸分我一椀羹 (史:项羽本纪)
 then - fortunately - distribute - I - one - bowl - soup
 Then (he) fortunately gave me a bowl of soup.
 49. 一尺布尚可缝 一斗粟尚可舂 (史:淮南衡山列传)
 one - chi - cotton - still - can - sew - one - dou - grain - still - can - pound
 One chi of cotton could still be sewn, one dou of grain still could be pounded.

But the most important question for this Pre-Medieval period is certainly the following: do the individual CL, either in the E-form ("N + Num + CL") or in the G-form ("Num + CL + N") already exist? Scholars agree that they do, at least for the structure with a post-nominal CL, and this seems to be the case if we look at the following examples, which involve not only liang or pi:

50. 骑马三匹 (史:匈奴列传)
 ride - horse - three - CL
 Ride three horses.
 51. 羊万头 (史:货殖列传)
 sheep - ten thousands - CL
 Ten thousands sheep.
 52. 牛车千两 (史:冬)
 ox - chariot - thousand - CL
 A thousand ox-driven chariots.
 53. 竹竿万个 (史:冬)
 bamboo - stick - ten thousand - CL
 Ten thousand bamboo sticks.
 54. 弓一张 矢四发 (汉:匈奴传)
 bow - one - CL - arrow - four - CL
 One bow (and) four arrows.

It would be hard, by this time, to claim that pi 匹, liang 两, ge 个, or zhang 张 still retain their original meaning and are not CL¹⁷, even if we can find examples like 55, where pi is a subject and consequently a noun in the second half of the sentence:

55. 马三匹 匹二吏 (居简引页)
 horse - three - pi - pi - two - officer
 Three individual (?) horses, each one for two officers.

However, these cases involving CL are rare, though a little more frequent than in Late Archaic Chinese. Usually, the number is still directly followed by the noun without any CL. From the scarcity of

such CL, one could legitimately ask if these scattered examples are not simply interpolated passages. The answer is apparently negative if we look at the list of CL found in Han bamboo strips given by Huang Shengzhang (1961). Relating to this, Huang puts forward an interesting hypothesis according to which, in Han times, there are probably many more CL in the spoken language than in the written texts, the only documents available to us. He then concludes that the quantified NP occur without CL in the written language but with CL in the spoken language. This hypothesis, however, seems to be overstated, as in Late Han vernacular Buddhist translations, the CL are practically absent; the only "CL" I have found in these texts is zhong 种 "sort of, type of" which is obviously not a CL but a MW¹⁸. The common pattern for the quantified NP in Late Han vernacular Buddhist texts is: Num + Noun.

Lastly, the G-form is not attested in Han times, except in a very few cases; these exceptions are probably interpolated passages. E.g.¹⁹:

56. 五千匹马 (史:大宛列传)

five - thousand - CL - horse

Five thousand horses.

57. 数十辆车 (史:淮南衡山列传)

several - ten - CL - chariot

Several tens of chariots.

In conclusion, two changes occurred in Han times: 1) the pattern F (with pre-nominal MW) becomes widespread and supersedes the D-form (with post-nominal MW); 2) the real CL seem to arise, but in a very timid manner. As we will see in the next paragraph, they probably still retain many noun properties.

5. Early Medieval Chinese, 3rd-6th c. A.D.

During the Six Dynasties period (220-589), the CL become more numerous, but they are still not very frequent. Zhuang Zhengrong (1980) gives the following figures found in the Shi shuo xin yu, written by Liu Yiqing (403-444) and which is one of the best documents of the period in the vernacular language: 300 occurrences of the A-pattern; 10 occurrences of the B-pattern (usually for counting age and money); no occurrence of C; 20 occurrences of both D and E (Zhuang does not distinguish CL from MW); 20 occurrences of both F and G. These figures are revealing: they show that the most common pattern used is still A. E.g.:

58. 袁彦道有二妹 (世说新语:任诞)

Yuan Yandao - have - two - young sisters

Yuan Yandao had two young sisters.

59. 尝以一珊瑚树高二尺许赐椹 (世:汰修)

once - object marker - one - coral - branch - high - two - chi - about - offer - Kai

(He) once offered a branch of coral of about two chi tall to Kai.

Examples of pattern B:

60. 有錢數千萬 (世: 億萬)

have - money - several - thousand - ten thousand
(He) got thousands and thousands of money.

61. 王平子年十四五 (世: 規箴)

Wang Pingzi - age - ten - four - five
Wang Pingzi was fourteen or fifteen.

Actually, the pattern C is not non-existent, as is claimed in Zhuang (1980). We have a few cases of C with ren 人 "people" in the N2 position, but Zhuang probably considers ren as a CL. E.g. :

62. 婢子百餘人 (世: 述傳)

maid-servant - hundred - more than - people
More than a hundred maid-servants.

As for the 20 instances of mingled D and E, there are as many E (with CL) as D (with MW). Example of D:

63. 米千斛 (世: 雜量)

rice grain - thousand - hu
A thousand hu of rice grain.
[One hu = ten dou (bushel?)]

Example of E:

64. 因下玉鏡台一枚 (世: 假譎)

then - send - jade - mirror - frame - one - CL
(He) then sent (to her) a jade mirror (with) frame.

Besides this CL mei 枚, which was at that time a sort of general classifier which could be combined with many nouns (something equivalent to ge 个 in Contemporary Chinese)²⁰, we can find in various documents of the period the following CL: kou 口 (for both people and animals), zhu 株, tiao 条, ling 頤, tou 头, gen 根, ben 本, zhang 張, ge 个, zhi 只, etc.²¹. Some examples:

65. 以捕鹿二千口供厨 (世: 惑溺)

with - catch - deer - two - thousand - CL - supply - kitchen
(He) supplied the kitchen by catching two thousand deers.

66. 忽生草三株 (拾遺記)

suddenly - grow - herb - three - CL
Suddenly three shoots of herb grew.

67. 獻其國弓三十張 (魏志: 陳瑒王紀)

offer - his - State - bow - three - ten - CL
(He) offered his State thirty bows.

Where do these CL come from? Each CL has its own history. Each comes generally from a noun (or from a verb in very few cases) through a process of grammaticalization which bleaches it and makes it lose its full lexical meaning transforming it into an empty word which has no reality outside the numeral expression. For instance, the general CL mei comes from a noun meaning "tree-trunk", kou from the noun "mouth", zhu and gen from the noun "root", tou from the noun "head", ge from the noun "bamboo-trunk", zhang from the verb "to stretch (a bow)", zhi from the noun "bird", tiao from the noun "branch", etc.²².

This process of grammaticalization is gradual, discrete, discontinuous, beginning probably under the Han period. By the Early Medieval period, it only concerns a small number of items, and the CL, when attested, are not obligatory when used in the

quantified NP; the most common pattern is still "Num + Noun" without any classifiers. Finally, the CL are found in a post-nominal position.

There are nevertheless some occurrences of the pattern G, i.e., with a CL in a pre-nominal position, but this is even rarer: only two instances of the G-form (and eighteen of the F-form) out of the twenty instances of mingled F and G in the Shi shuo xin yu. Some examples of the F-form are:

68. 送一船米遗之 (世:方正)
offer - one - boat - rice - give - he
(He) offered him one boat-full of rice.
69. 送一车枝与和公 (世:俭音)
send - one - chariot - branch - to - He Gong
(They) sent a chariot of branches to He Gong.
70. 长星欢尔一杯酒 (世:雅量)
comet - invite - you - one - cup - wine
Comet, (I) invite you (to drink) one cup of wine.

The pre-nominal MW are now more frequent than the post-nominal ones.

Examples of the G-pattern are:

71. 斋前种一株松 (世:言语)
studio - in front of - plant - one - CL - pine tree
(He) planted a pine tree in front of his studio.
72. 有二百五十条牛 (百喻经)
there is - two - hundred - five - ten - CL - ox
There are two hundred and fifty oxen.

However, these occurrences are too rare to allow us to admit that the G-form already existed in Early Medieval Chinese.

Thus, in conclusion, the CL appear in Early Medieval Chinese but their number is still limited and they only occur in a post-nominal position. On the other hand, the MW are now more likely to be pre-nominal than post-nominal.

6. Late Medieval Chinese, 7th-13th c. A.D.

At the beginning of the Late Medieval period, the CL become frequently used. However, the use of pattern A ("Num + N") is still quite widespread. It represents about 30% of all the occurrences of quantified NP in the Dunhuang bianwen ("transformational texts") dating from ca. 850 to 1015 A.D.²³. E.g.:

73. 我有一女在家 (佛说阿弥陀经)
I - have - one - daughter - at - home
I have a daughter at home.
74. 空中有一神人 (叶净能诗)
sky - in the middle of - there is - one - divine being
There is one divine being in the sky.

We can also find the pattern B, especially for expressing age, as in:

75. 始年十七 (韩朋赋)
just - age - ten - seven
(She) was just seventeen.

As for pattern C, it is only attested when the N2 is ren

"people", as in:

76. 大比丘众千八百人俱 (长兴四年...)
with - big - monk - crowd - thousand - eight - hundred -
people - together
With a crowd of one thousand eight hundred big monks
together.

When a MW is involved in the quantified NP, the common order is F ("Num + MW + N") but some instances of form D ("N + Num + MW") still occur, as in:

77. 美人一对 (韩偓诗)
beautiful women - one - couple
A couple of beautiful women.
78. 罇中有酒五升 (叶净能诗)
Wine bottle - in - there is - wine - five - sheng (liter?)
There was five sheng of wine in the wine bottle.

Examples of the F-pattern are:

79. 取三两粉与这个上座 (祖堂集. 6. P119)
take - three - liang (ounce?) - powder - give - this - CL -
Reverend
Take three liang of powder (and) give (it to) this
Reverend.
80. 万种歌中悦爱情 (维摩诘经)
ten thousand - sort of - song - in - find pleasure - love -
passion
To find pleasure of love in ten thousand songs.

Zhong "sort of, kind of" is by far the most frequently used MW in the Dunhuang bianwen.

When it is a CL and no longer a MW which is involved in the quantified NP, the two orders E ("N + Num + CL") and G ("Num + CL + N") are now widely attested. Thus, the CL can also occur in a pre-nominal position. Let us look first at some examples of pattern E, with post-nominal CL:

81. 女王遂取夜明珠五颗白马一匹赠 (大唐三藏取经诗话)
female - king - then - take - night - shine - pearl - five -
CL - white - horse - one - CL - offer
Then, the queen took five pearls which shine at night (and)
one white horse (to) offer (them).
82. 送龙腿一只 (叶净能诗)
offer - dragon - leg - one - CL
(He) offered one dragon leg.
83. 汗衫子一领 (文)
shirt - one - CL
One shirt.
84. 圣贤罗列百千张 (维摩诘经)
saint - spread out - in row - hundred - thousand - CL
One hundred thousand saints spread out in row.

These CL are now much more numerous than they have been under the Early Medieval period. They are henceforth undoubtedly part of the system concerning the expression of quantified NP. Almost 70% of them involve classifiers in the bianwen and this proportion increases as time goes on.

Another important characteristic of the Late Medieval period is

that the post-nominal CL only represent 10% of the CL used in the bianwen whereas pre-nominal CL, which barely exist under the Early medieval period, now represent 90%. Examples of pre-nominal CL (G-pattern), are:

85. 皇帝与高力士见一条紫气 (叶净能诗)
emperor - and - Gao Lishi - see - one - CL - purple - wind
The emperor and Gao Lishi saw a purple wind.
86. 乘一朵黑云 (韩擒虎)
ride - one - CL - black - cloud
(They) rode on one black cloud.
87. 红叶开时一朵花 (下女(夫)词)
red - leaf - bloom - moment - one - CL - flower
When red leaves bloom, (it is like) a flower.
88. 一件袈裟挂在身 (佛说阿弥陀经)
one - CL - cassock (monk's robe) - hang - on - body
To wear a cassock.
89. 五百头牝牛并犊子 (不知名变文)
five - hundred - CL - cow - and - calf
Five hundred cows and calves.

The most common CL, by far, is now the general CL ge 个, which is commonly used for persons 人. E.g.:

90. 臣有一个问头 (唐太宗入冥记)
I - have - one - CL - question
I have one question.
91. 便变作一个道士 (叶净能诗)
then - transform - make - one - CL - buddhist hermit
(He) then transforms (it) into a buddhist hermit.
92. 我有端严一个女 (佛说阿弥陀经)
I - have - dignified - serious - one - CL - daughter
I have one dignified (and) serious daughter.
93. 教学八万个徒弟 (不知名变文)
teach - eight - ten thousand - CL - disciple
(He) taught eighty thousand disciples.

This possibility for the CL to be in a pre-nominal position and, above all, the frequency of this new pattern G, compared to the old one where the CL was post-nominal (E), should convince us that we are henceforth dealing with real CL; they form CL phrases together with the numerals (or demonstratives) they follow. These CL phrases are directly associated with the nouns they modify, without any possible insertion of any other element between the CL phrases and the nouns.

This new situation should also convince us that before this time the CL we encounter in Early Medieval Chinese or even in Han times - and whose figures given above show that they were very rare - have not probably acquired a real status of CL, i.e., have not been completely divested of their full lexical meaning to become, through the grammaticalization process, empty words. In other words, I am tempted to think that the possibility of being moved from a post-nominal position to a pre-nominal position has been given to the CL, as soon as they acquire the status of CL.

Why, or at least how, does this moving occur? It occurs probably by analogy with the F-form involving a pre-nominal MW and which has

already been predominant for many centuries, because the "Num + CL" phrase is a modifier of the head noun.

Moreover, besides being used in NP involving numerals, some CL (mostly ge) can also begin to be used in NP involving demonstratives, which is a new situation. E.g. (see also the second half of example 79):

94. 这个修行是道场 (维摩诘经)

this - CL - cultivation - be - truth-plot (way to become Buddha)

This cultivation is the truth-plot.

95. 这个地狱中有一青提夫人已否 (大目干连冥间救母)

this - CL - hell - in - there is - one - Qingti - madam - yes - no

Is there a Madam Qingti in this hell?

Sometimes, the demonstrative followed by the classifier ge is a subject, i.e. it does not modify a noun, as in:

96. 这个名为真道场 (维摩诘经)

this - CL - call - to be - real - truth-plot

This is called the real truth-plot.

Lastly, sometimes, there is no numeral or demonstrative, but a single CL modifying a noun. It is obvious, in that case, that a numeral yi "one" has been deleted. E.g.:

97. 路上见个师子 (妙法莲华经)

road - on - see - CL - lion

(He) saw one lion on the road.

Thus, in conclusion, the situation of the CL, beginning in Tang times, is pretty much the same as the one which prevails in Contemporary Chinese.

Conclusion

If a CL 'has no reality outside of the numeral expression', as Greenberg (1972) says, I think it is reasonable to date the common use of Chinese CL only in the Tang dynasty, some time around the 9th or the 10th century A.D., and not in the Archaic period, where there are only MW²⁵. The MW are first used in post-nominal position and then moved in pre-nominal position. This word order change occurs some time in Late Archaic Chinese, between the 5th and 3rd centuries B.C.

As for the individual CL, they probably begin to appear under the Han (1st c. B.C.). However, at that time, they still retain many characteristics of the nouns from which they have issued and they are always post-nominal. The grammaticalization process they undergo to become real CL deprived of their original properties is very long and is completed only in Late Medieval Chinese for a great majority of these CL. As soon as this process is over, the CL are moved to a pre-nominal position and widely used for quantified NP. They also begin to be used between a demonstrative and a noun and not only between a numeral and a noun.

The internal mechanisms of the birth of the noun classifier system described above contradicts Erbaugh (1986)'s assumption that this 'system is not native to Chinese', but she nevertheless might

be right when she hypothesizes that Chinese CL have been borrowed from the Thai, and that they never become a fully automatic part of the grammatical level. Indeed such a late development could well have been caused by external borrowing. This could explain why we have now, in Contemporary Chinese, many more CL in Southern dialects - which have been in closer contact with Tai languages - than in Mandarin (Northern dialects), in contact with Altaic languages known not to have any classifiers.

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Footnotes

1. The function of a CL is also to quantify the noun which follows it. As Paris (1982) points out, it might indeed be the main function of the CL while a secondary function would be of qualification. See also T'sou (1973).

2. They correspond to what the Chinese linguists call 1) duliangheng 度量衡 (measure classifiers), 2) jiti liangci 集体量词 (collective classifiers), 3) rongliang 容量 (classifiers of content). These linguists call our CL geti liangci 个体量词 (individual classifiers).

3. For a different opinion, see Yau (1986).

4. The sentences from the oracle bone inscriptions cited here are quoted from the books and articles by Djamouri (1988), Serruys (1981) and Takashima (1984-1985) listed in the bibliographical references.

5. Serruys (1981) considers that the number - either before the noun (pattern A) or after the noun (pattern B) - must be considered as a verb. Thus he translates 生于祖辛五伐 (sacrifice-to-Ancestor-Xin-five-human victim) as: "When sacrificing to Ancestor Xin, make it five human victims" and 出岁于祖戊宰三 (sacrifice-kill-to-Ancestor-Wu-penned bovine-three) as: "When sacrificing, the penned bovines which we shall kill to Ancestor Wu will be three". This interpretation is controversial, for there are many occurrences of "Noun + Num + you 又 +Num", where you is a coordinating conjunction which can never coordinate two verbs but only links two nominals

(see Djamouri 1988).

6. For a different point of view, see Yau (1986) who thinks that the B-form is the origin of the C-form. He asserts that there is a need to repeat the noun after the number if it was a large number. This opinion is very debatable, as we have small numbers involved in form C and large numbers in form B.

7. See Li Yongsui (1979).

8. See Matisoff (1982).

9. Like you "vase", peng is not necessarily used with a number, e.g.:

易多女出贝朋

offer - many - woman - and - shell - string

(We will) offer many women and coupled strings of shells.

This shows that MW are nouns and not CL because "classifiers have no reality outside of the numeral expression" (Greenberg, 1972).

10. See Liu Shiru (1961) who cites the following example, where liang could not mean anything else but "chariot":

百两卸之 (诗:召南.鹊巢)

hundred - chariot - carry - she

A hundred chariots carry her.

Another example is often cited to assume that the CL already existed in Early Archaic:

葛屨五两 (诗:齐风.南山)

linen - shoe - five - pair

Five pairs of linen shoes.

However, liang means here "a pair"; thus, it is a MW and certainly not a CL.

11. Couvreur (1890) thinks that jie has a full lexical meaning: "ordinary". Thus, he translates "If there were a minister of an ordinary talent...". The translation of 25 is taken from Dobson (1962).

12. An example of the A-form is given in 32 (in the first half of the sentence); an example of the B-form is:

与之粟九百 (论:雍也)

give - him - grain - nine - hundred

(Confucius) gave him nine hundred (measures of) grain.

13. For an impressive list of these new MW, see Yang Xiaomin (1988).

14. This was already the case in Pre-Archaic Chinese. The sole difference in this regard between the language of oracle bone inscriptions and Contemporary Chinese is that in the OB inscriptions the patronymic names follow the kinship terms or the titles.

15. The lists given by Yang Xiaomin (1988) or He Leshi (1989) compiled from the Zuo zhuan are longer but they include numerous MW.

16. There is also the following example in the Mengzi, often cited:
力不能胜一匹雞 (孟: 告子. 下)
strength - negation - can - raise - one - small - chicken
His strength is unable to raise one small chicken.
(Couvreur (1895) translates "duck" instead of "chicken").
However, as Wang Li (1958) pointed out, pi is likely not a CL here but an adjective meaning "small". See also Liu (1961).

17. In example 51, tou 头 can be interpreted as a noun "head", the translation then being "ten thousand head of sheep".

18. I checked the eight following texts, out of the 29 texts that Zurcher (1977) identifies as unquestionably from the Late Han period (the translations were done at Luoyang between 150 and 220): Chang ahan shi baofa jing (Taisho 13, vol. I, 233-241); Ren benyu sheng jing (T. 14, I, 241-246); Yiqie liu she shou yin jing (T. 31, I, 813-814); Si di jing (T. 32, I, 814-816); Ben xiang yi zhi jing (T. 36, I, 819-820); Shifa feifa jing (T. 48, I, 837-839); Lou fenbu jing (T. 57, I, 851-853); Pu fayi jing (T. 98, I, 922-924).

19. Some linguists also cite the following example:

千足羊 (史: 货殖列传)
thousand - CL - sheep

A thousand sheep.

But it would be better to consider zu 足 - whose original meaning is "foot" as a MW - like tou 头 "head"- for counting cattle and not as a CL; the translation would be "A thousand head of sheep".

20. There are however only two mei in the Shi shuo xin yu.

21. For a longer list of CL in Early Medieval Chinese, see Liu Shiru (1961).

22. For the origin of other CL attested during the Early Medieval period, see Liu Shiru (1961).

23. I checked the quantified NP in the collection compiled by Wang Zhongmin (1957).

24. For an analysis of the CL ge under the Tang, see Wang Shaoxin (1989).

25. This contradicts Hashimoto (1977) who claims that 'it is obvious that they (CL) are primarily there for avoiding the ambiguity of monosyllabic nouns'. If it were the monosyllabism of Chinese which caused the emergence of the CL, they should have developed earlier, when the language was really monosyllabic and

not at a time when the monosyllabism was no longer obvious. For a detailed critic of Hashimoto's assumption, see also Paris (1982).

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On The So-called 1st Person Pronoun, *Jibun*

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1. Introduction

As a Japanese reflexive, *jibun* may be the most well known and extensively discussed single word in Japanese. It is not as well known, however, except for speakers of Japanese, that *jibun* is also used like a 1st person pronoun. This use of *jibun* has never been discussed as a linguistic topic. If it has been mentioned at all in the linguistic literature, it has been to put it aside as a "1st person pronoun", and as such, of little linguistic interest. In this handling of *jibun*, "reflexive *jibun*" and "pronominal *jibun*" are assumed to have distinct referential functions and little in common beyond their obvious etymological connections.

In this paper, I will cast doubt to this view and contend instead that pronominal *jibun* and reflexive *jibun*, both as "referential *jibun*", operate under the same referential principle. The principle that controls the reference of pronominal *jibun* in one linguistic genre extends to control the reference of reflexive *jibun* in a different linguistic genre.

2. Examples

Let me give first some examples of what I will be referring to provisionally as pronominal *jibun*.

1. (On a television talk show)

Guest_i: Iya, **jibun_i** ga saki ni mooshikomimashita.
no self SUB first at proposed
'No, I [=self] proposed (to her) first.'

2. (A store clerk speaking to a customer)

Clerk_j: Nanika shitsumon ga arimashita-ra, **jibun_j** ni kiite kudasai.
anything question SUB there is if self to ask REQUEST
'If you have any question, please ask me [=self].'

3. A_j: **Jibun_j**-ra wa sore wa atsukatte-nai n desu.

self PL TOP it TOP handle neg COMP is
'We [=jibun-PL] don't handle that.'

These *jibun* are used by men, though the population of speakers who regularly use it as the primary form of reference to themselves is quite small. The above three are conversational examples. Here are some

written examples from 1st person narratives, in which the narrator regularly uses *jibun* to refer to himself. The numerical subscript 1 stands for the 1st person referent.

4. Otoko no ko_i wa myoona me de **jibun**₁ o mita.
 male GEN child TOP queer eye with self OBJ saw
 'The boy_i looked at **me** [= **self**] with (his) queer eyes.'
 (Shiga 1969, p.362)

5. Kore wa 21-nen mae no hanashi dearu. Shikashi **jibun**₁ ni wa
 this TOP year ago GEN story is but self to TOP
 'This goes 21 years back. But, to **me** [= **self**] this is something that is
 wasure-rare-nai hanashi dearu.
 forget can NEG story is
 unforgettable.'
 (Mushakooji 1955, p.125)

6. ...sono hi gogo 3-ji han goro **C-ko**_i wa **jibun**₁ no uchi
 that day afternoon o'clock half about (same) TOP self GEN house
 '**C-ko**_i came to **my** [= **self's**] house around 3:30 p.m. that day.'
 ni kita no datta.
 to came COMP was
 (Mushakooji 1970, p.6)

7. **Otsuru**_i-san wa **jibun**₁ no kao o mite warai nagara,
 (name) TOP self GEN face OBJ see laugh as
 'Looking at **my** [= **self's**] face and laughing, **Otsuru**_i filled the top
 ichu-ban ue no ni ippai tsuida.
 most top one in full poured
 bowl full.'
 (Shiga 1969, p.378)

Now, some typical instances of *jibun* that are regarded as reflexives are as follows.

8. Taroo_i wa **jibun**_i no uchi ni tadoritsuita.
 (name) TOP self GEN house to made-his-way
 'Taroo_i made his way back to **his** [= **self's**]_i house.'

9. **Taroo**_i wa uindoo ni utsutte-iru **jibun**_i o mita.
 (name) TOP window in reflect is self OBJ saw
 'Taroo_i saw himself [= self]_i reflected in the window.'
10. **Taroo**_i wa **jibun**_i ga iku to kotaeta .
 (name) TOP self SUB go QUO answered
 'Taroo_i answered that he_i [= self] would go.'
11. a) **Miwa Shunsuke**_i wa itsumo no yooni omotta.
 (name) TOP always of like thought
 'Shunsuke Miwa_i thought as usual.'
- b) Kaseifu no Michiyo ga kuru yooni natte kara kono
 home-woman GEN (name) SUB come so-that became since this
 'Since housekeeper Michiyo came, this house has gotten dirty.'
- ie wa yogore hajimeta, to.(Omission.).....
 house TOP dirty began QUO
- c) **Jibun**_i no ie no daidokoro ga konna fuu deatte wa naranai.
 self GEN house GEN kitchen SUB this way is TOP must not
 'The kitchen of my_i [=self's] house must not be like this.'
- d) Shikashi, shibui kao o shite **Shunsuke**_i ga daidokoro e
 but sour face OBJ look (name) SUB kitchen to
 'But, when Shunsuke_i showed up in the kitchen with a sour face,
- sugata o arawashita toki ni wa, **kare**_i no koe dake wa
 appearance OBJ showed when at TOP he GEN voice only TOP
 at least his_i voice was gentle.'
- yasashikatta.
 was gentle (Kojima 1972, p.5)

The syntactic relationship between *jibun* and its referent in (4) and (9), and in (6) and (8), are the same, yet *jibun* in (4) and (6) refer to the narrator while *jibun* in (9) and (8) are reflexive *jibun* and refer to the subject NP of the clause. Let us call those reflexives the referent NPs of which are in the same clause clausal *jibuns*. In (10), *jibun* refers to a NP outside its own clause. Let us call this an interclausal *jibun*. In (11), it

refers to a NP in another sentence. Let us call this an intersentential *jibun*. Those instances of pronominal *jibun* in (1) through (7) will have to be called antecedentless *jibun* as those *jibun*'s referent NP is not to be found in the explicit linguistic context.

Given the examples above, these questions can then be asked: how do we tell the referents of these instances of *jibun*? How do we tell pronominal *jibun* from reflexive *jibun*? And, aren't pronominal *jibun* and reflexive *jibun* confused? As a way to consider these questions, let us first consider the difference between ordinary personal pronouns and referential *jibun*.

3. Ordinary Personal Pronouns and Referential *Jibun*

One major lexical difference between referential *jibun* and ordinary personal pronouns is already clear: ordinary pronouns have a lexically specified grammatical person (e.g., *watashi* or English *I* with the lexical [+1st person]; *anata* or English *you* with the lexical [+2nd person]; *kare* and *kanojo* or English *he* and *she* with the lexical [+3rd person]) while *jibun* does not. The referential identification of an ordinary pronoun is made primarily through the identification of the grammatical person of that pronoun and of the referent in a given context. What must be noted about ordinary pronouns is that the 2nd or 3rd person pronouns presume the 1st person from whose standpoint they are the 2nd or 3rd persons. The use of a 2nd or 3rd person pronoun, therefore, necessarily implies the 1st person speaker or narrator as the primary reference point of view of the relevant discourse (not considering a transfer of viewpoint now).

On the other hand, since referential *jibun* does not have a lexical person, its reference is obviously not based on the identification of grammatical person of *jibun* and of the referent. Instead, it carries in its lexicon semantic and discourse properties which are associated with the mental notion "self" that nominal *jibun* denotes. Examples of nominal *jibun* are given below.

12a. **jibun**-chuushin
 self centered
 'self-centered'

b. **jibun**-katte
 self convenience
 'selfishness'

c. Hito wa gaikoku ni iku to **jibun** (to yuu mono) o
 person TOP foreign country to go when self COMP call thing OBJ
 'When people go to a foreign country, it happens sometimes that

miushinau koto ga aru.
 lose sight COMP SUB is
 (they) lose their own **selves/self-identity.**'

The notion of "self", "self-identity", "ego" or the "I", that nominal *jibun* denotes has certain semantic implications. The semantic definition of "self" (in Webster, 1965) is as follows: "the integrated unity of subjective experience specifically including those characteristics and attributes of the experiencing organism of which it is reflexively aware". As a mental notion, "self" entails some semantic properties such as [+animate], [+alive] and [+conscious] for the obvious reason that the sense of "self" does not apply to inanimate, dead, or unconscious objects which do not have senses. It is also not difficult to relate that notion to more abstract implications such as [+subjectivity] and [+viewpoint].¹ These semantic and discourse implications of the notion "self" of nominal *jibun* are carried over to the lexicon of referential *jibun* and restrict its referential use. How then do these lexical conditions of referential *jibun* relate to the actual identification of its referent as exemplified in the examples in (1) through (11)? This is our next question.

4. Referential Identification of *Jibun*

I have given earlier conversational examples of referential *jibun* used to refer to a male speaker. In mostly emphatic, conversational contexts, however, both male and female speakers use *jibun* in reference to themselves. Below are some examples of those uses of *jibun* in both male and female speech.

13. A_i: Kekkyoku wa **jibun_i** ga warui n da kara, kono sai shikata
 after all TOP self SUB bad COMP is since this time way
 'After all, I (myself) [= **self**] am to blame, so there is nothing that
 ga arimasen.
 SUB there is not
 can be done now.'

14. A_i: Hoka no koto wa betsu to shite, kore dake wa **jibun_i**;
 other GEN matters TOP separate COMP do this only TOP self
 'Other things aside, this is **my** (own) [= **self's**] idea.'

¹. These properties as conditions on the reference of reflexive *jibun* have been observed by Kuno (1972, 1978) and Kuroda (1973a, b), but no explanation has been offered for why these conditions hold in the first place.

no idea na n desu yo.
COMP idea is COMP is SP2:DECLARE

15. A_j: Sooyuu koto wa **jibun**_i demo yoku wakatte-imasu yo.
such thing TOP self even well know am SP:DECLARE
'I (myself) [= **self**] am well aware of it.'

Similar occurrences of *jibun* can be taken to refer to the 2nd or 3rd person depending on the context of the conversation. The following are examples of *jibun* whose referents are the 2nd person.

16. A_j: Denwa da yoo.
telephone is SP:DECLARE
'Telephone.'

B: **Jibun**_i ga deta- ra ii deshoo.
self SUB answered if good is
'Why don't **you** [= **self**] answer it (yourself)?'

17. A_j: Kono kamera anmari yoku-nai naa.
this camera so good not SP:EXCLAMATION
'This camera isn't so good.'

B: **Jibun**_i ga eranda n ja nai no?
self SUB chose COMP is not COMP
'Was it not **you**_i [= **self**] who chose it?'

18. A_j: Kyoo wa tomodachi ni kuruma o kashite-iru.
today TOP friend to car OBJ lend is
'(I) let my friend have (my) car today.'

B: Sorede **jibun**_i wa doo suru no?
then self TOP how do COMP
'What do **you** (yourself) [= **self**] do then (without a car)?'

19. A_j: Dooshite konna koto ni natta no ka shira.
why such thing to become COMP INT WONDER
'(I) wonder how it ended up like this.'

2. SP stands for Sentence Final Particle.

B: **Jibun_i** ga yoku ki o tsuke nai kara desu
self SUB well attention OBJ pay not because is
'Because **you** [= **self**] don't pay attention.'

yo.
SP:DECLARE

In all these instances of *jibun* an ordinary 2nd person pronoun, e.g., *anata* 'you', may be used instead.

In other cases, *jibun*'s referent is a 3rd person. Here are some examples.

20. A: **Jon_i** wa ichi-dai shika nai kuruma o itsumo ootoo_i
John TOP one CL³ only NEG car OBJ always younger brother
'**John_i** lets his brother_i always use his only car.'

ni tsukaw-asete- iru.
DAT use CAUSE is

B: Sore jaa **jibun_i** wa nan de kayotte- iru no?
that in the case self TOP what by commute is COMP
'Then what does **he_i** (himself) [= **self**] commute by?'

21. A: **Jon_i** wa mendoona shigoto wa kanarazu watashi ni sase-
John TOP troublesome work TOP without fail me DAT CAUSE
'**John_i** always makes me do troublesome work.'

ru no yo.
do COMP SP:DECLARE

B: **Jibun_i** ga sure-ba ii-noni ne.
self SUB did if would be good SP
'**He_i** [= **self**] should do it (himself).'

22. A: **Jon_i** wa mata lockout shita to itte okotte-iru.
John TOP again lockout did COMP say angry is
'**John_i** is upset that he locked himself out again.'

³. CL stands for Classifier.

B: **Jibun_i** ga ki o tsuke nai kara da yo.
 self SUB attention OBJ pay not since is SP:DECLARE
 '(That happens) because **he_i** [= **self**] is careless.'

23. A: (The mother of a child_i talking to a 2nd person, who is anxious to help the child tidy up his possessions.)
 li n desu yo. Itsumo **jibun_i** ga suru n desu kara.
 good COMP is SP always self SUB do COMP is since
 'That's all right. **He_i** [= **self**] always does it for himself.'

Although the examples above were given in dialogues, they do not have to be so. The following are examples of *jibun* with one speaker.

24. A: Ano **hito_i** wa ryoori-o-suru no ga suki nee.
 that person TOP cook COMP OBJ like SP
 '**She_i** really likes to cook.'

Dakedo **jibun_i** wa sorehodo tabe-nai no ne.
 but self TOP so eat not COMP SP
 But **she_i** (herself) [= **self**] doesn't eat that much.'

25. A: **Yamada_i**-san wa kodomo-tachi ni sorezore atarashii kuruma o
 Yamada HON TOP child PL for each new car OBJ
 'Mrs. **Yamada_i** bought a new car for each of her children. Yet **she_i**

katte-yatta no yo. Dakedo **jibun_i** wa aikawarazu ano
 buy gave COMP SP:DECLARE yet self TOP still that
 [= **self**] still drives that old car.'

furui kuruma ni notte-iru wa.
 old car on get is SP:STATE

In all these examples an ordinary 3rd person pronoun may be used instead of *jibun*. The use of *jibun* indicates some sense of focus on that referent. We will discuss the nature of that focus later.

In the examples (13) through (15), which say, 'After all, I [= *jibun*] am to blame...' (13), '.. this is my [= *jibun*'s] idea' (14), and 'I [= *jibun*] am well aware of it' (15), there is no possible referent in the linguistic context other than the speaker himself/herself as a pragmatic given for any linguistic production. *Jibun* is then referentially associated with the

speaker. Given the accompanying properties of "self" as identified before, [+animate, +alive, +conscious, +subjectivity, +viewpoint], it is easily understandable that referential *jibun*'s primary reference is to its speaker, the primary reference point of view of speech. Compared to a lexical 1st person pronoun, e.g., *watashi* 'I', which may be used in place of any of *jibun* in these examples, the use of *jibun* provokes some sense of focus on that referent, an approximation to which in English might be something like 'I myself', 'my own', 'no other one but I...', and so forth. In (16) through (19), *jibun* refers to the 2nd person. In (16), speaker A calls out to tell of the telephone buzz. Speaker B snaps back saying, 'why don't you [=jibun] pick it up yourself?' In (17), speaker A grumbles about his/her new camera. Speaker B says, 'Was it not you [=jibun] who chose (to buy) it (in the first place)?' In (18), speaker A talks about having his/her car lent to some 3rd person for the day. Speaker B asks, 'What then are you [=jibun] yourself going to do?' In (19), speaker A wonders how something ended up the way it did. Speaker B comments saying, 'That's your [=jibun's] own fault.' In the context of these dialogues, B himself is not a likely referent of *jibun* for various pragmatic reasons, such as one normally does not make a suggestion to oneself (in (16)), or one normally does not ask oneself a question (in (17)), or the pragmatic likelihood is that the one who lends his/her car is the one who is left without transportation (in (18)), and so forth. In the absence of the 1st person or any other person as a possible referent in the context, *jibun* is then referentially associated with the 2nd person, another pragmatic given as an interlocutor in a conversation and a likely referent.

Because of the nature of the 2nd person, this use of *jibun* is necessarily limited to situations in a dialogue. But not in all situations of dialogue may *jibun* be used. (26) and (27) give examples in which an ordinary 2nd person pronoun would be right but not *jibun*. A's utterance in (26) is the same as in (18) given earlier. Only B's response is changed. In (27), three varieties of B's response are shown. *Jibun* is not possible in the response of B', though it is possible in the responses of B'' and B'''.

26. A: *Kyoo wa tomodachi ni kuruma o kashite-iru.* (= (18))
'(I) let my friend have (my) car today.'

B: **Jibun*/**anata-jishin/anata* no kuruma wa torakku deshita ka?
self you self you GEN car TOP truck was INT
'Was your [=self] car a truck?'

27. A: **Watashi wa chuuto- taigakusuru koto ni shimashita.**
 I TOP half-way leave school COMP on decided
 'I have decided to leave school (in mid-course).'

B': ***Jibun/*anata-jishin/anata wa ima nan- nensei desu ka?**
 self you self you TOP now what year are INT
 'What year are you [=jibun] now?'

B'': **Jibun/anata ga soo shi-tai n desu ka?**
 self you SUB so do want COMP is INT
 Do you (yourself) [=jibun] want to do so?'

B''': **Sore wa jibun/anata no kiboo na n desu ka?**
 it TOP self you GEN wish be COMP is INT
 'Is it your (own) [=jibun's] wish?'

In (26), where B asks if A's car is a truck, and (27), where B' asks what year in school A is, it sounds odd to use *jibun* to refer to A. These are contexts in which it is also odd to be emphatic in reference to A by suffixing an emphatic morpheme, *-jishin* '-self' to the corresponding ordinary pronoun (unless the speaker B has somebody else in mind in contrast to A, but the relevant context does not suggest it).⁴

This suggests that the use of *jibun* has something to do with emphasis or contrast of some sort. This sense of emphasis that the use of *jibun* delivers is difficult to explicate, but it clearly comes from the notion "self" of nominal *jibun*, of which referential *jibun* is a functional derivative. Referential *jibun* not only refers to some individual but in doing so it attributes to its referent the aforementioned implicational properties of "self", in particular [+viewpoint]. The sense of emphasis on the referent of *jibun* must result when one's standpoint is drawn to the standpoint of that referent. Compare this to the way an ordinary personal pronoun makes reference to its referent. An ordinary personal pronoun refers to an individual through the grammatical person of that individual in a given discourse situation. Grammatical person is relative; the notion [+1st person] presumes the 2nd and 3rd persons, and [+2nd person] the 1st and 3rd persons, and so forth. And in this triangular set of oppositions of grammatical persons, discourse properties such as [+viewpoint] normally rest with the 1st person. In (27, B''), for example, the use of the ordinary pronoun *anata* [+2nd person] reflects B's perception of A as the 2nd person

4. Emphasis expressed by (pronoun)+*self* and emphasis expressed by *jibun* are different in discourse motivation and in nature. But I will not discuss this issue in this paper.

in opposition to B himself/herself as the 1st person, holding with him/her the discourse properties of the 1st person, including the viewpoint of the situation. Person-free *jibun* does not imply such relativity in its reference. Instead, it neutralizes the oppositions of persons and makes the properties which normally are attributed to the 1st person transferrable to other persons.

In examples (20) through (25), *jibun* refers to a 3rd person. We found that these 3rd person referents are of conversational concern. Just as with the 2nd person referents of *jibun*, not every 3rd person of conversational concern may be referred to by *jibun*. There must be a sense of focus on the referent himself/herself, whether by contrast to some others or by stressing the standpoint of the referent. An example is in (28).

28. A: **Taroo**-san ga tenkinshita rashii.
 Taroo SUB transferred seems
 'Taroo seems to have transferred (to another office).'

B': ***Jibun**/***kare-jishin/kare** wa nan-nen koko ni ita no?
 self he self he TOP what year here at was COMP
 'How many years was he [=jibun] here?'

B'': Soremo **jibun/kare** ga kibooshita n dat-te.
 moreover self he SUB request COMP is
 'And (I heard that) he (himself) [=jibun] asked for it.'

In the context of B', in which B asks how many years he has worked at the company, there is little that suggests a focus on the standpoint of the referent, while in B'' the referent's own decision can be contrasted to someone else's decision to transfer him.

In summary, in (13) through (15), where there is no apparent referent in the linguistic context, *jibun* is referentially associated with its speaker. Where the context eliminates the 1st person as a likely referent, it is associated with another possible referent in the context. In (16) and (17), it is the 2nd person, though the preceding context is not about that 2nd person. In (20) through (25), the referent is a 3rd person in the context which is about that 3rd person. In (23), *jibun*'s 3rd person referent is linguistically unrepresented but has the attention of the people in the situation. Reference by *jibun* stresses a focus on its referent. Therefore, the context in which *jibun* is used is such that its referent or his/her standpoint is emphasized in contrast to some other's. When *jibun* is used regularly to refer to the 1st person himself, as with some male speakers, then the sense of contrastive emphasis is cancelled out because of the general use of it throughout his speech. The use of

jibun over other lexical 1st person pronouns available in the language is largely a matter of individual taste for some stylistic or literary effects. (A stylistic impression of *jibun* when it is used consistently to refer to the speaker is that it is self-focused and rigid.)

Drawing from these examples and observations, the generalization is that the identification of *jibun's* referent follows "the 1st person first, the 2nd person second, and the 3rd person third" principle. That is, in the absence of a specific referent either explicit or implicit in the context, the speaker himself/ herself is the most likely referent of *jibun*, the hearer the second most likely referent, and the 3rd person the third most likely referent, provided that their lexical and discourse dependent conditions are met by the lexical properties of *jibun*.

Having identified the lexical, discourse functional and pragmatic conditioning factors and referential priorities of *jibun*, let us consider the question how its referent is identified in ambiguous cases, particularly between pronominal and reflexive *jibun*.

5. Reflexive and Pronominal *Jibun*

The example given earlier in (5), which says, 'This goes 21 years back. But, to me [=jibun] this is something unforgettable', is the initial passage of the novel from which it was taken. The referential identification of this instance of *jibun* can be made according to the "1st person first" principle, as this is the first occurrence of *jibun* in that novel. In other cases like (4), 'The boy looked at me [=jibun]...', (6) 'C-ko came to my [=jibun's] house...', and (7) 'Looking at my [=jibun's] face, Otsuru-san filled ...', *jibun's* reference is potentially ambiguous between the narrator and the 3rd person subject referent of the sentence. In these examples, *jibun* is taken to refer to the narrator. The judgement is a pragmatic one based on the context of the narrative. In (5), for example, the readers know from the preceding context that the narrator and the "queer-eyed little boy" are in a train compartment seating face to face. In (6), the readers know from the preceding context that the narrator is telling about the first time the female character came to visit him at his house. In other cases, however, as in (29) and (30) below, *jibun* refers to the 3rd person subject referent instead of the narrator. The judgement is also based on the pragmatics in the narrative context.

29. Soshite Otsuru_i-san_i wa..... "Sayoonara" to waratte jibun_i no
 and (name) TOP Good-bye QUO smile self GEN
 'And Otsuru_i-san_i says "Good-bye" with a smile and goes back to

heya e haitte shimau.
room in enter PERFECT
her_i [= self's] room.'

(Shiga 1969, p.380)

30. **Jibun**₁-tachi ga meshi o hakobu yooni natte kara wa shi_i
self PL SUB meal OBJ bring so become since TOP mentor
'Since **we** [= self] have come to bring meals, the mentor_i gave **his**_i

wa **jibun**_i no tochi o kinjo no..... mono ni ataete-
TOP self GEN land OBJ neighborhood GEN people to give
[=self's] own land to the people.in the neighborhood.'

shimaw- are- ta.
PERFECT HONORIFIC PAST

(Mushakooji 1955, p.29)

In (29), the situation of the story is that the narrator is visiting *Otsuru-san's*, the subject referent's, home. It is then clear that she goes into her room, not the narrator's, who is a visitor at her house. Then, as might be expected, there are cases in which the context does not help to decisively disambiguate the reference, as in (31).

31. Suruto **chichi**_i ga **jibun** no shitashiku shite iru fujin-ka no
then father SUB self GEN closely do is gynecology GEN
'Then (I) heard that **Father**_i said that (she) should go to the hospital

isha ga aru kara soko e ireta- ra yokaroo to itta
doctor SUB is since there to hospitalize COND good QUO said
of he gynecologist who I/he_i [= self_{1/i}] know(s) well.'

sooda.
I HEARD

(Shiga 1969, p.320)

Given this passage only, most readers would be inclined to take this *jibun* to refer to the 3rd person subject, the father, rather than the narrator. In this particular instance, the reader can only suspect that this *jibun* may refer to the narrator because there is in this whole narrative no other instance of *jibun* used for any other referent.

Since the differentiation between pronominal and reflexive uses of *jibun* is pragmatic, we could just say that these two uses are homophonous but categorically distinct lexical items of the same nominal source. We could then say that once a speaker is recognized as one who

regularly uses *jibun* to refer to himself, the process of referential identification of that *jibun* from then on is just the same as any other lexical 1st person pronoun, although occasionally it might get confused with reflexive *jibun*. If it cannot be a pronominal *jibun* for some contextual reason(s), then it must be a reflexive *jibun*. And, reflexive *jibun* has its own set of rules to operate by. This categorical separation of pronominal and reflexive *jibun* may simplify the matter, and it has been the assumed position in discussions of reflexive *jibun* in the past. Pronominal *jibun* has consequently been entirely dismissed from any discussion of reflexive *jibun*.

But this position says nothing about the obvious commonality between the two functions of *jibun*. The question is whether those pronoun-like uses of *jibun* exemplified in (1) through (7) should be considered as 1st person pronouns like other lexical 1st person pronouns or whether they should be considered in connection with reflexive *jibun* at all.

To consider this question, let us go back and take example (11), which shows an instance of reflexive *jibun* in a 3rd person narrative. The first sentence in this example tells that *Shunsuke* is thinking to himself: 'Shunsuke thought as usual.' This is what Banfield (1982) calls an "introductory" or "parenthetical" clause to a "represented speech and thought". The next two sentences are *Shunsuke's* thought: 'Since housekeeper Michiyo came, this house...' and 'The kitchen of my [=self's] house must not be like this...' The fourth sentence describes how *Shunsuke* looked and sounded when he appeared in the kitchen: 'But, when Shunsuke showed up...' The first and fourth sentences are in the narrative mode of speech, which is presented from the narrator's point of view, as the use of the name *Shunsuke* and the 3rd person pronoun *kare* 'he' to refer to him indicate. The second and third sentences are in the represented mode of speech, in which *Shunsuke's* inner thought is represented by the narrator assuming *Shunsuke's* standpoint. In this mode of speech, *Shunsuke* is the 1st person speaker, to whom he, *Shunsuke* himself, refers with *jibun*.

Thoughts, feelings, perceptions or actual speech of a person can be presented in the format of represented speech as we have seen in (11) or in three other formats, that of a dialogue (inner speech in this case), that of a direct quotation, and that of an indirect quotation. *Shunsuke's* thought in (11-b,c) are presented in these three formats in (32a, b, c) respectively. A direct quotation is essentially the same as a dialogue, only presented with a descriptive clause for the setting of the dialog.

32a. **Shunsuke**_j: Kaseifu no Michiyo ga kuru yooni natte kara kono ie wa yogore hajimeta. **Jibun**_j no ie no daidokoro ga konna. fuu deatte wa naranai.

'This house began to look dirty since housekeeper Michiyo came. The kitchen of **my**_j [=jibun's] house should not be like this.'

- b. **Shunsuke**_j wa "Kaseifu no Michiyo ga kuru yooni natte kara kono ie wa yogore hajimeta. **Jibun**_j no ie no daidokoro ga konna fuu deatte wa naranai" to omotta.
'**Shunsuke**_j thought, "This house began to look dirty since housekeeper Michiyo came. The kitchen of **my**_j [=jibun's] house should not be like this."
- c. **Shunsuke**_j wa kaseifu no Michiyo ga kuru yooni natte kara kono ie wa yogore hajimeta. **Jibun**_j no ie no daidokoro ga konna fuu deatte wa naranai to omotta.
'**Shunsuke**_j thought that the house began to look dirty since housekeeper Michiyo came, and that the kitchen of **his**_j [=jibun's] house should not be like this.'

The comparison of (32a, b, c) makes the parallelism between pronominal *jibun* found in dialogues and 1st person narratives (which are essentially long monologues) and reflexive *jibun* found in 3rd person narratives apparent. The only difference between dialogues and 3rd person narratives is that in an actual speech act, the conversational situation itself is not narrated by anyone. Because of this, there is no explicit linguistic representation of the speaker as *jibun*'s referent in the format of a dialog, as in (32a) above. Let me give another example to illustrate the point.

33. a) "Soo kamoshirenai" to **Shunsuke**_j wa donaritsukeru yooni itta.
so may QUO Shunsuke TOP shout manner said
'"That may be so," **Shunsuke**_j said, almost yelling.'
- b) Dooshite motto, **Tokiko**_j to George o hootte oite motto
why more Tokiko and George OBJ leave let more
'Why did (I) not leave **Tokiko**_j and George alone and let (them)
tsuzuke- sasete yar-anakatta no da-roo. (Omission).....
continue CAUSE let did no COMP be CONJECTURE
continue (their affair)?'

- c) *Motto tsuzukete ita ra doo deatta-roo.*
 more continue was CONDITIONAL how was CONJECTURE
 'What it would have been like if (they) had continued?'
- d) *Sono toki kanojo_j wa jibun_j demo kuchibashitta yooni*
 that time she TOP self also blurt out as
 'If so, **she_j** would have gone far, far away from **me_j** [= **self**], as
- tooku-tooku jibun_j kara hanarete itte shimatta de-aroo.*
 far far self from part go COMPLETION be CONJ
she_j herself [= **self**] blurted out so.' (Kojima 1972, P.42)

In this example, the first sentence is the introductory sentence to the following represented speech of *Shunsuke's* thought in (33-b,c,d). In the fourth sentence, there are two *jibuns*, one referring to the subject NP *kanojo_j* 'she' and the other referring to the 3rd person thinker *Shunsuke* in another sentence. The priority of the 3rd person speaker in a 3rd person narrative as illustrated in this example is exactly parallel to the primacy of the 1st person speaker in the actual speech act. The only difference is that the speaker is a 1st person in an actual conversation and in a 1st person narrative, but is a 3rd person in a 3rd person narrative, which has traditionally been almost the exclusive source of data for linguistic investigation. It is now self-evident that all these instances of *jibun*, pronominal or reflexive, are operating under the same referential principle of referring to its speaker as the primary empathy focus in his speech.

The point to be made is that when the primary function of *jibun* is recognized as an expression of empathy, then the orientation of the discussions about *jibun* will have to be turned around so that what have been regarded as exceptional instances and rather peripheral issues and consistently disregarded in the massive formalistic or functional discussions of *jibun* as the Japanese reflexive before will instead be regarded as straightforward linguistic manifestations of the word's principal function. And they will find their proper place in the linguistic data on which arguments about the reflexivity in Japanese should be based.

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Japanese ga, Spotlighting, and Intransitives in Spoken Narratives¹

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1. Introduction

There have been a number of studies dealing with the discourse functions of the so-called subject marker ga in Japanese.² Among these, the most notable is Kuno (1972, 1973b). In a series of studies, he suggests that the subject marker ga in a matrix clause marks new information (cf. Chafe 1970, 1976). However, interestingly, few previous studies have examined actual discourse data and further, almost none has examined spoken discourse to support their claims on the discourse functions of ga (for exceptions, Hibiya 1987; Hinds 1979): instead they have used made-up sentences and invented discourse. Our spoken discourse data show that, contrary to a number of earlier claims, there are many ga-marked NPs (hereafter, ga NP) which do not carry new information. A systematic examination of the discourse contexts where those ga NPs occur suggest that ga is used when information presented in the NP is brought to the primary focus of consciousness. We call this function spotlighting. We find that this function nicely fits with the distributional facts of other aspects of Japanese grammar. The results of this study thus cast doubt on the validity of research methods which rely solely on made-up data.

2. Data

We examined audio-taped narratives produced by 10 speakers after they saw an episode of a cartoon movie, 'Sazaesan', whose characters are well-known to the Japanese.³

This episode may be briefly summarized as follows: The Sazaesan family baby-sits a baby called Ikura because his mother is sick. Ikura creates a terrible mess, for example by pulling out all the drawers. However, when Ikura's father comes to pick up Ikura, Sazaesan's family does not tell him what happened. Later, Sazaesan's family finds out that Ikura's parents know about Ikura's mischief. They are very surprised because no one had told Ikura's parents what Ikura did and Ikura is not able to speak yet. They learn that Ikura and his mother are able to communicate through babbling and gestures. Ikura pulled out all the drawers to find medicine for his sick mother.

In this study, we discuss only subject ga NPs; we will not discuss object ga NPs, nor instances of ga found in other constructions.

3. Analysis

3.1 Hypothesis on the function of ga

Our hypothesis is that ga in spoken narratives brings information presented in the NP to the primary focus of consciousness. In staging terms, ga functions as the spotlight on particular referent(s) on the stage.⁴

3.2. Kuno's new information and ga

Ga has been studied by a number of linguists. Kuno (1972, 1973b) is among the earliest and most celebrated who relates ga with the notion of new information in discourse.⁵

Kuno (1972:272, 1973b:209) defines new information as unpredictable information from the context.⁶ He claims that when ga is attached to the subject NP in a matrix clause, it always indicates that the NP is new (unpredictable) information (1972:273). In the spoken narratives that we examined, we found that many ga NPs occur in non-matrix clauses.⁷ These non-matrix clauses amounted to about 60% of our data but can not be accounted for by Kuno's claim. If Kuno had looked at real discourse data, he would have noticed this problem.

In order to test Kuno's claim that ga always marks new information, we first looked at ga NPs in matrix clauses.

Look at the first row of the following table:

Table: Ga NPs and given/new information in Kuno's sense

	given	new	total
matrix	23 (25%)	69 (75%)	92 (100%)
all	68 (31%)	152 (69%)	220 (100%)

Contrary to Kuno's claim, we found that only 75% of the ga NPs mark new (unpredictable) information, while 25% mark given information. Next, we included ga NPs in non-matrix clauses as you see in the second row of the table. This time we found that only 69% of the ga NPs are new information, while 31% were given information. Therefore, Kuno's characterization of ga as marking new, unpredictable information can capture only about 70% of our spoken narrative data, but leaves 30% unexplained. Thus, a characterization of ga as the marker of new information does not seem to be adequate.

3.3. Ga NPs and their discourse contexts

In going through our data, we noticed several types of discourse contexts in which ga NPs occur: for example, introduction

of referents, marking some kind of shift in the narrative, or focusing on a particular referent among many. We will show that the spotlighting function underlies these various uses of ga. Each example in this paper has an English translation below the Japanese.

Some ga NPs introduce a referent for the first time, or re-introduce it later in a narrative. These referents of ga NPs include not only story characters, but also props. In Example (1), ga is used to spotlight someone or something that enters the stage:

(1) (Speaker 9, introducing member of Sazaesan's family)

[JAPANESE]

--> ... Ano ... tarachan to yuu otoko no ko ga imasu ne,
--> ... sono- ojiisan to obaasan ga ite,
... shite ano,
... are desu ne,
--> ano ... sazaesan ... fuufu ga ite,
... soshite,
--> ... sono ... sazaesan no ... imooto to ootoo ga imasu ne,
--> ... tara- ano katsuokun to wakamechan ga ne,

[ENGLISH]

--> ... well ... there is a boy called Tarachan ga,
--> ... then his grandfather and grandmother ga,
... and then,
... uhm,
--> there are ... Sazaesan ... and her husband ga,
... and,
--> ... then ... there are Sazaesan's ... younger brother and
sister ga,
--> ... Tara- uh Katsuokun and Wakamechan ga,

These five ga NPs are examples of first mention in the narrative.

In many cases, ga NPs are found after some kind of shift in the narrative such as change of scene (Chafe 1976:33), a shift between the story world of the Sazaesan movie and the actual interview scene where the narrator is telling a story to the interviewer. Consider Example (2):

(2) (Speaker 8, talking about Uncle Norisuke picking up Ikura on his way home from work)

[JAPANESE]

... de sono ato de ne,
1--> ... sono norisuke ojisan tte yuu no ga,
... tazunete kimashite,
... tazunete kita tte yuu ka,
maa,
... ikurachan no otoosan desu yo ne,
2--> ... ga,
sono ... yoru ni natta no de,

... sono jibun no uchi ni,
 ... hikitori ni kita wake desu yo.
 (6 clauses)
 ... de yokuasa ni narimashite,
 3--> ... ee ... minna de mata Ikurachan ga kuru no o matte ta n
 desu.

[ENGLISH]

... and after that,
 1--> ... uh (the person) called Uncle Norisuke ga,
 ... visits (Sazaesan's house),
 ... or rather,
 uhm,
 ... (he) is Ikura's father,
 2--> ... ga,
 uhm ... since the night has come,
 ... (he) comes to pick (him) up,
 ... to go home.
 (6 clauses)
 ... and the next morning,
 3--> ... uhm ... everyone was again waiting for Ikurachan ga to
 come.

Uncle Norisuke is introduced at the beginning of the narrative with ga. 17 clauses after the first mention, as we see at arrow 1, Uncle Norisuke re-enters the stage and is given the spotlight with ga. This ga NP also occurs at a thematic boundary marked by a temporal phrase, sono ato de ne 'after that'.

The ga at arrow 2 is an instance in which a given referent, Uncle Norisuke, is rephrased as Ikura's father. In other words, the spotlight is cast to Uncle Norisuke on the stage from a different angle. In Kuno's sense, this ga NP would be "given (predictable)", since the clause which includes it is a paraphrase of the previous clause. Both clauses mention Uncle Norisuke's visit to Sazaesan's house. This ga is also an example of world shift, since the narrator steps out of the story line, and makes a brief comment on Uncle Norisuke to the interviewer.

Ga at arrow 3 is an example of ga NP occurring at a thematic shift marked by a temporal clause, yokuasa ni narimashite 'and the next morning'. This NP is again given information in Kuno's sense, since Ikura is expected to come to Sazaesan's house in this context as indicated with a preceding word mata 'again'. Thus we have seen in example (2) that after some kind discourse shift, ga is used to recast the spotlight to the referent of the NP.

Next, consider Example (3):

(3) (Speaker 7, talking about Ikura's mischief)

[JAPANESE]

... de ... nani yatta ka na.
 ... keeki o nagete ne,
 ... nagete,
 --> ... sono nageta keeki ga choodo,
 ... koocha no naka ni haitte,

... shite kakattari toka ne,

[ENGLISH]

... let's see ... what did (Ikura) do.
... (he) threw a piece of cake,
... (he) threw (it),
--> ... the cake (he) threw ga,
... landed in the tea cup,
... and (the tea) splashed on (one),

The ga NP keeki 'cake' is given, or predictable, information in Kuno's sense, since it has just been mentioned and is the only thing that can go into the tea cup in this context. This ga NP occurs at a thematic shift, which advances the story from Ikura's action to the consequence of the action. 'Cake' is spotlighted with ga and is brought to the focus of consciousness.

In Example (4), the narrator is talking about the final scene of the story in which Ikura's mother and Ikura are visiting Sazaesan's family. There are many people present in the scene:

(4) (Speaker 10, Ikura's mother interpreting Ikura's baby talk)

[JAPANESE]

"a soo.
1--> soto no happa no ue ni katatsumuri ga iru no."
... sore o mawari ni ita minna ne,
so toku ni Wakame to ne,
2--> ... Katsuo ga bikkuri shite,
... dooshite wakaru no tsu tte,
futtonde,
soto e genkan e, a!
genkan,
niwa tte e dete mitara.
3--> hontoo katatsumuri ga iru wake yo.

[ENGLISH]

"oh yeah?
1--> Is there a snail ga on the leaf outside?"
... everyone else,
especially Wakame and,
2--> ... Katsuo ga was surprised,
... and said how come (she) understands (what Ikura says),
and (they were) astonished,
so (they went) out,
to the door,
to the backyard,
3--> and indeed snail ga was out there.

The ga NP at arrow 1 marks a brand-new referent katatsumuri, 'a snail'. The ga NP at arrow 2 is used in the context of competing referents. That is, ga pins down who, among many characters in the scene, is surprised by the mother's words. In

on-line speech production, the speaker has to make clear who is doing what in the story. Especially when the speaker describes a scene in which several characters are present, ga-marked NPs are used in order to ease the process of tracking referents.

The ga NP at arrow 3 refers to katatsumuri 'a snail', which indeed was on the leaf. No one in Sazaesan's family believed Ikura's mother's words that there was a snail on the leaf until they actually saw it in the backyard. Therefore, 'snail' is an unexpected referent. This example shows that ga spotlights an unexpected referent in the context.

The examination of the data has revealed that ga is used in many different contexts regardless of the given/new status of the NP. We have found that these discourse contexts always involve one or more of the following factors: 1) The referent of the NP has not been in the focus of consciousness. 2) There is more than one possible referent in the situation. 3) The referent is not expected in the situation described by the predicate. What seems to underlie all these factors is that information presented in the ga NP is brought to the primary focus of consciousness. That is, the referent of the ga NP is spotlighted in the discourse context. We claim that this "spotlighting" is the basic function of ga.⁸

3.3. Cognitive Cost

In our examination of the ga NPs in discourse contexts, some distributional features have stood out. First, we found that 78% (171 out of 220) of the subject ga NPs are the subject of one-argument predicates. We also found that many transitive clauses which take a subject ga NP in our data are low in transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980). For example, the verb and the direct object of those clauses express a unitary event (e.g., itazura suru [mischievous do] 'do mischief'). In addition, the direct object serves an adverb-like function (e.g., zenbu shaberu [all talk] 'tell everything'). These are clearly features of low transitivity. We suggest that these syntactically transitive clauses are functionally equivalent to intransitive clauses and thus that their subjects are very much like the subjects of one-argument predicates.

These distributional features nicely fit with the function of ga which was presented above. Specifically, we saw that ga is used to bring information presented in the NP to the primary focus of consciousness. Since this "spotlighting" serves a rather important discourse function, it seems reasonable to assume that it demands a certain amount of cognitive cost. Chafe (1976, 1987) suggests that the amount of information one can process at a time is limited. Thus, when a ga NP is used in discourse situations, the speaker may tend to express it in cognitively less demanding clause types in order to present information of the referent adequately.

Clause types which are cognitively less demanding are those which require only one argument.

Further, compatible with the above analysis, we found that ga NPs tend to co-occur with light content verbs such as iru 'there

is', kuru 'come', iu 'say', and so on. Light content verbs impose less cognitive cost by indicating a relatively small amount of semantic information.

Thus we found that the distributional characteristics of Japanese grammar nicely fit the spotlighting function of ga.

4. Summary

In this paper, by systematically examining spoken discourse data, we have shown that the basic function of ga is not to mark new information as suggested by earlier studies, but rather to bring information presented in the NP to the primary focus of consciousness. We call this function spotlighting. We have also suggested that, because of this cognitively rather demanding function, ga NPs tend to co-occur with cognitively less demanding predicate types such as one-argument predicates and light content verbs.

One lesson to be learned from the present effort is the following. This study revealed that earlier association of ga with new information based on made-up data is not adequate. This strongly suggests that one has to examine actual discourse data in order to reach any kind of conclusions about the real functions of linguistic forms.

Notes

1. This paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Chicago, January 1991. We are grateful to Noriko Akatsuka, Wally Chafe, Pat Clancy, Yoko Collier-Sanuki, Mike Ewing, Margaret Field, Carol Genetti, Ritva Laury, Marianne Mithun, Arthur Schwartz, Yasu Shirai, Sandy Thompson, and others for their help and encouragement as well as invaluable comments in the preparation for this paper.
2. Some of representative studies are Chafe (1970, 1976), Kuno (1972, 1973a and b), and Maynard (1980, 1981).
3. These data were collected by Pat Clancy. We are grateful to her for letting us use them.
4. There are some studies which have used a staging metaphor describing the functions of case particles in Japanese. Hinds (1979:323), for example, uses the term 'spotlighting' for the so-called topic particle wa and claims that wa in discourse makes the referent the focus of the addressee's attention. In our data, however, wa is frequently used in time phrases such as kyoo wa 'today' or kondo wa 'this time', which cannot be considered to have a concrete referent. We reserve the term 'spotlighting' strictly for ga in this study.

5. Chafe (1970:233, 1976:31) briefly mentions that Japanese ga marks new information. This observation has attracted the attention of many Japanese linguists. Chafe (1976:30) defines new information as the knowledge that the speaker assumes not to be in the addressee's consciousness at the moment of utterance. We analyzed ga NPs in our narrative data based on Chafe's definitions of given/new information, and found that many of ga NPs were given in Chafe's sense. Chafe (1987) has suggested another category called accessible information, which includes information activated earlier in a discourse and no longer active (given) in one's consciousness. Chafe (personal communication) has suggested that ga NPs include new, accessible and given information.

6. One of Kuno's (1973b:209) examples of new information is the following:

(a) Taroo to Hanako to Natsuko no uchi de dare ga ichiban
 and and among who the most
 segatakai ka.
 tall Q

'Among Taroo, Hanako and Natsuko, who ga is the tallest?'

(b) Taroo ga ichiban segatakai.
 the most tall

'Taroo ga is the tallest.'

According to Kuno (209), Taroo in (b) is considered as new information. There are three persons involved in the discourse and the person who is the tallest can be any of the three. Therefore, Taroo in (b) is unpredictable information.

Chafe's criterion for given/new distinction predicts different results. For him, Taroo in (b) is given information since it is mentioned in the immediately previous sentence (a).

7. A "matrix" clause in Kuno's sense (1973a:200-209, 1973b:126-134) does not include most of clause linking constructions, such as -node 'since', -toki 'when', many instances of -te 'and', etc. Among these, clause linking with -te is the most frequent in our spoken narrative data. In our data, -te often links two verbs with different subjects expressing other than temporal sequence (Example 1), or links two verbs sharing the same subject (Example 4). Kuno would call these types 'non-matrix clauses'. However, they do not seem to have the function of subordination.

8. We entertained the idea of retaining the established term "new" by modifying its definition. However, we decided to create a new term "spotlighting" because we think that it describes the function of ga better by characterizing what the Japanese speakers do in actual spoken discourse interaction.

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NP Coordination in Medieval Chinese: A Discourse Approach*

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0. Introduction

Coordination is among the most basic syntactic devices in world's languages. Yet studies of coordination in historical Chinese have tended to overlook the difference between the use of conjunction morphemes and the syntactic construct coordination.

One result of this oversight is that most research has focussed on the use and evolution of specific linking words (Xu 1981, Liu 1989, among others). Although such studies have their value, they can be misleading. All have presupposed that coordination by conjunction, whatever the conjunction token is, has been the basic device used throughout the history of the Chinese language¹. As will become clear, however, this is not the case.

Controversy has also arisen concerning the distinction between conjunctions and prepositions in ancient Chinese. Wang (1954, 1958), for example, claims that no such distinction can be made and uses the term lianjie ci 联结词 'linking word' to label both. A similar treatment is found in Zhan (1973) where the term guanxi ci 关系词 'relation word' is used for the two lexical categories in Shishuo Xinyu 世说新语. On the other hand, Xu (1981) argues that the functions of ji 及 as a conjunction and yu 与 as both a conjunction and a preposition are fairly clear both before and after Qin 秦,² therefore conjunctions and prepositions are distinct in Chinese.² (For recent discussions, see Zhou 1989 and Jiang 1990). In this paper, however, I will focus on the functional aspect of this problem and hope to show that it can be fruitful to deal with issues like this from a discourse standpoint.

Recent advances in discourse study have revealed many important universal properties related to the structure of coordination. Mithun (1988), for example, has found that while intonational linking of concepts is universal in spoken discourse, the grammaticization of coordination with overt linking words is not. Haiman (1983) points out the universality of iconic motivation in the structure of language, including coordination, noting specifically that as the linguistic distance between X and Y is reduced by coordination reduction, the conceptual distance between them is also reduced. Conceptions along this line provide useful tools for the study of historical syntax.

1. Purpose and methodology

This paper deals with nominal (or NP) coordination in medieval Chinese, a period that includes the third century A.D. to the

thirteenth century A.D.³ Two texts, Shishuo Xinyu 世说新语 and Dunhuang Bianwen 敦煌变文⁴, are chosen for comparison, since both are close to the colloquial language of their time. The language in Shishuo Xinyu 世说新语 belongs to Early Medieval Chinese, of the fifth century A.D., while that in Dunhuang Bianwen 敦煌变文 belongs to Late Medieval Chinese, of the ninth and tenth century A.D.

My chief interest in this paper is to profile the development of NP coordination from Early Medieval Chinese to Late Medieval Chinese. Attention is particularly paid to the process of grammaticization of syntactic categories over time. A functional explanation is attempted to account for the grammar of NP coordination in medieval Chinese.

2. NP coordination in Shishuo Xinyu 世说新语 (or Early Medieval Chinese)

2.1. Coordinate NPs may occur in various positions in an utterance. The examples below show some of the positions in which they appear.

They may be preverbal, where the coordinate NPs represent agents of the verb.

- (1) 俄而王齐王睹来。(雅量)
E'er Wang Qi Wang Du lai. (Yaliang)
soon Wang Qi Wang Du come
'Soon Wang Qi and Wang Du came.'⁵

They may be postverbal, where the coordinate NPs represent patients.

- (2) 后看老庄。(文学)
Hong huo kan Lao Zhuang, (Wenxue)
Hong later read Lao Zhuang
'Later, Hong read Laozi and Zhuangzi.'

They may be pivotal, where the NPs function both as the patients of the previous verb and the agents of the following verb.

- (3) 王中郎令伏玄度习凿齿论
Wang Zhonglang ling Fu Xuandu Xi Zuochi lun
Wang Zhonglang ask Fu Xuandu Xi Zuochi talk
'Wang Zhonglang asked Fu Xuandu and Xi Zuochi to talk about

青 楚 人 物 . (言 语)
 Qing Chu ren wu. (Yanyu)
 Qing Chu figure thing
 local people and scenery in the Qing and Chu area.'

They may appear in genitive constructions, representing either the possessor, as in (4), or the possessed, as in (5).

(4) 说 西 施 姐 姐 已 貌 . (变 文 : 657)
 Shuo Xi Shi Da Ji mao. (D)
 talk Xi Shi Da Ji appearance
 'Talk about the facial appearance of Xi Shi and Da Ji.'

(5) 他 家 日 月 自 分 明 . (变 文 : 567)
 Ta jia ri yue zi fenming. (D)
 3SG family sun moon self bright
 'Others' sun and moon are still brilliant.'

Coordinate NPs may appear as the objects of prepositions.

(6) 石 崇 素 与 瑜 琨 善 . (仇 隙)
 Shi Chong su yu Yu Kun shan. (Chouxi)
 Shi Chong long COMI Yu Kun be:friend
 'Shi Chong has long been friendly to Yu and Kun.'

2.2. There are basically two types of NP coordination structures in Shishuo Xinyu 世说新语. One is simple juxtaposition, i. e., coordination without an overt conjunction, as in (7).

(7) 王 刘 听 林 公 讲 . (赏 登)
 Wang Liu ting Lin gong jiang. (Shangyu)
 Wang Liu listen Lin mister lecture
 'Wang and Liu attended Mr. Lin's lecture.'

Nothing appears between the coordinate NPs 'Wang' and 'Liu'. Simple juxtaposition can conjoin more than two NPs.

(8) 子 曾 不 如 太 原 温 颢,
 Zi ceng bu ru Taiyuan Wen Yu,
 2SG probably NEG compare Taiyuan Wen Yu
 'You have never been the equal of Wen Yu of Taiyuan,

颖 川 荀 寗, 范 阳 张 华, 士 邴 刘 许,
 Yingchuan Xun Yu, Fanyang Zhang Hua, Shiqing Liu Xu,
 Yingchuan Xun Yu Fanyang Zhang Hua clan:officer Liu Xu
 Xun Yu of Yingchuan, Zhang Hua of Fanyang, officer Liu Xu,

义 阳 邹 湛, 河 南 郑 珣 . (排 调)
 Yiyang Zou Zhan, Henan Zheng Xu. (Paidiao)
 Yiyang Zou Zhan Henan Zheng Xu
 Zou Zhan of Yiyang and Zheng Xu of Henan.'

Of 211 instances of NP coordination in the entire data base, 200, or 95%, are of this type.

The other structure is coordination with a conjunction word, as in (9), where the conjunction ji 及 is used linking Yuanli and binke.⁶

- (9) 元礼 及 宾客 莫 不 奇 之。(言语)
Yuanli ji binke mo bu qi zhi. (Yanyu)
 Yuanli CONJ guest none NEG think:exception 3SG
 'Yuanli and guests all thought he was exceptional.'

Table 1 below summarizes the general situation for NP coordination in Shishuo Xinyu 世说新语.

Simple juxtaposition	200	95%
Overt conjunction	11	5%
Total NP coordination	211	100%

Table 1. NP coordination in Shishuo Xinyu 世说新语

Table 1 shows convincingly that the predominate device of NP coordination in Early Medieval Chinese is simple juxtaposition.

2.3. Conjunctions are used quite rarely. Of 11 conjunction-linked coordinations, 7 involve at least one non-specific NP referent. A nominal is considered non-specific if its referent is not an individual, and/or is not fully referential, as binke 'guests' in (9). For an illustrative minimal pair, compare the NPs in (10) and (11).

- (10) 王右军都夫人谓二弟司空 中郎 曰:(贤媛)
 Wang Youjun Xi furen wei er di Sikong Zhonglang yue:
 (Xian'ai)

Wang Youjun Xi wife tell two brother Sikong Zhonglang QUO
 'Wang Youjun's wife Xi told her two brothers Sikong and Zhonglang: '

- (11) 时 诸 人 士 及 林 法 师 并
 Shi zhu renshi ji Lin Fashi bing
 then several people CONJ Lin master together
 'At that time several people together with Master Lin

在 会稽 西 寺 讲。(文学)
 zai Kuaiji Xi Si jiang. (Wenxue)
 be:at Kuaiji West Temple lecture
 were lecturing at the Kuaiji West Temple.'

In (10), Sikong and Zhonglang are two individual persons, and no conjunction is used to link them; but in (11), zhu renshi 'several people' is a non-specific expression, and ji is used to link it with 'Lin Fashi'.

2.4. There are 4 cases where the linked NPs are specific, and yet a conjunction is used, e.g.,

- (12) 诸葛谨弟 亮 及 从弟 诞,
 Zhuge Jin di Liang ji congdi Dan,
 Zhuge Jin younger:brother Liang CONJ cousin Dan
 'Zhuge Jin, his younger brother Liang, and cousin Dan
- 並 有 盛 名。(品藻)
 bing you sheng ming. (Pinzao)
 all possess flourishing reputation
 all have flourishing reputations.'

Apparently, the function of the conjunction here is to subdivide the last NP from what precedes it. The NPs before and after the conjunction are conceptually separable, that is, they are taken as in some way related to but distinct from each other. We may call such NPs separable NPs. In (12), the NP referents before the conjunction, Zhuge Jin and his brother Zhuge Liang, are closer in kinship than they are with their cousin Zhuge Dan, the NP referent after the conjunction.

Separable NPs are not limited to kinship. Consider (13).

- (13) 王子猷子敬兄弟共 赏
 Wang Ziqiu Zijing xiongdi gong shang
 Wang Ziqiu Zijing brother together read
 'The brothers Wang Ziqiu and Wang Zijing together read
- 高士 传 人 及 赞。(品藻)
 Gaoshi Zhuan ren ji zan. (Pinzao)
 noble biography figure CONJ commentary
 the figures and the commentaries of the Noble
 Biography.'

Here 'figure' and 'commentary' are separated because the figure part is normally considered the main body of a biographical book, and the commentaries are epenthetic to it.⁷

2.5. From a discourse point of view, three kinds of coordinate NPs stand as distinct in Early Medieval Chinese: (a) conceptually unitary coordinate NPs --- those that are specific, and normally get simple juxtaposition; typical of this are those frozen expressions such as Lao Zhuang '(sages) Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi', Yao Shun '(ancestors) Emperor Yao and Emperor Shun', which are seldom separated by a conjunction. (b) non-specific NPs, as defined earlier, those that are non-individual, not fully referential. They are typically linked by overt conjunctions; and (c) separable NPs, which may be specific but conceptually distinct from each other and can be overtly conjoined by conjunctions. This last type of coordinate NPs appear to be rare in Early Medieval Chinese, as compared with those in Late Medieval Chinese (cf. 4.2).

The data presented above suggest a NP hierarchy concerning how coordination receives overt linking:

Non-specific > Separable > Unitary

That is, non-specific NP referents are most likely to have overt

marking while conceptually unitary NP referents are least likely.

3. Comitatives

Contrary to the general practice, the figures provided in Table 1 do not include comitatives. We found evidence to maintain the distinction between comitatives and coordinations in medieval Chinese.

3.1. In coordinating constructions, the linked NPs by definition have the same grammatical status, and nothing appears between NP1 (the NP before the conjunction) and the conjunction; in comitative constructions, however, the NPs involved do not have an equal status, and adverbials and negatives are freely inserted between NP1 and the preposition. Examples (14) and (15) contain comitative constructions where the comitative preposition is preceded by an adverbial or a negative.

- (14) 宣王既与亮对渭而陈。(方正)
Xuan Wang ji yu Liang dun Wei er chen,
(Fangzheng)
Xuan Prince already COMI Liang face Wei V:CONJ deploy
'Prince Xuan already deployed his army at the other bank
of the Wei River facing with Liang's army.'

- (15) 王太尉不与庾子嵩交。(方正)
Wang Taiwei bu yu Yu Zisong jiao. (Fangzheng)
Wang marshal NEG COMI Yu Zisong be:friend
'Grand Marshal Wang was not on friendly terms with Yu
Zisong.'

3.2. The distribution, in connection with what we just said in 3.1, of ji 及 and yu 与, supports the coordination-comitative distinction. I found that yu 与 is basically a comitative preposition (for the only one exception, see note 6), and ji 及 is only a conjunction in Early Medieval Chinese.

3.2.1. Coordination may or may not involve an overt conjunction, whereas a comitative must have a comitative preposition present.

3.2.2. Zero anaphora is not allowed in coordination, but possible in comitatives. Below are comitatives which have zero anaphora in different positions with regard to the comitative preposition.

- (16) 司徒王戎既贵且富。
Situ Wang Rong ji gui qie fu.
director Wang Rong V:CONJ noble V:CONJ wealthy
'Director Wang Rong was both noble and wealthy.
...
洛下无比。
Luo xia wu bi.
Luo vicinity NEG compare
He was unequalled in the Luoyang area.
...'

每 与 夫人 烛 下 散 筹 弄 计。(俭 蓄)
(0) Mei yu furen zhu xia sanchou nongji.
(Jianse)

(Wang) often COMI wife candle:under spread:rod count:sum
(Wang) was often with his wife spreading out the counting
rods to calculate their earnings under the lamp.'

(17) 诸葛 亮 将 远 徙,
Zhuge Hong ... jiang yuanxi,
Zhuge Hong future far:move
'Zhuge Hong was sent for exile,

友人 王 奕 甫 之 徒
youren Wang Yipu zhitu
friend Wang Yipu others
his friend Wang Yipu and others

诣 槛 车 与 别。(黜 免)
zhi jianche yu (0) bie. (Chumian)
go:to prison:van COMI (Zhuge) see:off
went to his prisoner's van to say good-bye to (him).'

(18)a. 阮 籍 嫂 尝 还 家,
Ruan Ji sao chang huan jian,
Ruan Ji brother's wife once return home
'Ruan Ji's brother's wife once wanted to visit her
family,

b. 籍 见 ,
Ji jian,
Ji see
Ruan Ji saw her,

c. 与 别。(任 诞)
(0) yu (0) bie. (Rendan)
(Ruan) COMI (her) say:good-bye
and (Ruan) said good-bye to (her).'

3.2.3. Finally, in text comitatives are used when NP1 shows higher topicality and/or empathy than NP2 (Kuno 1976, Chafe 1976). In other words, in comitatives there is a difference in discourse roles between NP1 and NP2, whereas in coordination there is not.

In (19) the NP1, Prime Minister Wang, is clearly the topic of the passage.

(19)a. 王 丞相 过 江,
Wang Chengxiang guo Jiang,
Wang prime:minister cross Long:River
'After Prime Minister Wang escaped across the Long
River,

- b. 自 说 昔 在 洛水 边 ,
 (0) zi shuo xi zai Luoshui bian,
 (Wang) self say past be:at Luo:river side
 he talked about the past when he was at the bank
 of the Luo River,
- c. 数 与 裴 成 云 阮 千 里
 (0) shu yu Pei Chenggong Ruan Qianli
 (Wang) several:time COMI Pei Chenggong Ruan Qianli
 for many times (he)
- d. 诸 贤 共 谈 道 . (企 羨)
 zhu xian gong tan dao. (Qixian)
 several noble together discuss principle
 with Pei Chenggong, Ruan Qianli and other nobles
 discussed the principle of the nature.'

In (20), NP1 represents the speaker's focus of empathy , namely, the speaker is presenting the event from NP1's (here, Ruan's) point of view. First, the referent 'neighboring lady', the initial topic of the passage, is introduced by anchoring it with only Ruan (in (20a)), rather than both Ruan and Wang.

- (20)a. 阮 公 邻 家 妇 有 美 色 ,
 Ruan gong linjia fu you meise,
 Ruan mister neighbor lady possess beauty
 'Mr. Ruan's neighboring lady was a pretty woman,
- b. 当 垆 沽 酒 .
 dang lu gu jiu.
 be:at liquor:store sell liquor
 (She) sold liquor at her store.

Later, as the text continues, Ruan emerges as the topic of the subsequent discourse (in (20d)).

- (20)c. 阮 与 王 安 丰 常 从 妇 饮 酒 ,
 Ruan yu Wang Anfeng chang cong fu yin jiu,
 Ruan with Wang Anfeng often go:to lady drink liquor
 Ruan often went together with Wang to the lady for
 drinks.
- d. 阮 醉 便 眠 其 妇 侧 . (任 诞)
 Ruan zui bian mian qi fu ce. (Rendan)
 Ruan drunk then sleep that lady side.
 When Ruan got drunk he always slept beside the lady.'

It is important to note that looking at sentences like (20c) in isolation, or appealing to clause-level semantics alone, does not enable us to determine the syntactic nature of the construction in question, as some scholars (e.g., Zhan, 1973) have claimed. It is true that with coordination constructions in the preverbal position, the action is performed by both NP1 and NP2, while in comitatives it is performed by NP1 (possibly affecting NP2, as in

(18c)); however, there is no way to use this criterion to determine comitatives like (19c-d) and (20c) where the action is performed by both NP1 and NP2 (and syntactically nothing appears before yu in (20c)). Only a text analysis reveals that the linked NPs in sentences like (19c) and (20c) differ in their discourse status; and they are in comitative constructions, rather than in coordinate nominals.

3.3. Summary of NP coordination in Early Medieval Chinese. Simple juxtaposition is the major device used in this period. Overt marking, with ji 及, appears mainly with non-specific NPs. It also appears with separable NPs. The frequency of the latter case, however, is fairly low. Unitary NP referents contrast conceptually with both non-specific and separable NPs. In grammar, conceptually unitary NP referents tend to be linked by zero forms, while the others take overt conjunctions. Comitative relationships are expressed by yu 与 in Early Medieval Chinese. They differ from coordination in both morpho-syntax and discourse in a number of ways; most importantly, NPs in comitatives play different discourse roles.

4. NP coordination in Dunhuang Bianwen 敦煌变文 (or Late Medieval Chinese)

4.1. Simple juxtaposition remains the major device for NP coordination in Late Medieval Chinese, as shown in Table 2. The frequency of overt conjunction has increased substantially, however, as can be seen by comparing these figures to those in Table 1.

Simple juxtaposition	480	82%
Overt conjunction	112	18%
Total NP coordination	592	100%

Table 2. NP coordination in Dunhuang Bianwen 敦煌变文

4.2. The increase of overt marking in this period is due primarily to the grammaticization of what we shall call sub-dividability. Sub-dividability is taken in general to refer to coordination where conjuncts are closely related yet separable.⁸

Sub-dividability makes reference to both discourse context and conception.

4.2.1. Contextual sub-dividability. NP referents may be closely associated in a discourse event and yet differ in importance in the context where they appear. These NPs tend to receive overt marking when coordinated.

- (21) 康太清 取毯 一领及钉, (变文:219)
 Kang Taiqing ... qu zhan yi ling ji ding, (D)
 Kang Taiqing get blanket one CLS CONJ nail
 'Kang Taiqing then brought a blanket, and nails.'

Here, according to the text, the blanket is the major item needed to demonstrate the medical technique of a monk depicted in the story, and the nails are to be used just to nail up the blanket. Below is another example.

(22) 皇后 禁 贤 狱 中 ,
 Huanghou ... jin Xian yu zhong,
 empress imprison Xian prison inside
 'The empress put Xian behind the bars,

贤 共 妇 俱 时 自 倒 而 死 也 (变文:163)
Xian gong fu ju shi zi dao er si ye. (D)
 Xian CONJ wife all then self fall V:CONJ die PRT
 Xian and his wife then both fell down and died.'

Xian in this story is the main character.

Contextual sub-dividable coordinations are apparently rare. We found only 6 examples of this type in Dunhuang Bianwen 敦煌变文.

4.2.2. The majority of overt conjunctions involve conceptual sub-dividability. That is, conjoined elements are conceptually classified as one category, yet belong to different subcategories.

Conceptually sub-dividable nominal elements may form the whole coordination construction. Schematically, in 'A, B CONJ C, D', A, B, C and D are the conjoined nominals, yet the unit consisting of A and B is separable from that consisting of C and D.

(23)a. 彼 是 山 林 之 中 ,
 Bei shi shanglin zhi zhong,
 DEM time forest NOM inside
 'At that time in the forest,

b. 迦 毗 罗 鸟 兔 及 猕 猴 象 等 四 兽 ,
jiapiluo niao tu ji mihou xiang deng si shou,
 Jiapiluo bird hare CONJ macaque elephant those four
 animal
 the four animals: Jiapiluo bird, hare and macaque,
 elephant

c. 结 为 兄 弟 . (变文:855)
 jie wei xiongdi. (D)
 form RESULT brother
 became sworn brothers.'

At first glance, the division of the four animals into two groups in (23b) is rather obscure. It turns out that in this fable the bird stands for the Buddha himself, and the hare stands for the famous Buddhist Sheli; and the macaque and the elephant stand for Mulian and A'nan respectively, who are the two pupils of Buddha.

In other cases, a conjoined element itself is subdividable so the overt marking is used; schematically, 'A, B(b1 CONJ b2), C, D', as in the following example.

- (24) a. 给 孤 老 者 便 布 施
 Jigu zhangzhe ... bian bushi
 Jigu rich:man then donate
 'This rich man of Jigu then donated
- b. 五 百 个 童 身,
wu bai ge tongshen,
 five hundred CLS young:boy
 five hundred young boys,
- c. 五 百 个 童 女
wu bai ge tongnu
 five hundred CLS young:girl
 five hundred young girls,
- d. 五 百 头 牝 牛 并 犊 子,
wu bai tou zi niu bing duzi,
 five hundred CLS female cow CONJ calf
 five hundred cows and calves,
- e. 金 钱 舍 勒 三 故. (变 文 :819)
jinqian, shele, sangu. (D)
 money, shele, sangu
 money, shele and sangu.'

In (24d) cows are separated from calves.
 Consider another example, which involves human referents.

- (25) 父 母 及 儿 三 人 知,
fu mu ji er san ren zhi,
 father mother CONJ son three person know
 'Only the father, mother and the son they three knew,
- 余 人 不 知. (变 文 :290)
yu ren bu zhi. (D)
 rest person NEG know
 the rest did not.'

The parents are separated from the son.

In this section, then, we have seen that conjunctions are used in Late Medieval Chinese to link NPs that are sub-dividable in terms of both context and conception.

4.3. In Late Medieval Chinese, conjunctions, mostly *ji*, also appear with non-specific NPs, as is the case in Early Medieval Chinese.

- (26) a. 其 时 太 子 在 宫 中,
 Qi shi...taizi zai yu gong zhong,
 DEM time prince be:at at palace inside
 'At that time, the Prince was in his palace,
 ...

- b. 遂遣宫监及诸从人,
 sui qian gongjian ji zhu congren,
 then order royal:officer CONJ various servant
 he asked royal officers and various servants
 ...
- c. 同往观看。(变文:334)
 tong wang guankan.(D)
 together go watch
 to travel together with him.'

Both 'royal officers' and 'servants' in (26b) are non-specific. Sometimes sub-dividability and non-specificity overlap, as in (27a).

- (27)a. 玄宗皇帝及朝廷大臣
 Xuanzong huangdi ji chaoting dachen
 Xuanzong emperor CONJ royal minister
 'Emperor Xuanzong and ministers
- b. 叹净能绝古超今。(变文:223)
 tan Jingneng jueguchaoji. (D)
 admire Jingneng never-seen-before-never-to-occur-again
 praised Jingneng the smartest of all time.'

An even more interesting example is (21)(in 4.2.1), where the overtly linked conjuncts (sub-dividable NPs) differ in contextual importance, with the more important one having a specific form, zhan yi ling 'one (classifier) blanket' and the less important one a non-specific form ding 'nail(s)'.

4.4. Another factor that affects the figures of overt marking in Table 2 is rhyming. In Dunhuang Bianwen 敦煌变文, many texts consist of both narratives and poetry (or lyrics). Of the 112 cases of overt marking, nearly half of them (55 out of 112) are in the poetic portion of the text.

Narrative	57	50.08%
Poetry	55	49.92%
Total overt-marking	112	100%

Table 3. Conjunctions in narrative and poetry

Thus, we find many cases where conjunctions are used only in the poetic portion, but not in narratives, even though they are identical in content. Compare nan nu 'male and female (children)' in the following two segments of the same text.

(28)a. Narrative:

- 男 女 成 长 已 后,
 Nan nu chengzhang yihou,
 male female grow:up after
 'After the males and females (children) grow up,

各 须 仕 宦，
ge xu shihuan,
everyone need be:official
they need to seek an official imperial position.

经营 总 出 他 州，
Jingying zong chu ta zhou,
do always go other state
If they do, they usually have to go out somewhere else.

母 心 相 逐。(变文:689)
mu xin xiangzhu. (D)
mother heart be:with
Mother will always be thinking of them (no matter where they are).'

b. Poetry:

思量 我 等 生 身 母，
Siliang wodeng sheng shen mu,
think:about 1PL birth body mother
'Think about our mothers,

终日 忧 怜 男 与 女。(:689)
Zhongri youlian nan yu nu. (D)
all-day worry male CONJ female
They worry about their children all the time.'

Notice that in the poetry each line has exactly seven syllables; without the conjunction yu the second line would have only six syllables, resulting in an uneven mix of the two.

4.5. In Late Medieval Chinese we find four kinds of constructions, --conceptually unitary coordination, non-specific NP coordination, sub-dividable coordination, and the comitative construction. The co-existence of these four yields a diversification of the linking tokens: the conjunction ji 及 is used for both the non-specific NP coordination (as in Early Medieval Chinese) and the sub-dividable NP coordination; yu 与, as in Early Medieval Chinese, is still primarily the comitative marker, but can also be used in sub-dividable coordinations. Furthermore, sub-dividable coordinations are found to be marked also by other tokens such as jiyi 及以, bing 并, jian 兼 and gong 共, etc. Apparently there is no significant difference among these conjunctions, except in frequency. Table 4 below shows the frequency of occurrence of each of conjunctions found in Dunhuang Bianwen 敦煌变文.

及 ji	65	並及 bingji	1
与 yu	22	共 gong	1
并 bing	11	及以 jiyi	1
兼 jian	7	兼与 jianyu	1
兼及 jianji	3		
		Total	112

Table 4. Conjunctions of sub-dividable NPs
in Dunhuang Bianwen 敦煌变文

We have seen a case of using bing 並 in (24d) above. Now look at example (29) with jian 兼.

- (29) 遍 野 飞 禽 兼 走 兽, (变文:484)
Pian ye fei qin jian zou shou, (D)
all:over field fly bird CONJ walk beast
'Flying birds and walking beasts are everywhere,'

The variety of conjoining tokens found in this period is reminiscent of a common principle in historical syntax, that is, whenever the grammaticization of a newly emerged structure is in progress, the grammatical elements that are currently available in the language will compete for it (Hopper 1988; Peyraube, forthcoming).

On the other hand, the variety of conjunctions in Late Medieval Chinese confirms Mithun's (1988:351) finding:

"Coordinating conjunctions arise from a variety of sources, at a variety of points in the grammar, and spread in a variety of directions. There does not appear to be a universal path of development along which they necessarily evolve." A detailed description of the origins of the conjunctions involved here is beyond the scope of the present study. Briefly, we find that almost all of these linking elements originate from verbs. They appear as conjunctions at various points in time (not necessarily in Late Medieval Chinese). And many of them are also used in Late Medieval Chinese for verbal coordination or clause linking.

4.6. Summary of NP coordination in Late Medieval Chinese. Many of the coordinating patterns in Early Medieval Chinese are continued in Late Medieval Chinese. The most prominent development is that the coordination of sub-dividable NP referents emerges only in Late Medieval Chinese as a grammaticized syntactic construction. That it is expressed by various conjunctions of different sources is seen as an instantiation of the principle of competing forms in the evolution of language; it also provides a case where the source of conjunctions is found to be non-unique.

5. Concluding remarks

We conclude this paper by proposing the iconicity principle (cf. Haiman 1983) for the grammar of NP coordination in medieval Chinese.

Our proposal is that the greater the distance between coordinate NPs perceived by the speaker, the more likely the NPs are to be

separated by linguistic elements in the grammar.

Assuming that the degree of separation of the conjoined NP referents becomes greater in a continuum beginning from unitary coordination, to non-specific NP coordination or sub-dividable coordination, and ultimately to comitative, it is easy to understand why unitary coordination is syntactically in contrast with all the others, i.e., expressed by simple juxtaposition as opposed to overt linking.

At the other extreme we see a contrast between coordination and comitative constructions: since NPs in a comitative are conceptually most distant from each other, only in this construction we find that adverbials and negatives are allowed to be inserted in between the NPs; and, unlike conjunctions in coordination, the comitative preposition is obligatorily used.

The iconicity principle also predicts the place of the grammaticization of overt linking in coordination constructions. Specifically, it predicts that the overt-linking for coordination constructions most likely takes place where conceptual separation is distant between NP referents. This is exactly the case we found for sub-dividable coordination in Late Medieval Chinese.

Finally, let us schematically combine the iconicity principle and the diachronic development of NP coordination from Early Medieval Chinese (EMC) to Late Medieval Chinese (LMC) as below.

----- Degree of Separation of NPs ----->					
	unitary	-> non-specific/sub-dividable	-> comitative		
EMC:	∅	及 ji	(rare)	adv. + 与 yu	 D i a c h r o n y v
LMC:	∅	及 ji	及 ji/与 yu 兼 jian/并 bing 共 gong, etc.	adv. + 与 yu	

NOTES

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Abbreviations used in the glosses:

8. Recall that in Early Medieval Chinese we had a small number of cases where overt conjunctions were used to link separable NPs. We do not intend to claim, however, that sub-dividability emerges in Early Medieval Chinese, simply because that such cases in Shishuo Xinyu 世说新语 are too few to enable us to draw any conclusion.

9. The issue of the lexical meanings of shele 舍勒 and sangu 三故 has not been resolved.

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周生亚：并列连词“与、及”用法辨析

THE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS OF ASSOCIATIVE DE IN MANDARIN DISCOURSE

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I. INTRODUCTION¹

Complex relational noun phrases in Mandarin coding a possessive meaning can be formed with the associative marker de linking the 'possessor' and the 'possessed'. In Mandarin, the typical order of elements is for modifier to precede modified, hence in complex noun phrases, the modifying possessive phrase precedes the head noun. First, a pronominal possessor is exemplified in (1):

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----|-----------------------|
| (1) | NP1{Possessor} | DE | NP2{Possessed} |
| | wo | DE | jisuanji |
| | I | GEN | computer ² |
| | 'my computer' | | |

The same construction is used when the first NP is not a pronoun; in fact, semantically speaking, it may not even be a possessor, as in (2) and (3):

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--------|-----|--------|-------------|
| (2) | mao | gou | DE | longzi | |
| | cat | dog | GEN | crates | |
| | 'crates for cats and dogs' | | | | (SC-107-08) |
| (3) | Riben | ren | DE | dongxi | |
| | Japan | person | GEN | thing | |
| | 'Japanese products' | | | | (JR-04-36) |

It is also possible for the particle de to be omitted, as in (4), which forms an equally acceptable complex relational noun phrase:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| (4) | ni | _____ | naozi | _____ | litou |
| | 2sg | | brain | | inside |
| | 'inside your brain' | | | | (SC-85-17) |

It is precisely this alternation between marking by de and zero-marking which is the object of our study.

In this paper we will consider constructions such as those exemplified in (1) through (4) to be 'associative', following Li & Thompson (1981:113-116), who use this term to refer to a broad range of semantic relations between the two referents of the head and modifying noun (but excluding NN compounds, where the first N is a non-referential description of the second). From here on, we will neutrally refer to the NPs in such constructions as NP1 and NP2, as indicated in (1).

Note that this same particle de carries a heavy grammatical load in Mandarin, being used in several other major grammatical roles to form 'left-

branching' relative clauses, in attributive adjectival modification, as a nominalizer and also in both 'situational cleft' and equational 'pseudocleft' sentences. These are outside the scope of our study, unless they turn up as part of an associative NP. The functions of de are discussed in detail in Zhu (1961), Chao (1968), Li & Thompson (1981), Ross (1983), and Packard (1988), among others.

To explain the alternation between zero-marking and use of de, several grammars and analyses of Mandarin have hinted or proposed that the absence of the associative de signals the relation of inalienable possession (e.g., Dragunov 1960, Rygaloff 1971, Chao 1968, Li & Thompson 1981, Egerod 1985, Tiee 1986). However, an examination of actual discourse data shows exceptions in both directions: some prototypically inalienably possessed referents occur with de and some clearly alienably possessed referents take no de. In fact, the data strongly suggest that no categorical rule is possible, since for any category, apparent exceptions can be found.

While all linguists of Chinese agree that the marker de need not be present in all associative constructions, the issue of the conditions governing its appearance is controversial.

On the basis of a large database of informal written and spoken Mandarin, we provide quantitative evidence in support of the hypothesis that there are a number of factors affecting the choice of whether or not to use de, among the most important of which are economic and iconic (Haiman 1983, 1985). We show that this 'rule' is a probabilistic one, with use of de determined by a convergence of 5 main factors.

II. DATABASE

Our database consisted of 440 associative expressions, taken from both written and spoken sources.

The written sources (292 tokens total) included five chapters from the autobiography of Yang Buwei (Mrs. Chao Yuenren) (Yige Nürende Zizhuan) (129 tokens), and thirteen personal letters, written by a Chinese friend in Australia to the first author, who was living in Germany (163 tokens). We consider both these sources to reflect a relatively informal style of written Chinese.

Our spoken language sources (148 tokens total) included 10 short 2-3-party conversations and one Pear Story (Chafe (1980)). We input these data onto the computer using Paradox 3.0 which is a relational database management program.

Here is a summary of the data, with the initials used in identifying our examples:

Yang Buwei	YB	129
Letters	CC	163
Conversations:		
	BB	21
	CE	41
	SC	56
	JR	7
	HY	5
Pear Story	PS	<u>18</u>
		440

4. REFERENTIALITY [Trichotomous]

Was NP1 referential (designating a specific concept) or non-referential? If the NP was non-referential, we then asked whether it was 'predicative' or 'generic'. By 'predicative' we understand an NP whose discourse role is to form a part of the predicate, as doctor in He is a doctor's husband. Otherwise we counted a non-referential NP as 'generic'.

a) referential:

- (14) wo zhangfu
 1SG husband
 'my husband' (YB-058-J-02)

b) generic:

- (15) meige keren bei
 each guest blanket
 'each guest's blanket' (YB-031-D-35)

c) predicative: there were no predicative NP1s in the database

II. NP2

5. INHERENT SEMANTICS OF NP2 [Multivalent]

For the inherent semantics of NP2, we again posited a scale of egocentricity. This time, we distinguished seven points along this scale, roughly according to how close the NP2 referent was to NP1.

a) kin, family

- (16) ta DE gege
 3SG GEN (older) brother
 'his (older) brother' (YB-066-C-21)

b) body parts

- (17) ta DE piqu
 3SG GEN buttocks
 'his buttocks' (YB-031-J-32)

c) human

- (18) women neige laoshi
 1PL that:CL teacher
 'that teacher of ours' (BB-4-48)

d) terms for spatial orientation

(19) *women* *jia* *fangzi* *houtou*
 2PL family house behind
 (lit) 'our family's house's behind'
 = 'behind our house' (YB-032-J-25)

e) concrete inanimate object

(20) *meige* *keren* *bei*
 each guest blanket
 'each guest's blanket' (YB-031-D-35)

f) institution or location

(21) *ta* *zheige* *difang*
 3SG this place
 'his place (here)' (CE-26-406)

(22) *tamen* *danwei*
 3PL unit
 'their unit' (CE-30-460)

g) semi-abstract or abstract concept

(23) *ta* *DE* *hua*
 3SG GEN word
 'his words' (SC-97-3)

6. RECENCY OF MENTION [Dichotomous]

As with parameter 2, recency of mention was determined in the same way for NP2, as modified by NP1.

7. CONJOINING [Dichotomous]

Was NP2 conjoined?

(24) *wo* *DE* *gege* *huo* *meimei*
 3SG GEN elder CONJ younger
 brother sister
 'my elder brother or younger sister' (CC-08-P)

8. REFERENTIALITY [Trichotomous]

As above, we asked whether NP2 was referential (designating a specific or definite concept) or non-referential (either generic or predicative).

a) referential:

(25) *wo* *zhangfu*
 1SG husband
 'my husband' (YB-058-J-02)

b) generic:

- (26) *meige keren* — *bei*
 each guest — blanket
 'each guest's blanket' (YB-031-D-35)

c) predicative:

- (27) (*zhe shi*) *wo* *DE* *xiang-fa*
 this be 1SG GEN think-way
 '[this was] my idea' (HY-24)

9. MODIFICATION OF NP2 [Dichotomous]

We coded NP2 according to whether it was modified by prenominal adjectives or demonstratives.

- (28) *women* — *neige gou*
 2PL that dog
 'that dog of ours' (SC-105-10)

III. THE WHOLE ASSOCIATIVE EXPRESSION

10. ASSOCIATIVE EXPRESSION WITH POSTPOSITION [Dichotomous]

We coded the whole associative expression for whether it was accompanied by a postposition. In Mandarin, postpositions designate location (Li & Thompson 1981:391-395). For this parameter, we only counted as 'postpositions' those monosyllabic locative morphemes which are suffixed to a noun, unstressed, and atonal, such as *li* 'in' in example (29) below:⁴

- (29) *wo* — *wu - li*
 1SG room- in
 'in my room' (SC-43-23)

Bisyllabic locational forms were counted as instances of NP2 as spatial orientation exemplified by (19) above, repeated here:

- (19) *women jia* *fangzi* — *houtou*
 2PL family house behind
 (lit.) 'our house's behind'
 = 'behind our house' (YB-032-J-25)

The rationale for distinguishing the two types of locative expressions is that the bisyllabic forms can be viewed as independent nouns. They are morphologically complex, consisting of a locative morpheme (e.g., *hou* 'behind' in (19) and what is historically a noun (either *tou* 'head', as in (19)), *bian* 'side' or *mian* 'face'). Not surprisingly, then, it is only the bisyllabic locative expressions which may occur with or without the

associative marker de. That is, the monosyllabic postpositions behave like bound suffixes to the noun whereas the bisyllabic forms can be justifiably viewed as independent nouns.

11. 'TANDEM' ASSOCIATIVE EXPRESSIONS (Trichotomous)

Finally, we asked whether there were three or more nouns joined together in the associative expression, hypothesizing that 'stacked-up' associative phrases might influence the use of de.

- | | <u>NP1</u> | <u>NP2</u> | <u>NP3</u> | |
|------|--|--------------|------------|----------------|
| (30) | <u>women</u> | <u>jia</u> | <u>DE</u> | <u>xiaohai</u> |
| | 2PL | home | GEN | child |
| | lit. 'our home's children | | | |
| | = 'the children in our home' (YB-027-B-03) | | | |
| (31) | <u>wo</u> | <u>fuqin</u> | <u>DE</u> | <u>qongshi</u> |
| | 1SG | father | GEN | office |
| | 'my father's office' (YB-073-6-03) | | | |

12. SPOKEN VS. WRITTEN

To determine whether the spoken vs. written modality was a factor in the use of de, we coded each associative expression for whether it was from our spoken or written corpus: for the spoken corpus, 70/148 or 47% occurred with de, whereas for the written corpus, the proportion was somewhat higher with 173/292, or 59%, of the examples from this category using de. At this stage in our analysis, we have not yet coded this for the variable rule analysis (see section B below). In terms of absolute numbers for spoken and written data correlated with presence and absence of de using the Paradox software, only a slight preference for use of de in the written corpus can be discerned. Whether or not this is statistically significant remains to be tested. In section B, therefore, we consider only 11 of the 12 independent variables.

B. QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGY

Since the factors which might possibly influence the choice of de are not independent of each other, it was clear that we could not simply compare which values of which parameters correlated most closely with the presence or absence of de. For example, we found that of 145 associative expressions with first person NPs, only 49, or 34%, occurred with de. But this finding tells us nothing unless we also know what the influence and weighting of each of the other ten independent variables were in these expressions. Many of the first person NPs, for instance, occurred with kin terms in our database (81/145 or 56%), and both of these factors appeared to correlate strongly with absence of de. In fact, zero-marking occurred with almost 50% (72/145) of associative NPs with first person NPs and kin NP2. Hence, before we could determine to what degree both of these factors consistently influence the presence or absence of de, we needed to apply a computational procedure which would tease apart the variables to ascertain which are relevant.

VARBRUL, developed by William Labov and David Sankoff, is designed to do just this. To search for possible conditioning factors, VARBRUL uses a multiple regression technique, the mathematical model for which is described in Sankoff & Labov (1979) and Sankoff (1988). Accordingly, after coding our associative phrases, we applied the most recent version of VARBRUL, GOLDVARB 2.0, updated by David Rand and David Sankoff (1990), to the database.

All the 11 independent variables were linguistic, involving either pragmatic or semantic factors. (As noted above, the parameter of spoken versus written data is still to be coded and tested.)

IV. RESULTS

According to GOLDVARB 2.0, of the 11 independent variables we hypothesized might influence the choice of de, only six turn out to be relevant. These include only one factor for NP1, three for NP2, and two for the whole associative expression:

NP1

1. INHERENT SEMANTICS OF NP1 [Multivalent]

NP2

5. INHERENT SEMANTICS OF NP2 [Multivalent]
6. RECENCY OF MENTION [Dichotomous]
9. MODIFICATION OF NP2 [Dichotomous]

WHOLE ASSOCIATIVE EXPRESSION

10. ASSOCIATIVE EXPRESSION WITH POSTPOSITION [Dichotomous]
11. 'TANDEM' ASSOCIATIVE EXPRESSIONS (Trichotomous)

From these results, a number of interesting conclusions can be drawn:

1. The factors influencing the use of de in Mandarin associatives appear to be of at least three types. First, inherent semantic factors are involved, in the form of parameters 1 and 5, that is, the semantic properties of NP1 and NP2. Second, combinatorial semantic or structural factors also play a role, in the form of parameters 9, 10, and 11, involving whether NP2 is preminally modified, followed by a postposition, or preceded by another associative expression. Third, factors involving information flow in the discourse are at work; thus, parameter 6 measures the givenness of NP2.

The fact that at least these three types of factors are converging to influence a speaker's use of de may partially explain why earlier researchers have had considerable difficulty in describing the alternation.

2. According to the GOLDVARB program, the inherent semantic properties of NP1 are the only features of this NP that are relevant for the choice of de. All the other relevant factors are features of NP2 or of the whole

associative expression.

This finding accords well with our intuition that NP2, representing as it does the head of the expression, should be more relevant to determining the use of the associative marker than NP1, which is constructed as the modifier of NP2. In particular, we are not surprised that, according to GOLDVARB, the given-new parameter seems to be important only for NP2, but not for NP1. Again, the reason seems to have to do with the fact that NP2 is the head of the construction; hence its givenness, rather than that of NP1, should be more relevant for determining the use of the associative marker than that of the modifying NP1.

3. A further question that may be raised at this point is the following: given that we have isolated six factors that seem to be relevant in the use of de, do they influence the speaker to use or to omit de? We cannot completely answer this question, but we can suggest two promising avenues of exploration.

Let us first consider parameters 9, 10, and 11, involving extra morphemes in the associative expression. Here the data strongly suggest that the addition of extra material to the associative expression, in the form of a modifier, a postposition, or another associative expression, disfavors the use of de.

First, we consider parameter 9, involving the use of a modifier of NP2, as in:

(32) *ni ziji ___ pigu*
 2SG REFL buttocks
 'your own buttocks' (YB-031-J-42)

Out of 61 such examples, only 22, or 36%, occurred with de, suggesting a correlation between the presence of a modifier and the absence of de.

Second, we consider parameter 10, which involves the presence of a postposition in the associative expression, as in:

(33) *wo ___ jia - li*
 1SG family - in
 'in my family' (YB-068-K-02)

According to our percentages, only 4 out of 24, or 17% of the associative expressions with a postposition occurred with de. It therefore seems reasonable to hypothesize that this factor also tends to disfavor the use of de.

Finally, a similar explanation might be offered for the factor involving 'double' or 'tandem' associative expressions, parameter 11, exemplified by (34) and (35), which both contain 3 NPs, with respectively zero-marking and marking by de.

(34) *ni ___ naozi ___ litou*
 2SG brain inside
 'inside your brain' (SC-85-17)

(35) *ta DE shengyin DE haohuai*
 3SG GEN voice GEN good:bad:points
 'the quality of its voice' (SC-59-21)

Tandems can be divided into at least three groups in order to consider patterns for: (1) the marking that relates the first two NPs: NP1 and NP2; (2) the marking for NP2 and NP3 and (3) the marking for NP3 and NP4. As there was only one example of type (3) in our database with 4 nouns in a complex relational NP and this was zero-marked in all positions, we discuss only the first two groups in detail. (This single example can be found in (19).)

There were 34 examples of tandems in our database. In the case of the first two NPs, according to our counts only 7, or 21%, were used with de, as in example (35). Note that 16 of these 34 tandems had a kin term as NP2 and that all these 16 were zero-marked, which points once more to the close interaction of the parameters.

In the case of NP2 and NP3 in the 34 tandems, the frequency of de is noticeably higher: 19/34, or 56% of tandems showed de in this position. This suggests that while it is true that tandem associative expressions also tend to disfavor the use of de, it is specifically in first position between NP1 and NP2 as opposed to the second position between NP2 and NP3. In other words, when three or more nouns are strung together in a complex relational NP in Mandarin, the position where de is most likely not to occur is between NP1 and NP2.

These facts are intriguing, and can be explained in the following way: whether or not we invoke something like 'euphony' (as also Dragunov (1960:52), the generalization seems inescapable that the extra material, whether it be a modifier, a postposition, or another associative expression, makes the entire expression structurally heavier. Since associative relationships are often inferred from the simple juxtaposition of two noun phrases, the de could be seen as redundant; the heavier NP could lead the speaker, then, to omit the redundant de.⁵

The second part of our answer to the question of whether the relevant factors tend to favor or disfavor the use of de has to do with the two parameters involving inherent semantic properties of NP1s and NP2s. Here the important point is that each of these factors is multi-valued; that is, the NP could be marked for any of 6 values (for NP1) or 7 values (for NP2), as listed in Section III (A) above. Thus, as we will show below in Section V, for parameters 1 and 5, there is a continuum of values, with the likelihood of using de increasing from the top to the bottom of the continuum.

Unfortunately, for one parameter, whether the NP2 is given versus new, we have no evidence from our data which of these favors the use of de and which disfavors it.

In this section, then, we have suggested an interpretation of the results provided by the GOLDVARB program. The factors which it selected as influencing the use of de are those that either (i) affect the 'heaviness' of the entire associative expression, or (ii) are motivated by economic considerations of predictability and iconicity with respect to the inherent semantics of NP1 and NP2.

V. EGOCENTRICITY AND THE USE OF DE

Turning again to our absolute numbers, and focussing just on parameters 1 and 5, the two parameters involving inherent semantic features of NP1 and NP2, we find evidence for postulating a continuum of closeness for each of the two NPs in the associative expression. In particular, we propose that:

(i) the closer the relationship between NP1 and NP2, the less likely de is to be used;

(ii) the closer the relationship between NP1 and the speaker, the less likely de is to be used.

Following Haiman (1983, 1985), we observe that this proposal reflects converging economic and iconic motivations. Thus, we find economic motivation in the fact that the closer the relationship between NP1 and either NP2 or the speaker, the more predictable the associative relationship is, and the less necessary it is to mark this relationship with an explicit associative morpheme. We find iconic motivation in the fact that de is less likely to occur the more either of these two types of conceptual closeness obtains.

Our proposal, then, is that the use of de is economically and iconically motivated by the predictability and the degree of closeness of the conceptual relationships outlined in (i) and (ii) just above. Let us provide quantitative support for this claim. As indicated above, the inherent semantic properties for NP1 and NP2 can be ranged along two separate continua which we have called 'egocentricity scales', as shown in Table I.

NP1 CONTINUUM	RATIO DE:0	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE OF DE:
First person	49:96	145	34%
Second person	14:16	30	47%
Concrete	11: 9	20	55%
Third person, human, kin	113:56	169	67%
Location, institution	39:18	57	68%
Abstract, semi-abstract	17: 2	<u>19</u>	89%
		<u>440</u>	
NP2 CONTINUUM			
Orientation	1:10	11	9%
Kin	38:107	145	26%
Location, institution	10:20	30	33%
Body part	13:9	22	59%
Concrete	62:22	84	74%
Human	27:9	36	75%
Abstract	92:20	<u>112</u>	82%
		<u>440</u>	

TABLE 1: DE AND ZERO WITH INHERENT SEMANTIC PARAMETERS 1 AND 5

A cautionary note is in order as we interpret this table. As we have noted, since the factors are all mutually interdependent, we are not free to interpret these percentages independently in terms of their influence on de. However, in terms of absolute numbers, it is clear that the likelihood of the presence of de increases moving downwards along the two continua. In addition to this, the choice of coding is virtually narrowed down to the obligatory use of de at the bottom end. Let us briefly look at each continuum

in detail.

At the lowest end of both continua, the category of abstract NP1 or NP2 appears to be the most conceptually distant from both the speaker and any of the other categories of NP2 items. These NPs are typically marked by de.

Moving upwards along the continuum for NP1s, the NP1 categories of location and institution showed similar behavior when combined with concrete, abstract, and human NP2s: these tended to be marked with de. The similar category of NP2 was, however, equally likely to be marked by zero as by de.

In the middle of the NP1 continuum are concrete and third person NP1s: we find a similar result for concrete NP1s as far as like categories of NP2 items are concerned. These were all coded by associative expressions marked by de. It is only with NP2s which are terms of spatial orientation such as 'top' and 'front' that zero-marking was found with concrete NP1s. Third person NP1s favored overall marking by de with 4 main categories of NP2: body parts, human nouns, concrete, and abstract terms. It was only terms for location as NP2 which favored zero-marking in this group. Even for kin as NP2, a fairly equal distribution between de and zero-marking was evident. The 3 categories of concrete, third person, and locations represent, therefore, a pivotal area on the scale.

At the top of the NP1 continuum, first and second pronominal NP1s with kin and spatial orientation as NP2 tended strongly towards zero marking, but de appeared with body parts as NP2 and the other categories lower on the continuum such as concrete, abstract, and location.

What Table 1 tells us, then, is that there is probably a hierarchy among NP1s with respect to their closeness to the speaker; at the very least, it appears that first person NP1s are the most unlikely to occur with de, while abstract NP1s are the most likely to occur with de. Exactly what the ranking on this hierarchy might be with respect to the NP1s in the middle of the hierarchy cannot be determined from the data we have procedures we have used so far.

Turning to NP2, at the top of the continuum are the expressions with orientation NP2s, those whose NP2 is a form such as houtou 'behind', as exemplified in (19). Note that only 9% of these occurred with de; we see this as strong support for our iconicity claim, since tops, bottoms, sides, fronts, and backs of entities, as inseparable and integral parts of these entities, could be argued to be more closely related to them than any separable part or entity.

Moving down the NP2 continuum, we find kin terms, which constituted by far the largest category of NP2s, with 145 tokens (33%). It is an interesting result for our study that almost one-third of the NP2s in our database were kin terms, given that we drew our data from several different sources and genres. Kin NP2s co-occurred exclusively with pronominal and human NP1s, a finding which is not in the least counterintuitive. Overall, the preferred marking strategy for kin was zero-marking (74% of examples), particularly with first and second person pronominal NP1s.

The third person category collapsed the categories of pronominal forms and terms referring to humans and proper names, with almost equal marking by both de and zero (29:25). However, this shows once more that third person NP1s belong to a pivotal area in our scale (cf. Seiler (1983)) with the marking strategies evenly distributed between the two possibilities.

The preference in terms of absolute numbers for location NP2s was for zero-marking, with two-thirds, or 67%, showing this pattern.

There were 22 body part nouns occurring as NP2 in our database. At first glance, the marking pattern for body part terms as NP2 is not clearcut, with a small majority (13:9) in favor of de.

This is a surprising and important finding for any hypothesis of inalienability linked to the alternation of zero-marking and marking by de in Mandarin. Cross-linguistically, body part terms frequently turn up as one of the prototypically inalienable categories that are marked for this feature in languages which distinguish noun classes on the basis of inalienable possession (cf. Chappell & McGregor (1989)). Moreover, the inalienable part-whole relation, including a person and parts of the body, has been described as the primary meaning coded by Mandarin 'double subject constructions' (Chao (1968), Teng (1974), Li & Thompson (1976), Chappell (in press), (1991)). Can this description be extended to Mandarin associative noun phrases containing body part terms as NP2? It appears that in fact the opposite situation is true for this type of noun phrase in Mandarin, since, as shown above, the favored strategy is to use de with body part NP2s. These findings cast serious doubt on any hypothesis that relates the omission of de to semantic inalienability.

It turns out, in fact, that six out of the nine examples of zero-marked body part terms can be accounted for in terms of the parameters identified in the variable rules analysis:

	<u>Zero-marked body part NP2s</u>	<u>Number</u>
(i)	Postposition with NP2	4
(ii)	Prenominal modification of NP2	<u>2</u>
		6

Continuing down the NP2 continuum, the preferred strategy for concrete NP2s was to be marked by de (74% of all examples). We can account for the majority of zero-marked noun phrases in this group in terms of the pragmatic factors identified by the variable rules analysis overriding the semantic class of the NP2 nouns:

	<u>Zero-marked concrete NP2s</u>	<u>Number</u>
(i)	Prenominal modification of NP2	10
(ii)	Postpositions modifying NP2	7
(iii)	Tandems	<u>2</u>
		19

There were 36 examples of human NP2s, for which the preferred marking strategy was to use de (75%). The remaining 25% can once more be accounted for in terms of the pragmatic features favoring omission of de:

	<u>Zero-marked human NP2s</u>	<u>Number</u>
(i)	Prenominal modification of NP2	3
(ii)	Tandems	2
(iii)	Modification + tandem	<u>1</u>
		6

For abstract and semi-abstract NP2 items, the preferred marking strategy was clearly to use de; as with human and concrete NP2s, a substantial number of the 20 examples with zero-marking are attributable to the following discourse parameters shown to be significant by our variable rules analysis, which appear to override semantic properties.

<u>Zero-marked abstract NP2s</u>	<u>Number</u>
(i) modification of NP2	6
(ii) tandems	3
(iii) postposition	<u>1</u>
	10

Thus the category of abstract and semi-abstract NP2s is the most distant from ego, so that the finding that the favored marking strategy is to use de conforms with our hypothesis.

In sum, close scrutiny of the inherent semantic features of NP1 and NP2 reveals a clear tendency for the use of de to be favored the farther NP1 is from either NP2 or the speaker.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The question of what the factors are which influence speakers to use or omit the associative marker de has fascinated linguists of Chinese for years. We hope to have shown that it is possible to begin to answer this question, and that the answers are complex. Our findings support the hypothesis that such alternations can be affected by a range of factors, some having to do with iconicity and inherent semantic properties of the forms, some having to do with the structure of information flow in the discourse, and some having to do with sheer bulkiness of expression.

We are far from dismayed that the answer to our question is not simple. Indeed, we are pleased that our results point to a convergence of interactional and cognitive factors at work in the decision about whether to use this small morpheme; we are that much closer to appreciating the complexity of the relationship between grammar and the ecological setting in which language is used.

NOTES

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2. Abbreviations used in the glossing are as follows: CL = classifier; DEM = demonstrative; GEN = genitive; PL = plural; SG = singular.

3. Each example is followed by the initials of the data source and the line number where it can be found in our database.

4. This was so unless it was not possible to add de for structural reasons as in the case of the discontinuous locative morpheme zai.....li(-tou) which is placed around the noun that indicates the location as in the following example:

a. zai wo de yinxiang litou
at 1sg DE impression inside
'according to my impression' (PS-I0-99)

In this example, de may not be inserted between yinxiang 'impression' and litou 'inside' (q.v. Li & Thompson 1981:391-397).

5. An interesting problem with this hypothesis is that one of our twelve variables, which also involved the addition of extra semantic material, was not identified by GOLDVARB as having an influence on the choice of de, namely whether or not NP1 or NP2 consisted of conjoined nouns. Thus, we are left with the slightly conflicting findings that 'heaviness' in the form of an additional modifier, postposition, or associative phrase seems to decrease the likelihood of using de, while 'heaviness' in the form of conjoined NP1 or NP2 does not seem to have any effect on the use of de. We do not have a definitive solution to this conflict, but we do note that the numbers of conjoined NP1s (7) and NP2s (9) in our data are too small to base any firm conclusions on.

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A Study of Speaker's Objectivity in Japanese Written Text

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0. Introduction

There are many ways to describe the speaker's feelings and thoughts in Japanese. In Japanese written texts, it is possible for the writer to express his internal state as if by third person report, through the use of certain linguistic devices. In this paper, we will study how and to what extent the speaker can objectivize his own feelings and thoughts through special morphemes, constructions, and lexical means and collocations. Even though two literary texts will be used as data, the intention of this paper is not to examine literary style but to define the concept of the speaker's "objectivity" as opposed to "subjectivity" through linguistic devices.

In the first section, "subjectivity" from previous studies will be discussed in order to define "objectivity". In the next section, brief summaries of the two literary texts and the reason for selection will be given. The third section will explain certain morphemes and constructions in Japanese grammar, which are seen in the written texts. The fourth section will examine the special usage of morphemes, constructions, and lexical means and collocations from the texts. Finally, in the fifth section, a summary of the study will be given.

1. Speaker's subjectivity and objectivity

Unlike English, written text in Japanese is very different from oral text. For example, in some oral texts, when the context is clear, the speaker is allowed to omit certain case markers, such as the topic marker *wa* or the object marker *o*. In written text, all such markers are obligatory. For instance, one can say,

- (1) a. Watashi hirugohan mô tabe-ta.
 I lunch already eat-past
 'I already ate lunch.'

in an informal oral text. In contrast, in written text, the speaker has to supply all case markers, as below: (1b).

- b. Watashi wa hirugohan o mô tabe-ta.
 I top lunch obj already eat-past
 'I already ate lunch.'

Furthermore, in oral text, the speaker treats his internal states from his own point of view, but must use a specialized morpheme or construction when describing a second or a third person's internal states; this includes feelings, sensations,

desires, thoughts, and beliefs. In written text, however, the writer is allowed to represent a second or a third person's internal state as if the writer had experienced it. The speaker in an oral text, for example, must say, "you look scared" instead of "you are scared" or "he seems to want this cake" instead of "he wants this cake". In written text, the writer does not have this constraint; he may use the same descriptions for a second or a third person as for himself. In other words, in written text, the speaker may treat a second or a third person in ways reserved for the first person in speech. Ann Banfield (1982) has identified this special type of speech, where the omniscient speaker represents a second or a third person, as "represented speech and thought". She has also pointed out that "represented speech and thought" are characteristic of written text. (p.91) "Represented speech and thought" are possible in Japanese written text because the speaker may pretend to see things from the internal perspective of his characters; he is free to enter the characters' minds and depict their feelings and thoughts.

This difference between written and oral texts suggests that in oral texts, and some written texts, there is an area over which only the speaker has control. In this area, the speaker is conscious of himself in the relation to the hearer (and a third person) and chooses his speech according to this relation at the speech time. This special area is called subjectivity, of which several studies have been done.

Benveniste (1971), for example, proposes that oral text, wherein a speaker communicates with a hearer, is the foundation for subjectivity because the two participants are the basis for self-consciousness. According to Benveniste, subjectivity is "the psychic unity that transcends the totality of the actual experiences it assembles and that makes the permanence of the consciousness."

Kuroda (1973) also distinguishes reportive text from non-reportive text. He claims that reportive text has only one point of view, while non-reportive text contains multiple points of view; the fact that the number of viewpoints differs depending on the text type suggests the existence of subjectivity.

Akatsuka's definition of subjectivity (1979) shares the view of Benveniste and Kuroda that subjectivity is the speaker's unique perspective based on his relationship with the hearer. Akatsuka uses the term "subjectivity" in the sense of "unique ego's expressions" or "expressions belonging to a particular mind". (p.208)

Moreover, Iwasaki (1988) defines subjectivity as "something that a speaker brings to linguistic expression. As long as there is a speaker, there is subjectivity" (p.105). He gives three ways in which subjectivity influences sentence forms: speaker's attitude, speaker's point of view, and speaker's perspective.

Although no one seems to have distinctively defined subjectivity, it is clear that subjectivity concerns the speaker's position in discourse. Thus, in this paper, the term will be used to refer to the speaker's self-consciousness, which no one

else can feel or represent in discourse. In addition, in contrast with “subjectivity”, the speaker’s self-consciousness in viewing himself from a third person’s viewpoint will be called “objectivity”. That is, when the speaker objectivizes himself, his consciousness is outside of his subjectivity. Therefore, the speaker can behave like a second or a third person talking about himself.

2. Data for the study

As mentioned earlier, this paper examines certain linguistic devices applied to objectivize the speaker's own internal states in a written text. As data, two literary texts, both written by Natsume Sôseki will be used: Bocchan (Natsume Sôseki, 1906) and the third chapter from Kokoro (Natsume, 1914).

Bocchan is a story about a young man who has various experiences as a high school teacher in the countryside. The third chapter from Kokoro is a letter addressed to a college student explaining why the writer has to commit suicide. Both Bocchan and Kokoro are written in the first person, from the first person's point of view. The speaker is not someone outside of the story, but the protagonist himself.

Bocchan and Kokoro, however, describe the speakers' feelings and thoughts in different ways. In Bocchan, the speaker takes his own point of view: throughout the entire story, while relating his experiences, he expresses an internal state as if he were experiencing it at the moment the story develops. In doing so, the speaker uses both direct speech and direct descriptions (see below) to depict his feelings and thoughts.

In contrast, in Kokoro, the speaker takes an objective point of view in writing the epistolary testimony, as he states at the end of the story:

. . . First, I was going to talk to you face to face, but after having written it [the epistolary testimony], I am glad that I feel I was able to describe myself rather better in that way. (Natsume, 1956:526)

Because he looks back at his past as he writes the letter, the speaker objectivizes his feelings and thoughts through application of unusual linguistic devices. We see that certain morphemes and constructions normally reserved for a third person's internal state, in addition to some special lexical means and collocations, are applied to express the speaker's feelings and thoughts.

Although Bocchan and Kokoro share the common feature of speakers' reminiscences, the differences in each speaker's viewpoint make these two texts different in the way they depict internal states. In other words, Kokoro is more objectively described than Bocchan because of the devices that the author uses. In fact, Kokoro deviates from conventional literary works like Bocchan in that the speaker has an objective viewpoint in describing his own internal state. Natsume intended to use this unusual narrative technique to create special effects in this particular piece. By using Bocchan and Kokoro, both written by the same author

within a period of ten years, we do not need to consider the particular literary style of the author. That is, comparison of the two works by the same author will allow us to see how subjective or objective each work is.

3. Some morphemes and constructions in Japanese grammar

Before examining subjective ways to depict the speaker's internal state in Bocchan and Kokoro and special usage of morphemes and constructions to objectivize internal states in Kokoro, it is necessary to explain these phenomena in Japanese grammar.

In a Japanese oral text, when describing the internal states of a second or third person, the speaker must use a suffix for hearsay, eye-witness, or the *garu* construction. This is due to the fact that the speaker has no basis for making an affirmative judgement on a second or third person's internal feeling.¹ Besides these suffixes, some constructions which are not especially reserved for the second or third person's internal states, can serve to objectivize a statement when the speaker applies them to his own feelings and thoughts; the *n(o)-desu* construction is one of these. Furthermore, even though some constructions (such as the causative or passive) in themselves involve neither subjective nor objective judgment, they can add objectivity through unusual devices. In this section, I will focus on the *garu* construction, the *n(o)-desu* construction, and subject demotion in the passive and causative, all of which are applied to the speaker's internal states in Kokoro.

3.1. The *garu* construction

Normally, in Japanese grammar, it is unacceptable for the speaker to treat a second or a third person's inner states just as his own; the speaker is expected to apply hearsay *sô* or eye-witness *yô* or the *garu* construction to another's internal states. The *garu* construction is used exclusively in combination with adjectives of feelings, emotions, desires, and sensations; intentions and beliefs are described with second-hand reporting style such as hearsay or eye-witness. Semantically, unlike other morphemes reserved for a second- or third-person sentence, such as *sô* 'I heard that . . .' and *yô* 'It looks like . . .', *garu* does not have a particular meaning. The *garu* sentence merely indicates the speaker's affirmative judgment on second and third person inner states. Kuno (1973), therefore, translates *garu* as "to show a sign of, to behave like -ing". (p.84)

Syntactically, *garu* is added to an adjective stem, making an action verb. However, the speaker normally applies the *garu* construction to describe a second or third person's states; thus, the action verb *garu* is often accompanied by the

¹ Kuno (1973:83) explains that affirmative sentences with first person subjects and interrogative sentences with second person subjects are the only ones that do not require any special suffix. This is because the speakers of these sentences have control in making a judgement on his own or the hearer's internal state.

stative suffix form *te-iru* to make a stative verb *gatte-iru*. The morph *gat* of *gatte-iru* is the result of assimilation to the following gerund suffix *te*.

Now, compare the example sentences in (2a) and (2b); both predicates contain similar meanings but have subjects of different persons.

- (2) a. Watashi wa samui.
I top cold
(I am cold.)
- b. Ano hito wa samu-gatte iru.
that person top cold pres. prog
(That person is cold.)
- c. *Ano hito wa samui.
that person top cold
- d. *Watashi wa samu-gatte iru.
I top cold pres. prog

Since the speaker cannot experience a third person's sensation, the *garu* construction has to be used in (2b); a third-person sentence without this construction is ungrammatical: (2c). Also, because of its function, the *garu* construction cannot be used for a first-person sentence: (2d). In normal situations, it is used exclusively for second- and third-person sentences.

3.2. The *n(o)-desu* construction

The *n(o)-desu* construction is another unique structure in Japanese. It consists of the nominalizer *no* plus the polite copula *desu* (which can be replaced by the informal *da*), or the polite *dewa* with a negative predicate (informally, *ja*). Although the *n(o)-desu* construction morphologically contains a nominalizer, it is treated as a syntactically fixed unit; *no* has lost its full status as a nominalizer.²

² Mikami (1953:232-248) first pointed this out, as McGloin(1980:145) explains. Observe the following:

- (i) Tegami ga kuru no ga okureta.
(ii) Tegami no kuru no ga okureta.

There is an optional rule of *ga-no* conversion in Japanese which changes the nominative particle *ga* to *no* when NP_{ga} is inside of a NP. In (i), *no* nominalizes the sentence *tegami ga kuru*, and thus *tegami ga* can be changed to *tegami no* (ii). This rule, however, does not apply to *no desu*. Observe the following sentences:

- (iii) Tegami ga kita no desu.
(iv) *Tegami no kita no desu.

Thus, *no desu* should be considered a syntactically fixed unit.

In spite of the fact that quite a few studies have been done on the *n(o)-desu* construction, it is not easy to define its semantic features. Three major models are summarized as following: 1) the explanation model, 2) the presupposition model, and 3) the speaker's territory-of-information model.

Alfonso (1966) and Kuno (1973) claim that *n(o)-desu* gives some explanation for the speaker's statement or state. For example;

- (3) Kaze o hikimashita. Ame ni hurarete
 cold obj drew rain by fallen-being
 nureta no desu. (Kuno,1973:224)
 got-wet
 (I have caught a cold. (Lit.) The explanation
 for my having caught a cold is that I was
 rained on and drenched.)

Both Alfonso and Kuno further explain that the interrogative *nodesu ka* asks for the hearer's explanation for what the speaker has heard or observed. Compare the following sentences. (Kuno, 1973:225)

- (4) a. Nani o shite-imasu ka?
 what obj doing-copula Q
 (What are you doing?)
 b. Nani o shite-iru no desu ka?
 ([You seem to be involved in
 something.] What is it that you are doing?)

While the speaker uses (4a) when the addressee is not observable or audible to him, (4b) cannot be used as a sentence independent from discourse because *no desu* contains an explanation of what the speaker has perceived or recognized. This is proven by the fact that (4b), but not (4a), can be spoken with a reproachful tone; in order to reproach the hearer, the speaker needs to hear or observe something that annoys him beforehand.

Kuroda (1973) expands this explanation model into the presupposition model. According to him, "some 'second order' assertion. . . is made with respect to the proposition expressed by the sentence to which *no da* is attached". (p. 380) That is, the proposition expressed in the *no desu* sentence must be presupposed to be true by both speaker and addressee. Examine the sentences below (Kuroda, 1973:380);

- (5) a. Bill wa asoko de John ni atta.
 Bill sbj there at John with met
 (Bill met John there.)

- b. Bill wa asoko de John ni atta no da.
(Bill met John there.)

While (5a) describes the fact that Bill met John, this becomes a presupposition in (5b). Thus, (5b) is better translated as "It is there that Bill met John". The difference becomes clear when negating both sentences.

- (6) a. Bill wa asoko de John ni awanakatta.
Bill sbj over there at John with did-not-meet
(Bill did not meet with John over there.)
- b. Bill wa asoko de John ni atta no ja nai.
Bill sbj over there at John with met neg.
(Bill did not meet with John over there.)

(6a) is an ambiguous sentence, meaning either "Bill met with John but not there." or "Bill did not meet with John there at all." (6b), however, only has the former interpretation, in which the main sentence, "Bill met John", is presupposed to be true. Thus, even when negating the *n(o)-desu* sentence, the presupposition cannot be negated but remains true. Again, like the explanation model, the presupposition model accounts for the fact that the *n(o)-desu* sentence cannot be independently uttered in discourse because of the existence of the presupposition.

McGloin (1983) explains the *n(o)-desu* construction using the notion of speaker's territory-of-information.³

... it [*no desu*] presents information which is held exclusively in the speaker's territory of information as if it also belongs to the hearer's territory of information at a particular moment of speech.

In her approach, the *n(o)-desu* sentence carries information that is shared and thus can be recognized by both the speaker and the hearer.

Even though the three models analyze the *n(o)-desu* construction from different perspectives, they share the claim that the *n(o)-desu* sentence involves both the speaker and the addressee explicitly or implicitly. That is, the speaker does not remain in his own subjectivity but goes beyond it in a *n(o)-desu*

³ Kamio (1979) argues that "the speaker's territory of information" is needed in order to distinguish whether certain information belongs to the speaker's territory or not, which affects linguistic phenomena, such as sentence final forms. Kamio (1990) defines "the speaker's territory of information" as "... a conceptual category ... which contains only information close to the speaker" (p. 4), to which the speaker's direct experience, perception, psychological processes, hopes and convictions belong.

sentence; as a result, the sentence becomes more objective than a sentence without it. Two uses of the *n(o)-desu* construction will clarify this objectivity.

First, the *n(o)-desu* construction is often used to indicate social expectation. Compare (7a) with (7b):

- (7) a. Kodomo wa hayaku nemasu.
children top early sleep
(Children sleep early.)
- b. Kodomo wa hayaku neru *n-desu*.
(Children should/are supposed to
sleep early.)
- c. Kodomo wa hayaku nenasai!
(Children, go to bed right away!)

(7a) is a neutral description about children. In (7b), *n-desu* functions to convey what society expects children to do; the sentence, thus, sounds like an public, objective opinion rather than a personal one. Thus, when parents see their children stay up late, they often use (7b) to scold or persuade them to go to bed right away, implying the social expectation that children should sleep early. In this sense, (7b) functions almost the same as the imperative sentence (7c), whereas (7a) cannot be applied in this situation.

Similarly, *n(o)-desu* can also be used in a statement about old customs.

- (8) Mukashi wa minna yoku hataraita *n-desu*.
old times top everyone hard worked
(The fact is, in the old times, everyone worked
hard.)

(8) describes the way society was at that time. If most people did not agree with this statement about society, the speaker would not be able to use *n-desu*, since *n-desu* implies public opinion. If (8) did not include *n-desu*, the statement would sound like the speaker's personal opinion rather than a fact.

In both (7b) and (8), the speaker makes a statement with reference to a social standard. In other words, implying the addressee to be a part of society, the speaker makes an objective judgment and observation by using the *n(o)-desu* construction.

In addition to contexts involving social expectations and customs, the *n(o)-desu* construction appears in the formal writing as *no de aru*. *No de aru* is one of the transformations of *n(o)-desu*, consisting of *no de*, the stem of *n(o)-desu*, plus the copula *aru*; thus, *no de aru* literally means 'it is that'. Kuno (1973) claims that whereas *no de aru* is formal written style, *no de aru no da* 'it is that it is that' is used in formal speech. (p.223) The fact that the speaker often uses *no de*

aru and *no de aru no da* in formal writing such as scientific papers or in formal speech (such as public oral presentations) suggests the objective quality of the *n(o)-desu* construction. This is because in a formal situation, the speaker normally needs to take an objective stance to convince the addressee. If *n(o)-desu* implied a subjective element, the speaker could not apply it or its transformations in formal settings.

In sum, even though the function of the *n(o)-desu* construction is accounted for differently by the explanation, presupposition, and the speaker's territory-of-information models, they all propose that in *n(o)-desu* sentences the speaker involves the addressee and thus steps beyond his subjectivity. Furthermore, the facts that the *n(o)-desu* construction implies a social standard and appears in formal situations suggest the objectivity the construction conveys. Thus, a sentence with *n(o)-desu* is more objective than one without it.

3.3. Subject demotion in passives and causatives

The Japanese passive and causative constructions are morphologically marked. The passive and causative morphemes are *re* and *rare*, and *se* and *sase*, respectively. Depending on the form of the root it attaches to, the appropriate morpheme is suffixed. The passive and causative are normally subjective, placing the patient and agent in the subject position, respectively; however, it is possible to create objectivity through these constructions with special devices, such as putting the patient or agent into non-subject position. In order to explain subjectivity and objectivity in the passive and causative, Kuno's empathy theory (1977) will be used.

First, compare the following sentences.

- (9) a. John hit Mary.
b. John hit his wife.
c. Mary's husband hit her.

All the sentences above convey the same logical content: a man named John hit his wife, Mary. However, the way the speaker describes the situation depends on how he views the event. For instance, (9a) is a neutral statement; the speaker keeps the same distance from both John and Mary. (9b), on the other hand, indicates that the speaker is more on John's side by referring to Mary as "John's wife". As opposed to (9b), in (9c) the speaker stands closer to Mary in calling John "Mary's husband". In short, the speaker can express his attitude towards the participants by conveying how large he perceives the distance between himself and them to be. Kuno calls this distance "empathy" and gives the following definitions (pp. 628-629):

Empathy:

Empathy is the speaker's identification, with varying

degrees (ranging from degree 0 to 1), with a person who participates in the event that he describes in a sentence.

Degree of Empathy:

Identification to degree 1 takes place when the speaker (or the narrator) completely identifies himself with a person he describes. . . Identification to degree 0 takes place when the speaker describes the event objectively. . . Empathy is a continuum between these two extremes.

(9b) is a sentence in which John > Mary, meaning the speaker empathizes with John rather than Mary; (9c) is the opposite.

Kuno also proposes that there is a syntactic hierarchy for the speaker's degree of empathy. (p.647)

Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy:

It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the subject; it is next easiest for him to empathize with the referent of the object;. . .

Subject > Object . . .

According to the hierarchy, the speaker empathizes with the subject rather than the object. But what if the subject were to be involved in the sentence? The Speech Act Empathy Hierarchy (p. 631) explains this.

Speech Act Empathy Hierarchy:

It is not possible for the speaker to empathize more with someone else than with him.

Since the speaker empathizes most with himself, according to the Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy, he has to place himself in the subject position in ordinary circumstances. However, if the speaker does not empathize with himself but objectivizes himself, he could demote himself to a non-subject position, such as the object position, with which the speaker has less empathy. This is an unusual device, however, because it violates the Speech Act Empathy Hierarchy.

Now, we will examine passives and causatives in terms of empathy theory. In passive sentences, the speaker empathizes with the referent of the new subject [the patient]. For example:

(10) Mary was hit by John.

(10) is a sentence in which Mary > John.

In causatives, the speaker empathizes more with the agent than with the patient, which is the opposite of passives.

(11) John made Mary drive home.

In (11), John > Mary.

When the speaker is involved in a passive or causative sentence, it is, therefore, most natural if the subject, the patient in passives and the agent in causatives, is the speaker. Again, in order to bring objectivity to the sentence, the speaker may demote himself to the agent position in passives or the patient position in causatives.

In short, according to empathy theory, the speaker empathizes most with himself, meaning that he is most subjective about himself. Thus, when the speaker is involved in a sentence, under ordinary circumstances he occupies the subject position (which is the patient in passive and the agent in causative). On the other hand, because the speaker has relatively low empathy with the referent of the object, he may demote himself to object position (which is the agent in passives and the patient in causatives), in order to objectivize himself. This unusual device is actually seen in Kokoro, and will be examined in the next chapter.

4. The descriptions of human feelings

Now, let us consider how the speaker's feelings are actually described in Japanese written texts. In this chapter we will examine two subjective ways to describe the speaker's internal states and four devices to objectivize these states.

4.1. Subjective expressions and descriptions

The two most common ways to represent the speaker's internal states are 1) direct speech and 2) direct descriptions. These two share the feature that the speaker of the utterance in direct speech and the subject of the statement in direct descriptions must be the first person. Direct speech involves interjections and exclamations; it is a spontaneous, direct expression of the speaker's feeling.⁴ In contrast, a direct description states the speaker's feelings and thoughts through certain verbs, stative adjectives, and the stative suffix.

4.1.1. Direct speech

Direct speech is the most subjective way to describe one's internal states. When one feels pain, for example, one would not say "I'm in pain" right at the moment, but would say "Ouch!", which is the most natural and spontaneous response for expressing a painful sensation. In the description "I'm in pain" the speaker views himself as being in pain from outside of himself, whereas "Ouch!" directly communicates the speaker's state of being in pain. Thus, what the

⁴ Iwasaki (1988) calls it "spontaneous expression" and explains that "spontaneous expressions" refer to utterances which communicate the speaker's immediate physical or psychological states".(p.22)

speaker utters in his mind simultaneously as he feels would be the most direct and therefore the most subjective way of describing his internal states. An example from Kokoro illustrates this.

- (12) Soshite sugu shimatta to omoimashita . . .
Dôshiyô dôshiyô to iu nen ni taezu
kakimidasare te . . . (p. 496)
(Then I thought, "Oh, boy . . ."
I was constantly confused with the thought
"What shall I do? What shall I do? . . .")

The underlined parts are direct speech, exactly what the speaker uttered in his mind. Here, the words *shimatta* 'Oh boy' and *dôshiyô* 'What shall I do?' convey the speaker's state of being completely in despair and confusion; the speaker does not describe his confused state but communicates it to the reader through direct speech.

We see the same technique in a scene from Bocchan, where the speaker regrets that he left too many tips at the hotel.

- (13) Chadai nan ka yaranakereba yokatta.
Oshiikoto o shita. (p. 199)
(I should not have given tips for serving tea.
It was a waste.)

Here, the idiomatic expression *Oshiikoto o shita* is literally translated as 'It was a waste'; however, it is rather equivalent to 'Shoot!' or 'Gee!', which is spontaneous utterance. By adopting the direct speech expression *Oshiikoto o shita*, (13) shows the speaker's subjective view of his internal states. In short, because direct speech conveys the speaker's feelings and thoughts immediately through the words uttered in his mind (so that the speaker has no opportunity to rethink his internal states), no description can be more subjective than direct speech.

4.1.2. Direct description

The other common way to depict the speaker's feelings and thoughts is, as stated above, direct descriptions. Although direct descriptions represent the speaker's internal state as it is through certain verbs, stative adjectives, and the stative suffix, they are more objective than direct speech expressions in that they are not direct feeling translated to speech. In other words, in order to put his internal state into a description, the speaker has to objectivize his own feelings and thoughts.

Direct descriptions are given through 1) stative verbs, stative adjectives, and the stative suffix *te-iru*,⁵ and 2) inchoative verbs. While in descriptions with statives, the speaker's internal feelings are continuous, inchoatives suggest a momentary description.

Examples of direct descriptions with stative verbs, adjectives, and suffix are found in Bocchan (14)-(15) and Kokoro (16).

- (14) Jitsu wa taihen ureshikatta. (Natsume, 1929:4)
(To tell you the truth, I was very glad.)
- (15) . . . sendô shite toka iu monku ga ki ni kakaru. (Natsume, 1929:21)
(. . .the phrases that [he] instigates [his students] etc. keep bothering me.)
- (16) Jitsu o iu to watashi wa kono jibun o dôsureba ii no ka to omoi wazuratte-ita tokoro na no-desu. (Natsume, 1956: 444)
(To tell you the truth, I was worried about how I should deal with it myself.)

In (14)-(16), stative adjectives, verbs, such as *ureshii* 'to be glad', and *ki ni kakaru* 'to be anxious/worried about', and the suffix *te-iru* 'in the state of, is being', describe the continuous state of the speaker. That is, through these devices, the speaker externalizes his gladness, worry, and agony. If he wanted to express them directly, he would say "Yeah!", "Oh no!", or "What can I do?"

In addition to direct description with stative verbs, adjectives, and suffix, inchoative verbs also describe the speaker's feelings, which are rather momentary compared to when one uses the first device. (17) is from Bocchan; (18)-(19) are found in Kokoro.

- (17) Sakki wa betsu ni hara mo tatanakatta ga, kondo wa shaku ni sawatta. (Natsume, 1929:12)
(I didn't get mad the other time, but this time [they] got on my nerves.)
- (18) Watashi wa iraira shimashita. (Natsume, 1956:507)
(I got irritated.)
- (19) Watashi wa sukunakarazu odorokimashita. (Natsume, 1956:492)
(I was quite surprised.)

⁵ Syntactically the stative suffix *te-iru* 'to be in the state of, is being', is attached to the morph of a verb, assimilating the stem of a verb to the suffix *te*.

Here, the speaker describes his feelings through the inchoative verbs, *hara ga tatsu* 'to get mad', *shaku ni sawaru* 'to get on one's nerves', *iraira suru* 'to get irritated', and *odoroku* 'to get surprised', instead of 'Damn!', 'Gee!', or 'Wow!'. This indicates the speaker's objective perspective on his internal states. Thus, regardless of the continuity or momentariness of the state, direct descriptions, in which the speaker presents his feelings and thoughts, are more objectivized than direct speech.

4.2. Objective description

Direct speech and direct descriptions are two main techniques used to communicate or externalize the speaker's internal states. Even though they are both subjective, in that the speakers express or describe themselves from the first person's point of view, direct descriptions are more objective than direct speech. Besides these, the speaker can use morphemes or constructions to view his internal states from outside of his own perspective. I will examine here four linguistic phenomena used in Japanese to objectivize the speaker's feelings and thoughts that can be seen in Kokoro: 1) the *n(o)-desu* construction, 2) the *garu* construction, 3) subject demotion, and 4) some special lexical expressions and collocations.

4.2.1. The *n(o)-desu* construction

The frequent use of the *n(o)-desu* construction is easily recognized throughout Kokoro in comparison with Bocchan (Table 1).

[Table 1] Distribution of *n(o)-desu*

			Kokoro	Bocchan
present	formal	n(o)-desu	723	53
	informal	n(o)-da	79	138
past	formal	n(o)-deshita	5	0
	informal	n(o)-datta	0	0
negative	formal	n(o)-dewa	23	3
	informal	n(o)-ja	2	12
with auxiliary	formal	n(o)-deshô	33	0
	informal	n(o)-darô	23	33
with copula	formal	n(o)-de arimasu	0	2
	informal	n(o)-de aru	0	10
total			908	251

According to Table 1, even though the length of the two works is almost the same⁶, the *n(o)-desu* construction appears 3.6 times more frequently in

⁶ Bocchan contains approximately 48300 letters and Kokoro, 49280. Since the books are not the same size, I counted the number of letters per page and multiplied by the number of pages.

Kokoro than Bocchan. The frequent use of the *n(o)-desu* construction in Kokoro is closely related to the objectivity the *n(o)-desu* construction carries, because in the text the speaker views himself from an outside perspective.

Among the several functions of the *n(o)-desu* construction used in Kokoro, explanation and presupposition are found to be the two major functions. Among the presuppositional uses of *n(o)-desu*, the speaker relies on *n(o)-desu* when objectivizing and analyzing his own internal states.

First, we will examine the *n(o)-desu* construction used for explanation. At the very beginning of the third chapter of Kokoro, the speaker explains why he is writing the letter to his younger friend; the *n(o)-desu* construction is used quite often here. For example:

- (20) Sono ue watashi wa kakitai-no-desu
Watashi no kako o kakitai-no-desu. . . .
Watashi no kako o monogataritai-
no-desu. (p.445)
(Besides that, I merely want to write
very much. . . . I want to write my past. . . .
I want to tell [you] my past.)

(20) conveys that the statements are the objective reasons, the explanation, for his writing; in order to reason about his action objectively, the speaker has to take an objective stance. If predicates without *n(o)-desu* were used instead, such as *kakitai desu* 'want to write' or *monogataritai desu* 'want to tell a story', it would communicate the speaker's emotional desire.

Presuppositional use of *n(o)-desu* appears after a scene where the speaker talks about his miserable adolescence to the landlady and her daughter; as a result of his story, they were impressed with him.

- (21) Okusan wa taihen kandôshita rashii
yôsu o misemashita. Ojôsan wa nakimashita.
Watashi wa hanashite iikoto o shita to
omoimashita. Watashi wa ureshikatta-
no-desu. (p. 465)
(The landlord seemed to be very impressed.
The daughter even cried. I thought I did
the right thing to tell them. I was glad.)

The speaker uses *no-desu* here because his happiness results from talking to the two women and seeing them impressed with him. That is, the *no-desu* sentence conveys that the speaker is objective enough to relate his happy feelings to what the speaker has just stated; the *n(o)-desu* sentence does not merely communicate the speaker's subjective feelings. (Compare (14))

In the examples above, where *n(o)-desu* is used with the speaker's internal states such as desire or happy feelings, the *n(o)-desu* construction gives objectivity to the sentences as opposed to a sentence without *n(o)-desu*.

The third example appears when the speaker objectively describes his own internal states with the presuppositional use of *n(o)-desu*. In the scene, he depicts his feelings about writing the epistolary testimony along with the sounds around him.

- (22) . . . densha no hibiki mo mô todaemashita.
 . . . tsuma wa . . . suyasuya neitte imasu. . . fude o
 toru to . . . pen no saki de natte imasu. Watashi wa
 mushiro ochitsuita kibun de kami ni mukatte iru
no desu. (pp.567-468)
 (. . . The sound of the train has already stopped. My wife
 . . . is sleeping well. When I pick up a pen and write. . .
 I can hear the tip of the pen making noise. I am
 writing feeling rather calm.)

The speaker describes the surrounding sounds, from one physically far from him (the train) to one he is making (the pen), and finally focuses inside himself, which suggests stillness. In order for the speaker to focus on the broader picture, the whole scene has to be objective to him, which is to say, he cannot be in his subjectivity contrasting his inside with the outside world. In addition to distancing the speaker from his inner states, the use of *no desu* in (22) presupposes his writing. In fact, Kokoro contains many such usages of *n(o)-desu*.

Although the *n(o)-desu* construction most frequently appears in the form of *n(o)-desu*, *n(o)de*, the derived form of *n(o)-desu*, is quite often used as a conjunction. In Japanese grammar, this *n(o)de* and another conjunction *kara* are often treated as interchangeable, both meaning "since, because" or "and so/therefore". *N(o)de* and *kara*, however, are different in that *n(o)de* is more objective than *kara*. For example, the speaker is not allowed to use *n(o)de* in subjective sentences, such as requests, imperatives, conjunctives, and invitations, where the speaker's immediacy at the speech time is implied. *Kara*, on the other hand, does not have this constraint. Observe the following:

- (23) Ashita tesuto ga aru *node
 tomorrow test sbj there is kara
 benkyô shite kudasai.
 study please do
 shinasai.
 do!
 surudeshô.
 will do

shimashô.

let's do

Since there is a test tomorrow, please study.
study.
[I] will study.
let's study.

Because a *n(o)de* sentence presents the statement that follows *n(o)de* as a fact, *n(o)de* is frequently used for an action by convention or objective descriptions, where the speaker's immediacy is not involved: (24)-(25).

- (24) Haha-no-hi na node, akai kaaneeshon
Mother's day be red carnation
o katta.
obj bought
(Because it was Mother's day [and because
it is convention to buy mother a red carnation],
I bought a red carnation.)
- (25) Akanbô ga nemutta node hahaoya wa
baby sbj slept mother top
heya o deteitta.
room obj left
(Because the baby went to sleep, the mother
left the room.)

Now, we will compare how frequent by *n(o)de* and *kara* appear in Bocchan and Kokoro.

[Table 2] Distribution of *n(o)de* and *kara*

	Bocchan	Kokoro
<i>n(o)de</i>	30	46
<i>kara</i>	431	170
(<i>n(o)</i> -desu + <i>kara</i>)	(31)	(53)

Table 2 shows that in both Bocchan and Kokoro, *kara* is more frequently used than *n(o)de* (1:14 and 1:3.7, respectively). This is because *kara* has no constraint on the sentence it is applied to. Between *n(o)de* or *kara*, however, tendency can be recognized. While *n(o)de* appears 1.5 times more frequently in Kokoro than Bocchan, *kara* is 2.5 times less frequently used in Kokoro than Bocchan. That is, in Kokoro the objective *n(o)de* appears much more frequently than in Bocchan. In addition, it is interesting to see when *kara* is used in the form of *n(o)*-desu+*kara*. Even though the independent *kara* is more frequently used in

Bocchan than Kokoro, the opposite phenomenon is found in regard to *n(o)-desu+kara* (1:1.7, Bocchan vs. Kokoro). This also suggests that Kokoro tends to prefer the objective *n(o)-desu* construction in comparison with Bocchan.

In summary, the *n(o)-desu* construction is found to be frequently applied to the speaker's internal states in Kokoro compared to Bocchan; this is perhaps because of the objectivity that the construction carries. Besides the normal functions of the *n(o)-desu* construction, such as explanation and presupposition, the construction also appears to objectivize the speaker's own feelings in contrast with the outside world in Kokoro. In addition, the derived form of *n(o)-desu*, *n(o)de* also appears more frequently in Kokoro than Bocchan. Although the degree of objectivity carried by each sentence varies depending on the sentence to which the *n(o)-desu* construction is attached, the *n(o)-desu* construction is considered one of the means for the speaker to objectivize his own internal states.

4.2.2. The *garu* construction

Basically, the *garu* construction is applied to a second- or a third-person subject sentence. Generally speaking, if the speaker uses this construction to describe his own internal states, the result is ungrammatical, as in (2d). Despite this fact, in Kokoro it is used for the speaker's feelings and desires; that is, *garu* is used with first-person sentences. Eight examples of this unusual usage of the *garu* construction are found in the text. Five of them describe the speaker's feelings, such as gladness, envy, and hatred; the rest represent his desires.

First, compare (26a) and (26b):

- (26) a. Watashi wa jibun yori ochitsuite iru
 “K” o mite, urayamashi-gari-mashita. (p.485)
 (Seeing K., who is more stable than I,
 I envied him.)
- b. Watashi wa jibun yori ochitsuite iru “K”
 o mite, urayamashi-katta-desu.

(26a) is actually seen in Kokoro; (26b) would be the normal way to express the speaker's feelings through direct description. While (26b) conveys the speaker's subjective feelings, in (26a) the speaker not only states his feelings but shows that he is viewing himself from outside by using the *garu* construction to express his feelings. Just as when *garu* is used for a second- or a third-person subject sentence, *garu* construction here brings objectivity to the sentence.

Another example of the *garu* construction in Kokoro shows a first person desire.

- (27) Watashi wa shôjkinina michi o aruku tsumori de
 tsui ashi o suberashita bakamono deshita. . . .
 Watashi wa akumade subetta koto o kakushita-gari-

mashita. (p. 512)

(I was the dumb one, who was going to live honestly
but who slipped without noticing it. . . .
I wanted to hide that I had fallen to the end.)

Again, the speaker intentionally uses the *garu* construction in order to objectivize his desire to hide his failure. By using the *garu* construction for his feelings and desires, the speaker succeeds in bringing additional objectivity to the sentence — as if his own feelings were those of a third person. This unusual device is peculiar to Kokoro; it is not found in Bocchan.

4.2.3. Subject demotion in passives and causatives

As discussed in the previous chapter, the speaker normally empathizes with the subject rather than the object. That is, if the sentence is a passive or a causative, he empathizes more with the patient or the agent, respectively. On the other hand, by intentionally demoting a referent to non-subject position, the speaker can objectivize the person. This unusual device is occasionally used in Kokoro. Specifically, the speaker puts himself or his internal states, such as his feelings or thoughts, into the agent position in passives and the patient position in causatives. Moreover, he treats himself as the object of action verbs. Four examples in passive, nine in causative, and sixteen with action verbs are found.

First, when the speaker objectivizes his inner states, he places himself in the non-subject position in a passive like construction. All four examples found contain cognitive verbs in the passive form: *shirarete imasu* 'to be known', *nomikomete ita* 'to have been understood', *kanzerareta* 'to be felt', and *omowarenakatta* 'not to be thought'. Although syntactically they have the passive morpheme *re*, *rare*, or its colloquial form *e*, semantically the morphemes are interpreted as spontaneous rather than passive. This is because all four examples have no agent in an active sentence. Nevertheless, it is recognized that in the four sentences the speaker applies the passive construction, demoting the subject to a non-subject position; the speaker is treated as the undergoer of the verb with dative *ni*. For instance:

- (28) a. Watashi ni wa⁷ sore ga mata shinan
no koto no yô ni kanze-rare-ta no desu. (p.511)
(It was felt as if it had been extremely
difficult for me.)
- b. Watashi wa sore o mata shinan no koto
no yô ni kanjita no desu.
(I felt as if it had been extremely difficult.)

⁷ This *wa* is the contrastive marker; not the topic marker.

It is natural to use (28b), where the speaker is in the subject position with a non-passivized verb; nevertheless, the speaker in Kokoro intentionally uses the passive, putting himself in non-subject position in (28a). This unusual device creates an objective effect, as seen in 3.3.

Second, in the causative, the speaker treats himself as the patient; the speaker is marked with the object marker *o*. Compare the following:

- (29) a. . . . kare wa. . . mugakuna watashi o
odoroka-se-mashita. (p.483)
 (. . . he surprised me (lit. made me surprised),
 who was ignorant.)
- b. Mugakuna watashi wa kare ni odorokimashita.
 (I, who was ignorant, was surprised at him.)
- c. Mugakuna watashi wa kare ni
odoroka-sare-mashita.
 (I, who was ignorant, was made to
 be surprised at him.)

Even though (29a) is from the text, it sounds awkward; in normal circumstances the speaker should be the subject whether without the causative (29b), which is the neutral description, or with the causative-passive (29c) if the speaker wants to emphasize the "cause". Again, by demoting the speaker to object position, with which he has less empathy, the speaker tries to view himself from a distance.

Third, the speaker is put into the object position of some action verbs. These highly transitive verbs can be categorized into three groups: verbs of control, change of state, and influence. Examples are given below:

- (30) Shikashi iza to iu magiwa ni naru to zibun
 igai no aru chikara ga hui ni kite watashi o
osaetsukeru no desu. (p.519)
 (But whenever the time gets ripe, suddenly
 a power outside of me comes and holds
 me down.)
- (31) . . . Watashi no mirai no unmei wa kore de
 sadame-rare-ta no da to iu kannen ga
watashi no subete o arata ni shimashita. (p.509)
 (The concept that my fate was settled
 by this renewed my whole self.)
- (32) Okusan no kono taido ga shizen watashi
no kibun ni eikyôshimashita. (p.462)

(This landlady's attitude naturally affected my feelings.)

With the object marker *o* or a dative *ni*, all three nouns, *watashi* 'I', *watashi no subete* 'my whole self', and *watashi no kibun* 'my feelings', behave as the undergoer of the transitive verbs. Although the speaker normally has the highest empathy with himself (Speech Act Empathy Hierarchy) or things about himself, the three nouns referring to the speaker yield the subjective position to referents outside of the speaker, such as *chikara* 'power', *kannen* 'concept', and *taido* 'attitude', marked with the subject marker *ga*. This special device suggests that the speaker has an objective perspective on himself.

In short, the speaker in Kokoro applies the unusual device of demoting himself and his internal states to the object position of passives, causatives, and highly transitive verbs. Since the speaker cannot empathize with the object more than with the subject, this device conveys the speaker's objective observation of himself and his feelings. The speaker does not use this device in Bocchan.

4.2.4. Lexical means and collocations

Some special lexical means and collocations are used to describe the speaker's feelings objectively in Kokoro. First, there are two types of special lexical means used in the work. One special lexical innovation is the way the speaker treats his feelings as objects that have a shape. An example is below:

(33) Sono toki no watashi wa osoroshisa no katamari to
iimashô ka. Mata wa kurushisa no katamari to
iimashô ka. Nanishiro hitotsu no katamari
deshita. (p. 496)

(At that time, I was, what to say, a lump of horror. Or,
what to say, a lump of suffering. Anyway, I was a lump.)

The word *katamari* 'a lump' is normally used for something that has a physical shape and some weight; *niku no katamari* 'a lump of meat' or *satô no katamari* 'a lump of sugar' illustrate the ordinary usages of *katamari*. Thus, as seen in (33), when the same word is used for emotions such as *osoroshisa* 'horror' or *kurushisa* 'suffering', it becomes a lexical innovation. The description *osoroshisa no katamari* 'a lump of horror', for example, suggests that the speaker visualizes himself, and his mind filled with horror, more objectively; whereas the normal expression *osoroshii* 'to be scared' only communicates the corresponding state. Therefore, through this special lexical means the speaker tries to view, which is to objectivize, his feelings.

The second type of lexical innovation is the speaker's creation of special idiomatic expressions. The idiomatic expression *--ni iwaseru toliwasereba* corresponds 'according to. . .', although in Japanese the slot is only filled with a

person or people. It is natural to say *ano hito ni iwaseru to* 'according to that person', or *chichi ni iwasereba* 'according to my father'; however, *watashi ni iwaseru to/iwasereba* 'according to me' sounds awkward: (34).

- (34) Ano hito ni iwaseru to kare wa
Chichi
?Watashi
seijitsu da.
faithful copula
(According to that person he is faithful.)
my father
me

This is because the addressee normally expects the speaker to say things from his subjective viewpoint; therefore, he does not need to emphasize his point of view unless he is comparing his own perspective with someone else's. Thus, since the speaker is narrating his internal states in Kokoro and Bocchan, *watashi ni iwaseru to* is an innovational idiomatic expression.

Three examples of this innovative idiomatic expression appear throughout the text of Kokoro.

An example is:

- (35) Watashi ni iwaseru to kare wa gaman to
nintai no kubetsu o ryōkaishite inai yō ni
omowareta no desu. (p.478)
(According to me, it seemed that he did
not understand the distinction
between stubbornness and patience.)

Without comparing his own perspective with anyone else's, the speaker uses *watashi ni iwaseru to* in (35), communicating that the speaker treats himself as a third person. In other words, the use of *watashi ni iwaseru to* reveals that the speaker is not writing from his subjectivity; he is viewing his feelings objectively.

In short, two types of special lexical means are found in Kokoro: lexical innovations and innovative use of idiomatic expressions. While the former portrays the speaker's feelings as visible, the latter places him outside of his subjectivity, both of which result in adding objectivity.

In addition, special collocations are used to objectivize the speaker's internal states. In fact, quite a few cases of this usage are seen in Kokoro. These special collocations can be divided into two groups: an action verb with an abstract concept as subject and an action verb with an abstract concept as patient. Respectively, 39 and 3 cases are found.

Among the former type of collocations, where an action verb takes an abstract concept as its subject, highly transitive verbs of control, influence, change of state, and causation, are used in most cases. This is compared with the verbs when the speaker demotes himself to object position. (See 4.2.3.) Examine the following:

- (36) Ta no te ni noruno ga iya da to iu gaman ga
watashi o osaetsukete, ippo mo ugokanai
yô ni shite imashita. (p. 493)
(My stubbornness in not wanting to be
taken advantage of held me down and paralyzed me.)

In the above example, *gaman* 'stubbornness', the grammatical subject of the sentence, takes the action verb, *osaetsukeru* 'to push down'. Abstract nouns are normally not used as subjects of active verbs in Japanese⁸; however, by promoting the abstract noun *gaman* into the subject position of the verb, the speaker tries to convey to the reader a perception of the situation as if he were observing himself.

In the next example, although the abstract concept is not the grammatical subject (since it lacks the topic marker *wa* or subject marker *ga*), it is the experiencer of the main clause.

- (37) Haji o kakasareru no wa watashi no jisonshin
ni totte ôina kutsûdeshita. (p. 513)
(It was very painful for my pride to be made to
be ashamed.)

In this case, *jisonshin* 'pride' is treated like a person who can feel pain, by being placed in the experiencer position followed by *ni totte* 'for'. For the verb *kutsû deshita* 'was in pain', *watashi* 'I' should be the normal experiencer instead of *jisonshin*. Here, by attributing sensation to the abstract concept *jisonshin*, the speaker communicates that he views his internal state from a third person's point of view. Like describing feelings as if they had physical shapes, it is not a normal grammatical device to personify an abstract concept in Japanese written text.

The speaker's internal states are also placed in the object position. There are three examples in the text; all appear as the direct object of the verb *ataeru* 'to give'. The internal states treated as objects are 'nervous feelings', 'my nerves', and 'my mind'. For instance:

- (38) Otoko no koe ga kikoeru no desu. . . .

⁸ Kuno (1973) mentions that transitive constructions with inanimate subjects are ungrammatical in Japanese except in the direct translation style. (p.291)

Watashi no shinkei ni isshu no kôhun o
ataeru no desu. (p. 467)
(I hear a man's voice. . . . It gives my nerves
a sort of excitement.)

I have already mentioned the objectifying effect of placing the speaker in object position in section 4.2.3. In addition to the objectivity inherent in being placed in object position, the special collocation *watashi no shinkei ni ataeru* 'give to my nerves' adds more objectivity. By using *watashi no shinkei* 'my nerves' instead of *watashi* 'I', the speaker vividly visualizes the situation: the man's voice stimulates and penetrates his nerves with excitement and a sort of envy.

In sum, two types of special lexical means are used in Kokoro: lexical innovations and unusual idiomatic expressions. Moreover, two types of special collocations are found: a transitive verb with an abstract subject including experiencer and a transitive verb with an abstract object. Through these devices the speaker puts himself outside of his subjectivity and visualizes his own internal states; thus, the devices brings objectivity to the sentences. As expected, no such a device is used in Bocchan.

5. Conclusion

I have discussed two common ways for speakers to describe their feelings and four types of linguistic devices for “objectivizing” feelings, found in the two literary texts, Bocchan and Kokoro. While descriptions are more objective than direct speech, the *n(o)-desu* construction, the *garu* construction, subject demotion, and special lexical means and collocations function to objectivize the internal states even more. Although these four devices present the speaker's objective view of his internal states, they differ in the amount of objectivity each one conveys.

Natsume distinguishes among these devices depending on the amount of objectivity each one conveys. In Bocchan, where the speaker presents the plot throughout the text from a subjective viewpoint, Natsume mainly uses direct speech and direct descriptions, and sometimes uses the *n(o)-desu* construction. On the other hand, the same author frequently uses the *n(o)-desu* construction and intentionally applies unusual linguistic devices such as the *garu* construction and subject demotion in Kokoro to show that the speaker has an objective viewpoint on his own internal states. In this way, even though the story is told by the speaker in the first person, different narrative techniques create different effects according to the degree of objectivity that the speaker has.

In sum, by using linguistic devices conveying objectivity, the speaker goes beyond his usual subjectivity, which is formed by the speaker and addressee and in which their speech reflects their consciousness of one another; instead, the speaker views things from a third person's perspective. This is why the speaker

in Kokoro can describe his internal states so vividly, whereas the speaker in Bocchan does not use any unusual objective devices.

The different styles in Kokoro and Bocchan show the existence of objectivity in Japanese; they also reveal how subjective the Japanese language is. That is, in order for objectivity to exist in Japanese there has to be a clear-cut distinction between inside and outside in the speaker's subjectivity. Thus, the fact that the speaker has to treat things beyond his subjectivity, such as the second or third person's internal states, in a different way in Japanese grammar, shows how strong the constraints on the speaker's subjectivity are. Since the speaker's subjectivity is reflected in Japanese grammar, it becomes possible for the speaker to objectivize his own subjectivity.

Perhaps it is necessary to mention that the style in which Natsume writes is not irrelevant to his study in England. One can easily imagine that Natsume, who was familiar with English literature, could adopt an English style in Japanese. His use of subject demotion or innovative lexical means and collocations may reflect a direct translation style, influenced by English. However, his objective usage of the *n(o)-desu* and *garu* constructions cannot be explained in this way.

I have dealt here with only two common ways and four special phenomena that can objectivize the speaker's feelings in Japanese; however, I believe that many more such phenomena could be found by further research.

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