# Workshop on Pragmatic Markers in Asian Languages

**Pre-CLDC 2010 Workshop** 

April 30, 2010

Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University Taipei, Taiwan

# **Table of Contents**

Introduction	1
Organizers	3
Guidelines	4
Program	5
Session I: Pragmatic Markers in Japanese and Korean Languages	8
From grammar to interaction: The Japanese pragmatic particle <i>de Allison S. ADELMAN</i>	8
<b>Evidentials in the Shuri dialect of Luchuan (Ryukyuan)</b> <i>Tomoko ARAKAKI</i>	10
Life and death of pragmatic markers: A linguistic (re)cycle in Japanese dialects a other languages <i>Reijirou SHIBASAKI</i>	
Session II: Pragmatics Strategies in Asian Languages: Through Silence, Tone and Intonation	14
<b>On emergence of discourse markers of agreement: Unity-formation through elli</b> <i>Seongha RHEE</i>	
From "I don't know" to "who knows": An analysis of attitudinal constructions in some Asian languages Foong Ha YAP, Jiao WANG & Kazuhiro SAKURAI	
<b>Tone versus intonation: How intonation can give birth to pragmatic particles</b> <i>Daryl CHOW</i>	
Self-updating in a narrative context Mark CAMPANA	20

Session III:	
Pragmatic Strategies in Asian Languages:	
Descriptive, Diachronic and Discourse Perspectives	22
Discourse markers in Cebuano	0.0
Michael TANANGKINGSING	22
Pragmatic strategies in Prinmi	
Picus Sizhi DING	25
The emergence of polite particles in Thai	
Kingkarn THEPKANJANA & Suwadee NASAWAT	27
From semantic to pragmatics: The accusative case in Korean	
Wonho KIM	29
Session IV	
Pragmatic Markers in Formosan Languages	31
Grammaticalization of the demonstrative 'isa:a' in Saisiyat	
Marie Meili YEH	31
On pragmatic marker <i>kaz</i> 'only' in Isbukun Bunun	
Shuping HUANG	33
<b>T</b> / <b>I</b> / <b>I I I</b>	
Interjections and particles in Kavalan Fuhui HSIEH	36
The undergoer voice <i>-han</i> in Sakizaya	
Li-May SUNG	40

## Workshop on Pragmatic Markers in Asian Languages

#### April 30, 2010

There has been much work on pragmatic markers over the years, not only in Indo-European languages, but also in a number of Asian languages, in particular Japanese (e.g. Fujii 2000; Matsui 2000; Suzuki 2000; Onodera 2002). However, more work need to be done to include a wider range of languages spoken within the Asian continent and the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Previous works have often focused on sentence final particles and sentence-initial discourse markers (e.g. Wu 2003), yet languages have various other pragmatic marking strategies as well (e.g. Englebretson 2003, 2007), including the use of stand-alone nominalization constructions to express mirativity or speaker surprise and unexpectedness (e.g. DeLancey 1997; Noonan 1997; Grunow-Hårsta, in press; Kaufman, in press). More work need to be done to identify under-reported strategies by which languages convey speaker stance such as mood, attitude, and perspective. Some recent works have focused on evidentials, particularly in Tibeto-Burman languages (see the special issue on evidentiality guest-edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald in Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area, volume 30, issue 2). A number of recent works have further focused on finer calibrations of stance that have evolved from inherent distinctions within the deictic system of individual languages (e.g. Abui; see Kratochvil, in press); more work is needed to identify how robust such calibrated systems might be. Many more interesting questions remain to be investigated. To this end, we invite abstracts on original topics dealing with pragmatic markers in any Asian language. Possible topics include but are not restricted to:

- analyses of epistemic, evidential and attitudinal markers of individual languages
- comparisons of pragmatic markers across different languages
- typology of epistemic/evidential systems within specific language families
- interactional analysis of pragmatic markers in narratives, colloquial conversations, as well as more formal public and workplace discourse
- diachronic development or grammaticalization of pragmatic markers
- anthropological studies of pragmatic markers in less studied languages

#### References

- DeLancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology* 1(1):33-52.
- Englebretson, Robert. 2003. Searching for Structure: The Problem of Complementation in Colloquial Indonesian Conversation. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Englebretson, Robert (ed.). 2007. Stancetaking in Discourse. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fujii, Seiko. 2000. Incipient decategorization of MONO and grammaticalization of speaker attitude in Japanese discourse. In G. Andersen and T. Fretheim (eds.), *Pragmatic Markers and Propositional Attitude*, pp. 85-118. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Grunow-Hårsta, Karen. (in press, 2010). Innovations in Magar nominalization. In F.H. Yap,
  K. Grunow-Hårsta and J. Wrona (eds.), Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives. Volume 1: Sino-Tibetan and Iranian Languages. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kaufman, Daniel. (in press, 2010). Exclamatives and temporal nominalizations in Austronesian. In F.H. Yap, K. Grunow-Hårsta and J. Wrona (eds.), Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives, Volume 2: Korean, Japanese and Austronesian Languages. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kratochvil, František. (in press, 2010). Discourse-structuring functions of Abui demonstratives. In F.H. Yap, K. Grunow-Hårsta & J. Wrona (eds.), Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives, Volume 2: Korean, Japanese and Austronesian Languages. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Matsui, Tomoko. 2000. Linguistic encoding of the guarantee of relevance: Japanese sentence-final particle YO. In G. Andersen and T. Fretheim (eds.), *Pragmatic Markers and Propositional Attitude*, pp. 145-172. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Noonan, Michael. 1997. Versatile Nominalizations. In J. Bybee, J. Haiman and S. Thompson (eds.), *Essays on Language Function and Language Type. In Honor of T. Givon*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Onodera, Noriko O. 2004. Japanese Discourse Markers: Synchronic and Diachronic Discourse Analysis. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Suzuki, Satoko. 2000. Surprise and animosity: The use of the copula *da* in quotative sentences in Japanese. In G. Andersen and T. Fretheim (eds.), *Pragmatic Markers and Propositional Attitude*, pp. 239-253. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wu, Ruey-Jiuan Regina. 2004. *Stance in Talk: A Conversation Analysis of Mandarin Final Particles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

# Organizers

#### **Conference Committee**

Prof. Wen-yu CHIANG Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan wychiang@ntu.edu.tw

Prof. Shuanfan HUANG Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan Yuanze University, Taiwan sfhuang@ntu.edu.tw

Prof. Chiarung LU Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan chiarung@gmail.com

Prof. I-wen SU Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan iwensu@ntu.edu.tw

Prof. Foong Ha YAP Department of English, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong, China egyapfh@polyu.edu.hk

#### **Coordinating Students**

Chester Chen-Yu HSIEH Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan chesterhugues@gmail.com

Naihsin LI Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan naihsinli@gmail.com

Hsin-Yi LIN Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan niceshelly46@yahoo.com.tw

\*The above list is ordered alphabetically according to the last name of the members.

# Guidelines

#### **Oral Presentation**

- Preparation time: Please give us your files for presentation by the end of the break immediately preceding your session.
- Presentation time: **15** minutes per presentation
- Question period: **5** minutes per presentation
- Language: English

#### **Regulations**

- Please turn off your cellular phone and wear your badge all the time during the conference.
- No food or smoking is allowed in the conference room.
- Please turn back your plastic nametag to the registration table at the end of the conference.

# **Workshop Program**

#### 08:30-08:50 On-Site Registration

08:50-09:00 Welcome and Opening Remarks

Session I Pragmatic Markers in Japanese and Korean Languages Discussants: Dr. Yoshihiko IKEGAMI and Dr. Shoichi IWASAKI			
09:00-09:20	From grammar to interaction: The Japanese pragmatic particle <i>de</i> Allison S. ADELMAN University of California, Santa Barbara, USA		
09:20-09:40	<b>Evidentials in the Shuri dialect of Luchuan (Ryukyuan)</b> Tomoko ARAKAKI Okinawa Christian University, Japan		
09:40-10:00	Life and death of pragmatic markers: A linguistic (re)cycle in Japanese dialects and other languages Reijirou SHIBASAKI Okinawa International University, Japan		

10:00-10:30 **DISCUSSION** 

#### 10:30-10:45 Tea Break

Session II Pragmatics Strategies in Asian Languages: Through Silence, Tone and Intonation Discussants: Dr. Shuanfan HUANG and Dr. Wen-yu CHIANG

10:45-11:05	On emergence of discourse markers of agreement: Unity formation through ellipsis	
	Seongha RHEE Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Korea	

11:05-11:25	From "I don't know" to "who knows": An analysis of attitudinal constructions in some Asian languages Foong Ha YAP <sup>1</sup> , Jiao WANG <sup>2</sup> & Kazuhiro SAKURAI <sup>2</sup> Hong Kong Polytechnic University <sup>1</sup> ; Chinese University of Hong Kong <sup>2</sup> , Hong Kong, China
11:25-11:45	Tone versus intonation: How intonation can give birth to pragmatic particles Daryl CHOW University of Ottawa, Canada
11:45-12:05	Self-updating in a narrative context Mark CAMPANA Kobe City University of Foreign Studies, Japan
12:05-12:35	DISCUSSION

#### 12:35-13:40 Lunch

Session III
Pragmatic Strategies in Asian Languages: Descriptive,
Diachronic and Discourse Perspectives
Discussants: Dr. Elizabeth TRAUGOTT and Dr. Foong Ha YAP

- 13:40-14:00 Discourse markers in Cebuano Michael TANANGKINGSING National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan
- 14:00-14:20 **Pragmatic strategies in Prinmi** Picus Sizhi DING University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China
- 14:20-14:40 **The emergence of polite particles in Thai** Kingkarn THEPKANJANA & Suwadee NASAWAT<sup>2</sup> Chulalongkorn University, Thailand
- 14:40-15:00 From semantic to pragmatics: The accusative case in Korean Wonho KIM Hanseo University, Korea
- 15:00-15:30 **DISCUSSION**

#### 15:30-15:45 Tea Break

Session IV Pragmatic Markers in Formosan Languages Discussants: Dr. Lawrence Reid, and Dr. Victoria RAU			
15:45-16:05	Grammaticalization of the demonstrative ' <i>isa:a</i> ' in Saisiyat Marie Meili YEH National Hsincu University of Education, Taiwan		
16:05-16:25	<b>On pragmatic marker <i>kaz</i> 'only' in Isbukun Bunun</b> Shuping HUANG National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan		
16:25-16:45	Interjections and particles in Kavalan Fuhui HSIEH Tatung University, Taiwan		
16:45-17:05	<b>The undergoer voice – han in Sakizaya</b> Li-May SUNG National Taiwan University, Taiwan		
17:05-17:35	DISCUSSION		

17:35 Closing Remarks

### Session I Pragmatic Markers in Japanese and Korean Languages

Session I, 09:00-09:20, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### From grammar to interaction: The Japanese pragmatic particle de

#### Allison S. ADELMAN

# University of California, Santa Barbara, USA allison.adelman@gmail.com

Japanese intonation unit-final particles, or IUFPs (Matsumoto 2003:447), have received much attention due to their rich metapragmatic associations among Japanese speakers (e.g., Inoue 2006). Like case-marking postpositions in Japanese, these particles occur in the final position of intonation units (IUs), but serve pragmatic rather than grammatical functions. Used as resources for interactional stance-taking, IUFPs convey speakers' attitudes toward each other and their utterances (Ochs 1993; Du Bois 2007). The Japanese pragmatic markers described in the literature include *yo*, *ne*, *na*, *wa*, *ze*, and *zo*, among others (e.g., Okamoto 1995; Katagiri 2007). However, no previous research has noted the use of the multifunctional particle *de* as one such IUFP.

This study demonstrates that IU-final *de*, which typically carries out various grammatical functions, performs discourse-pragmatic functions as well: namely, *de* projects alignment and signals continuation by backgrounding the information it marks, thus indexing stances in a similar way to IUFPs. The analysis is based on data from the JPN/PacRim Corpus of Spoken Japanese.

In example (1), H uses *de* to background information interjected by an audience member, R, before continuing on to the main point of his narrative.

(1)	1 H: Keiou da-to ne,	'Speaking of Keio ne,
	jirou raamen-tte:,	There's a place called
	aru-n desu yo-ne.	"Jirou Raamen" yo-ne',
	K: Hai.	'Yes'.
	5 H: [ <i>Ano mita-no</i> :],	'That one (we) saw',
	→R: [Yuumei na-n da-yo].	'It's famous COP-yo'.
	K: $He[::]_2$ .	(Surprise)
	M: $[Ha]_2[::]_3$ .	(Surprise)

H:	[kyanpasu-no sugu:] <sub>3</sub> [waki] <sub>4</sub> .	'Ju:st to the side of campus'.
10 <b>→</b> R:	[Sugoi yuu]4mei.	'Super famous'.
M: <i>A: soo</i> .		'Ah, (is that) so'.
Н: <i>de</i> ,		'And,
→ano l	honto-ni yuu:mei: <b>de</b> ,	um really fa:mou:s <u>de</u> ',
M: <i>hu</i> [: <i>n</i> ].		(Attentiveness)
15 H: [De	e daitai] juui—	'And around eleve—
juuji-hai	n kana,	or ten-thirty huh',
		[PacRim:Raamen]

In line 13, H echoes R's two interjected evaluations of the restaurant's fame, *yuumei* 'famous' and *sugoi yuumei* 'super famous' (lines 6 and 10). Taking the stance that the restaurant's fame is obvious or peripheral rather than newsworthy, H uses *de* to background this information and move on to the main point of his story: that the reason the restaurant is interesting is that whenever it runs out of the noodles prepared each morning, it closes for the day.

This paper argues that de is a pragmatic marker of peripherality, and demonstrates that based on discourse context, there are two types of this IUFP; these categories are termed 'narrative de' and 'dialogic de'. Each type functions on both the level of discourse organization and the level of interaction: narrative de functions to background information and signal continuation of the ongoing narrative; dialogic de marks information as obvious and projects alignment or agreement with this stance. The study also refers to the process of pragmaticalization in suggesting potential diachronic sources for the discourse-pragmatic use of the particle de.

This study demonstrates the importance of discourse-pragmatic analysis for identifying the functionality of pragmatic markers, and argues that linguistic forms with prior grammatical functions can gain new conventionalized interactional uses to become resources for stance-taking and interaction.

Session I, 09:20-09:40, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### **Evidentials in the Shuri dialect of Luchuan (Ryukyuan)**

#### Tomoko ARAKAKI

Okinawa Christian University, Japan LDJ01013@nifty.com

This study attempts to demonstrate that Luchuan (Ryukyuan) is a language which has a grammatical category of evidentiality. Luchuan is the only sister language of Japanese; however, since they are considered to have diverged as early as the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, their vocabularies and grammars have developed in somewhat different directions (Uemura 2003). The grammatical category of evidentiality is one of the categories which Luchuan has developed that distinguishes it from Japanese.

Evidentiality is a linguistic category which marks source of information (Aikhenvald 2003, 2004). Evidentials have often been overlooked in the study of Luchuan, and the morphology has often been misanalysed into other grammatical categories because of failure to take account of the concept of evidentiality. I argue that existing approaches have failed to describe Luchuan grammar accurately, and that the concept of evidentiality is necessary to resolve the problems.

The main purpose of this study is to analyze the evidentials in Luchuan systematically and to formulate a model of the evidential system of this language. The proposal I make and defend in this study is that Luchuan has a grammatical evidential system which contains one direct evidential and three indirect evidentials (Inference, Assumed, and Reportative). I argue that these four evidential markers should be considered to belong to a single grammatical category. Further, I discuss the relation between evidentials and other grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, and modality. It is obvious that these categories are closely related in Luchuan, but I attempt to tease apart their functions as clearly as possible.

The Direct evidential -N is used when the speaker has 'direct evidence', such as direct experience or direct perceptions. When direct evidence is unavailable but 'the best possible source of information' (Faller 2002) is available, such as a report from a participant in the event, the use of -N is licensed. The Inferential evidential *tee* is used when the speaker makes an inference based on direct evidence. The Assumed evidential *hazi* is different from the Inferential evidential in that it does not require direct evidence, but the speaker's assumption has to be based on knowledge of habits or general knowledge. Finally, Reportative evidential *Ndi* indicates that the speaker acquired information from someone else, mainly orally report but in case through the use of language.

Luchuan is an endangered or moribund language which has very limited native speakers. Although my primary focus is a description of the evidential system of this language, at the same time, I relate my discussion to cross-linguistic issues such as how evidentiality is related to epistemic modality, with the intention that this work should constitute a contribution to the typological and theoretical study of evidentiality. I propose that evidentiality should be distinguished from the category of modality because in Luchuan the Direct evidential and the Reportative evidential belong to the category of evidentiality, though the other two indirect evidentials —the Inferential and Assumed— might be regarded as an overlap category between evidentiality and modality.

#### References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2003. "Evidentiality in typological perspective.': In Aikhenvald and Dixon (eds.) *Studies in Evidentiality*. 1-31. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2004. Evidentiality. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Faller 2002. Semantics and Pragmatics of Evidentials in Cuzco Quechua. Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University.
- Uemura, Yukio. 2003. *The Ryukyuan Language*. (Translated by Wayne P. Lawrence). Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim Publication Series A4-018. Kyoto: Nakanishi Insatsu.

Session I, 09:40-10:00, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### Life and death of pragmatic markers: A linguistic (re)cycle in Japanese dialects and other languages

#### Reijirou SHIBASAKI

# Okinawa International University, Japan reijiro@okiu.ac.jp

This study has three major aims. The first is to provide an overview of various manifestations of subject cliticization onto predicates in Japanese dialects, with special focus on the second person form *anata* along with its variants. The second is to give a concise account of the diachronic pathway of the form, whereas the third is to offer a potential account of the cliticization process from the perspective of cyclical change or linguistic (re)cycle (e.g. Gelderen 2009).

Etymologically *anata* was derived as a reduced form of the combinatory expression i.e. *ano* 'that' and *kata* 'direction'; as a locative/demonstrative adverb, *anata* 'over there' appeared in the tenth century. Subsequently, *anata* had undergone decategorialization cyclically i.e. locative adverb > third person > second person > clause-final pragmatic marker > verbal clitics. While the far-advanced clitic usage is almost impossible to find in major metropolitan areas, it can easily be attested in regional areas especially in Kyūshū and Chūgoku districts. In short, regional areas witness the most advanced stage of the grammaticalization of *anata*.

In (1), *anata* occurs at the sentence-final position, serving as a pragmatic marker; (1) is one of the earliest examples, and nowadays the usage prevails well in both metropolitan and regional areas. On the other hand, those examples that are cliticized onto predicates as in (2) and (3) are limited in regional areas. Elements in focus are underlined and boldfaced.

() (	L	- 1/				
<i>"Sore</i>	ga	wakara	nai	no	<i>yo</i> ,	<u>anata</u> . "
that	NOM	understand	NEG	РТ	РТ	anata.you
'(I) can't u	nderstan	d that, you kno	w?'			
(2) Chūgoku	district (	Fujiwara 1973	: 71)			
Astui n	0 <b>nta</b> ?					
be.hot P	T.anata					
'It's hot, isn't it?' (intended meaning 'You are feeling hot, aren't you?')						
(3) Fukuoka, North Kyūshū (Okano 1988: 246)						
Soyake	sono i	ita n <u>tana</u>				
so	well	went PT.anata	a			
'Well, so (I) went (there), you know'						
		-				

Cross-linguistically, the functional shift from person forms to pragmatic marker, clitics or agreement has been reported from other languages e.g. *sin* (singular) 'you' or *siniz* (plural) 'you' in Turkish (Takeuchi 1993). It is well known that in Old and Middle English, the second person singular form *thou* (=*pou*) was often suffixed or assimilated into the preceding verbs (i.e. enclitics), especially short and familiar verbs (Koopman 1990); the Chinese *ĕr* developed from person to sentence-final particle over time (Norman 1988). Tomes of historical documents in the history of Japanese enable us to witness the gradual functional shift from original locative usage to pragmatic-marker usage as in (1) to phonetically reduced clitic usage as in (2) and (3), which gives a fresh insight into the areal or typological issues in the development from person to pragmatic marker, clause/sentence-final particle or clitics.

Cliticization of Japanese person forms has rarely if ever been addressed in theoretical linguistics whose examples are mostly limited to 'standard' speeches or introspectively constructed forms. However, subject cliticization in Japanese dialects and its historical survey can witness the life and death of pragmatic markers, whilst providing some telling evidence for the same or similar development in other languages.

#### References

- Fujiwara, Yoichi. 1973. The sentence structure of Japanese: Viewed in the light of dialectology. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- Gelderen, Elly van. (ed.) 2009. Cyclical change. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Koopman, Willem. 1990. *Word order in Old English, with special reference to the verb phrase*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Studies in Generative Grammar 1.
- Norman, Jerry. 1988. Chinese. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Okano, Nobuko. 1988. *A Topography of Fukuoka Prefecture* (written in Japanese). Fukuoka: Ashi-shoboo.
- Takeuchi, Kazuo. 1993. Sentence-final moods in Turkish and Uighur (written in Japanese). In Yoichi Fujiwara (ed.), *Linguistic typology and sentence-final particles* (written in Japanese), 103-119. Tokyo: Miyai-shoten.

### Session II Pragmatics Strategies in Asian Languages: Through Silence, Tone and Intonation

Session II, 10:45-11:05, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### On emergence of discourse markers of agreement: Unity-formation through ellipsis

Seongha RHEE

Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Korea srhee@hufs.ac.kr

Discourse markers arise from diverse sources since they carry a wide range of functions with respect to discourse management. Of particular interest are those that mark agreement to what the speaker said because the use of such markers contributes to the creation of the feelings of oneness. In Korean, such markers come from three semantic categories: conditionals, quotatives and causals, as shown in (1):

(1) From Conditionals: *kulem* 'if so', *amwulyem* 'if it is whatsoever' From Quotatives: *kulehkomalko* 'that it is so or not so' *kulehtamata* 'that it is so; it is not so' From Causals: *kulenikka* 'because it is so' *kulekey* 'because it is so'

Despite their differing origins, they carry the near-identical function of expressing agreement to the speaker, albeit with minor genre or stylistic differences. When the usage data taken from the corpora are analyzed, they show the layering phenomena as well as division of labor in the subareas of agreement marking.

Furthermore, an analysis of their emergence reveals that they have three notable source characteristics. All these discourse markers originated from discourse segments that end with connectives, thus suggesting that they are of elliptical structure. What has been elided is strategically withheld to show that it is so obvious that it does not need explicit utterance. The degree of its being obvious warrants its ellipsis and at the same time serves as an assertion of the truthfulness of what the speaker has just said. Secondly, all these discourse markers recruited the adjective *kulehha*- 'be so' (and *amwuleha*- 'be whatsoever' in the case of *amwulyem*). The anaphoric marker *kuleha*- makes reference to the speaker's utterance and becomes a part of a conditional or causal prodosis or a quotative subordinated

clause. The use of the anaphor reinforces the cohesion of the discourse segments produced by the interlocutors. Finally, these discourse markers heavily rely on intersubjectification between the interlocutors. What the user of these discourse markers says in effect is that he/she does not need to add any utterances that carry any semantic content. The absence of any increase in informativity shows that these discourse markers are like an echo—the speaker is supportively echoing what he/she has heard by putting it into an elliptical frame that says 'If it is so,...' '...that it is so or it is not so,' and '...because it is so.'

The function of ellipsis in emergence of grammatical markers in Korean has been noted in Rhee (2002, 2009; also Ohori 1995 for Japanese). It is notable with respect to the emergence of discourse markers under discussion that the silence is strategically used to signal agreement, that even though the recruited segments are syntagmatically elliptical and are subject to many other (contradictory) interpretations, and that the selected interpretation is always one that is supportive of what has been said rather than otherwise. This paper elaborates on the processes that these interesting markers have historically undergone en route to their grammaticalization into a full-fledged discourse markers.

#### References

- Ohori, Toshio (1995) 'Remarks on Suspended Clauses: A Contribution to Japanese Phraseology', in Masayoshi Shibatani and Sandra A. Thompson (eds.), *Essays in Semantics and Pragmatics in Honor of Charles J. Fillmore*, 201-218. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rhee, Seongha (2002). 'From Silence to Grammar: Grammaticalization of Ellipsis in Korean', Paper presented at the New Reflections on Grammaticalization II Conference, April 3-6, 2002. University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
- Rhee, Seongha (2009). Consequences of Invisibility: Paradigm Creation from Eroded Light Verb. Paper presented at the Grammaticalization in East Asia Workshop, The 19<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Historical Linguistics, August 10-14, 2009, Radboud University, Nijmegan, Netherlands.

Session II, 11:05-11:25, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### From "I don't know" to "who knows": An analysis of attitudinal constructions in some Asian languages

Foong Ha YAP<sup>1</sup>, Jiao WANG<sup>2</sup> & Kazuhiro SAKURAI<sup>2</sup>

Hong Kong Polytechnic University<sup>1</sup>; Chinese University of Hong Kong<sup>2</sup>, Hong Kong, China egyapfh@inet.polyu.edu.hk

This paper examines the development of attitudinal "don't know" constructions in a number of Asian languages. More specifically, using examples including Mandarin bu zhidao and Malay entah constructions, we analyze how "I don't know" negative statements develop into attitudinal expressions equivalent to English "who (the hell) knows" constructions, as illustrated in (1) and (2). An important characteristic in these attitudinal expressions is the obligatory presence of interrogative elements equivalent to the English wh- and how pronouns (e.g. Mandarin shenme and Malay apa, both meaning 'what'). Another important characteristic is the expansion of quantificational scope. For example, in Mandarin, we see the complement (ta zuo shenme 'what s/he is doing') being reanalyzed as the matrix clause, and the original matrix clause wo bu zhidao ('I don't know') is reanalyzed instead as stance marker buzhidao ('nobody has any idea'), yielding a negative stance interpretation similar to English 'nobody/who the hell knows what s/he is doing'. Note that as a stance marker, buzhidao ('who (the hell) knows') shows evidence of phonological compression, and is no longer interpretable as a clause but functions instead as a speaker mood particle that can convey a sense of disapproval and dissociation, and even criticism and frustration, among other negative feelings.

Malay *entah* shows a similar development. As seen in (2), the language uses *tak tahu* ('not know') to express lack of knowledge, but it also has a morpheme *entah*, apparently related to Javanese *enggak tau* 'not know', which is no longer used as a verb but is productive in the sense of "nobody knows" and "who knows".

As a stance marker, Mandarin *buzhidao* can occupy different syntactic positions with subtle differences in focus effects, as seen in (3). Worth noting in (3c) is that although *buzhidao* intervenes between the subject and the predicate, *buzhidao* in fact expresses the attitude of the speaker (*wo* 'I') rather than the subject *ta* ('s/he') of the erstwhile complement clause.

Malay *entah* also occurs in different syntactic positions with different focus effects, as seen in (4). Prosodic and morphosyntactic evidence indicates that Malay *entah* is more highly grammaticalized. For example, whereas Chinese requires a prosodic pause and often retains the pronoun for the speaker (e.g. *ta zuo shenme, (wo) buzhidao* 'what she does, I don't know'), Malay sentence-final *entah*, on the other hand, is integrated into a monoclausal

structure, as seen in (4d). Malay also allows double-*entah* attitudinal constructions (4e), which we suggest argues against a movement account. Cantonese also allows double attitudinal marking, as in *keoi* **m** *ji zou mat gwai* (*'Who knows* <u>what the devil</u> s/he's doing'), albeit with two different sets of attitudinal expressions, namely, "who knows" and "what the devil" constructions).

Essentially, this study highlights how the interaction between "(I) don't know" expressions and interrogative pronouns (e.g. Mandarin *shenme* and Malay *apa*) yields "who (the hell) knows" negative attitudinal constructions to express speaker moods such as disapproval, exasperation and frustration. We thus see not only how syntactic constructions grammaticalize but also how they interact to produce subjective and intersubjective expressions in discourse.

Mandarin

(1)	(a)	(Wo) bu zhidao ta zuo shenme.	'I don't know what s/he's doing.'
(1)	(b)	Buzhidao ta zuo <u>shenme</u> .	<i>(I've) no idea / Who knows</i> what s/he's doing.'
	Malay		
(2)	(a)	Aku <b>tak tahu / *entah</b> dia buat <u>apa</u> .	'I don't know what s/he's doing.'
	(b)	Tak tahu / entah dia buat <u>apa</u> .	'(I've) no idea / Who knows what s/he's doing.'
	Focus	positions of Mandarin buzhidao:	
(3)	(a)	(Wo) bu zhidao ta zuo shenme.	'I don't know what s/he's doing.'
	(b)	Buzhidao ta zuo shenme.	'I've no idea / Who knows what s/he's doing.'
	(c)	Ta <b>buzhidao</b> zuo <u>shenme</u> .	<i>'I've no idea / Who knows</i> what s/he's doing.' Lit. 'S/he's doing <i>I don't know what</i> .'
	(d)	Ta zuo <u>shenme</u> , ( <b>wo) bu zhidao</b> .	'What s/he's doing, I've no idea / who knows.'
	Focus	positions of Malay entah:	
(4)	(a)	Entah dia buat <u>apa</u> .	'I've no idea what s/he's doing.'
	(b)	Dia <b>entah</b> buat <u>apa</u> .	'No idea / Who knows what s/he's doing.'
	(c)	Dia buat <b>entah</b> <u>apa</u> .	Lit. 'S/he's doing I don't know what.'
	(d)	Dia buat <u>apa</u> entah	'I've no idea what s/he's doing.'

(e) Dia entah buat apa entah

*'I've no::: idea* what s/he's doing.'

Session II, 11:25-11:45, April 30<sup>th</sup>

# Tone versus intonation: How intonation can give birth to pragmatic particles

Daryl CHOW

University of Ottawa, Canada daryl.chow@gmail.com

This paper strives to formulate an account for intonational effects on the tones of utterance final particles cross-linguistically. Specifically, this paper posits that not only are the tones of utterance final particles subject to intonational effects, but that these intonational effects can be reinterpreted in the language as tone, tone that is associated with a specific semantic context. This paper draws upon evidence from work done on a variety of languages such as Cantonese, Thai and Vietnamese to show that utterance final particles are subject to intonational effects. Fox, Luke and Nancarrow (2008) conclude that there is an intonational effect on utterance final tones in Cantonese. Ha and Grice (2009) make similar observations, noting that lexical tones can be masked or even overridden by the edge tones. Pittayaporn (2007) shows similar results in Thai, demonstrating that lexical tones and boundary tones are in competition and that only one can be realized. The common thread in these results reveals that even within strict tone languages, intonation plays an effect in altering the tones of utterance-final particles.

This paper takes a step further by positing that these intonational effects can result in a form of tonogenesis, whereby listeners associate these intonationally modified tones with a specific semantic or pragmatic context and reanalyze the particle as being able to occur with that new tone. That new tone, which is a melody created by intonational boundary tones, is then reassociated with a new semantic context. This essentially creates a new particle with a different tone but with the same phonetic segment, a phenomenon demonstrated in Singaporean English by Chow (2009). A number of lines of evidence support this viewpoint.

Firstly, not counting the high tones that have been generally acknowledged to be borrowed from Cantonese, there is a delimited and restricted set of tones that can occur, which suggests that intonation had a strong part to play in determining the tones of these particles diachronically. With the exception of one rising tone that occurs with /lah/, declaratives always occur with low tones, questions occur with rising tones, and falling tones only occur with exclamatives. Mid tones and high tones also do not seem to occur. These patterns are inexplicable if a lexical approach is adopted, but entirely expected from an intonational point of view since the number of possible intonational contours are also delimited. Therefore this is a strong indication that the variable tones on particles shown in Chow (2009) have originated from intonational melodies. Secondly, these tones on particles all

appear to be intrinsically linked to the semantic context. Whenever there is a tonal differentiation, the difference lies in the pragmatics of the sentence and not a difference in lexicon which suggests that it is a phenomenon separate from lexical tone. Thirdly, the more speakers use the particle, the more likely they would associate new intonational melodies with new contexts, and therefore it would stand to reason that particles which are used more frequently are subject to the most reinterpretation. This appears to be the case, as /lah/, which is the most common particle in use in Singaporean English, appears to have at least three distinct tones – low, falling and rising. /a/, /leh/ and /hor/ (which all have two tones) are also particles which are used more often in contrast to particles such as /sia/ which are used in very specific contexts. This argument extends to other languages such as Thai, where the most commonly spoken particle /ka/ or /kap/ can occur with falling, rising, and low tones whereas less-used particles such as /baang/ can only occur with one specific tone.

#### References

- Chow, Daryl. (2009). *The tones of final particles in Singaporean English*. Paper presented at Colloque International sur les Langues d'Asie du Sud-Est. Université Paris Diderot, Paris. December 17, 2009.
- Fox, Anthony, Luke, Kang-kwong , & Nancarrow, Owen T. (2008). Aspects of Intonation in Cantonese. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* , 36 (2), 321-367.
- Ha, Kieu-Phong and Martine Grice. (2009). *Prosody of Vietnamese: A Proposal for the Interaction of Tone and Intonation*. Ms.
- Pittayaporn, Joe. (2007). Prosody of final particles in Thai: Interaction between lexical tones and intonation. Paper presented at the Workshop on "Intonational Phonology: Understudied or Fieldwork Languages." Saarland University. Sarbrücken, Germany. August 5, 2007.

Session II, 11:45-12:05, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### Self-updating in a narrative context

#### Mark CAMPANA

Kobe City University of Foreign Studies, Japan bugsofjapan@hotmail.com

It often seems the case that in the course of an extended turn or series of turns, a speaker will return to the same particle on the same 'note' as it were, or momentary tone-of-voice. A common and well-researched example would be the English y'know, which is unconsciously inserted at various junctures in phrase structure. Each token of y'know has the same or strikingly similar acoustic properties to the one that preceded it.

Here we focus on the particles *na* and *ne* in Japanese--roughly understood as 'declarative' and 'confirmative', respectively. Unlike *y'know*, these forms have important syntactic (rather than parenthetical) functions, and tend to be more prominently displayed in terms of loudness (relative to their surroundings) and pitch--itself a composite of higher-order frequencies (F3, F4, etc.). Here even the slightest variation can signal changes in speaker attitude or sentiment. In addition (we claim), their tone indicates the speaker's intentions RE staying on topic and/or willingness to cede the floor.

We first examine the distribution of *na* and *ne* in select samples of everyday Japanese. The focus is on situations where the speaker has an obvious conversational goal, such as having a household item dropped off for repair. In explaining the circumstances, the speaker has a clear right to hold the floor and control the topic. In such self-projecting narratives, the acoustic properties of the tokens (*na/ne*) are shown to be remarkably similar; only when the (self-perceived) goal of imparting the necessary information has been met does the characteristic bundle of frequencies begin to change. The relevant data was analyzed using PRAAT, and checked by native speakers.

Our explanation of these observed phenomena is that the speaker is performing a kind of self-updating exercise RE what s/he intends to do through repeated display of his or her internal states. In this regard, the intoning of *ne* and *na* can be understood as a form of politeness, inviting the listener to follow and/or participate in the train of thought. The analysis suggests that interactants orient themselves to conventional, recognizable aspects of the acoustic signal that point to particular emotional stances, vocally expressed. One can therefore speak of an 'emotional stance' in terms of tone of voice'. In the course of an utterance, a speaker conveys his/her information (or 'take on things') to the listener--who, in turn, can only imagine what it would take to produce an utterance such as that. A vocal stance is thus an important moment in a conversation (as it were), to some extent determining its course as planned or interpreted, perhaps even bearing on the relationship

between the speakers themselves, be it personal, casual, formal, or socially prescribed. It is also vital to the notion of politeness in the pragmatic sense, which in turn has important consequences for research in that field as well.

#### References

- Abelin, Å, & J. Allwood (2000). 'Cross linguistic interpretation of emotional prosody.' ISCA Workshop on Speech and Emotion (110-113); Newcastle, Northern Ireland.
- Aubergé, V., T. Grépillat & A, Rilliard (2004). 'Acoustic morphology of expressive speech: What about contours?' *Proceedings of Speech Prosody 2004* (201-4). Nara, Japan.
- Bolinger, D. (1989). Intonation and its uses. Melody in grammar and discourse. Edward Arnold, London.
- Campbell, Nick & Donna Erickson (2004). 'What do people hear? A study of the perception of non-verbal affective information in conversation speech. *Journal of the Phonetic Society of Japan* 8.1.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E., & M. Selting (1996). *Prosody in Conversation*. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 12. Cambridge University Press.
- Ofuka, E., McKeown, J. D., Waterman, M.G., & P.J. Roach, P. (2000). *Prosodic cues* for rated politeness in Japanese speech. Speech Communication, 32:199-217.
- Pell, Marc (20000). 'Reduced sensitivity to prosodic attitudes in adults with focal right hemisphere brain damage'; *ms*, School of Communication Sciences & Disorders, McGill University.
- Pizziconi, Barbara (2006). 'Politeness'. In the *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Sadanobu, T. (2004). 'A natural history of Japanese pressed voice.' *Journal of the Phonetic Society of Japan* 8.1: 29-44.
- Shochi, T., Erickson, D., Rilliard, A., Aubergé, V., Martin, J.-C. (2006). 'Recognition of Japanese attitudes in audio-visual speech'. *Speech Prosody*, 2006.
- Suzuki, Satoko (2006). *Emotive Communication in Japanese*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Watts, R., S. Ide, & K. Ehlich (2005). *Politeness in Language*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wierzbicka, Anna (1999). *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals*. Cambridge University Press.

### Session III Pragmatics Strategies in Asian Languages: Descriptive, Diachronic and Discourse Perspective

Session III, 13:40-14:00, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### **Discourse markers in Cebuano**

#### Michael TANANGKINGSING

National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan miguelt@ms19.hinet.net

Discourse markers refer to the syntactically heterogeneous class of expressions which are distinguished by their function in establishing connectivity in discourse and the kind of meaning they encode (Blakemore 2004). According to Huang (2000), these are lexicalized elements, including lexicalized expressions, and speech formulae whose functions are sequentially dependent; they signal relations between units of talk by virtue of their sequential position as initial or terminal brackets demarcating discourse units. Furthermore, these elements are critically important because they exert a disproportionate influence on the meaning of text (Walrod 2006).

Huang (2000) further identifies two types of markers based on their position and functions. Turn-beginnings tend to be the locus for making turn entries, alternative choices, preclosing statements, or avoidance strategies. Turn-endings tend to be the locus for both the interactional function of doing questioning (a turn-yielding move) and the expression of affect and epistemic stance (signals turn completion). Cebuano has a rich array of discourse markers, which I categorize into three types (instead of two). Aside from turn-beginnings (or clause-initial particles), as in (1), and turn-endings (or clause-final particles), as in (2), I also identify post-nominal markers, which serve distinct discourse functions, as in (3).

In this study, I will first look at the various forms of these markers in Cebuano discourse and the functions that they serve. Second, the data also show that the position (in a clause or in a turn) is a determining factor as to the function that emerges (cf. Huang 2000) from a text. For example, the lexicalized expression di=ba in initial position serves to elicit Hearer participation in a conversation (4a), while it functions as a rhetorical question or as an end to a discussion (4b) in final position. Third, reminiscent of Tao (2003), this study will illustrate that frequently-used verbs, such as the verb of utterance *ingon* 'to say,' have evolved new forms and their argument structures must evolve too (5).

#### References

- Blakemore, Diane. 2004. Discourse markers. In *The handbook of pragmatics*, ed. by Kaurence R. Horn and Gregory Ward, 221-240. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Huang, Shuanfan. 2000. The story of heads and tails on a sequentially sensitive lexicon. *Language and Linguistics* 1.2: 79-107.
- Tao, Hongyin. 2003. A usage-based approach to argument structure: 'Remember' and 'Forget' in spoken English. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8.1: 75-95.
- Walrod, Michael. 2006. The marker is the message: the influence of discourse markers and particles on textual meaning. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 37.2: 105-124.

#### Data

(1) clause-initial particle aw

wa?=ma=y	mo-sugat=nako?	sa	airport
wa?=man=y		sa	airport
NEG=PAR=NE	UT AV-pick=1S.DAT	LOC	airport
aw, m	ag-taxi=na=lang=ko		
PAR A'	v-taxi=already=just=1s.NOM	1	
'Nobody's go	ing to pick me up at the ai	irport. W	ell, I'll just take a taxi.'

(2) clause-final particle ba

hatag-an=nimo,	mora-g	imo=ra=sa-ng	gi-tolerate	ba
hatag-an=nimo,	mora-ug	imo=ra=sad-nga	gi-tolerate	ba
give-LV=2S.GEN	like-COMP	2S.POSS=only=also-LK	PFV.PV-tolerate	PAR
'(If) you give (to t	them), (it's) just	t like you're tolerating	(the practice), r	ight?'

#### (3) post-nominal particle *di?ay*

T:	sa customs=kuno,	sigi=kuno-g	pangayo-g	kwarta
	sa customs=kuno,	sigi=kuno-ug	pangayo?-ug	kwarta
	LOC customs=EVID	keep.on=EVID-COMP	ask-EXT	money

W: sa Laoag=**di**?**ay**, ing-ana?=man=sab sa Laoag=**di**?**ay**, ingon-ana?=man=usab LOC PN=PAR like-that=PAR=also

T: '(He said) at the customs, (the officer) kept on asking for money.' W: '(How about) Laoag. It's also like that.'

(4a) clause-initial phrase *di=ba* 

Μ	kamo	di=ba	nang-adto=na=mo/
	kamo	di=ba	maN-adto=na=mo/
	2P.NOM	1 DM	AV-go=PFV=2P.NOM

T sa Bangkok=ako e LOC PN=1S.NOM PAR

> M: 'You, isn't it (that) you went (together) (to the States)?' T: '(No,) I (was) in Bangkok.'

(4b) discourse marker (discourse-final)

na-putol=man na-putol=man INTRANS-cut=PAR	iya-ng iya-nga 3s.POSS-LK	kamot unya? kamot unya? hand then
<i>ga-separate ang</i> AV-separate ANG	<i>ti?il tsaka</i> leg and	<i>kamot/ diha? sa taoyuan/</i> hand there LOC PN
	=2S.NOM	<i>ato/</i> that s and the hands have become separated from

the body.... There in Taoyuan. There, did you see that?'

(5) verb of utterance *ingon* 

(1) verb of	uu	erance ingon					
ing=ko,	0	na-dawat=na=ko			ani	nga	factory
ingon=ko,	0	na-dawat=na=ko			ani	nga	factory
say=1S.NOM	I DN	A SPONT-accept=already=	=1s.non	М	this	LK	factory
ing=siya,		unsa=man in	10-ng	saky-a	an,	unsa=	=man nga bus

*ingon=siya, unsa=man imo-nga sakay-an, unsa=man nga bus* say=3S.NOM what=PAR 2S.POSS-LK ride-LV what=PAR LK bus "I will say, 'So, I got hired at this factory.' He'd say, 'How are you going there? What bus will you take?"" Session III, 14:00-14:20, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### **Pragmatic strategies in Prinmi**

#### Picus Sizhi DING

University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China picus@hkucc.hku.hk

Prinmi is a Tibeto-Burman language, spoken by the *Pǔmǐ* (普米) nationality in Yunnan and the Tibetan nationality in *Mùlǐ* (木里), Sichuan in southwestern China. Like most Tibeto-Burman languages in the Sino-sphere, Prinmi is a topic prominence language. It has two topic markers: one for marking aboutness topic, shown in (1), and the other for marking frame-setting topic, as in (2).

- (1) Diebbonf ggi dev peatefmi ggon kea=rio.
   flag Top this young.man Spc.Ag push=Impf
   'The flag, this young man is pushing (it).'
   [Elicited from the second one of two pictures after showing a flag in the first one.]
- (2) **Refquee bbo** mif di nea-chiif=si, ... frontside Frs person one down-stand=Prf 'In the front stood a person; ...'

There are several kinds of topic-comment constructions, often with a rather complicated structure. Furthermore, Prinmi develops a number of less-discussed pragmatic strategies which involve a quotative marker and a nominal clause construction.

This paper will survey pragmatic strategies employed in the grammar of Prinmi, aimed at presenting a general inventory of these strategies without going into great details. The major bodies of the paper will first address morphosyntactic marking, including the two sentence-initial topic markers, a focus marker, and various utterance-final discourse particles. Next, I will deal with pragmatic strategies at the clause level: (a) the use of quotative to express the speaker's intention of distancing himself from the propositional meaning, and (b) the availability of a nominal clause construction to signal subjective implication. Finally, I will demonstrate how Prinmi builds up complex sentences through the topic-comment construction.

These strategies are considered to be motivated pragmatically rather than morphosyntactically, as their application is not compulsory in Prinmi. If they are not employed, information will simply be packaged in a different manner without affecting grammaticality of the sentence.

Prinmi data used in this paper were collected on two field trips to a Prinmi-speaking community in Yunnan. The first set of collection consists of folklure and spontaneous short texts. The second set is for contributing to a typological project and it is largely experiment-based: utterances are elicited through graphic stimulation.

#### Abbreviations

Ag	Agentive
Frs	Frame-setting
Impf	Imperfective

PrfPerfectiveSpcSpecificTopTopic

Session III, 14:20-14:40, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### The emergence of polite particles in Thai

Kingkarn THEPKANJANA & Suwadee NASAWAT

Chulalongkorn University, Thailand thepkanjana@gmail.com

This paper aims at investigating how sentence-final polite particles came into being in Thai. The particles under investigation include *khá* and *khà* used by female speakers and *khráp* used by male speakers. These particles have two functions: (1) to express the speaker's politeness to the addressee, and (2) to serve as polite response particles when called or spoken to in everyday conversations (Bhamoraput 1972), which are functionally equivalent to "yes" in English. When function as pure politeness particles, they appear in two positions, namely, sentence-finally and after address terms. On the other hand, when function as polite response particles, they appear in isolation. It is shown in the present study that the three polite particles have an origin in the same response particle found in the Thai royal vocabulary, namely, phráphútthacàwkhàakhɔ̆ɔráp, which literally means "Buddha's servant asks (for a permission) to receive (a royal order, remark)", and which is a shortened form of phráphútthacàwkhàakhžoráp rápsàyklâwsàykràmom, which literally means "Buddha's servant asks (for a permission) to receive (a royal order, remark) to put into the head". The short and long response particles were originally conventionalized expressions which were traditionally used as responses to the king's orders and remarks. The fact that these response particles were originally formulaic expressions which are used with the king in high frequency gives rise to the process of routinisation of these particles. Routinisation relates to frequency of use and predictability (Evans and Green 2006: 709). That is, the more frequently a linguistic form is used, the more predictable its linguistic contexts are. In addition, predictability in this sense entails a reduction in the informational significance and phonological attrition of a particular form. We argue that the three polite particles synchronically used by common people in everyday conversations have been grammaticalized from the response particles found in the Thai royal vocabulary through the process of routinisation, which results in form change and semantic loss. As for the former, the three polite particles, which are currently grammaticalized units, undergo a tighter integration of morphophonological form called "coalescence" (Evans and Green 2006: 710), in which many words become one. Coalescence is accompanied by reduction, in which a morpheme or sound segment is either shortened or lost altogether. The latter kind of change, namely, semantic loss, which takes place in the case of the polite particles being examined, the reduction in the information significance. As a result of this type of is grammaticalization, the original form *phráphútthacàwkhàakhǎoráp* has undergone changes along the grammaticalization path described below. The lexical form at the final stage of the path is the polite particle used by female speakers in everyday conversations.

Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University

phráphútthacàwkhàakhɔ̆ɔráp > phráphútthacàwkhàa > phrácàwkhàa > càwkhàa > càwkhàa > khà

On the other hand, the polite particle used by male speakers, namely, khráp is derived by means of phonological attrition from the form *khšɔráp*, which has the literal meaning 'ask (for a permission) to receive, and which is an element in the original response particle *phráphútthacàwkhàakhšɔráp*.

In conclusion, this paper illustrates a relatively less studied case of grammaticalization in Thai in which lexical constructions have developed a new pragmatic use and is accompanied by radical phonological changes.

#### References

- Amara Bhamoraput. 1972. *Final particles in Thai*. Master's thesis, Department of Linguistics, Brown University.
- Andersen, Gisle. 2001. Pragmatic markers and sociolinguistic variation: a relevancetheoretic approach to the language of adolescents. Amsterdam : John Benjamins Publishing.
- Evans, Vyvyan and Melanie Green. 2006. *Cognitive Linguistics. An Introduction*. Lawrence Elrbaum Associates: Mahwah.
- Hopper, Paul and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Session III, 14:40-15:00, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### From semantics to pragmatics: The accusative case in Korean

#### Wonho KIM

Hanseo University, Korea kimwonh@gmail.com

All languages code the arguments in a clause with respect to the verb. Various coding strategies have been observed, such as word order, case inflection, verbal agreement, serial verb construction, etc. There has often been confusion between case markers and grammatical relations such as subject or object because of their close relationship but grammatical relations are not necessarily indicated by case markers. The concept of a direct object is not always synonymous with that of an accusative noun. In Korean, case marked arguments often encode semantic functions. For instance, the accusative case -(l)ul indicates a directly affected patient. Case markers may change without affecting verbal morphology and such changes affect the semantic interpretation of the sentence. Some motion verbs can take an accusative instead of a locative. The choice of the accusative results in a holistic effect, namely that the location is directly affected by the action. A causee in a causative Korean sentence may be case marked as either dative or accusative. A dative causee indicates an indirectly affected recipient who has some control over the action. Such a causative implies persuasion or permission. An accusative causee indicates a directly affected patient, whereby the sentence implies strong coercion.

Some grammars recognize the Subject-to-Object Raising, e.g. *I believe him to be honest*. The raising construction in Korean is not a result of a formal constraint on language structure but pragmatically motivated. The accusative case encodes an epistemic modality of the -ko complement clause, which co-occurs with a verb of saying or a perceiving. A speaker encodes a 'doubt of truth' modality of the complement clause by choosing the accusative case. An indicative sentence conveys what the speaker believes. In (1a), the speaker just describes *John*'s statement that *he is a genius*. In (1b) the speaker doubts that '*John is a genius*' as indicated in its English gloss.

(1) a. John-un casin-i chencay-la-ko malha(y)-ss-ta.
-TOP REFL-NOM genius-COP-COMP say-PTS-IND
'John said that he was a genius.'
b. John-un casin-ul chencay-la-ko malha(y)-ss-ta.
-TOP REFL-ACC genius-COP-COMP say-PST-IND
'John said that he was a genius (but I doubt that).'

The only difference between (1a) and (1b) is a case marker. Case alternation does not affect the propositional meaning but the accusative case encodes an epistemic modality. The

speaker's doubt of the complement may be indicated by applying the accusative case to the nominative subject of the complement.

Epistemic modality may be indicated grammatically through modal verbs, a particular grammatical mood on verbs, particles, etc. In Korean, the accusative case marker indicates a semantic function, a directly affected patient. In addition, it indicates a pragmatic modality of the -ko complement clause, that is, a 'doubt of truth' modality, in the Subject-to-Object Raising.

### Session IV Pragmatics Markers in Formosan Languages

Session IV, 15:45-16:05, April 30<sup>th</sup>

#### Grammaticalization of the demonstrative 'isa:a' in Saisiyat

#### Marie Meili YEH

# National Hsinchu University of Education, Taiwan mlyeh@mail.nhcue.edu.tw

The lexical expression 'isa:a' in Saisiyat, a Formosan language spoken in the northern Taiwan mountain areas, displays multiple functions. A search of the NTU Corpus of Formosan Languages (see Su et al. 2008, Sung et al. 2008 for details) yields 220 tokens, with different glosses like this (3), that (90), there (68), then (22), filler (25), and DM (17) tokens). The glossing indicates that 'isa:a' functions as a demonstrative. However, in contrast to other demonstratives attested in Saisiyat such as hini 'this' and hiza 'that', it appears to be distance-neutral, as shown in (1), though only three tokens out of the 220 are glossed as proximal this. Besides, it also functions as spatial as well as temporal deictic expressions, as in (2), and in narration it often assumes the function of sentence connectives, as in (3). Moreover, the function of 'isa:a' as a copula is found in the texts collected by the author and the ten traditional stories and five plays published by Saisiyat native speakers, as shown in (4). The use of 'isa:a' in directives, as in (5) to make the request sounds more indirect or polite illustrates its interpersonal function. Diessel (1999: 2-3) adopts a broader notion of demonstratives to include not only deictics like *this* and *that*, which can be further divided into pronominal and adnominal demonstratives, but also spatial deictics (adverbial demonstratives) such as here and there, as well as those used in identificational constructions (identificational demonstratives). With regard to the diachronic aspect of demonstratives, he argues that the four different types of demonstratives undergo different developmental paths conditioned by different syntactic contexts into four different sets of grammatical markers. To name only those in relation to the linguistic facts observed in Saisiyat, pronominal demonstratives evolve into sentence connectives, adverbial demonstratives into temporal adverbs, and identificational demonstratives into nonverbal copulas. In this paper, the paths of grammaticalization of 'isa:a' from a demonstrative to the above named functions will be investigated. In addition, other developments of 'isa:a', including its combination with other demonstratives will be brought to discussion. What appears to be intriguing is that there appears to be an asymmetry in the function between its combination with proximal and distal demonstratives. The combination with proximal demonstrative yields 'isahini 'right now' and 'isani 'recently', which function as temporal adverbials, whereas the combination with the distal demonstrative results in yet another

multi-functional demonstrative '*isaza*', exhibiting the functions of demonstratives, spatial and temporal adverbials, and pragmatic markers showing the potential communicative intentions of the speaker (Fraser 1996).

(1) Demonstrative: distance-neutral

(1) Demonstrative. distance-neutral
a So: nak <u>isaa</u> soka==' (344, kathethel2, NTU )
COND like this reason
b so: nak <u>isaa</u> hi moyo (444, kathethel2, NTU)
COND like that NOM 2PL.NOM
(2) Temporal and spatial
akalapay 'inaray <u>'isa:a'</u> 'oka' ila ka kapa'oe'oe'an ki papaena' (Negotiation)
Kalapay from then NEG ASP ACC argument and fight
'From then on, there is neither argument nor fighting in Kalapay.'
b masa:eng isaa 'aehoe' may <u>isaa</u> (223, Frog5, NTU)
AF.sit that dog AF.pass there
(3) Connective (Wawa:on)
b. mari' ka patpatako: ki kasi'aelen <u>'isa:a'</u> kaS-latar 'am~'amoeh rima'
take ACC wood.gun and food then go-out RED~quick go
'Take up the gun and food, and then rush out to'
(4) Copula (Wawa:on)
yaba', So'o k <om>ita' ay! kapti'aela' kaehkaehoeyan naka kano' hayza'</om>
Father 2S.NOM see < AV > Q front woods like what have
ka' ima kakoway, <u>'isa:a'</u> ay niya'om S <in>owaw ka waliSan?</in>
ACC ASP move IS Q 1P.GEN chase <asp> LIG boar</asp>
'Father, you see that? In the woods in the front, there is something moving, would that be the
boar we have been hunting after?'
(5) Interpersonal
<u>'isa:a'</u> tintin ka hini 'aelaw (Saisiyat Dictionary)
DM weigh ACC this fish
'Then, weigh this fish!'

#### **References:**

Diessel, Holger. 1999. The morphosyntax of demonstratives in synchrony and diachrony. *Linguistic Typology* 3: 1-49.

Fraser, Bruce. 1996. Pragmatic markers. Pragmatics 6(2): 167-190.

- Sung, Li-May, Lily I-wen Su, Fuhui Hsieh and Zhemin Lin. 2008. Developing an Online Corpus of Formosan Languages. *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics* 6.2, 79-118.
- Su, Lily I-wen, Li-May Sung, Shuping Huang, Fuhui Hsieh and Zhemin Lin. 2008. NTU Corpus of Formosan Languages: A State-of-the-art Report. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 4-2, 291-294.

Session IV, 16:05-16:25, April 30<sup>th</sup>

### On pragmatic marker kaz 'only' in Isbukun Bunun

#### Shuping HUANG

#### National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan iris.shuping@gmail.com

Schiffrin's pioneering work has made scholars realize that discourse markers (DMs) are not merely meaningless fillers of silence, but rather play a significant role in verbal expression and comprehension of discourse. However, DMs' functions range from textual, interpersonal to epistemic, and are too heterogeneous to be defined as a class (cf. Wierzbicka 1991). The theory of grammaticalization provides a systematic framework to account for the emergence of discourse functions from a lexical item (Lehmann 1985; Traugott and Dasher 2002). In this study, by the case of Isbukun Bunun *kaz* 'only,' we aim to summarize some accompanying phenomena of grammaticalization, and also to raise the attention to "lexicalization" to account for particular phenomena of discourse markers.

Our analysis is based upon first-hand data collected on our fieldwork, as well as those extracted from Formosan Language Archive. Isbukun kaz as an adverbial element used to express quantitative limitation, such as (1), roughly equivalent to English 'just' or 'only.' It can take aspectual marker -in as in (2), suggesting its role as a predicate. Kaz also acts like a clausal connective to express temporal sequence of two actions. Some of them may receive causal inference in contexts, i.e. one action as the natural consequence of the preceding one, such as (3). Some cases of kaz occur at the beginning of an episode. There is no temporal or causal reading; it mainly serves as a cohesion maker to its preceding texts. as in (4). Change of kaz is not limited to its meaning; it involves as well as syntactic and prosodic changes. First, kaz shifts from clausal internal position to pre-front left position. As claimed by Auer (1996), this proposition is interactionally as well as textually attractive, and this is attested in Isbukun Bunun, which is a verb-initial language. Second, the scope of modification extends from clause to sentence and to episode, and not constrained by syntactic rules. Third, in terms of prosody, kaz as a DM in many cases is uttered as a single IU (intonation unit). Speakers use it as a device to plan their speech, and also to achieve discourse coherence. Finally, kaz as a DM usually collocates with other discourse markers or fillers, such as *dau* (discourse marker) and *a*(lingature), forming a collocation of *kaz dau*, and even topicalized construction "kaz dau a hai + CLAUSE." Aijmer (2002) terms this phenomenon "clustering", and he considers "clustering" a key concept to our better understanding of discourse markers. In the process of functional change, DMs such as kaz do not come to serve grammatical functions, but rather defy explanation of grammatical rules. Aijmer (2002) thus believes that DMs should not be deemed merely as grammaticalized elements, but could possibly be in a place between grammaticalization and lexicalization. Its gradual shift out of syntactic domain also calls for our rethinking of a particular framework for DMs in addition to grammaticalization, such as pragmaticalization (cf. Lenk 1998, cited in Aijimer 2002).

### Examples

(1)	23	(1.3)		tu COMI	,						
	24		mahair		tu			mus'an			
	24		laugh	1411		OMP		once			
								kaz	kaupa	sinihdia	
			becaus	0	aup	) ND		only	like.this		.1. \
	"Chara			-				2		S-ODL	
( <b>2</b> )	kaz-in		ghed, be	itu	luk		-cia	111 111 112	silav		
(2)	only-P		tasa	one				BL.that			
	2		ly one le				uee-Oi	DL.mai	leal		
( <b>2</b> )	52	a a	=								
(3)	52	a LNK	—	mazam unforti			,				
	53	paland	u	mas,							
		meet		OBL							
	54	kakusi	nav	at	kaz	z-in		sinap-u	n	kakusir	nav
		bee		then	onl	y-PI	ΤV	chase-I	PF	bee	
	'(The	dog) un	fortunat	ely met	the	bees	, and it	was cha	ised by t	the bees	· ·
(4)	(45.01	_006_h	\								
(4)	kaðin		·		_	1.1		_		<b>:</b>	: (
	каоіп *	dau *	a *	nai 44.000	a	dad		a	maipad $\pm 43$	laŋı	i∫-anuhu
	*	*		他們	*	$\equiv $		*	夫婦		一下子坐下
			*	they	*		.people		couple		quickly-sit.down
	∫ia	tanŋad	ah	tałuha	n		-	łikaput		tataŋi∫	
	*	裡面		小棚			擁抱			哭泣	
	*	inside		hut			hug			cry	
	mapatu-u	i-u-upa	tu	namikı	ıabi	ſ	kata	mai∫	aipintir	ı	i,
	相互訴診	<b>元</b>	*	將怎麼	₹辦		咱們	*	以後嗎		*
	tell.each.o	other	*	how.to	.do		we	*	afterwa	ırds	*
	ukain	а	imita		а		uvaðin.				
	沒有了	*	咱們的	5	*		孩子這	i			
	no.PFV	*	our		*		child-th				
	夫妻倆推	回頭痛哭	と,癱侄	]在地,	訴	說哀	傷:『	咱們的	孩子沒	R有了,	咱們將怎麼辦
	呵。」			. —							

'The couple hugged each other, cried, and said, 'How should we do hereafter? We lost our child!'

#### **References:**

- Wierzbicka, A. 1991. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: The semantics of human interaction.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lehmann, Christain. 1985. Grammaticalization: Synchronic variation and diachronic change. *Lingua e Stile* 20 (3): 303-318.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. and Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Aijmer, Karin. 2002. English Discourse Particles. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Auer, Peter. 1996. The pre-front field in spoken German and its relevance as a grammaticalization position. *Pragmatics* 6(3): 295-322.
- Lenk, U. 1998. *Making Discourse Coherence: Functions of Discourse Markers in Spoken English.* Tuebingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Session IV, 16:25-16:45, April 30<sup>th</sup>

### Interjections and particles in Kavalan

#### Fuhui HSIEH

Tatung University, Taiwan hsiehfh@ttu.edu.tw

The main purpose of this study is to present the Kavalan interjections and particles, the pragmatic markers used to display the speaker's affective attitude toward the proposition conveyed across, with an aim to get a better understanding on how the Kavalan people display their affect by means of this linguistic strategy. We focus on the placement of these grammatical forms in the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction as well as on their pragmatic functions. The differences between interjections and particles are mainly of two. First, interjections are conventional lexical forms, or words, that can constitute utterances on their own (Ameka 1992a, 1992b; Wilkins 1992), whereas particles cannot. Interjections are conventional in that their linguistic forms have relatively standardized and arbitrary phonological forms, and they can constitute utterances on their own. They can therefore stand alone as perfectly sensible stretches of talk before and after which there is a pause (Wharton 2003: 176-7). Second, many interjections are usually grammaticized lexical items and can be members of another word class, such as the English words *damn, heavens*, and *shit* (Ameka 1992a; Wilkins 1992), whereas particles are usually non-words.

There are two parts in our study. First, we will focus on the Kavalan adverbial predicate *nianpa*, a grammaticized lexical item used as an interjection. That *nianpa* is an adverbial predicate is evidenced by the fact that it can attract bound pronoun and carries the lexical meaning 'over (in terms of degree)', as in (1). Nonetheless, when used as an interjection, *nianpa* loses its lexical meaning; and the most frequently seen construction it occurs is [*nianpa* (+ particles) + (*mai*) clause], where what is conveyed in the following (*mai*) clause is always a mis-fortune, such as a loss of a cherished or important object or a beloved one. The speaker is not necessarily the victim, though, most of the time, she is, but she is definitely the affectee, who expresses her deep sympathy for the experiencer in the reported event, as in the two excerpts in (2). This construction is so linguistically and culturally entrenched to be used to describe the sympathetic attitude to the loss of someone or something that it is also found to stand in an variant construction, i.e. [*nianpa* (+ particles) + NP], where *nianpa* is followed by a NP instead of a *mai* clause. The framed NP refers to the loss, as in (3).

In the second part, we will investigate the Kavalan sentence final particles in naturally spoken data, both narratives and conversations, the result of which is shown in Table 1. That particles appear much more in conversations than in narratives, 230 vs. 31, may indicate that the use of particles is more hearer-oriented; that is, they are used not just to

express the speaker's subjective affect, but to index the speaker's intention to take into consideration of the hearer's attending and, at the same time, to involve the hearer in the speech event. In other words, particles are of multi-function: on the one hand, they are used to express the speaker's subjective affect; on the other hand, they are of illocutionary force, i.e., they are recruited by the speaker to solicit her interactional partner's involvement in the speech event, or to perform some actions. Also, since they are important in interaction, particles must be sensitive to sequentiality in such social interactions and, thus, may be often found in fixed formulaic expressions (Huang 2000), as shown in Table 2.

Ultimately, it is hoped that this study may show that lexical meanings in part emerge from interactional contexts where social interactants construct and negotiate meanings on a moment-by-moment basis. It is also hoped that this study may shed some light on the study of pragmatics of linguistic forms by detailed analysis of the talk-in-interaction of which these forms are a part.

#### Data

(1) nianp	a=imi	q <m>an</m>	tu	baut	bisu	k=ti=imi
over=	1epl.nom	<af>eat</af>	OBL	fish	AF.f	ull=pfv=1epl.nom
'We a	te so much fish	that we were	almost f	ull.'		
(2) KavCon-l	Earthquake					
	qa-sesen-an=	ti=ita		zin-na	Δ.	
	FUT-cold-LF=	=PFV=1IPL.NOM	1	say-3P	L.GEN	
	'We would fe	el cold,' said t	hey.'	-		
115	nis-an-na	ta-be-	betu-an		wi	
	take.off-LF-3	PL.GEN LOC-F	RED-ston	e-LOC	leav	e
	ta-liqaw-an	tangi		ya.∖		
	LOC-corner-L	OC now		PART		
	'(They would	) take off their	clothes	beside t	he stones, at	the corner now.'
116.	t <m></m>	anan nani.\	L.			
	<af>ret</af>	urn DM				
	'They re	turned.'				
→ 117.	{ <u>nianpa</u>	ya mai=1	ti tu	qelapi	<u>yan</u> } tabu	-an-na=ti
	INT	PART NEG=	PFV OBI	underp	ants cove	er-lf-3pl.gen=pfv
	tu pe	ingilid.\				
	with tar	0				
د	Alas, their und	erpants were g	one; (the	erefore,)	they covered	d (their bodies) with
	taro leaves.'					
(3) KavCon-e	earthquake					
107	pun=ti	m-iza	m-ala	tu	salil-na	yau=ti
	finish=PFV	AF-something	g AF-tak	e OBL	net-3SG.GEN	EXIST=PFV
	zing a	yau	mai	qasiR	paqanas.\	
	sea LNK	that	NEG	fast	slow	
	'After he tool	k his net, here o	came the	e sea, no	t fast, but slo	wly.'

108	azu=ita		m-eRr	nap=ay		zing	kwa
	like=11PL.NOM	M	AF-hig	h.tide=	REL	sea	PART
	'Much like th	e sea th	at is risi	ing.'			
109	paqanas	kwa	t <m>a</m>	ıdikud	m-pun	iR.\	
	slow	PART	<af>r</af>	eturn	AF-full	l	
	'It returned sl	owly, a	nd then	got full			
<b>→</b> 110	{ <u>nianpa</u>	qaya	ya	qudus	<u>-na.</u> \}		
	INT	PART	NOM	clothe	s-3pl.gi	EN	
	'Alas, their cl	othes w	ere gon	e as we	11.'		

Table 1 Distribution of Particles in Kavalan Texts

	Conversations*	Narratives**	Total
ya/a	86	15	101
haw	60	3	63
yu	30	6	36
kwa	22	0	22
ka	15	7	22
kia	8	0	8
kaya	8	0	8
Total	230	31	261

\*Conversations cover six face-to-face conversations between acquaintances or relatives, which run about 61 minutes.

\*\* Narratives are 11 elicited narratives, including seven frogs and four pears, and 4 natural narratives, which total up at about 75 minutes.

	Affect and epistemic belief	Sequentiality	Discourse formulae
ya/a	1. To introduce a topic; to solicit hearer's attention; to display emphatic affect	Turn-initial	(azu) topic + ya
	2. To show agreement; give a reply	Reactive token	en ya
	3. To give a promise	Request-Reply	kwa ya
	4. To assert; need to be known to the hearer	Not found	zin-ku/su/na ya
haw	1. To do greeting and bidding farewell	Interaction opening and closing	aita haw
	2. To seek for agreement or confirmation	Request for agreement or confirmation—agreement/confirmation	[to-be-confirmed] haw
	3. To introduce a topic	Turn initial	[topic] haw
	4. To attract hearer's attention; solicit resonance on the topic	Turn initial	Not found
yu	Should be known to the hearer	Not found	zn-ku/su/na yu
kwa	1. To give a promise	Request-Reply	kaw (ya)
	2. Need to be known to the hearer	Not found	Not found

Table 2 Discourse Functions of Particles in Kavalan

#### References

- Ameka, Felix. 1992a. Interjections: The universal yet neglected part of speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 18.101-18.
- Ameka, Felix. 1992b. The meaning of phatic and conative interjections. *Journal of Pragmatics* 18.245-71.
- Huang, Shuanfan. 2000. The story of heads and tails—on a sequentially sensitive lexicon. *Language and Linguistics* 1(2).79-107.

Wharton, Tim. 2003. Interjections, language and the 'showing'/'saying' continuum. *Pragmatics and Cognition* 11(2).173-215.

Wilkins, David P. 1992. Interjections as deictics. Journal of Pragmatics 18.119-58.

Session IV, 16:45-17:05, April 30<sup>th</sup>

### The undergoer voice *-han* in Sakizaya

#### Li-May SUNG

National Taiwan University, Taiwan limay@ntu.edu.tw

This study aims to explore the grammatical status and functions of the Sakizaya affix *-han*. Based mainly on naturalistic data taken from the *NTU Corpus of Formosan Languages*, it is argued that *-han* functions, not only as an undergoer voice (cf. Shen 2008) in (1) but also, and more relevant to this study, as an evidential shown in (2)-(3), extended from the semantic feature of the speech verb 'say/call' to signal an additional propositional content presupposed by the speaker. In other words, they are packaged particularly with certain subjective speaker attitudes toward the action event, indicating source of knowledge or (in)directness of knowledge. Similar grammatical devices are found in Plains Cree and Philippine languages and termed as impersonal passives or unspecified subject constructions in Siewierska (1984), Shibatani (1988), and Dryer (1997). The subject has a meaning roughly paraphrasable as 'by someone/something' or 'by they/people (generic).'

In addition, *-han* also appears in scenarios where the event is perceived through sensory perceptions with the generic subject implicitly implied. This is exemplified in (4). The sense of 'say' is fading away in this usage. Furthermore, the speech verb of saying *-han* seems closely associated with the conditional mood as shown in (5), in accordance with Romaine and Lange's (1991) observation of intrinsic epistemic value often found in verbs of saying. In (6)-(7), *-han* may be further bleached and grammaticalized into a pragmatic discourse marker of speakers "calling" the attention (of hearers) on different characters in the process of story-telling. We will then conclude our study with a possible grammaticalization pathway of the foregoing functions of *-han* in Sakizaya.

- (1) SkzyNr-TYT\_frog
  - 4... sa kina wawa sa,∖
  - DM this.NOM child DM
  - 5... pate pazeng han niza kya balaut nu ni-pa-habay-an niza,
  - PATE put HAN 3SG.GEN this.NOM frog GEN NI-CAU-millet-NMZ 3SG.GEN 6... i tini i kuleng.
  - LOC there LOC jug
  - LOC there LOC jug

The child put the frog in the millet jug. (Lit: The frog was put by the child in the millet jug.)

- (2) SkzyNr\_YAM\_sapad
  - 40.... (0.7) u sapadien <u>han</u> ku nu luwak ani-pa-ngangan saka.\ CN place.name HAN Nom Gen Chinese ANI-Caus-name SAK

Chinese named it as Sapadien.

(3) SkzyNr YAM sapad 22.... (0.8) u maibuk han ku kamu nya babalaki sa. CN maibuk HAN Nom word that.Gen senior DM The old men called it Maibuk (4) SkzyNr YAM frog 9....(1.0) me ya melaw **han** tu kya balaut, $\backslash$ HAN PFV that.NOM frog ME YA see 10... mu-ta-hekal kva balaut mu-laliw. AF-go-out that.NOM frog AF-run.away (We) saw (that) the frog ran away. (Lit: The frog was seen to run away.) (5) SkzyNr LWY festival 61.. ma-lecan mi-ki-tutung-ay o== anu <u>han</u> nu. AF-same AF-KI-call-AY INT COND say.so.PF GEN 62.. tamdaw u sa-patubeli ku buyoh./ person CN SA- respond NOM mountain It's like that a person shouts "O" and another seems to respond in the mountain. (6) SkzyNr-TYT frog 10... sa ya balaut han tu.\ DM YA frog HAN PFV 11... m-aydih ciniza a ta-hekal a mi-dang, AF-want 3SG.NOM LNK go-out LNK AF-play The frog, he wanted to come out and play. (7) SkzyNr-TYT frog 24... ya wawa han tu, $\backslash$ YA child HAN PFV 25... buhat satu tunian u. open SATU this CN 26... sa sasaedeb sa, $\backslash$ 

DM door DM

The child opened the door. (Lit: The child, (he) opened the door.)

#### References

- Dryer, Matthew. 1997. Passive vs. Indefinite Actor Constructions in Plains Cree. In Papers of the Twenty-Sixth Algonquian Conference, ed. by David Pentland. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.
- Romaine, S and D. Lange. 1991. The use of *like* as a marker of reported speech and thought: a case of grammaticalization in progress. *American Speech* 66: 227-279.
- Shen, Wen-chi. 2008. Sakizaya Syntax: With Special Reference to Negative, Interrogative and Causative Constructions. MA thesis. National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1988. Voice in Philippine languages. In Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.), Passive and Voice. Typological Studies in Language 16. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Siewierska, Anna. 1984. The passive: a comparative linguistic analysis. London: Croom Helm.

# **CLDC 2010** The 4th Conference on Language, Discourse and Cognition

**Theme: Pragmatics and Cognitive Linguistics** 

May 1 - May 2, 2010

Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University Taipei, Taiwan

# **Table of Contents**

Theme	1
Organizers	2
Reviewers	3
Guidelines	4
Program	5
Keynote Speech	11
'Subject-object merger' and 'subject-object contrast' in construal: A modified v of subjective and objective construal in cognitive grammar from a viewpoint of a subjectivity-prominent language	
Yoshihiko IKEGAMI	11
<b>A family of constructions featuring</b> <i>chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup></i> and its ilk in TSM <i>Chinfa LIEN</i>	<u>15</u>
<b>Exploring pragmatic particles at the right periphery</b> <i>Elizabeth Closs TRAUGOTT</i>	17
Session I: Subjectivity/Intersubjectivity	23
<b>Typology of subjectivity and its linguistic manifestations</b> Shoichi IWASAKI	23
<b>Modality and Mandarin judgment verbs</b> <i>Jia-chun WU</i>	25
A shell for (inter-)subjectivity: A corpus-based case study of the shell noun yisi ('meaning, idea, intention') in Mandarin Chinese Chester Chen-Yu HSIEH	28
Serves you right: <i>Ka</i> - as an attitudinal marker in Yami	
Victoria RAU & Maa-neu DONG	30

Session II: Discourse Analysis	31
<b>Context, meaning, and prosody: The use of interjections in Mandarin convers</b> <i>Li-chiung YANG</i>	
<b>The syntax and semantics of</b> <i>lo</i> <sup>1</sup> <b>and its English equivalent</b> John WAKEWFIELD	33
Evidentiality in interaction: the role of evidential semantics and sequential po Yurakaré conversational discourse	sition in
Sonja GIPPER	36
A grammatical device for 'logophoricity' in Japanese: The quotative <i>to</i> constrused as a clause-external adverbial	
Seiko FUJII	38
<b>On the versatile marker</b> <i>kuan</i> <b>in Cebuano</b> <i>Michael TANANGKINGSING</i>	40
Session III: Conceptualization	45
<b>Cognitive deixis: The integration of language and gesture in Taiwan Sign Lan</b> Shiou-fen SU	
<b>Distinguishing classifiers and measure words</b> One-Soon HER	48
A usage-based comparison of English and Chinese metaphors for happiness Carl POLLEY	51
<b>The spatial and temporal conceptualizations of Isbukun Bunun</b> Hengsyung JENG & Haowen JIANG	53
Session IV: Constructions	56
<b>Object-incorporation in English</b> Yuhuan WANG	56
<b>Three-participant event constructions in Thai</b> Suthatip MUEANJAI	

Affectedness constructions and stance-taking Tomoko SMITH	<u>60</u>
Session V: Discourse and Acquisition	
<b>The use of headed and headless forms in Mandarin</b> <i>de</i> <b>-marked referential expre</b> <i>Tuyuan Cheng &amp; Hintat Cheung</i>	
Knowing how certain the speaker is: Cross-linguistic variation in children's developmental awareness of modal words and prosody	00
Yui MIURA & Tomoko MATSUI	
Session VI: Grammaticalization	
From (ad)nominalizer to tense-aspect-mood marker: A case of semantic extensi from referential to non-referential uses	ons
Karen GRUNOW-HÅRSTA & Foong Ha YAP	68
The role of discourse formulas in grammaticalization: A variationist study of <i>yi</i> Mandarin Chinese	ge in
Chungmin HSU & Meichun LIU	
Use of natural spoken data as a research methodology for intersubjectivity: The of Mandarin <i>le</i>	e case
Louis Wei-lun LU & Lily I-wen SU	
Poster Session	
Stance taking in a white supremacist discourse of homosexuality Andrew BRINDLE	
The particle <i>ye</i> 也 in the Guodian manuscripts	
Marco CABOARA	
<b>The circumfixal modal</b> <i>e</i> <sup>7</sup> +Verb+ <i>tit</i> <sup>4</sup> in Taiwanese Southern Min Bo-Ching CHEN	78
<b>Discourse particles in Nepali: An overview</b> <i>Dubi Nanda DHAKAL</i>	80
<b>Grammaticalization and extension of the verb 'say' in Magar</b> <i>Karen GRUNOW-HÅRSTA</i>	

A functional perspective on the grammaticalization of Chinese modality	
Chia-Ling HSIEH & Xin-Ru WU	
Grammaticalization of <i>jieguo</i> in Taiwan Mandarin conversation	
Chia Hung LI	
The acquisition of resultative compound verbs: A longitudinal study	
Yen-Ting LIN & Li-mei CHEN	
On grammaticalizing from 'acquire' to 'ability', 'permission' and 'possibility study in Vietnamese	': A case
Soraj RUANGMANEE	<u>91</u>
The analysis of parting poetry in Tang Dynasty—The view of cognition and n	netaphor
Po-wen TSENG	
Preferred strategies in advertising language	
Nuan-Chen WEI	95

# **CLDC2010 Theme: Pragmatics and Cognitive Linguistics**

# May 1 - May 2, 2010

The 4th Conference on Language, Discourse and Cognition (CLDC 2010) is held on May 1-2, 2010 on the main campus of National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan. The aim of this conference is to bring together researchers interested in discourse and cognition to exchange research findings and foster the development of research in these areas. We welcome contributions to all aspects of language study, with a special focus on the interface of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics.

Topics discussed in CLDC2010 are in all areas related to language, discourse and cognition. Specifically, the following issues are included:

- grammaticalization and discourse function
- subjectivity/intersubjectivity in discourse
- stance-taking in discourse
- pragmatic marker and propositional function
- the conceptual interface of syntax, semantics and pragmatics
- the relationship between language and thought
- typological perspectives on discourse structuring and functions
- metaphor, cognition and culture
- linguistic categorization
- possible pedagogical applications of the theme of the conference

# **CLDC2010 Organizers**

### **Conference** Committee

Prof. Wen-yu CHIANG Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan wychiang@ntu.edu.tw

Prof. Shuanfan HUANG Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan Yuanze University, Taiwan sfhuang@ntu.edu.tw

Prof. Chiarung LU Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan chiarung@gmail.com

Prof. I-wen SU Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan iwensu@ntu.edu.tw

Prof. Foong Ha YAP Department of English, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong, China egyapfh@polyu.edu.hk

## **Coordinating Students**

Chester Chen-Yu HSIEH Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan chesterhugues@gmail.com

Naihsin LI Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan naihsinli@gmail.com

Hsin-Yi LIN Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan niceshelly46@yahoo.com.tw

\*The above list is ordered alphabetically according to the last name of the members.

# **CLDC2010 Reviewers**

CLDC 2010 organizers would like to thank all the reviewers for their considerable help

Kathleen AHRENS	Chieh-Fang HU	Cheng-hui LIU
Yung-O BIQ	Chiung-chih HUANG	Chiarung LU
Jung-hsing CHANG	Chu-Ren HUANG	James MYERS
Li-li CHANG	Lillian M. HUANG	Li-May Sung
Miao-Hsia CHANG	Shuanfan HUANG	James H-Y. TAI
Hintat CHEUNG	Shuping HUANG	Michael TANANGKINGSING
Wen-yu CHIANG	Yoshihiko IKEGAMI	Norman Y. TENG
Kawai CHUI	Sai-hua KUO	Feng-fu TSAO
Siaw-Fong CHUNG	Huei-ling LAI	Jane S. TSAY
Janice FON	Hsiu-chuan LIAO	Yu-Fang WANG
One-Soon HER	Chinfa LIEN	Jennifer M. WEI
Fuhui HSIEH	Hsueh-o LIN	Joy WU
Shelley Ching-yu HSIEH	Mei-chun LIU	

\*The above list is ordered alphabetically according to the last name of the reviewers.

# **CLDC2010 Guidelines**

### **Oral Presentation**

- Preparation time: Please give us your files for presentation by the end of the break immediately preceding your session.
- Presentation time: **20** minutes per presentation
- Question period: 5 minutes per presentation
- Language: English

### Poster Presentation

- Posters should be put on the designated boards between 10:15-10:35 am on May 1 (Sat).
- Please prepare copies of your handouts for the audience BY YOURSELF.
- The poster session period will be between **10:00-11:00 am** on May 2 (Sun).
- Presenters must be present at their posters during the poster session period.
- Language: English.
- After the poster session is over, posters must be removed. Posters left on the boards after the closing of the main conference will be discarded.

### **Regulations**

- Please turn off your cellular phone and wear your badge all the time during the conference.
- No food or smoking is allowed in the conference room.
- Please turn back your plastic nametag to the registration table at the end of the conference.

# CLDC2010 Program

### Day 1 (May 1<sup>st</sup>)

	08:30-09:00 On-Site Registration					
	09:00-09:15 Welcome and Opening Remarks					
09:15-10:15	Keynote Speech 'Subject-object merger' and 'subject-object contrast' in construal: A modified version of subjective and objective construal in cognitive grammar from a viewpoint of a subjectivity-prominent language Dr. Yoshihiko IKEGAMI University of Tokyo; Showa Women's University, Japan Chair: Dr. Wen-yu Chiang					
	10:15-10:35 Tea Break					
	Session I: Subjectivity/Intersubjectivity Session Chair: Dr. Yoshihiko IKEGAMI					
10:35-11:00	<b>Typology of subjectivity and its linguistic manifestations</b> Shoichi IWASAKI University of California, Los Angeles, USA					
11:00-11:25	<b>Modality and Mandarin judgment verbs</b> Jia-chun WU National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan					
11:25-11:50	A shell for (inter-)subjectivity: A corpus-based case study of the shell noun <i>yisi</i> ('meaning, idea, intention') in Mandarin Chinese Chester Chen-Yu HSIEH National Taiwan University, Taiwan					
11:50-12:15	<b>Serves you right:</b> <i>Ka-</i> as an attitudinal marker in Yami Victoria RAU <sup>1</sup> & Maa-neu DONG <sup>2</sup> Wheaton College Graduate School, USA <sup>1</sup> ; National Museum of Natural Sciences, Taiwan <sup>2</sup>					

	12:15-13:35 Lunch
	Session II: Discourse Analysis Session Chair: Dr. Shoichi IWASAKI
13:35-14:00	Context, meaning, and prosody: The use of interjections in Mandarin conversation Li-chiung YANG Tunghai University, Taiwan
14:00-14:25	<b>The syntax and semantics of </b> <i>Io</i> <sup>1</sup> <b> and its English equivalent</b> John WAKEFIELD Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong, China
14:25-14:50	Evidentiality in interaction: the role of evidential semantics and sequential position in Yurakaré conversational discourse Sonja GIPPER Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, The Netherlands
14:50-15:15	A grammatical device for 'logophoricity' in Japanese: The quotative <i>to</i> construction used as a clause-external adverbial Seiko FUJII University of Tokyo, Japan
15:15-15:40	On the versatile marker kuan in Cebuano Michael TANANGKINGSING National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan
_	15:40-16:00 Tea Break
	Session III: Conceptualization Session Chair: Dr. James H-Y. TAI
16:00-16:25	Cognitive deixis: The integration of language and gesture in Taiwan Sign Language Shiou-fen SU National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan
16:25-16:50	Distinguishing classifiers and measure words One-Soon HER National Chengchi University, Taiwan

### 16:50-17:15 A usage-based comparison of English and Chinese metaphors for happiness Carl POLLEY University of Hawaii, USA

### 17:15-17:40 **The spatial and temporal conceptualizations of Isbukun Bunun** Hengsyung JENG<sup>1</sup> & Haowen JIANG<sup>2</sup> National Taiwan University, Taiwan<sup>1</sup>; Rice University, USA<sup>2</sup>

# Day 2 (May 2<sup>nd</sup>)

08:30-09:00 On-Site Registration	
09:00-10:00	Keynote Speech A family of constructions featuring <i>chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup></i> and its ilk in TSM Dr. Chinfa LIEN National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan Chair: Dr. Shuanfan Huang
	<b>10:00-11:00 Poster Session</b> Session Chair: Dr. Foong Ha YAP
	Session IV: Constructions Session Chair: Dr. Chinfa LIEN
11:00-11:25	<b>Object-incorporation in English</b> Yuhuan WANG Mount Royal University, Canada
11:25-11:50	Three-participant event constructions in Thai Suthatip MUEANJAI Chulalongkorn University, Thailand
11:50-12:15	Affectedness constructions and stance-taking Tomoko SMITH Osaka University, Japan
12:15-13:35 Lunch	
Session V: Discourse and Acquisition Session Chair: Dr. Chiung-Chih Huang	
13:35-14:00	The use of headed and headless forms in Mandarin <i>de</i> -marked referential expressions Tuyuan CHENG <sup>12</sup> & Hintat CHEUNG <sup>1</sup> National Taiwan University <sup>1</sup> , National Tainan Institute of Nursing <sup>2</sup>

14:00-14:25	Knowing how certain the speaker is: Cross-linguistic variation in children's developmental awareness of modal words and prosody Yui MIURA & Tomoko MATSUI Kyoto University, Japan
	Session VI: Grammaticalization Session Chair: Dr. Elizabeth Closs TRAUGOTT
14:25-14:50	From (ad)nominalizer to tense-aspect-mood marker: A case of semantic extensions from referential to non-referential uses Karen GRUNOW-HÅRSTA & Foong Ha YAP Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong, China
14:50-15:15	The role of discourse formulas in grammaticalization: A variationist study of <i>yige</i> in Mandarin Chinese Chungmin HSU <sup>1</sup> & Meichun LIU <sup>2</sup> Providence University, Taiwan <sup>1</sup> ; National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan <sup>2</sup>
15:15-15:40	Use of natural spoken data as a research methodology for intersubjectivity: The case of Mandarin <i>le</i> Louis Wei-Iun LU & Lily I-wen SU National Taiwan University, Taiwan
15:40-16:00 Tea Break	
16:00-17:00	Keynote Speech Exploring pragmatic particles at the right periphery Dr. Elizabeth Closs TRAUGOTT Stanford University, USA Chair: Dr. Lily I-wen SU
17:00 ~ Closing Remarks	

### **Poster Session**

- #1 Stance taking in a white supremacist discourse of homosexuality Andrew BRINDLE Lancaster University, U.K., Private Language Institute, Taiwan
- #2 **The particle** *ye* in the Guodian manuscripts Marco CABOARA University of Washington, USA
- #3 The circumfixal modal e<sup>7</sup>+Verb+tit<sup>4</sup> in Taiwanese Southern Min Bo-Ching CHEN National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan
- #4 **Discourse particles in Nepali: An overview** Dubi Nanda DHAKAL Tribhuvan University, Nepal
- #5 Grammaticalization and extension of the verb 'say' in Magar Karen GRUNOW-HÅRSTA University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee, USA
- #6 A functional perspective on the grammaticalization of Chinese modality Chia-Ling HSIEH & Xin-Ru WU National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan
- #7 Grammaticalization of *jieguo* in Taiwan Mandarin conversation
   Chia Hung LI
   National Taiwan University, Taiwan
- #8 **The acquisition of resultative compound verbs: A longitudinal study** Yen-Ting LIN & Li-mei CHEN National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan
- #9 On grammaticalizing from 'acquire' to 'ability', 'permission' and 'possibility': A case study in Vietnamese Soraj RUANGMANEE Chulalongkorn University, Thailand
- #10 The analysis of parting poetry in Tang Dynasty—The view of cognition and metaphor Po-wen TSENG National Chengchi University, Taiwan
- #11 **Preferred strategies in advertising language** Nuan-Chen WEI National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan

\*The above list is ordered alphabetically according to the last name of the authors.

# **CLDC2010 Keynote Speech**

Keynote 1, 09:15-10:15, May 1<sup>st</sup>

### Yoshihiko IKEGAMI University of Tokyo; Showa Women's University, Japan

### 'Subject-object merger' and 'subject-object contrast' in construal: A modified version of subjective and objective construal in cognitive grammar from a viewpoint of a subjectivity-prominent language

Construal is a crucial notion in cognitive linguistics. The speaker of language is not simply a person who mechanically utters sentences generated (supposedly) by rules, but one who acts as cognizing agent. Before uttering a sentence, that is, the speaker has first to engage cognitively with the situation to be encoded linguistically and decide, e.g. (i) which portions of the situation she chooses to encode and which portions to leave unencoded and (ii) from which perspective she chooses to encode those portions of the situation she has chosen to encode. This is a cognitive process called 'construal' in cognitive linguistics. The speaker then selects linguistic forms which will most closely match the construal she has made of the situation and proceeds to encode accordingly.

There are both universalistic and relativistic aspects with the speaker's cognitive activity of construal. It is presumed, first of all, that a speaker of any language has the ability of construing one and the same situation in more than one way. (For example, the fact of John being in love with Mary can be construed and encoded either as "John loves Mary" (with 'John' as topic and the predicate in active voice) or as "Mary is loved by John") with 'Mary' as topic and the predicate in passive voice), as the case may be. Alternative choices like this will be found universally across languages.) On the other hand, it is also often the case that a speaker of one language may prefer to construe and encode a particular situation in one way, while a speaker of another language may prefer to construe and encode the same situation in another way. (For example, referring to some one who lost his life in the war, an English speaker will say "He was killed in the war", using the transitive verb in the passive, while a Japanese speaker will say, "Kare wa senso de shinda" (literally, HE DIED IN (THE) WAR)", using the intransitive verb. It is interesting to note in this connection that while both ways of referring to someone's death in the war are equally valid logically, the speaker of either language actually finds the way of saying of the speaker of the other language as 'unnatural' and even 'peculiar' --- which suggests that preference among alternative

construals as applied to one and the same situation may not be the same among the speakers of different languages.)

Among a number of relativistic aspects of construal across the speakers of different languages, the one that the present author finds most interesting is the preferential choice between what are called 'subjective construal' and 'objective construal' in the terminology of cognitive linguistics. The contrast between the two notions is illustrated by Langacher (1990) with the following triplet of sentences:

- (1) Vanessa is sitting across the table from Veronica.
- (2) Vanessa is sitting across the table from me.
- (3) Vanessa is sitting across the table.

Sentence (1) represents an instance of what Langacker calls 'the optimal viewing arrangement', in which the conceptualizer and the object of conceptualization are fully distinct. Both Vanessa and Veronica as objects of conceptualization are onstage but the speaker as conceptualizer is detached, herself not being involved in the same scene. Sentence (2) and (3), on the other hand, represent instances of what Langacker calls 'the egocentric viewing arrangement', in which the speaker as conceptualizer is on the same scene she construes and encodes.

But how are sentences (2) and (3) to be distinguished? According to Langacker, in sentence (2) the conceptualizer is "objectified" and "displaced" onto the onstage region and the "objectified" conceptualizer is used as a reference point by the speaker in order to locate Vanessa. The "objectified" conceptualizer is onstage, hence she is explicitly encoded by the word *me*. In sentence (3), on the other hand, the conceptualizer is "merged" with the "displaced" conceptualizer and this "merged" conceptualizer serves as a reference point for locating Vanessa. The "merged" conceptualizer is assumed to be located "either at the fringe of the onstage region or perhaps offstage altogether" (Langacker 1990: 21, 1991: 329) and hence she is not encoded.

There is, however, something that bothers me about the way the contrast between (2) and (3) is accounted for here. Notice, for example, the ambiguous way of defining the position occupied by the conceptualizer in the case of sentence (3): "either at the fringes of the onstage region or perhaps offstage altogether". This ambiguity seems to derive from the fact that for the speaker of English objective construal is the norm and even the speaker herself, who is a conceptualizing subject and not a conceptualized object, is readily objectified, and construed and encoded as such (i.e. as 'other'). From the viewpoint of a language like Japanese, whose speakers tend more towards subjectifying than objectifying, however, I propose a different and perhaps a rather neater scheme to describe the contrast between subjective and objective construal.

The point of the proposed modified version is the idea that the notions of subjective and objective construal in cognitive grammar are no more and no less than the linguistic

analogues of the philosophical notions of 'subject-object merger' and 'subject-object contrast' widely known in East-Asian cultures and often associated with the Zen Buddhist doctrines. The linguistic analogues of the subject and the object are the speaking subject (*sujet parlant*: or perhaps better, the cognizing subject, who construes the situation to be encoded) and the situation to be construed and encoded by the speaking/cognizing subject, respectively. There are two principal types of the way in which the subject (i.e. the speaker) engages with the object (i.e. the situation to be construe or the speaker is totally immersed in the situation she is going to construe. In the first type of engagement, the speaker takes an insider's stance: she construes the situation as she directly and physically perceives and experiences it herself, while in the second type of engagement, the speaker takes an outsider's stance: she construes the situation as it is observed and perceived from the detached location at which she places herself.

In the sense that the situation to be construed is only minimally objectified, the construal in the first type of engagement may be called 'subjective construal'. In the sense that the situation to be construed is maximally objectified, the construal in the second type of engagement may be called 'objective construal'.

An interesting corollary deriving from the modified version above is that being engaged in subjective construal, the speaker doesn't necessarily have to encode herself. She locates herself at the origin of her perceptual field: she can perceive everything around, but not herself. Hence she may be encoded as 'zero'. This principle works quite well with a subjectivity-prominent language like Japanese, in which a large-scale 'omission' of the first-person terms are found in discourse.

The modified version discussed here must further be supplemented with a pair of notions, 'self-projection' and 'self-split'. The subjectively oriented speaker may simply proceed to apply subjective construal if she is already involved in the situation she is going to construe. But what happens if she is not involved in the situation she is going to construe? She may then project herself either physically or mentally into the situation in question and proceed to engage herself subjectively with the situation. (A common example of this kind is found when the speaker mixes present-tense forms with past-tense forms when talking about a past event. This is quite commonly observed in Japanese, even in written discourse.) What happens then if the objectively oriented speaker finds herself involved in the situation she is going to construe? She may either physically or mentally step out of the situation in which she is involved and engage herself objectively with the situation. Here, however, a note of caution is necessary. She does not simply step out of the situation --- she steps out, leaving her counterpart in the situation. She undergoes, as it were, a self-split, one counterpart stepping out, leaving the other counterpart behind in the situation. The result is that even as an outsider she can still perceive her counterpart involved in the situation and proceeds to encode her duly in some first-person pronominal form.

The point discussed in the present paper offers some wider perspectives. It suggests, for example, an evolutionary path of language from a stage characterized by ego-centered monologic utterances to one characterized by dialogic exchange of information between two equal partners. It also points to a possible interesting homology between representation by language (subjective or objective construal), and representation by painting (absence or use of perspective), either of them deriving from one and the same cognitive orientation characterizing the people of a particular culture.

#### References

- Ikegami, Yoshihiko (2004) "'First/Second vs. Third Person' and 'First vs. Second/Third Person': Two Types of Linguistic Subjectivity", in Frank Brisard et al., eds.: *Seduction, Community, Speech*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 61-73.
- ------ (2005) "Indices of a Subjectivity-Prominent Language: Between Cognitive Linguistics and Linguistic Typology", *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 3, pp. 132-164.
- ------ (2008) "Subjective Construal as a 'Fashion of Speaking' in Japanese", in Maria de los Angeles Gomez Gonzales et al., eds.: *Current Trends in Contrastive Linguistics: Functional and Cognitive Perspectives*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 227-250.

Langacker, Ronald W. (1990) "Subjectification", Cognitive Linguistics 1: 5-38.

----- (1991) Concept, Image, and Symbols, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Keynote 2, 09:00-10:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

### Chinfa Lien National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan

### A family of constructions featuring *chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup>* and its ilk in TSM

This paper explores a family of constructions featuring  $chhin^{1}$ - $chhiunn^{7}$  (be like) and its congeners such as  $chhiunn^{7}$ ,  $na^{2}$ - $chhin^{1}$ - $chhiunn^{7}$ ,  $na^{2}$ - $chhiun^{7}$ - $kong^{2}$ ,  $chhin^{1}$ - $chhiunn^{7}$ - $kong^{2}$ , and  $chhiunn^{7}$ - $kong^{2}$  in Taiwanese Southern Min (or TSM for short), a major Sinitic language spoken in Taiwan, in terms of the theory of construction grammar (Fillmore et al 1988, Goldberg 1995, and Jackendoff 2002). The examples to be shown below are gleaned from a data base recording TSM folktales and soap operas. In its synchronic state, it boasts a range of senses or functions such as similarity, as in (1) expressing similarity between two objects, or (2) denoting the similarity of two events in a metaphor, and exemplification, as in (3), as well as marker of focus , as in (4), and quote, as in (5) and (6). In essence it exhibits a multi-functional trait similar to *be like* in English (Meehan 1991, Romaine and Lange 1991, Siegel 2002, and Jones & Schieffelin 2009).

*Chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup>* when followed by  $kong^2$  'say' as a quotative complementizer can be a marker of direct quote to express the speaker's internal thought, as in (5). When *chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup>* introduces a clause, be it a direct reported speech or internal thought, the implicit subject is almost always the speaker. So it expresses the epistemological stand or subjectivity on the part of speaker. The speaker (the story teller in this case) can use *chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup>* alone without being followed by the complementizer *kong<sup>2</sup>* as a quotative marker to report on someone else's internal thought, as in (6). Such an interpretation can only be obtained by backtracking in the texts several sentences backward.

Syntactically speaking, there are a range of domains of *chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup>*, viz., it can be followed by NP, VP, ADJ, ADV or CL as a syntactic constituent, but it, for example, cannot occur between V and object NP. The occurrence of *chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup>* is therefore not random; rather it is rule-governed. To summarize, this paper aims at teasing out a set of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic properties that *chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup>* as well as its ilk embraces in keeping with CG and the spirit of mini-grammar (Fillmore 2002). The pragmatic properties in particular have to be sought beyond the scope of single sentences and fleshed out in terms of discoursal relationship, as in (6).

#### Data

- (1) He<sup>1</sup> hoo<sup>7</sup>-liu<sup>1</sup> chiann<sup>1</sup> chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup> bi<sup>2</sup>-lo<sup>5</sup> hiah<sup>4</sup> toa<sup>7</sup> be<sup>2</sup>
   That loach spirit like rice.wicker.tray so big CL (112.01 LAH-TAB)
   'The loach spirit is as big as a wicker tray'
- (2) Eng<sup>7</sup> khah<sup>4</sup>-cha<sup>2</sup> e<sup>5</sup> kong<sup>1</sup>-bun<sup>5</sup> si<sup>7</sup> chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup> ku<sup>1</sup> teh<sup>4</sup> so<sup>5</sup>
   Use early GM official document is like turtle PM crawl (48.08 DJZ)
   'Using the early official document is like the crawling of the turtle'
- (3) Chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup> hoo<sup>7</sup>-liu<sup>1</sup> lah<sup>0</sup>, sui2-koe1 lah<sup>0</sup>, iah<sup>4</sup>-si<sup>7</sup> he<sup>5</sup>-a<sup>2</sup> siann<sup>2</sup>-e<sup>0</sup>
   Like loach PTC frog-PTC or shrimp-DIMSUF what (194.08 TNX)
   ...such as loaches, frogs or shrimps and what not'
- (4) I<sup>1</sup> chit<sup>4</sup> e<sup>5</sup> na<sup>2</sup>-chin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup> nau<sup>2</sup>-kun<sup>1</sup> u<sup>7</sup> khah<sup>4</sup> ho<sup>2</sup> (156.06 YLX)
   She this CL as if brains have more good
   'The one like her is like much more intelligent'
- (5) Chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup> kong<sup>2</sup> goa<sup>2</sup> kheh<sup>8</sup> chit<sup>8</sup> e<sup>5</sup> mngh<sup>8</sup>-kiann<sup>7</sup> seng<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>7</sup> chiam<sup>3</sup> leh<sup>0</sup> Like say I take one CL thing first OBJMK occupy SFP (94.26 FSS)
   'Like I occupy it with something first'
- (6) Chhin<sup>1</sup>-chhiunn<sup>7</sup> goa<sup>2</sup> chhong<sup>3</sup> tok<sup>8</sup>-ioh<sup>8</sup> beh<sup>4</sup> thau<sup>7</sup> lin<sup>2</sup> nng<sup>7</sup> e<sup>5</sup>
   Like I use toxicant want to.poison you two CL (46.05 SLZ)
   'Like I want to poison you two'

### References

- Fillmore, C. J. and Kay, P. and O'Connor, M. C. 1988. Regularity and idiomaticity in grammatical construction: the case of *let alone. Language* 64: 501-538.
- Fillmore, Charles. 2002. Mini-grammars of Some Time-When Expressions in English. In Joan Bybee and Michael Noonan (eds.) Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse: Essays in Honor Sandra A. Thompson. 31-60. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 2002. Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, Graham M., and Bambi B. Schieffelin. 2009. Enquoting voices, accomplishing talk: uses of be + like in instant messaging. *Language and Communication* 29: 77-113.
- Meehan, Teresa. 1991. It's like, 'what's happening in the evolution of like?': a theory of grammaticalization. *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics* 16, 37-51.
- Romaine, Suzanne and Deborah Lange. 1991. The use of *like* as a marker of reported speech and thought: a case of grammaticalization progress. *American Speech* 66.3.: 227-279.
- Siegel, Muffy E. 2002. Like: the discourse particle and semantics. *Journal of Semantics* 19: 35-71.

Keynote 3, 16:00-17:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

### Elizabeth Closs TRAUGOTT Stanford University, USA

### Exploring pragmatic particles at the right periphery

This paper explores a hypothesis proposed by Beeching, Degand, Detges, Traugott, and Waltereit (2009) regarding the use of pragmatic particles at the periphery of clauses or intonation units.

The hypothesis is that left-periphery (LP) and right periphery (RP) of the clause or intonation unit (IU) are fundamentally asymmetric because of the nature of the flow of speech. Owing to this asymmetry, markers in LP are likely to be:

a) related to information-structuring

b) subjective because the Speaker (SP) negotiates the topic, projects that upcoming material will be of some importance, and reacts to previous utterances (cf. *anyway* used as a topic-shifter).

By contrast, RP is the natural place for:

a) modal

- b) attitudinal
- c) interpersonal, intersubjective material, because SP anticipates, preempts, enables, or is otherwise concerned with Addressee's (AD's) up-coming turn.

Subjective expressions are those that express SP point of view, and are part of "projection"—the cueing of upcoming "text" (Auer 2005). Intersubjective expressions are those that express a range of SP attention to AD from consideration of their "face" and possible reactions to what is said to elicitation of response. These are synchronic notions grounded in Benveniste (1958) (Shinzato 2006 cites similar independent work in Japanese by Haga 1954). (Inter)subjectification, by contrast, is a diachronic term, and refers to the new encoding of subjective or intersubjective meanings (Traugott and Dasher 2002, López-Couso Forthc).

Several possible challenges to Beeching et al.'s hypothesis are mentioned. One is a hypothesis grounded in the tradition of Japanese grammarians that language is "layered", and proposes that intersubjective pragmatic markers appear on the periphery of the

utterance, especially at LP, because it is the locus of interjections (Watanabe 1971, cited in Onodera 2004).

I show that the two hypotheses are not in conflict because they focus on different aspects of the clause/IU: "inner" and "outer" functions and slots at LP and RP. The Beeching et al. hypothesis is stated as a tendency, and allows for the fact that intersubjective material occurs in English at LP, e.g. hedges and interjections (see *Uhmm, well, regarding your hypothesis*..., where *Uhmm* is an interjection/discourse marker, *well* is a hedge, and *regarding* is a resumptive topic-marker).

Another possible challenge is that Auer (1996) and Aijmer (2007) have pointed out that the "pre-front field" (a term from German linguistics) frames/projects not only connectivity (topic, continuation, counter-argumentation, etc.), but also evaluative and addressee (vocative) function. These functions too appear to have "inner" and "outer" slots, cf. *Well, certainly, because he had such a distinguished student, Plato.* 

These potential challenges suggest that it is important to distinguish between functions of sequential positions of markers at LP and RP.

A more serious challenge is that since earliest times there has been a modal sentential adverb slot in English immediately preceding the argument, cf. *witodlice* 'truly' (Swan 1988). It is clearly extra-clausal as it occurs to the left of triggers of verb-second word order in Old English. In contemporary English it is primarily subjective, and may be preceded by hedges (*Well, no doubt we'll be in trouble*).

I then go on to discuss why RP is an interesting domain. I first point out the relative inattention to RP fostered by focus on discourse markers, understood as markers of coherence and connectivity between clauses (cf. Schiffrin 1987, Fraser 1990, Blakemore 1987). Adopting Auer's (1996) notion of pre-field, Aijmer (2007) hypothesized that diachronically there is a cline from:

Matrix clause > pre-front field constituent > pragmatic marker Relative inattention to RP may also be attributed to focus on European languages, in which markers at RP tend to be intonationally separate, like tags, unlike pragmatic particles at RP in Chinese and Japanese.

I define pragmatic particles (PPs) as "signs that contribute to the construction and negotiation of context" (Fischer 2004:444) by SP and AD. PPs contextualize the SP, particularly "her mental processes such as perception, understanding or attitude, by indicating the role of the communication partner and the relationship between the participants and by displaying the focus on particular tasks ... such as speech management" (Ibid.).

The main PPs at RP that have been the topic of research in English are tags (see Tottie and Hoffmann 2006), performative expressions such as *please*, expressions with modal

polysemies, e.g. *no doubt, of course*, some connectives in speech, and comment clauses, e.g. *I think* (Brinton 2008). These are all intonationally likely to be separate from the matrix clause.

I then turn to evidence that prosodically integrated clause/IU-final marking is a robust phenomenon in Chinese, Japanese, and other East Asian languages, cf. interrogative particle *hu* in O. Chinese (Ch.), *hao le* 'is it OK?", affirmation-seeker in Mod. Ch, *ye yi yi* "new realization on the part of SP, resignation on part of SP" in O. Ch. (Yap, Lam, and Wang 2008), RP-final *no* in Japanese, *de* in Mandarin, *punya* in Malay, all meaning 'for sure' (Yap, Matthews, and Horie 2004) (see also papers in Suzuki 2006).

An ultimately unanswered question in the paper is whether there is any predictable directionality in the development of pragmatic markers. The hypothesis that they originate in contentful/substantive lexical items and become more abstract and pragmatic in meaning is well established. So is the tendency for more pragmatic markers to be moved to(ward) the periphery: Clause/IU-internal > clause/IU edge.

Traugott and Dasher (2002) illustrate movement to LP in English, while Yap, Matthews, and Horie (2004) illustrate movement to RP in various East Asian languages. In Japanese some markers are shifted from RP to LP as they come to be used more intersubjectively (e.g. *–te mo* 'GERUND + but, although' (RP) > *demo* 'marker of refutation" (LP), Onodera 2004) and others to RP (e.g. *tte itta* 'distanced topic marker, postnominal quotative' > hearsay *ndatte*, joking *tte* (RP), Suzuki 2007). This leads Shinzato (2007) to conclude that movement can be in either direction. My hypothesis is that more fine-grained and specific distinctions about different subjective and intersubjective functions and the different syntactic slots they fill will shed better light on directionality. For example, topic markers appear to be favored at or near left margin, tags at right margin.

I present a brief account of *surely* in English, especially as used in 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> trial proceedings of the Old Bailey, London. In contemporary English it functions as a pragmatic marker at LP and at RP, but with slightly different meanings (compare *Surely she knows that*! (surprise, challenge), *She knows that surely*! (mocking)). I show that in the trials it is largely substantive and epistemic in Medial position (*He should surely die for it*), subjective but with some intersubjective functions in LP (Downing 2001 identifies it as a "fighting word" in contemporary English in this position), and more likely to elicit interaction at RP. *Surely* used in response slots (i.e. at the end of Turn Construction Units (TCUs)) it is more epistemic and subjective (*Certainly not; oh no! surely not*), and less intersubjective than when used at RP. This suggests that changes in clause/IU function need to be teased apart from developments leading to use in TCU function.

I conclude that epistemic PPs can be modal at both LP and RP, and that some can be intersubjective at both LP and RP. However, RP clearly favors interaction-seeking expressions. Aijmer's proposed cline holds for some English and European expressions, but not for all, and not for Chinese, Japanese.

Finally, I end with some research questions. Beyond testing the Beeching et al. hypothesis:

- a) What is the relationship cross-linguistically between expressions that function as response to those that occur at LP and RP?
- b) What is the relationship cross-linguistically between expressions that function at the beginning or end of a TCU to those that occur at LP and RP? (cf. Wang 2008, Wu 2003)
- c) What is the relationship of both of these to clause order? (cf. Song and Tao 2009; also Ford and Mori 1994)
- d) What types of intersubjective expressions occur at LP, and what is their sequential order?
- e) What types of intersbujective expressions occur at RP, and what is their sequential order?
- f) Can the establishment of more fine-grained distinctions at LP and RP give us a better handle on predicting direction of shift to one edge or the other?

#### References

OED Oxford English Dictionary <a href="http://www.oed.com/">http://www.oed.com/</a>>.

- Proceedings of the Old Bailey 1674-1913. <<u>http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/</u>>. Materials most useful for linguistic analysis are 1674-1834. They contain "over 100,000 trials, totaling ca. 52 million words" (Huber 2007: 1). (Accessed January-March 2010.)
- Aijmer, Karin. 2007. The interface between discourse and grammar: *The fact is that*. In Agnès Celle and Ruth Huart, eds., *Connectives as Discourse Landmarks*, 31-46. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Archer, Dawn. 2006. (Re)initiating strategies: Judges and defendants in Early Modern English courtrooms. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 7: 181-211.
- Archer, Dawn. 2007. Developing a more detailed picture of the English courtroom (1640-1760): Data and methodological issues facing historical pragmatics. In Susan Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen, eds., *Methods in Historical Pragmatics*, 185-217. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Auer, Peter. 1996. The pre-front field in spoken German and its relevance as a grammaticalization position. *Pragmatics* 6: 295-322.
- Auer, Peter. 2005. Projection in interaction and projection in grammar. *Text: Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse* 25: 7-36.
- Beeching. Kate. 2007 A politeness-theoretic approach to pragmatico-semantic change. Journal of Historical Pragmatics 8: 69-108.
- Beeching, Kate, Liesbeth Degand, Ulrich Detges, Elizabeth Closs Traugott, and Richard Waltereit. 2009. Summary of the Workshop on Meaning in Diachrony at the Conference on Meaning in Interaction, University of the West of England, Bristol, April 23-25.
- Benveniste, Émil. 1958. De la subjectivité dans le langage. Problèmes de Linguistique Générale, 258-266. Paris: Gallimard. (Subjectivity in language. In Problems in General Linguistics, 223-230, trans. by Mary Elizabeth Meek. Coral Gables: FL: University of Miami Press, 1971.)

Blakemore, Diane. 1987. Semantic Constraints on Relevance. Oxford; Blackwell.

- Brinton, Laurel J. 2008. *The Comment Clause in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Culpeper, Jonathan and Merja Kytö. 2000. Data in historical pragmatics: Spoken interaction (re)cast as writing. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1: 175-199.
- Downing, Angela. 2001. 'Surely you knew!' *Surely* as a marker of evidentiality and stance. *Functions of Language* 8: 253-285.
- Fischer, Kerstin. 2006. Frames, constructions, and invariant meanings. In Fischer, ed., 427-448.

Fischer, Kerstin, ed. 2006. Approaches to Discourse Particles. Oxford: Elsevier.

- Ford, Cecilia and Junko Mori. 1994. Causal markers in Japanese and English conversation: A cross-linguistic study of interactional grammar. *Pragmatics* 4: 31-62.
- Fraser, Bruce. 1990. An approach to discourse markers. Journal of Pragmatics 14: 383-395.
- Fraser, Bruce. 2006. Towards a theory of discourse markers. In Fischer, ed., 189-204.
- Haga, Yasushi. 1954. Chinjutsu to wa nanimono? Kokugo Kokubun 23: 47-71.
- Hoffmann, Sebastian. 2006. Tag questions in Early and Late Modern English: Historical description and theoretical implications. *Anglistik* 17: 35-55.
- Huber, Magnus. 2007. *The Old Bailey Proceedings*, *1674–1834*: Evaluating and annotating a corpus of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century spoken English. In Anelli Meurman-Solin and Arja Nurmi, eds., *Annotating Variation and Change. eVARIENG: Studies in Variation, Contact and Change in English*, Vol. 1. <a href="http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/journal/volumes/01">http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/journal/volumes/01</a>.
- Kryk-Kastovskty, Barbara, ed. 2006, 2007. *Historical Courtroom Discourse*. Special issues of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 7, 8.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 2005. Construction grammars: Cognitive, radical, and less so. In Francisco J. Ruiz de Mendoza Iban<sup>e</sup>z and M. Sandra Pen<sup>a</sup> Cervel, eds., *Cognitive Linguistics: Internal Dynamics and Interdisciplinary Interaction*, 101-159. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 2007. Constructing the meaning of personal pronouns. In Günter Radden, Klaus-Michael Köpcke, and Thomas Berg, eds., *Aspects of Meaning Construction*, 171-187. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lenk, Uta. 1998. Marking Discourse Coherence: Functions of Discourse Markers in Spoken English. Tübingen: Narr.
- López-Couso, María José. Forthcoming. Subjectification and intersubjectification. In Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, eds., *Handbook of Pragmatics: Historical Pragmatics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Onodera, Noriko O. 2004. Japanese Discourse Markers: Synchronic and Diachronic Discourse Analysis. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Onodera, Noriko O. and Ryoko Suzuki, eds. 2007. *Subjectivity, Intersubjectivity and Historical Changes in Japanese*. Special issue of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 8 (2).
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. Discourse Markers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shinzato, Rumiko. 2006. Subjectivity, intersubjectivity, and grammaticalization. In Suzuki, ed., 15-33.

- Shinzato, Rumiko. 2007. (Inter)subjectification, Japanese syntax and syntactic scope increases. In Onodera and Suzuki, eds., 171-206.
- Simon-Vandenbergen, Anne-Marie. 2007. *No doubt* and related expressions: A functional account. In Mike Hanney and Gerard J. Steen, eds., *Structural-Functional Studies in English Grammar*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Simon-Vandenbergen, Anne-Marie and Karin Aijmer. 2007. *The Semantic Field of Modal Certainty: A Corpus-based Study of English Adverbs*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Song, Zuoyan and Hongyin Tao. 2009. A unified account of causal clause sequences in Mandarin Chinese and its implications. *Studies in Language* 2009: 33: 69-102.
- Sperber, Dan and Deirdre Wilson. 1995. *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.
- Suzuki, Ryoko. 2007. (Inter)subjectification in the quotative *tte* in Japanese conversation: Local change, utterance-ness and verb-ness. In Onodera and Suzuki, eds., 207-237.
- Suzuki, Satoko, ed. 2006. Emotive Communication in Japanese. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Swan, Toril. 1988. Sentence Adverbials in English: A Synchronic and Diachronic Investigation. Oslo: Novus.
- Takubo, Yukinori. 1987. Toogo koozoo to bunmyaku joohoo. Nihongogaku 6: 37-48.
- Tottie, Gunnel and Sebastian Hoffmann. 2006. Tag questions in British and American English. *Journal of English Linguistics* 34: 283-311.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. Forthcoming. Revisiting subjectification and intersubjectification. In Kristin Davidse, Lieven Vandelanotte, and Hubert Cuyckens, eds., *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs and Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vivien, Ler Soon Lay. 2006. A relevance-theoretic approach to discourse particles in Singapore English. In Fischer, ed., 149-166.
- Wang, Yu-Fang. 2008. Beyond negation—the roles of *meiyou* and *bushi* in Mandarin conversation. *Language Sciences* 30: 679-713.
- Watanabe, Minoru. 1971. *Kokugo Koobunron* (A Study of Japanese Sentence Structure). Tokyo: Hanawa Shoboo.
- Wu, Ruey-Jiuan Regina. 2003. *Stance in Talk: A Conversation Analysis of Mandarin Final Particles*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Yap, Foong Ha, Charles Tsz-kwan Lam and Jiao Wang. 2008. Clausal integration and the emergence of sentence-final particles in Chinese: A comparison of ER YI YI and YE YI YI. <<u>http://www.sfu.ca/gradlings/SFUWPL/ICEAL2/Yap\_EtAl.pdf</u>>. (accessed Feb 26th 2010)
- Yap, Foong Ha, Stephen Matthews, and Kaoru Horie. 2004. From pronominalizer to pragmatic marker: Implications for unidirectionality from a cross-linguistic perspective. In Fischer, Olga, Muriel Norde, and Harry Perridon, eds., Up and down the Cline—The Nature of Grammaticalization, 137-168. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

## **Session I: Subjectivity/Intersubjectivity**

Session I, 10:35-11:00, May 1<sup>st</sup>

#### Typology of subjectivity and its linguistic manifestations

Shoichi IWASAKI

University of California, Los Angeles, USA iwasaki@humnet.ucla.edu

A growing body of research suggests that subjectivity is an important functional domain in grammar. However, compared to the systems of tense, aspect, number, gender, and other such systems found in language, it is elusive. As a consequence disparate grammatical phenomena seems to be catalogued under this term.

My first goal of this paper is then to propose a framework in which subjectivity phenomena can be categorized in a systematic way so that we can evaluate the degree of significance of this conceptual notion in particular languages and can compare them for this feature from a comparative typological perspective. My second goal is to relate this linguistic phenomenon to human psychology.

Drawing on the various reports on subjectivity-related language phenomena, I propose three different types of subjectivity that are relevant to grammar; the 'perspectivising,' 'experiential' and 'epistemic' subjectivities, respectively. Though these three types are not mutually exclusive, linguistic phenomena clearly attest to these categorizations.

'Perspectivising' subjectivity situates the speaker with his/her self, current time and location. It includes not only the personal pronouns and demonstratives noted by Benveniste but also motion and donatory verbs. Japanese is famous for the distinction between *yaru* 'give (from the speaker)' and *kureru* 'give (towards the speaker). Maori and Dongolese Nubian (E. Sudanic) have a similar distinction (Comrie ms.). This type of subjectivity is often coded through lexical choice.

'Experiential' subjectivity refers to the speaker's awareness towards his perception, sensation, emotion, and volition. Both Japanese and Korean make a distinction between a speaker's own experience and others'. The bare predicate form can only refer to his/her own internal state, e.g. (K) *mok maluta* for '(I am) thirsty!', not '(he is) thirsty!'. Tibetan distinction of speaker volitionality is another example: *dbril-pa yin* (I knocked him down

intentionally) vs. *dbril-<u>song</u>* (idem. but unintentionally). This type of subjectivity is often coded through suffixes (morphology).

'Epistemic' subjectivity covers a wide range of phenomena including judgments (e.g. possibility, probability, necessity), evidentiality, and confidence. It qualifies the statement that the speaker is making in various ways. Many languages use modal auxiliaries to code this: (Emg.) 'may, must, should'; (Mand.) 'hui, yao, gai, dei, neng'; (Thai) 'tôŋ, khuan, nâa, kho ŋ, àat'. Evidentiality/inference/confidence is coded differently in different types of language: (J) 'yoo, soo, rashii'; (Thai) 'duu mʉa ŋ, (duu) thâa thaa ŋ. Mirativity is marked in Korean by -kun and -ne. A slightly different system, i.e. -n da (nominalizer followed by the copula), is employed in Japanese to mark a newly acquired fact ('Oh, you are married -n da!).

I suggest that these three types of subjectivity are closely related to (and probably are a reflection of) the different ways in which humans conceive of themselves. Neisser (1988, 1933) proposes different kinds of 'self' in his cognitive psychological analysis. The 'ecological self' is 'perceived with respect to the physical environment,' which I suggest is the basis for perspectivising subjectivity. His 'private self' 'appears when children first notice that some of their experiences are not directly shared with other people,' and is the basis for 'experiential' subjectivity. His 'extended self' involves remembering the past and predicting the future based on it, and thus is the basis for inter-subjectivity and 'conceptual self', which I interpret as meta-subjectivity which works to create coherence among different types of subjectivity.

Session I, 11:00-11:25, May 1<sup>st</sup>

#### Modality and Mandarin judgment verbs

Jia-chun WU

National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan candys\_buttercup@hotmail.com

This study attempts to investigate Mandarin internal judgment verbs 肯定 *kending*、認同 *rentong*、同意 *tongyi*、贊成 *zancheng* on the basis of the grammatical function, syntactic pattern, collocations, and modal distinctions. Internal judgment verbs form a unique group of evaluative verbs denoting the speaker's subjective attitude/assessment toward an evaluated\_target (an event or an entity) in the external world. Like other evaluative predicates, these verbs may express either a positive or negative valence. In English, the sentence "I agree with you" can be translated into Mandarin as 我肯定/認同/同意/贊成你 的看法. In this case, these four verbs are used to express the speaker's positive attitude toward one's opinion and they seem to be near synonyms. However, these verbs behave differently as illustrated below:

- 1) 大家都 肯定/同意/\*認同/\*贊成 癌症的由來是因遺傳物質核酸出了毛病。 'Everyone agrees that cancer is caused by gene problems.'
- 2) 抗震指揮部 \*肯定/同意/\*認同/贊成 丘子章進入災區。
   'The headquarter of quakeproof agreed that qiuzizhang may enter the disaster area.'

From the analysis of corpus data, the four positive judgment verbs can be distinguished on the basis of their syntactic behavior which is lexicalized in each verb. In principle, verbs of internal judgment are used to predicate various facets of modality as it is defined to be the speaker's judgment toward a proposition (cf. Givòn 1993). Based on the corpus, the epistemic modality and deontic modality display a distinct range of lexical and grammatical collocations that serve as indicators of modal marking. In addition, the semantic extension of internal judgment verbs is the issue related to subjectivity (Traugott 1999, Traugott and Dasher 2002). The following figure displays the semantic scale of four representative Mandarin Internal Judgment Verbs: 肯定*kending*、認同*rentong*、同意*tongyi*、贊成 *zancheng*.

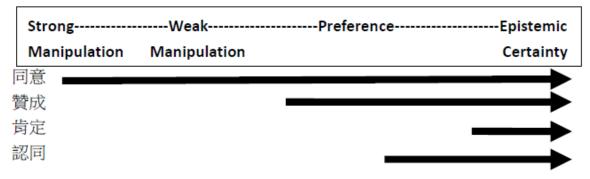


Figure 1. Semantic Scale of Four Representative Mandarin Internal Judgment

The coding of modality is significant to judgment verbs and the distinction can be revealed from lexical and grammatical collocations. This study will argue that the range of modal judgment is intrinsically lexicalized in the verb and the general tendency agrees with Givòn's (1993) semantic scale.

#### References

- Fillmore, Charles J. 1971. Verbs of Judging: an exercise in semantic description. In Fillmore and Langendoen (eds.) *Studies in Linguistic Semantics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 272-289.
- Fillmore, Charles J., and B. T. S. Atkins. 1992. Toward a frame-based lexicon: The semantics of RISK and its neighbors. Frames, fields, and contrasts, ed. by Lehrer, Adrienne and Eva Feder Kittay, 75-102. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Graeme Forbes. 2006. Attitude problems: an essay on linguistic intensionality. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hong, Shih-Mei, 2009. A Frame-based Lexical Semantic Categorization of Mandarin Emotion Verbs. National Chiao Tung University. MA thesis.
- Huang, Chu-Ren, Kathleen Athens, Li -Li Chang, Keh-Jiann Chen, Mei-Chun Liu, and Mei-Chih Tsai. 2000. The Module -Attribute Representation of Verbal Semantics: From Semantics to Argument Structure. *International Journal of Computational Linguistics and Chinese Language Processing*. 5(1).19-46.
- Huang, Shun-Jia, 2009. A Lexical Semantic Study of Mandarin "Feel" Verbs. National Chiao Tung University. MA thesis.
- Hu, Jia-Yin, 2007. Conceptual Schema of the Cognition Domain: A Frame-based Study of Mandarin Cognition Verbs. National Chiao Tung University. MA thesis.
- Jackendoff, Ray. Language, Consciousness, Culture: Essays on Mental Structure, MIT Press
- Levin, Beth. 1993. English Verb Classes and Alternations. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

- Liu, Mei-chun *et al.* 1999. Semantic Representation of Verbal Information: A case from Mandarin Verbs of Judging. *Proceedings of the 12th Research on Computational Linguistics Conference*, 87-100. Hsinchu: National Chiao-Tung University.
- Liu, Mei-chun and Ting-yi Chiang. 2008. The Construction of Mandarin VerbNet: A frame-based approach to the classification of statement verbs. *Language and Linguistics* 9.2: 239-270.
- Longacre, R.E. 1996. The grammar of discourse. New York: Plenum Press.
- Maria Miceli, and Cristiano Castelfranchi. 1999. Human Cognition and Social Agent
- Semin, G. R. and Fiedler, K. 1988. The Cognitive Functions of Linguistic Categories in Describing Persons: Social Cognition and Language. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 558-568.
- Talmy, Givon. 1993. English grammar: A Function-Based Introduction. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1999. The role of pragmatics in semantic change. Pragmatics in 1998: Selected Papers from the 6th International Pragmatics Conference Vol II, ed. by Jef Verschueren, 93-102. Antwerp: International Pragmatics Association.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs and Richard B. Dasher. 2002. Regularity in Semantic Change. Cambridge University Press.
- Tsai, Mei-Chih, Chu-Ren Huang, Keh-Jiann Chen, and Kathleen Ahrens. 1998. Towards a Representation of Verbal Semantics--An Approach Based on Near Synonyms. Computational Linguistics and Chinese Language Processing. 3.1: 61-74.
- 巫宜靜(Wu, Yi-Ching)、劉美君(Liu, Meichun) 2001. <心理動詞「想」、「認為」、「以為」與「覺得」的語義區分及訊息表達--以語料為本的分析方法>,《第十四屆計算語言學研討會論文集》,317-336頁。臺南:成功大學。

#### Website Resources

Academia Sinica Bilingual Ontological WordNet (Sinica BOW) http://bow.sinica.edu.tw/ Academa Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese (Sinica Corpus) http://www.sinica.edu.tw/SinicaCorpus/

Chinese WordNet http://cwn.ling.sinica.edu.tw/

FrameNet http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/

Google http://www.google.com.tw/

Session I, 11:25-11:50, May 1<sup>st</sup>

#### A shell for (inter-)subjectivity: A corpus-based case study of the shell noun *yisi* ('meaning, idea, intention') in Mandarin Chinese

#### Chester Chen-Yu HSIEH

National Taiwan University, Taiwan chesterhugues@gmail.com

This study investigates the functions and motivations of the use of shell nouns in Mandarin Chinese (MSN hereafter). Shell nouns (SN hereafter) are coined and defined by Schmid (2000: 4) as 'an open-ended functionally-defined class of abstract nouns that have [...] the potential for being used as conceptual shells for complex, proposition-like pieces of information.' Having investigated more than 600 English abstract nouns, such as *fact* and *idea*, within four SN constructions (N-cl, N-be-cl, Th-N, Th-be-N), Schmid (2000) concluded that SNs served various functions, among which the cognitive ones are the "ultimate raison d'être" of SNs (ibid: 360). These cognitive functions are: (1) conceptual partitioning, (2) reifying and hypostatizing, and (3) integrating.

Nonetheless, with a corpus-based case study of *visi* 'meaning, idea, intention', we argue that MSNs serve more functions than Schmid (2000) suggested, and the use is better motivated by pragmatic factors such as subjectivity and inter-subjectivity (Traugott & Dasher 2002), based on the following four reasons. Firstly, as Schmid (2000) himself suggested, there are more SN constructions other than the four investigated. Our results show that a variety of constructions co-occurring with visi indeed complicate the whole picture. In our data, visi, within different patterns, can function as a meta-linguistic device for cohesion, concession, hedging, and building up common grounds, all of which serve pragmatic needs. Secondly, regarding the N-cl construction, due to the difference in the order of the head noun and its noun complement, even the parallel constructions in English and Mandarin develop disparate patterns and functions. Thirdly, albeit co-occurring with different patterns, visi is rather fixed in terms of its syntactic distribution. In fact, this abstract noun, as our results show, is not cognitively more manipulable than its propositional counterpart as Schmid (2000) claimed. Lastly, visi together with the cooccurring constructions are found in the process of grammaticalization, appearing as in 'a third, possibly intermediate, category of 'discourse items'' (Hansen 1998: 225), between lexical and grammatical units (cf. Hansen 1998; Aijmer 2002). Very often, visi can be eliminated without much influence on the conceptual meaning. The emerging procedural meaning of *visi* indexes the involvement of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in the use of the MSN (Traugott 2003; Traugott & Dasher 2002). All of the above have manifested that MSNs are shells for (inter-)subjectivity.

The current study not only advances the investigation of this little-explored topic in Chinese linguistics but sheds light on how both lexical items and syntactic constructions are employed mainly to facilitate human interaction.

Keywords: shell nouns, subjectivity, intersubjectivity, grammaticalization.

#### References

- Aijmer, Karin. 2002. English Discourse Particles: Evidence from a Corpus. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hansen, Maj-Britt Mosegaard. 1998. The Function of Discourse Particles: A Study with Special Reference to Spoken Standard French. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Schmid, Hans-Jörg. 2000. English Abstract Nouns as Conceptual Shells: From Corpus to Cognition. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2003. From subjectification to intersubjectification. *Motives for Language Change*, ed. by Raymond Hickey, 124-139. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs and Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Session I, 11:50-12:15, May 1<sup>st</sup>

#### Serves you right: *Ka-* as an attitudinal marker in Yami

Victoria RAU<sup>1</sup> & Maa-neu DONG<sup>2</sup>

Wheaton College Graduate School, USA<sup>1</sup>; National Museum of Natural Sciences, Taiwan<sup>2</sup> victoria.rau@wheaton.edu

This paper describes how Yami (a Philippine Batanic language spoken on Orchid Island off the southeast coast of Taiwan) uses a verbal prefix ka- along with other strategies to express an attitude of blaming: "Serves you right," "I told you so" or "None of your business." The examples are based on the corpora retrievable from three Yami websites. We begin with an account of the polysemy of ka-, followed by a sociolinguistic analysis of the pragmatic marker, drawing on the relationships of power/solidarity and distance/closeness. We also compare the morphosyntax of ka- with that of the regular transitivity marking in Yami and discover a split system containing part accusative, part ergative, and part neither (Dixon 1994). The O argument of the ka- verb displays inverse voice (Givon 1994) where the patient is more topical than the agent. The ka- verbs also occur in nominalization constructions expressing past state/event/action without any blaming attitude. This finding has led us to propose that the development of ka- as an attitudinal marker is probably a metaphorical extension from an aspect marker encoding a presupposed event/action.

Keywords: pragmatic marker, blaming, ka-, inverse voice, split

### **Session II: Discourse Analysis**

Session II, 13:35-14:00, May 1<sup>st</sup>

# Context, meaning, and prosody: The use of interjections in Mandarin conversation

Li-chiung YANG

Tunghai University, Taiwan lyang@sprynet.com

A key aspect of discourse is the interactive exchange of information and the cooperative discourse process that functions to bring about a mutually satisfactory sharing of information. The encountering of new information gives rise to emotional responses that are based both on the specific content of the information, as well as on the degree of certainty and cognitive reorientation to the pre-existing knowledge state (Schiffrin, 1987; Heritage, 1998). One category of pragmatic markers that has particular significance is interjections. Interjections often provide the first and most immediate expression of the emotional response and cognitive reorientation to new information, and are thus critical indicators that allow participants a window into the ongoing success of the conversation process.

In this study we present our results on prosody and contextual meaning of interjections with a special focus on the interjections *ey*, *wa*, and *oh*. Our data consists of several sets of spontaneous conversations in Mandarin Chinese comprising about 10 hours of speech. Instances of *ey*, *wa*, and *oh* were extracted from the corpus and analyzed both acoustically and contextually. The judgments of the specific contextual meanings were based on perceptual evaluation as well as acoustic-prosodic information.

Comparisons of our data on *oh*, *wa*, and *ey* show that they have both differences and similarities in shape, meaning, and function. As a response to updated knowledge throughout a conversation, *oh* has a greater diversity of functions, and occurs with the greatest frequency in our data, by far. *Oh* exhibits a wide variety of shapes, depending on the specific nature of the emotion and degree of certainty, from arch-shaped surprise to rising doubt or falling acknowledgement. As an attention marker *ey* functions as an exclamation and is usually short, with a sharp rise for sudden recollection, while longer *ey* is used for surprise, puzzlement, and disagreement, expressing the cognitive difficulty encountered. A rising *ey* is related to urgency, uncertainty, surprise, or doubt, whereas a falling *ey* expresses a more requesting and demanding attention signal. By comparison, *wa*,

in expressing amazement, shares with *oh* the rise-fall arch shape typical of surprise and realization, but contrasts with *oh* in expressing an immediate judgment on the *impressiveness* of new information, with a sharper rise-fall. The specific nature of this judgment determines the particular variants within the overall prosodic shape.

The results of our study show that prosody plays an indispensable role in communicating the multi-dimensional contextual meanings carried by the three interjections *ey*, *wa*, and *oh*. Variations in overall pitch direction, duration, and specific shape correlate *systematically* with changes in the level of uncertainty and the nature of emotions throughout discourse. The characteristic functions and prosody of *ey*, *wa*, and *oh* presented in this study suggest that interjections present a system of discourse contextual meaning in a crystalline and compact form, and their ability to simultaneously signal both the cognitive degree of certainty and a specific emotional reaction to new information within a short time-scale are convincing evidence of the expressive role of prosody in interactive discourse. [468]

#### References

- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. Discourse Markers [Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 5], Cambridge: CUP.
- Ishi, C.T., Ishiguro, H., and Hagita, N., 2006. "Evaluation of prosodic and voice quality features on automatic extraction of paralinguistic information", Proceedings of IEEE/RSJ International Conference on Intelligent Robots and Systems, 374-379.
- Yang, L-C, 2006. Integrating Prosodic and Contextual Cues in the Interpretation of Discourse Markers. In Kerstin Fischer (ed.), Approaches to Discourse Particles. Studies in Pragmatics, Amsterdam: Elsevier. pp.265-298.
- Ohala, J. J. 1994. The frequency codes underlies the sound symbolic use of voice pitch. In L. Hinton, J. Nichols, & J. J. Ohala (eds.), Sound symbolism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 325:347.
- Heritage, John. 1998. "Oh-prefaced Responses to Inquiry". Language in Society 27:291-334, 1998.
- Wu, Ruey-Jiuan. 2007. Stance in Talk: A conversation analysis of Mandarin final particles. John Benjamins.
- Mori, Junko. 2006. The workings of the Japanese token hee in informing sequences: An analysis of sequential context, turn shape, and prosody. Journal of Pragmatics, 38, 1175-1205. Focus-on Issue: Discourse and Conversation.
- Hayashi, Makoto. 2009. Marking a 'noticing of departure' in talk: Eh-prefaced turns in Japanese conversation. Journal of Pragmatics, Volume 41:10:2100-2129.

Session II, 14:00-14:25, May 1<sup>st</sup>

#### The syntax and semantics of $lo^{1}$ and its English equivalent

#### John WAKEWFIELD

Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong, China john.wakefield@polyu.edu.hk

This paper contrasts the syntax and semantics of the Cantonese discourse particle (DP)  $lo^{l}$  and its English equivalent. Several linguists have written about  $lo^{l}$ , but none to date have defined it in a way that can account for all and only the contexts within which it can acceptably occur. The DP  $lo^{l}$  has been said to mark a sentence: as a reason (Kwok, 1984; Deng, 1991); as being obvious (Kwok, 1984; Lee and Law, 2001; Yip and Matthews, 2001; Yiu, 2001); as having epistemic modality (Luke, 1990; Lee and Law, 2001); as having a backward-looking feature (Luke, 1990); and more. It appears to have multiple functions, causing Luke (1990) to conclude that "it would be a futile exercise to try and define an intrinsic or original meaning of  $lo^{l}$ , or even a small number of basic meanings" (p. 191). In this paper I argue to the contrary, and propose a definition that accounts for all and only the allowable uses of  $lo^{l}$ .

Using a naturally-occurring Cantonese audio corpus, translations were elicited from four, bi-native participants (i.e., L1-Cantonese and L1-English). Based on the participants' consistent results, I concluded that the English equivalent of  $lo^{l}$  is invariably a high-falling pitch contour. Following Hirst's (1983) analysis for emphatic stress, this paper argues that  $lo^{l}$ -equivalent intonation is a floating tone that exists as a morpheme in the English lexicon.

Following the "general model for the investigation of discourse markers" given by Besemeres and Wierzbicka (2003, p. 3), I propose a single definition for both  $lo^1$  and its English intonational equivalent using Wierzbicka's (1996) Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). My NSM definition for  $lo^1$  and its English equivalent is: *Because you know D, you can know P*, where P is the proposition to which  $lo^1$  (or  $lo^1$ -equivalent stress) attaches, and D is a discourse element that is either in the prior discourse, or is pragmatic (or common) knowledge.

Both naturally-occurring and literature-based sentences are presented to demonstrate that this definition succeeds at accounting for: 1) all and only the acceptable occurrences of  $lo^{1}$ ; 2) why it expresses the meanings that it does in given contexts; and 3) why it cannot be used in contexts that are judged unacceptable by native speakers. I then propose that the results are the same for  $lo^{1}$ -equivalent intonation when these dialogues are translated into English, demonstrating that they are true equivalents.

Additionally, considering what has been said in the literature about the syntax of Cantonese DPs within the generative syntax framework (S. Law, 1990; Tang, 1998; A. Law, 2004; Sybesma and Li, 2007), I tentatively propose that  $lo^{1}$  lies inside the evidential mood phrase inside a split CP à la Rizzi (1997). I suggest that its intonational equivalent in English also lies in this syntactic slot since it has the same function and meaning, but that it is phonetically null and therefore is realized lower down as a floating tone. Cantonese is unable to express discourse meanings in this form because of its rich lexical tone system (Cheung, 1986; Bauer and Bennedict, 1997).

#### References

- Bauer, R. S., & Benedict, P. K. (1997). *Modern Cantonese phonology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Besemeres, M., & Wierzbicka, A. (2003). The meaning of the particle lah in Singapore English. Pragmatics & Cognition, 11(1), 3-38.
- Cheung, K. (1986). The phonology of present day Cantonese (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University College, London.
- Deng, S. (1991). 廣州方言常見的語氣詞 [Some common particles of Cantonese]. <方言> [Fangyan], 2, 126-132.
- Hirst, D. (1983). Interpreting intonation: A modular approach. Journal of Semantics, 2(2), 171-182.
- Kwok, H. (1984). Sentence particles in Cantonese. Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.
- Law, S. (1990). The syntax and phonology of Cantonese sentence-final particles (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Boston University, Boston, MA.
- Law, A. (2004). Sentence-final focus particles in Cantonese (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University College, London.
- Lee, T. H., & Law, A. (2001). Epistemic modality and the acquisitin of Cantonese final particles. In M. Nakayama (Ed.), Issues in East Asian language acquisition (pp. 67-128). Tokyo: Kuroshio Publishers.
- Luke, K. K. (1990). Utterance particles in Cantonese conversation. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (Ed.), Elements of grammar: Handbook in generative syntax (Vol. 1997, pp. 281-337). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Sybesma, R., & Li, B. (2007). The dissection and structural mapping of Cantonese sentence final particles. Lingua, 117(10), 1739-1783.
- Tang, S. (1998). Parametrization of features in syntax (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California, Irvine, CA.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1996). Semantics: Primes and universals. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yip, V., & Matthews, S. (2001). Intermediate Cantonese: A grammar and workbook. London: Routledge.

Yiu, C. Y. (2001). *Cantonese final particles "LEI", "ZYU" and "LAA": An aspectual study* (Unpublished master of philosophy thesis). The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology.

Session II, 14:25-14:50, May 1<sup>st</sup>

# Evidentiality in interaction: the role of evidential semantics and sequential position in Yurakaré conversational discourse

#### Sonja GIPPER

## Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, The Netherlands Sonja.Gipper@mpi.nl

Evidentiality as a cross-linguistic category can be defined as encoding "the nature of a speaker's sensory/cognitive *access* to the event in question [...]" (Michael 2008:137, emphasis in original). Some scholars assume that in addition, evidentials can express the attitude of the speaker towards the proposition in terms of certainty or commitment (e.g. Chafe 1986, Ifantidou 2001).

Interactional studies of evidentiality show that evidentials are not only used for informing an addressee about how the speaker accessed the information, or about his/her attitude towards the proposition. Evidentials can also be used for more interactional functions in conversations, such as negotiating responsibility (e.g. Michael 2008). In this paper, I will show that the same is true for the evidentials of Yurakaré, an unclassified language spoken by an estimated number of 2500 people in the Andean foothill area of Central Bolivia.

Yurakaré has a set of four indirect evidential enclitics:

=ya	'reported'
=tiba	'inferential'
=laba	'subjective'
=jtë	'assumptive'

Each of these evidential enclitics encodes a type of cognitive information access as its basic semantics, and each can be used in conversational discourse to inform the addressee of how the speaker accessed the information presented in the utterance. In addition to this basic informational use, the Yurakaré evidentials are exploited for interactional functions in conversations. Typically, such interactional functions depend on the sequential position in which the evidential is used, i.e. on whether it is used in an initial or a responsive utterance. In this paper I will argue that the interactional functions of the Yurakaré evidentials are not only determined by their underlying evidential semantics, but also by the sequential position in which they occur in a stretch of talk. For example, the inferential evidential =tiba has an interactional function of indicating that the information given in the previous turn of the addressee was unexpected to the speaker. This interpretation of =tiba only arises in responsive, never in initial utterances. Using examples from Yurakaré conversations, I

illustrate in this paper how evidential semantics and sequential position interact to derive various interactional functions. I will argue that to arrive at a comprehensive account of evidentials, we have to take into consideration their interactional uses by studying their sequential distribution in conversations.

#### References

Chafe, W. (1986). Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing. In: Chafe,

W. and J. Nichols (eds.) *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*. Pp. 261-72. Norwood NJ: Ablex.

Ifantidou, E. (2001). Evidentials and relevance. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Michael, L.D. (2008) Nanti evidential practice: Language, knowledge, and social action in an Amazonian society. PhD thesis, University of Texas at Austin.

Session II, 14:50-15:15, May 1<sup>st</sup>

# A grammatical device for 'logophoricity' in Japanese: The quotative *to* construction used as a clause-external adverbial

Seiko FUJII

University of Tokyo, Japan sfujii@boz.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp

This paper presents a corpus-based analysis of the clause-external (non-complement) adverbial uses of bi-clausal constructions marked by the quotative particle TO in Japanese (e.g., 1). The primary purposes of the present paper are: (i) to analyze the clause-external adverbial use – neglected in the literature – of quotative-TO clauses, based on a large-scale corpus, and explicate their major semantic and pragmatic characteristics (as well as their corresponding syntactic characteristics); and (ii) to argue that one of the crucial functions of the clause-external adverbial use is logophoric in nature: the TO quotative clause (phrase) depicts a perspective distinct from the speaker's (or writer's) own.

(1) netu ga	deta	node	inhuruen:	za no i	utagai	ga	attewa	ikena	to
fever-NOM							have-TOP	no-good	QUO(tative)
kurinikku ni								-	
Clinic DA									
Since I got a fever, I went to a clinic and took a test for influenza, [thinking] that it will be									
bad if I have a	possib	ility of bei	ng infecte	d by it	nfluenza	<u>a</u> . ['thi	inking' is not	included in	Japanese.]

The TO-marked clause, in its most typical use, functions as a syntactic complement of the main verb — typically communication (say, tell, etc.), cogitation (think, etc.), or emotion verbs. TO-clauses are often <u>not</u> the <u>syntactic</u> complements, but remain <u>semantically</u> motivated by the main-clause frame-evoking predicates (Author 2009). The TO-marked clause, however, is often not an element of the main clause (neither core or peripheral frame elements (FE)), but is rather a clause-external adverbial and extra-thematic FE. This paper focuses on the latter, clause-external use, showing the function of TO as a pragmatic marker.

Examining over 170,000 tokens of the quotative TO construction, drawn from the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (National Institute for Japanese Language, 2008/2009), I manually extracted 604 tokens of non-complement, clause-external adverbial uses. With all the 604 external-use tokens, I tested the following two hypotheses and obtained the confirmatory evidence: (i) the speaker/cognizer/experiencer of the TO-quotative clause corresponds to the (semantic) subject of the main clause; (ii) the quotative-TO clause conveys the psychological state of the semantic subject (agent) of the main-clause predicate and typically his/her motivation for participating in the event expressed.

Hypothesis (i) has been supported by 598 tokens out of 604, in that the quotative-TO clause depicts the voice of the syntactic subject of the main-clause predicate, whereas the remaining 6 tokens could be accounted for by considering the non-subject agent of the event described in the main clause (typically in passive constructions).

The logophoric nature of TO-marked clauses can be clarified in such cases as (2), where the subject (agent) of the main-clause predicate is different from the speaker/writer of the sentence. With a *kara* 'because' clause, for example, the use of quotative TO is syntactically optional (e.g., 3), but is added in order to indicate that the feeling/thought/speech expressed in the *kara* TO quotative clause should be distinguished from the speaker's own perspective. Without the quotative TO particle (e.g., 4), the reasoning of the cause/motivation expressed in the *kara* clause must be from the speaker's own perspective (4 thus sounds anomalous; 5 instead would be the coherent consequent). The addition of the quotative TO particle to the *kara* clause (e.g., 3), by contrast, ensures a logophoric interpretation: the reasoning of the cause/motivation expressed in the *kara* clause (e.g., 3) by contrast, ensures a logophoric interpretation: the reasoning of the cause/motivation expressed in the *kara* clause (e.g., 3) by contrast, ensures a perspective construction has a logophoric character, marking a non-speaker perspective.

(2) <u>moo dame da <b>to</b></u> akiramenaide
already no.good COP QUO give.up-NEG-GER
'Don't give up, [thinking that] it's too late.'
(3) moo dame da kara (to) akiramenai de
alreadyno.good COP because QUO give.up-NEG-GER
'Don't give it up, [thinking that you should] because it's too late.'
(4) # moo dame da kara akiramenai de
already no.good COP because give.up-NEG-GER #'Don't give it up, be
(5) moo dame da kara akirameta hoo ga ji yo 'You'd better giye it uu

already no.good COP because give.up-NEG-GER #'Don't give it up, because it's too late.
 (5) moo dame da kara akirameta hoo ga ii yo. 'You'd better give it up, because it's too late.' already bad COP because give.up-PAST 'had better' PART

Session II, 15:15-15:40, May 1<sup>st</sup>

#### On the versatile marker *kuan* in Cebuano

Michael TANANGKINGSING

National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan miguelt@ms19.hinet.net

The particle *ku?an* is pervasive in spoken Cebuano, but virtually none has been mentioned in any previous grammar books on it. Although "semantically empty," the particle *ku?an* is a versatile element in the language in that it can function in various grammatical constructions as a substitute for words of any syntactic form. There are actually similar words in other languages, such as *kua* in Ilocano, *kuan* in Tagalog, and *kwan* in Hiligaynon, and probably in many other Philippine languages, but they have not been adequately described, except *kua* (Rubino 1996; Streeck 1996) and *iza* in Kavalan (Hsieh and Tanangkingsing 2006).

In this study I will first show *kuan* to be a type of filler for fulfilling conversational goals especially under interactional pressure when Speakers do not have any candidate word or phrase in mind. I will investigate its syntactic distribution and then discuss its functions. It will be illustrated that *kuan* can fill a variety of syntactic slots, namely, in an NP constituent (1) or a predicate slot (2); it can also be a pause filler (3). As for its functions, the particle *kuan* can be a convenient word (a placeholder) to utilize during a word search (in 4) or in reformulating clausal structure (5) in the middle of speech. This particle can also serve as a discourse marker to elicit the attention of a Hearer, where a Speaker wishes to convey that they have something important to say so the Hearer(s) had better listen.

The data suggest that in the utterance of *kuan*, both Speaker and Hearer seem to agree on the meaning of the referent intended, where in certain instances the confidentiality or the personal nature of the information to be conveyed is involved, as in (6), so that ku?an has also evolved into a kind of euphemism or a way to avoid direct mention of sensitive terms. Therefore, in such instances Hearers do understand what ku?an refers to, as in (7), where they help Repair or fill in the right word, or finish an utterance. Sometimes, the sense of the empty root can be inferred from the context, as in (8), so that there is even no attempt on the part of the Speaker to explain what the ku?an is.

The findings bear implications in linguistic fieldwork. Due to the semantic nature of these particles, oftentimes they are dismissed as speech errors by Informants (naturally!) and researchers alike. No wonder these have not been reported at all in previous linguistic studies. On the contrary, they are important mechanisms in certain circumstances of language use, such as in repair or in the discussion of sensitive topics.

#### References

- Hsieh, Fuhui and Michael Tanangkingsing. 2006. The empty root in Cebuano and Kavalan: a counterexample to grammaticalization. Paper presented at the Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics. 17-20 January 2006. Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, Philippines.
- Rubino, Carl. 1996. Morphological integrity in Ilocano: A corpus-based study of the production of polymorphemic words in a polysynthetic language. *Studies in Language* 20.3: 633-666.

Streeck, Jürgen. 1996. A little Ilokano grammar as it appears in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 26: 189-213.

#### Data

(1) kuan in a NP constituent (Frog 1:85-87) 85 ...(1.0) daghan=na=di?ay=ka?ayo-g anak daghan=na=di?ay=ka?ayo-ug anak many=already=EVID=INTENS-LK offspring 86  $\rightarrow ...(1.5)$  ku?an ka bu?uk anak LK CLASS offspring KUAN 87  $\rightarrow$ ...(3.0) seven ka bu?uk anak seven LK CLASS offspring 'Then (they) had many children. (They had) many children, ... seven children.'

#### (2) kuan in a predicate/verb slot

	-ng gi-ingn-a ?-nga gi-ingon- K PFV-say-L	an	
<i>tinu?ud=kaha?=ka</i>	<i>basi-g</i>	na-	<i>ku?an=na=ka</i>
<i>tinu?ud=kaha?=ka</i>	basi-ug		<i>ku?an=na=ka</i>
true=doubt=2S.NOM	maybe-SUB		KUAN=already=2S.NOM
<i>unsa-unsa=ma=y</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	g <i>ana</i>	
<i>unsa-unsa=man=y</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	gana	
FS what=PAR=NEUT	2S.POSS-LK	like	
ako=gyud=siya-ng	<i>gi-ku?an</i>		ha
ako?=gyud=siya-nga	gi-ku?an		ha
1S.POSS=EMPH=3S.NOM-LI	K PFV.PV-KU		DM
<i>interesado=ba=gyud=ka</i> <i>interesado=ba=gyud=ka</i> interested=Q=EMPH=2S.NO	a-nga mag-	mag	-minyo -minyo narry
wa?=sad=ko=niya	ku?an-a @@		

NEG=also=1S.NOM=3S.GEN KUAN-PV

'Then I- I told (him), are you for real/ you might just be *kuan*, what- what do you like. I did *kuan* (ask) him, are you really sure of getting- getting married. He didn't *kuan* (answer) me. (laughs).'

#### (3) ku?an as pause filler

SM=na=r PN=already		sa LOC	<i>cotabato</i> PN		<i>1?=gyud</i> =EMPH			
<i>pero kunş</i> but if	g <i>ku?an</i> kuan	<i>ha</i> DM						
<i>tong</i> katong that		abato	ang una- ang una- ANG first-	nga	<i>naging</i> <i>naging</i> become	city	<i>kaysa</i> <i>kaysa</i> than	davao davao PN
unatHist PNANGHIST-LKbecomecity thanLOC PN $ug$ $sa$ $general$ $santos m =$ $pero$ $daghan-g$ $muslim$ $ug$ $sa$ $general$ $santos m =$ $pero$ $daghan-ug$ $muslim$ ANDLOC PNFILbutbecause $many-LK$ PN'There's really noSM store in Cotabato, but $ku?an$ you know, it wasCotabato that became a city earlier than Davao and General Santos, butbecause there are manyMuslim people there'								

(4) *ku?an* as a placeholder during word search

*sa= next-next week mag-ku?an=na=mi*-LOC next next week AV-KUAN=already=1EP.NOM

unsa=gyu=y	amo-a-ng-	mag-sabot=ra=man=mi
unsa=gyud=y	amo?-a-nga-	mag-sabot=ra=man=mi
what=EMPH=NEUT	1EP.POSS-DEF-LK	AV-agree=only=PAR=1EP.NOM

kung kanus?a=mi mag-day-off if when=1EP.NOM AV-day.off

'Next week we will *kuan* about our-, we will just agree when we are taking a day off.'

(5) ku?an as a placeholder when trying to modify clause structure

ÿ-
ÿ-

'*kuan*, when we went to San Carlos, em= (he) em=, there was cancer (he had cancer).'

(6) ku?an is a placeholder for holding a turn

L	pila=man=sad	imo-ha-ng	ku?an -	s=sweldo
	pila=man=sad	imo-ha-nga	ku?an -	sweldo
	how.much=PAR=also	2SG,POSS-DEF-LK	KUAN	salary

...*ku?an=ra* ...*dili?* KUAN=only NEG

J a wala?- dili?ku?an confidential PAR NEG NEG KUAN confidential

> L: 'How much is your er... salary? Only er... er no.' J: 'mm... no, it's not... it's confidential.'

#### (7) Hearer fills in right word for ku?an

T:	unya	kinsa=man	ma-biya-an	<i>diri</i> \
	unya	kinsa=man	ma-biya?-an	diri\
	then	who=PAR	SPONT-leave-LV	here

L: ku?an=mi KUAN=1EP.NOM

T: rotation rotation T: 'then who's going to be left here'\ L: 'kuan, we're-' T: 'taking turns.'

#### (8) sense of ku?an can be inferred from context

ako-ng ako?-nga 1S.POSS-LK	igsu?un=	pud	nag-hikog nag-hikog AV-suicide	3	e e DM	
<i>nag-pusil=pu</i> AV-shoot=also		l				
bungkag=dyu bungkag=dyu burst=EMPH		iya-ı	nga	<i>ulo ulo</i> head	-	H
<i>pag-abot=nan</i> NMZ-arrive=1EF			<i>ku?an=n</i> KUAN=alre			
<i>gapas gi-b</i> <i>gapas gi-b</i> cotton PFV.	utang	sa			ulo	<i>tanan</i> <i>tanan</i> all
wa?=dyu=y wa?=dyud=y NEG=EMPH=NE	lama	an				

'My brother, (he) also committed suicide. He shot his head. His head really exploded. (Upon) our arrival, it was already *kuan*, cotton buds, they were all over the inside of his skull. There was nothing left inside.'

## **Session III: Conceptualization**

Session III, 16:00-16:25, May 1<sup>st</sup>

#### Cognitive deixis: The integration of language and gesture in Taiwan Sign Language

Shiou-fen SU

National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan yamada0723@yahoo.com.tw

This paper aims to explore the cognitive deixis (Stockwell 2002) in Taiwan Sign Language (TSL). In particular, the deictic categories composed of finger's pointing and non-manual deictic expressions will be identified first, and then a blending analysis of their functions will be presented.

In mental space theory (Fauconnier 1994, 1997, Fauconnier and Turner 1998), language processing can be regarded as dynamic and constant building and blending of mental spaces. Language forms, of both spoken and signed languages, serve as prompts or instructions to connect these mental representations. Moreover, visual-gestural modality of signed languages allows signers to produce signs or direct signs at space, the immediate physical environment. The mental spaces they construct are *grounded mental spaces* and the elements in these spaces are conceived of as conceptually present and physically accessible. These grounded spaces include real space, token space, surrogate space, etc. (Fauconnier 1998, Liddell 1995, 1996, 2000, 2003).

The data base, collected from Tai and Tsay's NSC projects (2001-2009), is composed of narratives elicited from pictures, comics, and a wordless picture book 'Frog, where are you' (Mayer 1969). The deictic categories identified include: (1) perceptual deixis that serve as personal pronouns or determiner; (2) spatial deixis that serve as spatial adverbs or locatives; (3) relational deixis that serve as modal-like expressions or expressions of point of view and focalization (Stockwell 2002). These expressions themselves don't carry meaning, but instead, they serve as instructions to create *diagrammatic or viewer spaces* (Emmorey and Falgier 1999), or *pointer or theme buoys* that maintain the discourse flow (Liddell 2003).

(1) Use the perceptual deixis (finger's pointing) to set up the diagrammatic space, then direct the verb GIVE to indicate the grammatical relation.

(<u>YOU</u> HUMAN BIG FEMALE)-i/ (<u>I</u> CHILD FEMALE)-j/ COOKIE WRAP <u>GIVE-j.to.i</u> YOU

'You, the adult, I, the child, I (the child) wrap the cookies and give them to you (the adult).'



YOU (role-playing)

(2) Use the relational deixis (non-manual expression) to construct the character's epistemic modality



\_\_look.into

\_\_\_with.head.tilting.away(suspect)

HOLE HOLE HOLEpro+point

'(The boy) looked into the hole and suspected that (the frog) be there.'

The function of these deictic expressions above can be regarded as the *grounding* mechanisms (Langacker 1991) that profiles the epistemic status of the thing or the process.

The following example illustrates the mechanism that maintain the discourse flow. After signing the nominal FEMALE in 'i' position, the weak hand produces a THEME buoy (FEMALEpro) at same position that provides a visible representation of a significant discourse theme. This keeps the space active that the following signs can direct to it to talk about something related to it.

yell.'

#### References

Emmorey, K. and B. Falgier. 1999. Talking about space with space: Describing environments in ASL. In E. A. Winston (ed.), *Story telling and conversations: Discourse in Deaf communities*, pp. 3–26, Washington, D. C.: Gallaudet University Press.

Fauconnier, G. 1994. Mental spaces. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fauconnier, G. 1997 *Mappings in Thought and Language*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fauconnier, G. 1998. Mental spaces, language modalities, and conceptual integration. In M. Tomasello (ed.), *The New Psychology of Language: Cognitive and Functional Approaches to Language Structure*. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Fauconnier, G. and M. Turner. 1998. Conceptual integration networks. *Cognitive Science* 22(2), 133-187.

Langacker, R. W. 1991. Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, vol. 2, Descriptive Application. Standford University Press.

Liddell, S. 1995. Real, surrogate, and token space: Grammatical consequences in ASL. In K. Emmorey & J. Reilly (eds.), *Language, gesture, and space*, pp.19-41. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Liddell, S. 1996. Spatial representations in discourse: comparing spoken and signed language. *Lingua* 98: 145-167.

Liddell, S. 2000. Blended Spaces and Deixis in Sign Language Discourse. In D. McNeill (ed), *Language and Gesture*, pp. 331-357. UK: Cambridge U Press.

Liddell, S., 2003. *Grammar, Gesture, and Meaning in American Sign Language*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Mayer, M. 1969. *Frog, Where Are You? Sequel to a Boy, a Dog, and a Frog.* A Puffin Pied Piper.

Stockwell, P. 2002. Cognitive Poetics: An Introduction. New York: Routledge.

Session III, 16:25-16:50, May 1<sup>st</sup>

#### Distinguishing classifiers and measure words

**One-Soon HER** 

National Chengchi University, Taiwan onesoon@gmail.com

Whether classifiers (C) and measure words (M) can be meaningfully distinguished in Chinese has been a controversial issue, reflected also by the drastic discrepancy in the inventories of classifiers previously proposed. In this paper we fully justify this distinction from linguistic as well as mathematical perspectives. The two formal tests, i.e., *de*-insertion and adjectival modification, that proponents for the C/M distinction proposed previously, have been shown to be unreliable. However, based on the insight that M, but not C, constitutes a barrier to numeral quantification and adjectival modification, we refine the previous two tests and come up with much more reliable and accurate formulations (Test A, B). We also restate *ge*-substitution as a heuristic (Test C) and observe that temporary measure words are often restricted to the number *yi* 'one' (Test D).

#### Test A: Numeral/Adjectival Stacking

- If [Num X Num Y N] is well-formed, then X = M, X ≠ C, and Y = C/M.
   e.g., 一箱十個蘋果, 一箱十包蘋果 vs. \*一顆十包蘋果, 一顆十粒蘋果
- (2) If [Num A-X N] = [Num X A-N] semantically, then X = C and X ≠ M.
   e.g., 一大顆蘋果 = 一顆大蘋果 vs. 一大箱蘋果 ≠ 一箱大蘋果
- (3) Given antonyms  $A_1$  and  $A_2$ , if [Num  $A_1$ -X  $A_2$ -N] is semantically well-formed, then X = M and  $X \neq C$ .

e.g., \*一大顆小蘋果 vs. 一大箱小蘋果

(4) If [A-X de N] is semantically equivalent to [A-N], then X = C and X ≠ M. e.g.,大顆的蘋果 = 大蘋果 vs. 大箱的蘋果 ≠ 大蘋果

#### Test B: De-insertion

Test: [*yi* M/\*C *de* N]

e.g., 一箱(的)蘋果 vs. 一顆(\*的)蘋果

#### Test C: *Ge*-substitution

Test: If  $[Num_i X N_j] = [Num_i ge N_j]$  semantically, then X = C and  $X \neq M$ . e.g., 十粒蘋果 = 十個蘋果  $\neq$  十箱蘋果

#### Test D: Yi-restriction

Test: If [Num X N] is well-formed *iff* Num = 1, then X = M and X ≠ C. e.g., 一頭白髮 vs. \*三頭白髮; 一片苦心 vs. \*五片苦心 We further employ the Aristotelian distinction between essential and accidental properties as well as the Kantian distinction between analytic and synthetic propositions to characterize the C/M distinction: C is semantically null; M is semantically substantive. Precisely, C indicates an essential property of the noun, and can be paraphrased as the predicate concept in an analytic proposition with the noun as the subject concept; M indicates an accidental property in terms of quantity, and can be restated as the predicate concept in a synthetic proposition with the noun as the subject concept. Given this characterization, M can be demonstrated to be more of a content word, thus open to innovations, while C is more a function word, thus forms a closed set resistant to innovations.

Finally, extending the mathematical multiplication basis of classifiers, proposed by Au Yeung (2007), we reveal another crucial C/M distinction: C is the multiplier 1 and 1 only, and M a multiplier other than 1, or  $\sim 1$ .

#### Mathematical Distinction of C/M

Given [Num X N], X = C *iff* X = 1; otherwise, X = M. e.g.,  $\Xi$ .**强**iff  $= \Xi$  **x1** iff  $= \Xi$  iff vs.  $\Xi$ **打**iff  $= \Xi$  **x12** iff  $\neq \Xi$ iff  $= \Xi$  **x12** iff  $= \Xi$  **x12** iff  $= \Xi$  **x12** iff  $= \Xi$  iff = \Xi iff  $= \Xi$  iff  $= \Xi$  iff = \Xi iff  $= \Xi$  iff = \Xi iff = iff =

This mathematical interpretation of C/M further explains why C may be optional, while M is obligatory, and also why C is semantically *null* and thus *transparent* to numeral quantification and adjectival modification, while M is not. Finally, we demonstrate that, under this mathematical interpretation of C/M, English in fact lacks C/M altogether, given the fact that its multiplier is restricted to 1 and grammaticalized as the suffix *-s*.

#### **Distinction between Chinese and English**

Chinese: [Num X N], X=1 (C) or  $\sim$ 1 (M) English: [Num X N], Num>1 and X=1 (-*s*); e.g., 3x1 book = 3 -*s* book = 3 books

#### References

- Au Yeung, Wei Hoo. 2007. Multiplication basis of emergence of classifier. *Language and Linguistics* 8.4:835-861.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2003. *Classifier: A Typology of Noun Categorization Devices*. Oxford University Press.

Allan, K. 1977. Classifier. Language 53:285-311.

Greenberg, Joseph. 1990[1972]. Numerical classifiers and substantival number: problems in the genesis of a linguistic type. On Language. Selected Writings of Joseph H. Greenberg, eds. by K. Denning, and Kemmer, 166-193. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. [First published 1972 in Working Papers on Language Universals 9:1-39. Stanford, CA: Department of Linguistics, Stanford University.]

- Her, One-Soon & Chen-Tien Hsieh. (to appear). On the semantic distinction between classifiers and measure words. To appear in *Language and Linguistics*.
- Hsieh, Chen-Tien. 2009. A frame-based approach to classifiers: A case study of Taiwan mandarin. MA Thesis, National Chengchi University.
- Loke, K. K. 1983. *A psycholinguistic study of shape features in Chinese (Mandarin) sortal classifiers.* Ph.D. Dissertation, York University.
- Tai, H-Y. James. 1994. Chinese classifier systems and human categorization. In Honor of Professor William S-Y. Wang: Interdisciplinary Studies on Language and Language Change, ed. by Matthew Chen & Ovid Tseng, 479-494. Pyramid Publishing Company.
- Tai, H-Y. James. 2003. Cognitive relativism: resultative construction in Chinese. *Language and Linguistics* 4.2:301-316.
- Tai, H-Y. James. and L. Wang. 1990. A semantic study of the classifier *Tiao. Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 25.1:35-56.
- Zhang, Niina. 2009. Syntactic properties of numeral classifiers in Mandarin Chinese. Talk given on April 10, 2009, at the Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Chung Cheng University. Accessed online, December 1, 2009. http://www.ccunix.ccu.edu.tw/~lngnz/index.files/May%202009.pdf

- 50 -

Session III, 16:50-17:15, May 1<sup>st</sup>

#### A usage-based comparison of English and Chinese metaphors for happiness

Carl POLLEY

University of Hawaii, USA polley@hawaii.edu

Research on emotion metaphors in Mandarin Chinese (King 1989, Yu 1998) substantiates the claim of conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980,1999) that patterns of conceptualization underlying figurative language are rooted in embodied experience, and that they therefore show cross-culturally universal tendencies. Nonetheless, though Chinese does *contain* conceptual metaphors that are parallel with those proposed for English, differences in the actual *usage* of figurative expression are expected (Kövecses 2008, Yu 2009) and could point to different conceptualizations of target domain concepts between English- versus Chinese-speaking cultures.

A metaphorical mapping constitutes a semantic generalization over related words, senses and constructions. Stefanowitsch (2006) outlines a method for corpus-based metaphor pattern analysis (MPA) to obtain an inventory of conceptual metaphors used for a given target domain. We apply MPA to Mandarin metaphors for happiness, and find that some conceptual mappings are well attested for English (e.g., the metaphor HAPPINESS IS AN AFFLICTION, *She was overcome with joy*.) but found only rarely in Chinese. Mandarin, meanwhile, employs several mappings that appear to be entirely foreign to English, including HAPPINESS IS WIND, HAPPINESS IS SPRINGTIME and HAPPINESS IS SPEED. Other mappings are shared at the basic level, as with HAPPINESS IS UP used in both languages, while differences in use are found at further levels of specificity such as the complex extension EXTREME HAPPINESS IS BEING UP OFF THE GROUND, used only in English.

Moreover, semantic distinctions of near-synonym target domain terms (e.g., 幸福 *xingfu* 'happiness,' 快乐 *kuaile* 'happiness,' 欢乐 *huanle* 'joy,' 欢喜 *huanxi* 'joy') can be inferred via their frequency of co-occurrence with particular patterns of figurative expression in corpus data, and thus their tendency toward use in separate types of conceptual metaphors.

#### References

King, B. (1989). *The conceptual structure of emotional experience in Chinese*. Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University.

Kövecses, Z. (2008). The conceptual structure of happiness. In H. Tissari, A.B. Pessi & M. Salmela (eds) *Happiness: Cognition, Experience, Language. Studies across* 

*Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences* 3. Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies. Pp. 131-143.

- Lakoff, G. & M. Johnson (1980). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. & M. Johnson (1999) Philosophy in the Flesh. New York: Basic Books.
- Stefanowitsch, A. (2006) Words and their metaphors: A corpus-based approach. *Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs* 171: 63-105.
- Yu, N. (1998). *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: A Perspective from Chinese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Yu, N. (2009). *The Chinese HEART in a Cognitive Perspective: Culture, Body, and Language*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

#### The spatial and temporal conceptualizations of Isbukun Bunun

Hengsyung JENG<sup>1</sup> & Haowen JIANG<sup>2</sup>

National Taiwan University<sup>1</sup>, Taiwan; Rice University, USA<sup>2</sup> hengsyung@gmail.com<sup>1</sup>; claudiuslivre@hotmail.com<sup>2</sup>

In many languages, the more concrete spatial concepts generally serve as the foundation for expressing the more abstract temporal concepts. Isbukun Bunun, an Austronesian language of Taiwan, has complex spatial and temporal systems and it is found that two sets of deictic spatial concepts, namely proximal/nonproximal and front/back, essentially underlie not only its spatial system but also its temporal system. Regarding the set of proximal/nonproximal, the proximal is generally visible, while the nonproximal distance may be further divided into medial (+visible) and distal (-visible). These two spatial concepts are prevalent in Isbukun nouns, pronouns, spatial verb affixes, determiner suffixes, conjunctions (mais 'when (present)' vs. masa 'when (past)'), tense and aspect. And the other set of spatial concepts front/back plays an important role in presenting metaphorically tense, aspect, and sequences of temporal expressions. In Isbukun Bunun, the spatial concept tanangaus (in front of) is used to indicate the temporal concept of "prior to" a certain event or number of days/years, and the spatial concept tankinuz (behind) is used to express the temporal concept of "posterior to" in a sequence of days/years. As for aspect, it has to do with the various aspects of an event based on the moving-event metaphor in relation to tense based on the moving-ego metaphor. This paper aims to construct the complex Isbukun spatial and temporal systems in terms of proximal/nonproximal and front/back concepts. In doing so, the following perspectives will be incorporated: the ideas of proximal/ nonproximal presented in Tanz (1971), Fillmore (1982) and Clark (2000); the concepts of front/back explained in Clark (1973), Lakoff & Johnson (1980; 1999) and Lakoff (1987); the concept of absolute tense given in Comrie (1985) and Jeng (1999); the concept of temporal sequence mentioned in Evans & Green (2006); the moving-ego metaphor discussed in Clark (1973), Traugott (1975), Huang (1977), Jeng (1985) and Evans & Green (2006); the moving-event metaphor proposed by Jeng (1985).

In Isbukun Bunun, while generic nouns have no determiner suffixes, specific nouns must be indicated as proximal and visible (marked by -an/-in) or nonproximal (marked by -a: medial (visible) or distal (invisible)). The same distinction is also found in third person pronouns: *sain/sian/sa-ian* (this/he/she) is always proximal and visible (see Zeitoun 2000: 72), whereas *sa-ia* (he/she/it) is nonproximal (medial (visible) or distal (invisible)). These various ranges of distance are also demonstrated in spatial verbs: *isaincin* (here: proximal); *adaiza* (there: medial); *idaiza* (over there/far away: distal). Thus, spatial distance from the

viewpoint of the speaker plays an important role in Isbukun spatial conceptualization and is manifested in its morphosyntax. The proximal/nonproximal dichotomy applies to the Isbukun tense system as well. Isbukun has a four-tense system based on the moving-ego metaphor with "here and now" as its point of departure heading toward the future in the front and leaving the past in the back on the fixed axis of time (absolute tense): *hanup* (hunt: present/ unmarked), *hinanup* (hunted: recent past/marked by the infix *-inin-*) and *nahanup* (hunt: future/marked by the prefix *na-*). The present tense marks a temporally proximal event happening at the present time; the recent past tense, a recent nonproximal and invisible (medial) event left behind roughly within one year; the remote past, a remote nonproximal and invisible (distal) event left behind roughly beyond one year. And the future tense marker *na-* indicates an event yet to happen in the future ahead.

The Isbukun aspect system is based on the moving-event metaphor, presenting the various aspects of an event moving from the future in the back toward the past in the front on the fixed axis of time, and it is used in connection with the reference time of tense. Isbukun Bunun has four aspects: *hanup* (hunt: simple/unmarked); *hanupin* (has hunted : perfect/marked by the suffix *-in*); *hahanup* (frequently hunt/hunting: repetitive/marked by reduplication of the CV of the penultimate mora); *hanupang* (still hunting: durative/marked by the suffix *-ang*). Moreover, the perfect aspect suffix *-in* has two senses: (1) completion of an event (either a state or action); (2) inception of an event in the future. And some future temporal expressions are marked by *-in* in the second sense. Some parallel pairs of the contrast between past and future temporal expressions include: *habas* 'in the past' vs. *habasin* 'in the future'; *sangan* 'a moment ago' vs. *sanganin* 'a moment later'; *katavin* 'last year' vs. *katavinin* (next year). The four tenses and four aspects may be combined into twenty forms.

As for the spatial concepts of front/back, they not only refer to spatial orientations in relation to the position of a certain object, but also temporal orientations regarding sequence of events, days and years. For example, front/back as spatial concepts in *Inaak lumah tu tanangaus hai, aiza vahlas* (In front of my house, there is a river) vs. *Inaak lumah tu tankinuz hai, aiza libus* (Behind my house, there is a forest); as temporal concepts in *Malisipaatun tu tanangaus hai, Maliciun*. (Literally "In front of Thursday is Wednesday," meaning "Wednesday is before Thursday") vs. *Maliciun tu tankinuz hai, Malisipaatun*. (Literally "Behind Wednesday is Thursday," meaning "Thursday is after Wednesday.")

#### References

Binnick, Robert I. (1991) *Time and the Verb: A Guide to Tense and Aspect*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Clark, Herbert H. 1973. Space, time, semantics, and the child. In *Cognitive Development and the Acquisition of Language*, ed. T. E. Moore, pp. 27-63. New York: Academic Press.
- Clark, Marybeth. 2000. Deixis and anaphora and prelinguistic universals. *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications* 29: 46-61.
- Comrie, B. 1985. Tense. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Evans, Vyvyan and Melanie Green. 2006. *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1982. Towards a descriptive framework for spatial deixis. In *Speech, Place, and Action, Studies in Deixis and Related Topics*.eds. Robert J. Jarvella and Wolfgang Klein. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd.
- Huang, Shuanfan (黃宣範). 1977. Space, time and the semantics of LAI and QU. In *Proceedings of Symposium on Chinese Linguistics*, July 14-16, eds. Robert L. Cheng, Ying-chi Li, and Ting-chi Tang, pp. 53-66.
- Jeng, Hengsyung (鄭恆雄). 1985. Time and culture: morphosyntactic devices for marking time in English and Chinese. Presented at International Conference on Cross-Cultural Communication, Seoul, Korea.
- Jeng, Hengsyung (鄭恆雄). 1999. Bunun tense and aspect. In Selected Papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, eds. Elizabeth Zeitoun and Paul Jen-kuei Li, pp. 455-486.
- Jeng, Hengsyung (鄭恆雄). 2010. An Isbukun Bunun dictionary. Taipei: Council of Indigenous Peoples.
- Lakoff, G. 1987. *Women, Fire and dangerous Things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh*. NewYork: Basic Books.
- Tanz, Christine. 1971. Sound symbolism in words relating to proximity and distance. *Language and Speech* 14 (3): 266-276.

Traugott, Elizabeth. 1975. Spatial expressions of tense and temporal sequencing: a contribution to the study of semantic fields. *Semiotica* 15 (3): 207-230.

Zeitoun, Elizabeth (齊麗莎). 2000.《布農語參考語法》台北:遠流出版社。

## **Session IV: Constructions**

Session IV, 11:00-11:25, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### **Object-incorporation in English**

Yuhuan WANG

Mount Royal University, Canada YWang@mtroyal.ca

English is never recognized as a noun-incorporating language. However, nounincorporation, especially object-incorporation (OI), frequently occurs in the everyday use of the language. OI forms such as *fundraise*, *problem-solve*, and *trouble-shoot* result from very productive word-formation processes. Structurally, the position vacated by the incorporated O may be filled (e.g. *Publishers have acknowledged that they don't fact-check [memoirs]*) or not (e.g. *Many are planning to job-share* [\**the health-care responsibilities /* \**their work*] with other physicians).

Studies on noun-incorporation have mostly been formal, analyzing it either exclusively as a syntactic phenomenon (e.g. Baker 1988) or strictly as a lexical one (e.g. Rosen 1989). While the analysis presented here may lend support to the lexical side of the formal debate, this paper intends to approach OI from a cognitive functional perspective. It attempts to explore the reason for which OI exists in the grammar of English by addressing the purpose for which speakers object-incorporate.

OI is grammatically optional in English. Except for a few fossilized forms (e.g. *brainwash*, *babysit*), the components of an OI form are otherwise independent words. Even the semantic properties that motivate OI in other languages (Mithun 1984) need not warrant OI in English, which has other means to code those semantic properties. This paper proposes that OI exists in English for its unique information-packaging function.

Generally, the direct object position is second only to the subject position in prominence, because the information presented in that position is considered salient. This, however, may not always be the most desired structural arrangement. Some communicative purposes are better achieved when the prominence is taken away from the object referent. By shifting the object out of a prominent position and relegating it to an element of the verb, OI effectively reduces the salience of the object referent. And once the original direct object is incorporated, an oblique or possessor may be advanced into the now vacant object position to receive more prominence. OI does not decrease or increase the basic content of any

information; it simply backgrounds and foregrounds information to signal its degree of salience.

Packaging information through OI is another linguistic response to the cognitive demand for managing attention, which is limited in capacity. For a given clause, the more salient the speaker considers an entity to be, the more attention he would allocate to that entity. Thus, how the speaker packages information reflects how he manages his own attention and, of course, how he directs his hearer's attention. From a cognitive perspective, then, it is hard to miss the functional unity among all types of OI constructions, even those in which the incorporated are objects of prepositions (e.g. *to grocery-shop* from *to shop for groceries*).

#### References

Baker, Mark. 1988. *Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mithun, Marianne. 1984. The evolution of noun incorporation. Language 60, 847-894.

Rosen, Sara. 1989. Two types of noun incorporation: A lexical analysis. *Language* 65, 294-317.

Session IV, 11:25-11:50, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### Three-participant event constructions in Thai

Suthatip MUEANJAI

Chulalongkorn University, Thailand suthatip.a@gmail.com

The notion of three-participant event has received attention from linguists in merely less than ten years. Furthermore, not much research work has been done on this topic. As a matter of fact, three main research works have been found, namely, Margetts 2002, Margetts and Austin 2007 and Enfield 2007. These three research works aim at investigating how three-participant events are linguistically encoded in Saliba, typologically, and in Lao, respectively. The notion of three-participant events is defined in these three studies in a more or less the same way, that is, the kind of event which consists of three participants which are usually encoded as three arguments of verbs. Arguments refer to obligatory syntactic units of verbs, which typically function as subjects and objects. However, Margetts (2002) admits that this definition is not applicable to the data in Saliba because some participants of three-participant events are not encoded as arguments of verbs but as adjunct or oblique phrases. Therefore, the definition of three-participant events is still problematic and circular. The semantic aspect of the definition alone is not adequate because it could include some events which are intuitively not three-participant ones. Nor is the syntactic aspect of the definition alone adequate because there seems to be so many linguistic means of encoding participants of this type of event. This paper aims to provide a semantic characterization of the events which are categorized as three-participant ones in the three research works mentioned above. It is argued in this paper that the three participants of three-participant event constructions must exhibit a kind of cognitive salience. It is found that three-participant events across languages fall into the following semantic classes, namely, (1) theme transfer events, (2) benefit transfer events, (3) communication events, (4) deprivation events, (5) refusal events, and (6) events in which instruments are used in carrying out actions. The second objective of the paper is to examine how these three-participant events are linguistically encoded in Thai. The linguistic strategies which are used in encoding three-participant events in Thai are found to be (1) using direct arguments, (2) using oblique phrases, and (3) using serial verbs. Serial verb strategy which conforms with the typological features of the language in terms of isolating, serializing and verb-rich language is the most common one used in encoding three-participant events in Thai

#### References

Enfield, Nick. 2007. Encoding three-participants events in the Lao clause. Journal

of Linguistics. 45-3: 509-538.

Margetts, Anna. 2002. The linguistic encoding of three-participant events in Saliba. *Studies in Language*. 26-3: 613-636.

Margetts, Anna and Austin, Peter K. 2007. Three-participant events in the languages of the world: towards a crosslinguistic typology. *Journal of Linguistics*. 45-3:393-451.

Session IV, 11:50-12:15, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### Affectedness constructions and stance-taking

#### Tomoko SMITH

Osaka University, Japan tsmith@sannet.ne.jp

This study surveys cross-linguistic data from European and Asian languages and shows that what I call "affectedness constructions" (a collective term for both benefactives and adversatives, hereafter AC, Author 2005, 2010) are used to indicate two types of stance, "evaluative" and "affective" (for the types of stance-taking, see, for example, Ochs 1996, Lemke 1997, Du Bois 2007). The main function of the AC is to describe an event as being either good or bad for some participant, the affectee, as in an English benefactive sentence, *Naomi made Alice a purple dress*. In this example, the speaker thinks the affectee, Alice, is benefitted from the act of Naomi making a dress. However, we cannot be certain that Alice was actually happy to receive the dress (and we can easily imagine a situation in which she was not happy to receive the dress. Thus, I suggest that ACs are used to indicate the speaker's evaluation and not an objective statement of an event. Moreover, ACs also (sometimes) indicate the speaker's feelings etc. and reveal the speaker's affective stance towards the participant and/or event, such as 'appreciation', 'regret' and 'sympathy', as in the following examples.

- sensei ga otooto o homete-kure-ta teacher NOM younger brother ACC praise-BEN-PAST
   'I appreciate that the teacher praised my younger brother.' (Japanese)
- (2) phaay-sa ?a-thlaaw-sual
  - money 3s-lose-ADVERSATIVE
  - 'He lost money accidentally and I feel sorry for him.' (Lai in Myanmar)

The first sentence is a benefactive sentence from Japanese and the construction expresses the speaker's appreciation, whereas the second sentence is an example of the adversative construction in Lai that expresses sympathy toward the affectee. What is interesting with such ACs is that the affective stance is expressed grammatically, not just lexically.

I argue that the notions of benefit and adversity are closely associated with affect, and describing an event as either good or bad reveals the speaker's emotions and attitude toward the event and/or participant(s) in the event. It is obvious that the speaker almost always indicates his/her stance when the speaker is the affectee of the event. In addition,

the speaker also frequently indicates his/her feelings etc. when the affectee is the addressee (e.g. the speaker witnesses that the addressee stumbles over a stone and shows sympathy toward the addressee) or the speaker's in-group is as in (1). Yet, even if the affectee is a stranger to the speaker, the emotion of the speaker may be revealed with uses of ACs (*Sometimes people's medications run out on them due to the lack of public health care in the U.S.*). Interestingly, in some ACs, such implications of the speaker's affective stance are grammaticalized and clearly indicated by the construction.

#### References

Author, 2005 Affectedness constructions: How languages indicate positive and negative events Ph.D. dissertation at UC Berkeley

\_\_\_\_\_. 2010. Cross-linguistic Categorization of Benefactives by Event Structure: A preliminary framework for benefactive typology. *Benefactives and malefactives: Case studies and typological perspectives*, ed. by F. Zuniga and S. Kittila. Amsterdam: John Benjamines. 71-95

- Du Bois, J. W. The stance triangle. *Stancetaking in Discourse*, ed. By Robert Englebretson. Amsterdam: John Benjamines. 139-182
- Lemke, J. 1998. Resources for attitudinal meaning: Evaluative orientations in text semantics. *Functions of language* 5: 33-56.
- Ochs, E. 1996. Linguistic resources for socializing humanity. *Rethinking linguistic relativity*, ed. By J.J. Gumperz and S.C. Levinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 407-437.

## **Session V: Discourse and Acquisition**

Session V, 13:35-14:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

# The use of headed and headless forms in Mandarin *de*-marked referential expressions

*Tuyuan Cheng*<sup>12</sup> & *Hintat Cheung*<sup>1</sup>

National Taiwan University<sup>1</sup>; National Tainan Institute of Nursing<sup>2</sup> tuyuan@mail.ntin.edu.tw

The acquisition of DE has received much attention in many studies (Chang and Huang 1986; Cheung 1997; Erbaugh 1982; Hsu 1987; Huang 1987; Packard 1988; Tse, Tang, Shi, & Li 1991; Wang 1996) because of the range of structures captured under the form X DE Y and their versatile corresponding grammatical functions. The current study addresses one potential complication in acquiring DE: the omission of the head Y in the X DE Y construction, forming alternating headed and headless DE forms.

Previous studies of language acquisition approaching the 'head ellipsis' phenomenon of DE-marked constructions have suggested that the following may be relevant factors:

- 1. Headless forms are acquired earlier because of their simpler semantic and syntactic structures (Huang 1987).
- 2. Headless forms are prior to headed forms because of children's inability to command the internal binding relation between the modifier and modified head in the DE-marked structures (Packard 1988).
- 3. The [± verbal] features of modifier and head (Wang 1996).

All these studies have focused on the syntactic structure of language, highlighting how structural complexity may affect children's DE-learning processes.

Comparatively, in this study we follow a discourse-functional perspective initiated in Cheung (1997) and propose that the headed/headless forms should not be solely determined by the structural properties. This proposal is supported by an observational study of the distribution of DE-marked referring expressions in the longitudinal natural conversations made by a mother-child dyad.

Our analyses show that the use of headed/headless forms can be explained as symptoms of interlocutors' attention to information flow. When encountering a newly introduced referent, the speaker (mother/child), while assuming the addressee's unfamiliar knowledge

and inactive cognitive status of the referent, will use the headed DE forms (Extract [1]). When it comes to a given referent, however, the referential givenness status of the referent alone cannot explain the occurrence of headed/headless DE-forms. We observe that in the *Given* information status, headed/headless forms are highly correlated with discourse-pragmatic factors and that the child's developmental process of DE-marked referential expressions aligns with the communicative intent in the discourse organization. Our observations are as follows.

- 1. Question-answer pairs are the most common spontaneous utterances in our mother-child interaction. Such a linguistic context helps determine the discourse structure and it coincides with the occurrence of head in the *Given* information status. As Extract [2] shows, in the *Given* context, the mother spontaneously initiates an utterance by using headed DE forms for raising a question. Interactively, in the elicited utterances, the child would use headed DE forms to respond to the previous utterance, as in Extract [3].
- 2. However, in the *Given* context, the child also frequently spontaneously initiates an utterance by using headed DE forms for posing a suggestion or showing her intention to start an act (see Extract [4]), which is different from mother. This discrepancy can be largely attributed to the fact that the mother and the child intend to play different interactive roles in their conversations.
- 3. Among the expanding utterances of DE phrases in the *Given* status, headed forms are used to expand the topic in question, making these expressions salient in the discourse context. Some may express crucial information that the speaker considers important for the listener to identify or process. Others may be loaded with strong illocutionary force (e.g., evaluation, exclaim in surprise, praise for acts, etc., see Extract [5]).

#### References

- Chang, Hsin Wu and Hui Ling Huang. 1986. The development of production and comprehension of DE in Mandarin. NSC report: NSC-74-0301-H002-16, Taiwan.
- Cheung, Hintat. 1997. The use of some DE structures in Chinese children's narrative. *The First Symposium on Discourse and Syntax in Chinese and Formosan Languages*, 135– 53. Taipei.
- Erbaugh, Mary S. 1992. The acquisition of Mandarin. *The Crosslinguistic Study of Language Acquisition*, Vol. 3, Dan Isaac Slobin (ed.), 410–12. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hsu, Joseph H. 1987. A study of the various stages of development and acquisition of Mandarin Chinese by children in Chinese. *NSC report*.
- Huang, Hui Ling. 1987. *The Development Process of DE in Taiwan Children* (in Chinese). Ph. D. Dissertation. Taiwan: National Taiwan University.
- Packard, Jerome L. 1988. The first-language acquisition of prenominal modification with DE in Mandarin. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 16:1, 31–54.
- Schegloff, E. A. & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. Semiotica 4, 289-327.
- Tse, Kwock-Ping, Ting-Chih Tang, Yu-Hwei Shih, and Ying Li. 1991. *Chinese Children's Language Acquisition and Development*. NSC report: NSC79-0301-H003-23, Taiwan.

Wang, Ning-hsin. 1996. The Syntactic Development of 'DE' Constructions in Mandarin-Speaking Children. M.A. Thesis, Fu Jen University.

#### **Examples**

Extract [1]: Headed DE in *New* information status (Child 2;05) \*CHI: 你不要動. \*CHI: 在這邊乖乖的. \*MOT: 好. \*CHI: 我去拿**好聽的故事**. → (Newly introduced/Hearer New) \*MOT: 好.

Extract [2]: Headed DE in *Given* information status in mother's spontaneous utterances (Child 2;07)
\*MOT: 我剛剛問你啊,如果有小朋友打你,你會怎麼辦?
\*CHI: 我也會用我的棍子打他.
\*MOT: 那如果他摸摸*你的頭髮*呢? → (Question/topic shading, a change of focus, in \*CHI: 我也會打他.
\*CHI: 我也會打他.
\*MOT: 如果他很喜歡你,想要抱你可不可以?
\*CHI: 嗯.
Extract [3]: Headed DE in *Given* information status in child's elicited utterances (Child 2;06)
\*MOT: 媽媽要去煮飯了喔!
\*CHI: 喔.
\*MOT: 好不好?
\*CHI: 姊姊煮飯,

\*CHI: 姊姊最會煮飯了!

\*MOT: 真的嗎?

\*MOT: 你會煮什麼飯?

\*CHI: 我會煮**不好吃的飯. →** (Elicited answer)

Extract [4]: Headed DE in *Given* information status in child's spontaneous utterances (Child 2;10) \*MOT: 奇怪, 你爸爸怎麼還沒來啊? \*CHI: 他每次都買好多! \*CHI: 一直買 一直買! \*MOT: 蛤! \*MOT: sh! \*MOT: 那你會想他嗎? \*MOT: 會不會? +\*CHI\亂叫:我我媽咪... \*CHI: 我要擦*阿公的桌子*! → (Signal intention to start performing an act) \*CHI: 這阿公的! Extract [5]: Illocutionary force of Headed DE in *Given* information status (Child 2:06) \*CHI: 哪個是我的...我的雨衣? \*CHI: 嗯. \*CHI: 嗯.

\*MOT: 什麼外面啦? \*CHI: 外面看到我的雨衣.

\*MOT: 真的啊? 你的雨衣放在外面啊?

\*CHI: 嗯.

\*MOT: 現在呢?

\*CHI: 現在沒有下雨.

\*MOT: 收進來了嘛!

\*MOT: 啊! 在這裡 你的兩衣在這裡 我看到了. → (Expanding utterance: show surprise)

Session V, 14:00-14:25, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### Knowing how certain the speaker is: Cross-linguistic variation in children's developmental awareness of modal words and prosody

Yui MIURA & Tomoko MATSUI

Kyoto University, Japan miura@pri.kyoto-u.ac.jp

When we receive new information from others, assessing the strength of speaker *certainty* towards the utterance may bring us a great advantage in evaluating its reliability. It is of our interest to explore how and when children develop their sensitivity to it when it is expressed in prosody (e.g. intonations) or in lexical terms (e.g. verbs, auxiliary verbs, particles, etc.), and whether the developmental pattern of these kinds differs across languages. In order to explore these questions, we carried out a cross-linguistic study, giving a word-learning task to children and observing mother-child conversational data.

German- and Japanese- speaking children, either three or five years of age, participated in our experimental study. Children were presented with two conflicting statements about the name of an object, such as *toma*, which the two speakers labeled different objects. The only available clue for which one was right was the speakers' certainty expressed under the following conditions: (a) the intonational contrast condition: one utterance ended with falling intonation and the other with rising intonation, and (b) the lexical contrast condition: one utterance was accompanied with a word expressing uncertainty (either verb or particle) and the other was not. If children are aware of these clues, they would presumably follow the information provided with stronger confidence; that is, the statement ending with a falling intonation, or the statements unaccompanied with the uncertainty word.

The result revealed a considerably distinct developmental pattern across languages. We found the Japanese participants were already aware of both types of clues at younger age, while no such evidence was obtained from German three-year-olds. Only in the lexical condition did the German-speaking five-year-olds raise their performance. The results in our German participants coincide with previous findings in English-speaking children (Moore, et al., 1989; 1993), and early awareness of certainty clues found in the Japanese-speaking children was rather noteworthy.

In order to give possible explanations to our result, we further conducted a corpus analysis on mother-child conversations, using data available from the CHILDES database (Miyata, 2004; Rigol, 2007; MacWhinney, 2000; Ohima-Takane, et al., 1998). We picked up a total of six sets of German- and Japanese- speaking children's conversational data, and analyzed

their mothers' use of questioning utterances, which were either produced (a) in the interrogative form or (b) in the declarative form with a rising pitch. We found that the German mothers produced considerably more questioning utterances with a structural cue than those without it (i.e. those only with an intonational cue), while Japanese mothers frequently produced only intonational cues and no other markers. The proportion of questioning utterances itself was bigger in the Japanese mothers, suggesting that Japanese children have more opportunities to learn a speaker's uncertain attitude. We also counted the mothers' use of uncertainty adverbials and particles, and found that the use of Japanese particle *kana* (no German counterpart) was far more frequent than adverbials. From this analysis, we have confirmed the influence of the linguistic environment on the children's developmental understanding of speaker certainty expressed in utterances.

### **Session VI: Grammaticalization**

Session VI, 14:25-14:50, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

# From (ad)nominalizer to tense-aspect-mood marker: A case of semantic extensions from referential to non-referential uses

Karen GRUNOW-HÅRSTA & Foong Ha YAP

Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong, China egyapfh@inet.polyu.edu.hk

It has been observed that nominalizers may develop into tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers. This is attested in Tibeto-Burman languages, for example in classical and modern Tibetan dialects (DeLancey 1997, in press, Saxena 1997, Denwood 1999), Chantyal (Noonan 2008), Limbu (van Driem 1987, 1993) and Kham (Watters 2002, 2008). In this paper, we first examine this phenomenon in Magar, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Bodic family, and we further discuss possible parallels with Mandarin Chinese (ad)nominalizer *de* (e.g. Simpson 2003, Tang to appear).

More specifically, we first analyze four Magar nominalizers (-ke, -m, -o and -cyo) and trace how the first three developed into aspect markers, and how the latter two came to express speaker attitude, specifically mirativity, which is understood as "the grammatical marking of unexpected information" (DeLancey 1997:33).

Analysis of the development of nominalizers -ke, -m and -o provides insight into how a grammatical morpheme which marks a referential element may be recruited to serve a non-referential function. In (1a-c), we see how a nominalizer is reanalyzed as an aspect marker, often via copula constructions as an intermediate stage. In (1a), -ke nominalizes a clause that serves as the object complement of the main verb  $\ll ei-ke$  ('begged'). In (1b), the clause nominalized by -ke has become a construction that can be interpreted either as (i) a nominalization clause accompanied by copula *le* in cleft-like fashion, or as (ii) a nominalization construction reinterpreted as a finite clause grounded (i.e. temporally anchored) by copula *le* and with -ke predisposing an irrealis mood interpretation. In (1c), the erstwhile -ke nominalization appears as a non-embedded nominalization construction, i.e. it is reanalyzed as an independent finite clause and does not require the support of copula *le*. In this context, nominalizer -ke is reinterpreted as an imminent aspect marker, a function semantically related to its earlier irrealis mood interpretation.

Analysis of the development of the nominalizer -cyo, as evidenced in (2), further highlights how a nominalizer may come to express speaker stance (i.e. mood), specifically as a mirative marker, as in (3a-c). In (3a), *seì-cyo* is used as a predicate nominal introduced by copula *ale*, and serving a specificational rather than referential function. In (3b), *seì-cyo* is used as a predicate adjective. In (3c), in the absence of the copula, *seì-cyo* forms part of a non-embedded mirative construction, with nominalizer *-cyo* reinterpreted as a mirative mood marker. In (3a-c), we thus see *-cyo* extending from referential to specificational/modificational to attitudinal usage.

Magar nominalizers each have discrete functions and are at different stages of grammaticalization from nominalizer to TAM and/or stance marker. They also evince different degrees of transparency in their progress along this pathway. Significantly, other Tibetan languages manifest analogous developments (DeLancey 1997, 2001, in press, Noonan 2008, in press, Grunow-Hårsta 2007, 2008, in press, and Borchers 2008 among others). In this paper we provide evidence from other languages (including Mandarin) to show that the development from referential to non-referential (TAM) extensions is robust crosslinguistically, reflecting a cognitive drift toward (inter)subjectivity.

#### Examples

- (1) a. *kan-ko jiurum-ke «ei-le* 
  - b. *kan-ko jìurum-ke le*

'We begged to assemble here.'

- '(It is the case that) we have yet to assemble.' 'We have yet to assemble.'
- c. kan-ko jìurum**-ke**

(2) *seì-cyo-ko taì-raì-a* be.beautiful-NMZ-PL arrive-come-PST 'The beautiful ones arrived.'

- (3) a. *ho-se sei-cyo ale* 'She is a beauty.'
  - b. *ho-se seì-cyo le* 'She is beautiful.'
  - c. *ho-se seì-cyo* 'She is beautiful!'

#### References

Borchers, Dörte. 2008. A Grammar of Sunwar. Leiden: Brill.

- DeLancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology*, 1: 33-52.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2001. The mirative and evidentiality. Journal of Pragmatics 33: 369-82.

DeLancey, Scott, To appear. Finite structures from clausal nominalization in Tibeto-Burman. In Foong Ha Yap, Karen Grunow-Hårsta & Janick Wrona, eds., *Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives, Volume 1*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Denwood, Philip. 1999. *Tibetan*. [London Oriental and African Language Library, Vol. 3]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Driem, George van. 1987. *A Grammar of Limbu*. [Mouton Grammar Library 4]. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Driem, George van. 1993. <u>The Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system</u>. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 2: 292-334.
- Grunow-Hårsta, Karen. 2007. Evidentiality and Mirativity in Magar. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 30.2: 151-194.
- Grunow-Hårsta, Karen. 2008. A Descriptive Grammar of Two Dialects of Magar: Tanahu and Syangja. Volumes 1& 2. PhD Dissertation. University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
- Grunow-Hårsta, Karen. To appear. Innovation in nominalization in Magar, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. In Foong Ha Yap, Karen Grunow-Hårsta & Janick Wrona, eds., *Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives, Volume 1*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Noonan, Michael. 2008. Nominalizations in Bodic languages. In María José López-Couso & Elena Seoane (eds.), *Rethinking Grammaticalization: New Perspectives*, 219-237. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Noonan, Michael. To appear. Nominalization in Tamangic Languages. In Foong Ha Yap, Karen Grunow-Hårsta & Janick Wrona, eds., *Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives, Volume 1*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Saxena, Anju. 1997. Aspect and evidential morphology in Standard Lhasa Tibetan: A diachronic study. *Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale*, 26(2):281-306.
- Simpson, Andrew 2003. On the Status of Modifying DE and the Structure of the Chinese DP. In Sze-Wing Tang & Chen-Sheng Luther Liu, *On the Formal Way to Chinese Languages*, 74-101. Stanford: CSLI.
- Tang, Sze-wing. To appear. On gerundive nominalization in Mandarin and Cantonese. In Foong Ha Yap, Karen Grunow-Hårsta & Janick Wrona, eds., Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives, Volume 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Watters, David. 2002. A grammar of Kham. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Watters, David. 2006. Nominalization in the Kiranti and Central Himalayish languages of Nepal. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 31.2:1-44.
- Yap, Foong Ha and Stephen Matthews. 2008. The development of East Asian nominalizers in East Asian and Tibeto-Burman languages. In María José López-Couso & Elena Seoane (eds.), *Rethinking Grammaticalization: New Perspectives*. 309-344. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Yap, Foong Ha, Karen Grunow-Hårsta and Janick Wrona. To appear. Nominalization Strategies in Asian Languages. In Foong Ha Yap, Karen Grunow-Hårsta & Janick Wrona, eds., Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives, Volume 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Session VI, 14:50-15:15, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

# The role of discourse formulas in grammaticalization: A variationist study of *yige* in Mandarin Chinese

*Chungmin* HSU<sup>1</sup> & Meichun LIU<sup>2</sup>

Providence University, Taiwan<sup>1</sup>; National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan<sup>2</sup> cmhsul@gmail.com

While a frequently used numeral classifier yige 'yi + general classifier' (one) has grammaticalized as an INDEFINITE ARTICLE in Taiwan Mandarin spoken discourse (Liu to appear), little attention has been given to the fact that, since the appearance of 'one' as an indefinite article is not obligatory in the middle stage in diachronic development (Givon 1981, 1995; Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski 1993), the appearance of yige is not obligatory for marking new but unfamiliar referents is perhaps the best studies case of grammaticalization because yige layered with zero form and the traditional numeral classifiers (e.g., Hopper & Traugott 1993), as in (1a-c), in our Taiwan Mandarin spoken data.

(1) a. ...*dāngxià wŏ zhĭ juéde zhège wèntí shì <u>víge hěndà-de tiǎozhàn.</u> (B011:127) the moment I just feel this question be a/one very.big-modifier DE challenge* 

'At that moment, I just felt this question was a big challenge'.

- b. ...wo zhǎodào le **0** dàjiā dōu kěyĭ jiēshòu de biāozhǔn qù jièdìng . (D023:136) I find-PFV everyone INT can accept-modifier DE standard to evaluate 'I found <u>0</u> standard that everyone can accept it.'
- c. ...nà lào yéye shǒulǐ yǒu <u>yìtiáo/gēn guǎizhàng</u>, wǒ yǐwéi tā yào dǎ nàzhī gǒu (I031:109) the elder man hand.inside have a stick I suppose he will hit the dog
  'The elder man had <u>a stick</u> in hand and I supposed he wanted to hit the dog with the stick'.

In this study, we examine lexical (types of noun/verb), constructional (the modified/nonmodified NP constructions) and discourse-pragmatic (topicality and grounding mechanisms) analyses of the variation of 'one', by comparing speakers' choice of form in different two types of genres (formal vs. informal). Adopting the variationsit method, we operationalize and test hypotheses via quantitative analysis of variation between the first-mentioned but unfamiliar yige-marked, zero-marked and traditional-numeral-classifier-marked referents in post-verbal objects or complements position in spoken discourse. The results show that although the most important of factor of yige-marked is the particular construction under consideration, two different genres slightly vary in constructions: In informal genres, *yige*-marked favors to be followed by a modified noun construction, as in *verb* + *yige* + *modifier(s)* +  $X_{-noun}$  (2a); however, in formal genres, *yige*-marked is most likely to be adjacent to the head noun, as in *verb* + *modifier(s)* + *yige* +  $X_{-noun}$  (2b). In addition, particular lexical items, as the copular verbs *shi* 'be' or the stative verb *you* 'I have', also frequently collocate with *yige*, which reveals that the rise of 'one' as "indefinite article" is shaped by "reusable" patterns (Thompson 2002:141) or prefabs (in the sense of Erman and Warren 2000) in Mandarin spoken discourse.

- (2) a. tā shì yíge <u>hěn dà-de qǐfā</u>. (B033:029)
  It be a very big.modifier DE inspiration 'It is a very big inspiration (for me).'
  b. guānyú zhège wèntí wŏmen yŏu hěnduō-de yíge kǎoliáng. (J002:033)
  - b. guānyú zhège wèntí wŏmen yŏu <u>hěnduō-de yíge kăoliáng</u>.
    About this question we have many-modifier DE *a* consideration
    'About this question, we have many yíge considerations.'

If we assume particular instances of each general construction, which lies along a continuum from fixed collocations to more productive formations, occupy lexical, syntactic, and discourse-pragmatic niches (Bybee 2006; Bybee & Torres Cacoullos 2009), we might consider the discourse formulas of *yige* can be from fixed collocations, as in shi + (yi)ge + (modifier) + wenti 'be a (modifier) question', to more productive formations, as in  $Verb + Modifier(s) + yige + X-_{Noun}$ . However, our Mandarin spoken data further shows that the so-called productive formations still tend to be dominated by particular (social) pragmatic contexts. As usage-based construction grammar (Goldberg 1995; Bybee 2006) is closely related to linguistic variation and language change in our findings, we not only echo the role of prefabs in grammaticalization (Bybee Joan & Rena Torres Cacoullos 2009), but we want to call attention to the claim made by Croft (2009) that "in order to be successful, cognitive linguistics must go 'outside the head' and incorporate a social-interactional perspective on the nature of language".

#### References

- Bybee Joan & Rena Torres Cacoullos. 2009. The role of prefabs in grammaticalization:
  How the particular and the general interact in language change. *Formulaic language: Volume 1. Distribution and historical change*, Roberta L. Corrigan, Edith A.
  Moravcsik, Hamid Ouali, and Kathleen Wheatley (eds.), 187-217. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee Joan. 2006. From usage to grammar: The mind's response to repetition. *Language* 82: 711-3.
- Croft, W. 2009. Toward a social cognitive linguistics. In: Evans, V. and S. Pourcel(ed.): New Directions in Cognitive Linguistics. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Erman, Britt & Beatrice Warren 2000. The Idiom principle and the open choice principle. *Text* 20: 29-62

- Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Givon. T. 1981. On the development of the numeral 'one' as an indefinite marker. *Folia Linguistica Historica* II / 1: 35-53

Givon. T. 1995. Functionalism and grammar. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Gundel, J. K.; Hedberg, N.; and Zacharski, R. 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69(2):274–307.
- Hopper, Paul., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, Paul and Sandra Thompson. 1984. The discourse basis for lexical categories in universal grammar. *Language* (60): 703-753.
- Liu, Meichun. to appear. Emergence of indefinite article: discourse evidence for the grammaticalization of YIGE in spoken Mandarin. To appear in *Grammar and Grammaticalization*, eds. by Cuyckens, Hubert, Kristin Davidse & Jean-Christophe Verstraete (Typological Studies in Language Series) Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Thompson, Sandra A. 2002. 'Object complements' and conversation. Studies in Language 26, 125-164

Session VI, 15:15-15:40, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

# Use of natural spoken data as a research methodology for intersubjectivity: The case of Mandarin *le*

Louis Wei-lun LU & Lily I-wen SU

National Taiwan University, Taiwan wllu@ntu.edu.tw

The usage of LE has been a topic extensively discussed in the field of Chinese grammar (Andreasen 1981; Van den Berg 1989; Van den Berg and Wu 2006; Chang 1986; Chao 1968; Huang 1988; Huang and Davis 1989; Li and Thompson 1981; Li et al. 1982; Rohsenow 1977, 1978; Spanos 1979; Thompson 1968; Yang 2003). Recent research has come to approach the role played by LE from the perspective of spoken interaction (van den Berg and Wu 2006; Lu and Su 2009). With a corpus comprised of textbooks of Chinese as a foreign language and translations of story books, van den Berg and Wu (2006) proposes the function of sentential *le* as a common ground co-ordination device. Based on spontaneous spoken data, Lu and Su (2009) argues in line with van den Berg and Wu and further claims that the sentential *le* should be considered a marker of intersubjectivity (Traugott and Dasher 2003; Verhagen 2007) given the fact that it is more frequently followed by a new turn than its verbal counterpart, *-le*.

Although as Lu and Su (2009) has shown, the behavioral difference is striking for the two types of LE in natural spoken discourse, an issue remains unsettled in their study: If the authors are right about the sentential le, but not the verbal -le, being intersubjective, then why can the verbal -le still be followed by a new turn in some cases?

In our spoken corpus, we observe four contributors to a new turn after -le: In some cases the hearer does not wait till the turn relevant place by committing an overlap or latching, which shows his eagerness to contribute to the current topic of conversation. In addition, the hearer may also cut the speaker short not because he wants to contribute to the current topic but because he would like to bring up a new topic. A new turn may also occur to uphold the conversation when the current speaker has difficulty keeping it going. And very importantly, a new turn may not be triggered by the verbal -le but by an obvious intersubjective device in the same IU, such as an A-not-A question or a sentence final particle.

Based on the above observation, we expect to calibrate the result presented in Lu and Su (2009) and further consolidate their claim that in comparison to its sentential counterpart, the degree of intersubjectivity involved in the use of verbal -le is essentially very low, if any. Beyond the calibration that has been made, we in addition hope to promote the

possibility of using natural spoken data as a research methodology in the study of intersubjectivity.

#### References

- Andreasen, Andrew John (1981), *Backgrounding and Foregrounding through Aspect in Chinese Narrative Litera-ture*. Stanford University: Dissertation.
- Van den Berg, Marinus (1989), *Modern Standaard Chinees: Een Functionele* Grammatica. Muiderberg: Coutinho.
- Van den Berg, Marinus & Wu, Guo (2006), *The Chinese Particle* Le. New York: Routledge.
- Chang, Vincent Wu-chang (1986), *The Particle* Le *in Chinese Narrative Discourse*. University of Florida: Dissertation.
- Chao, Yuanren (1968), *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Huang, Lillian Mei-jin (1988), Aspect: A General System and Its Manifestation in Mandarin Chinese. Taipei: Student Book.
- Huang, Lillian Mei-jin & Davis, Phillip W. (1989), An aspectual system in Mandarin Chinese. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 17: 1, 128-65.
- Li, Charles & Thompson, Sandra (1981), *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Li, Charles, Thompson, Sandra & Thompson, R. (1982), The discourse motivation for the perfect aspect: The Mandarin particle *le*. In: Hopper, Paul (Ed.) (1982), *Tense-aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 19-44.
- Lu, Louis Wei-lun & Su, Lily I-wen. (2009), Speech in Interaction: Mandarin Particle *Le* as a Marker of Intersubjectivity. *Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht* 14, 155-68.
- Rohsenow, John (1977), Perfect *le*: temporal specification in Mandarin Chinese. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 7: 2, 142–64.
- Rohsenow, John (1978), Aspect in Chinese. University of Michigan: Dissertation.
- Spanos, George A. (1979), Contemporary Chinese use of *le*: A survey and a pragmatic proposal. *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 14: 1, 36–70; 14: 2, 47–102.
- Thompson, J. Charles (1968), Aspects of the Chinese verb. Linguistics 38, 70-6.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C., and Dasher, Richard (2003), *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Verhagen, Arie (2007), Constructions of Intersubjectivity: Discourse, Syntax and Cognition. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yang, Jun (2003), Back to the basic: the basic function of particle LE in modern Chinese. *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 38: 1, 77–96.

### **Poster Session**

Poster # 1, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### Stance taking in a white supremacist discourse of homosexuality

#### Andrew BRINDLE

# Lancaster University, U.K., Private Language Institute, Taiwan andrewbrindle@hotmail.com

In the paper, I will describe how a 300,000-word corpus of texts from a white supremacist web forum was compiled and analysed using a mixed methods approach combining Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. All of the collected texts centred upon the topic of homosexuality and the corpus was utilised to study the construction of social identities such as heterosexual men, gay men, lesbians and other minority groups. This was achieved by firstly studying frequency lists of words and lemmas followed by an examination of keyness and a study of collocational networks of keywords. The findings of these stages were then used to inform a collocational analysis of certain keywords in which collocates, MI scores, 3-word clusters and concordance lines associated with the keywords were examined. The results were able to demonstrate not only the construction of in-group and out-group members, but also the rhetorical strategies employed to justify those identities and how homophobia, racism and sexism are inseparably interlinked.

The findings of the above mentioned analyses enabled a study of stance to be undertaken. This was achieved by considering the *authoritarian personality* of the text writers by focusing upon the usage of the present tense forms of the verb *to be*, modality, evaluative adjectives and stance adverbials.

Furthermore, analysis of the data demonstrates that the white supremacist group, by utilising a bulletin board framework and CMC, has evolved from a homogenous top-down structured organisation controlled by elite group leaders, to one in which social, political and ideological positions are negotiated and contested by group members.

In addition, I argue that the combination of CDA and CL allows an in-depth analysis of a representative text and the study of the reoccurrence of linguistic traits found in the qualitative analysis over the larger corpus employing a quantitative investigation. The study of patterns of usage implies that the reoccurrence of linguistic choices is significant and that the findings of a qualitative approach cannot be accepted unconditionally.

Poster # 2, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### The particle ye 也 in the Guodian manuscripts

#### Marco CABOARA

University of Washington, USA marcocab@u.washington.edu

The particle  $ye \not t$ , with its extremely high textual frequency and its poorly understood multiple functions, plays a central role in Classical Chinese Grammar (6th to 3rd century BCE). It functions as marker of nominal predication, but it is not a verbal copula, and beside this usage, it also functions as a final particle, it is used in interrogative sentences and certain other constructions; it is also a particle occurring in the middle of a sentence and at the end of correlated clauses. The original function of  $ye \not t$  cannot be recovered from its etymology, which is unknown- it is one of the few function words which does not derive from any known full lexical word; its historical development is also problematic: it is unattested in the *Book of Documents* and completely absent from the epigraphic sources (Oracle Bones and Bronzes); while present in the *Book of Odes*, its syntactic behavior stabilizes only in the *Analects* and later texts. The manuscript texts from Guodian (around 300 BCE) contain the earliest datable usages of  $ye \not t$  and are a philologically much more reliable source of data than the transmitted pre-Qin texts.

In this paper, which is based on the work I am doing on the same topic for my dissertation, I will present data derived from a complete screening of the texts based on a functional analysis of the usage of ye the in terms of three basic functions: marker of nominal predication, discourse marker of topic, final particle marking verbal predicates; I will as well present arguments in favor of considering the final particle as the original function and propose an evolutionary path linking it to the copular usage.

Poster # 3, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### The circumfixal modal $e^7$ +Verb+ $tit^4$ in Taiwanese Southern Min

#### **Bo-Ching CHEN**

National Tsing Hua University g9744701@oz.nthu.edu.tw

This paper explores the circumfixal modal  $e^{7}$ +Verb +*tit4* where  $e^{7}$  ...*tit4* is a discontinue affix consisting of a preverbal modal and a postverbal complement in Taiwanese Southern Min (henceforth TSM)(Lien 1997), a major Sinitic language prevalent in Southern China and Taiwan. For non-analytic languages, mamy grammatical words or clitics can become inflectional affixes. It is proposed in Hopper and Traugott (1993) and Traugott (1995) that a grammaticalization cline is realized by content words > grammatical words > clitics > inflectional affixs. Put simply, words as attested by the circumsfixal modal are a result of morphologization. In analytic languages like TSM as well as Mandarin, grammatical words or clitics do not become inflectional affixes. Instead, they are likely to be new lexical words combined with adjacent lexical words. A grammatical function word or clitic may become an intra-word component in the new word after lexicalization.

The sequence of  $e^{7}+Verb+tit^{4}$  in TSM is a hybridization of the preverbal modal  $e^{7}$  denoting possibility and the postverbal complement retaining a resultative sense. A true understanding of the circumsfixal modal depends on the ferreting out of the evolutional paths of both  $e^{7}$  and *tit*<sup>4</sup>. The aim of the paper is to track down the source of  $e^{7}+Verb+tit^{4}$  in TSM by examining a range of earlier (16th and 18th century) (Wu 2001 a,b,c) Southern Min texts which are correlated with still earlier Chinese texts such as Zu Tang Ji, a ten century Buddhist texts and Zhu Ziy Yui Lei, a 13th century Confucian text.

#### References

- Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth C. Traugott 1993 *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lien, Chinfa. 1997 Aspects of the Evolution of tit in Taiwan Southern Min, in Journal of Chinese Linguistics, monograph series n. 10:Studies on the History of Chinese Syntax,167-190
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1995 *The role of the development of discourse markers in a history of Grammaticalization*. Paper presented at ICHL XII, Manchester.
- Wu, Shouli. 2001a. *Ming Jiajing Kan Li Jing Ji Xiwen Jiaoli (Annotated Texts of the Romance of Li Jing Ji of Ming Jiajing Edition (JJ))*. Taipei: Congyi Workshop..
- Wu, Shouli. 2001b. *Ming Wanli Kan Li Zhi Ji Xiwen Jiaoli (Annotated Texts of the Romance of Li Zhi Ji of Ming Wanli Edition (WL))*. Taipei: Congyi Workshop..

Wu, Shouli. 2001c. Qing Shunzhi Kan Li Zhi Ji Xiwen Jiaoli (Annotated Texts of the Romance of Li Zhi Ji of Qing Shunzhi Edition (SZ)). Taipei: Congyi Workshop.

Poster # 4, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### **Discourse particles in Nepali: An overview**

#### Dubi Nanda DHAKAL

TribhuvanUniversity, Nepal dndhakal@yahoo.com

Nepali grammatical tradition has not treated all discourse particles exhaustively till today although they have been included in the Nepali grammars since 1970s. In the study of Nepali discourse particle tradition, Pokhrel (2054VS), Dahal (1974), and Adhikari (2062VS) have diverse views regarding the status of discourse particles in Nepali. There are different views whether one of the minor word classes should be defined as discourse particles or not. Among the Nepali grammarians and researchers, Dahal (1974) includes broader categories within particles compared to Pokhrel (2054VS). The number is even limited in Adhikari (2062) and Sharma (2063 VS). I will take a modest approach by taking the most common particles in the Nepali grammar. This includes all particles listed in Sharma (2063) Adhikari (2062VS) ), and Acharya (1991) but only a few particles included in Dahal (1974) and Pokhrel (2054VS). This analysis is based on Zwicky (1985) and Fraser (1990).

Phonologically most of the discourse particles are monosyllabic. Despite the difficulty in translating them, rough translations of a few of them or the modal function they carry are given in (1). In addition to the particles listed in (1), some others of this category are, i.e. i.e.  $\tilde{a}$ , are, e, ki, ke, ra, lau, la, ha, ki, khai/khoi, na, nai, ni, nai, hai, re, lau etc. A few of them bisyllabic bjare, hagi, are, cahi, kjara, sake, hagi. For example, kjare 'I guess', re 'they say, I heard' etc.

(1) *l*> 'oaky, alright'
 *po* 'emphasizes the word it follows'
 *t*> 'as for'

The discourse particles occur very frequently in conversational discourse than in formal discourse or in media discourse (Dhakal 2008). There are no English equivalent of these particles in English, and thus difficult to translate the examples with particles in English. In Nepali the particles mainly consist of two classes, i.e. focus particles as in (2) and modal particles (3-5).

(2) keto tə ajo keti ainə keto tə a-i-o keti a-i-nə FOC come-PST-3SG come-3SG-NEG boy girl 'The boy come, but the girl did not. (As for the boy, he came but the girl did not).'

(3) manche mərjo re

manche mər-j-o re man die-PST-PST EVI 'The man died (reported by a second person).'

Syntactically, particles occupy different positions. As can be seen in above examples,  $l_{\partial}$  occurs in clause-initial position and word-finally,  $t_{\partial}$  occurs in clause-medial position, and *re* and *ni* clause-finally. Some particles occur with certain word classes, i.e. with nouns, verbs, and so on.

- (4) *la ghara dzaũ*la ghara dzaũ
  okay house go-HOR
  'Okay, let's go home.'
- (5) ghərə dzau lə ghərə dza-u lə house go-IMP PART 'Go home, okay ?'

Some particles are the constituents of phrases whereas some others belong to clauses. In example (2) the particle  $t_{\partial}$  is a constituent of the noun (phrase) whereas the particle re has a clausal scope as in (3).

#### References

- Acharya, Jayaraj. 1991. *A Descriptive Study of Nepali and an Analyzed Corpus*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Adhikari, Hemanga Raj. 2062 VS. *Samasamayik Nepali Vyakaran*. Kathmandu: Student Books.
- Dahal, Ballabh Mani. 1974. A Descriptive Grammar of Nepali: Literary and Colloquial. PhD Dissertation. University of Poona.
- Dhakal, Dubi Nanda.2008. A Discourse Analysis of Nepali Newspaper Texts. Research Report submitted to Martin Chautari, Kathmandu.
- Fraser, Bruce.1990. An Approach to Discourse Markers. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14: 383-395.
- Pokhrel, Madhav Prasad. 2054 VS. *A Sentence Grammar of Nepali Language (in Nepali)*. Kathmandu: Ekata Books.
- Sharma, Mohan Raj. 2063 VS. *Sabdarachana ra varnavinjas (in Nepali)*. Kathmandu: Navin Prakashan.
- Schmidt, Ruth Laila, and Ballabh Mani (eds). 1993. *A Practical Dictionary of Modern Nepali*. Delhi: Ratna Sagar.

Zwicky, Arnold M. 1985. Clitics and particles. Language. 61(2). 283-305.

Poster # 5, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### Grammaticalization and extension of the verb 'say' in Magar

#### Karen GRUNOW-HÅRSTA

# University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee, USA karen\_g\_h@hotmail.com

In South Asian languages, the verb 'say' has been re-analyzed to cover a wide range of functions. As Saxena (1988, 1995) has observed, this extension can be arranged along a typological hierarchy in which the verb 'say' expresses: quotation > complementation > purpose > condition > comparison. Magar complies with this hierarchy with an interesting twist, not only does the verb *de* 'say' functioning as the complementizer for cognition and perception verbs , the verb 'say' has assumed the meaning of these words. It has come to mean 'think', 'believe' and 'suppose'. That is, the verb 'say' expresses not only speech, but mental processes, a semantic extension observed in other Tibeto-Burman languages, for example, Chantyal (Noonan, 2001). Furthermore, in Magar narratives, the verb 'say' is used as a rhetorical device which can express an authorial perception and comment which is at odds with the 'reality' perceived by a character. In the form, *de-nhak-iŋ*, for example, it signals a mistaken supposition, as in:

rл hos len-ja ja-ja-i	kat hosa	siŋ-ke	siŋ	
CONJ D.DEM boy-child child-child-ERG	one D.DEM	branch-DAT	branch	
<b>de-nĥak-iŋ</b> jim-сл chahin hosa	jarayo-o	mi-rhaŋ		
say-front-ABL hold-ATT well D.DEM	stag-GEN	POSS-horr	1	
le-c∙ le-sa				
COP-ATT COP-INFER				
'And the little boy supposing he was holding onto a branch, well, apparently it turned out to be a stag's horn.'				

The objective of this paper is to demonstrate that that the verb 'say' has developed new semantic and pragmatic values and that this development complies with the range of functions attested cross-linguistically. And that specifically within Magar 'say' has developed a rhetorical function which can be exploited for effect by a narrator.

#### References

- Noonan. 2001. Direct speech as a rhetorical style in Chantyal. Paper presented at the Workshop on Tib eto-Burman languages, University of California, Santa Barbara, July 2001
- Saxena, A. 1988. On syntactic convergence: the case of the verb "say' in Tibeto-Burman. Berkeley Linguistics Society. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting, 375-88.

Saxena, A. 1995. New aspect morphology: Where does it come from? Papers from the Fifteenth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics, Oslo University. Reports from Uppsala University Linguistics, 28:1-20.

Poster # 6, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### A functional perspective on the grammaticalization of Chinese modality

#### Chia-Ling HSIEH & Xin-Ru WU

# National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan clhsieh@ntnu.edu.tw

The study of modality has long been an important issue in the field of semantics (Bybee & Fleischman 1995; Palmer 2001). Its use allows speakers to convey propositional judgment or attitude towards a situation (e.g. English modal auxiliaries *may* and *must*) (Lyons 1977). Previous research on the evolution of modal markers has introduced a metaphorical process where more abstract inferential meaning is developed out of more concrete referential meaning (e.g. Sweetser 1990; Bai and Shi 2008; Wang 2009). Similar evidence also emerges in the course of first language acquisition (e.g. Papafragou 2000). Different analyses converge on the existence of a grammaticalization path where *dynamic* modals evolves into *deontic* and finally into *epistemic* modals (Heine 1992; Bybee et al. 1994; Krug 2000; Hsieh 2002; Traugott and Dasher 2002; Hansen & Visconti 2009). However, little is known about how such semantic development manifests itself in Chinese at the pragmatic and discourse level. This study thus revisited the Chinese modal system from a diachronic perspective to provide an innovative account for its functions in real use.

Data were drawn from the official blog of current President of Taiwan, Ma Ying-Jeou, consisting of online messages left by citizens to support this political figure. 227 messages with the use of modals were examined. Results show that the choice of modal subdomains is governed by the type of supporting strategies. *Dynamic* modality, semantically denoting objective capacity or volition, functions to express supporters' subjective wish and suggestion, e.g. *yao* 'would like' in (1) and *neng* 'can' in (2). *Deontic* modality, dealing with permission and obligation, plays a part as supporters perform the acts of suggestion and expectation, e.g. *keyi* 'may' in (3) and *yao* 'must' in (4). *Epistemic* modality, evaluating the strength of speaker commitment to factual status, serves to convey expectation and prediction, e.g. *yao* 'be going to' in (5) and *hui* 'will' in (6).

- (1) Bu yao tounao yumeide xiudou zuo zongtong.'I would not like an ignorant psycho to be the president.'
- (2) Maxiansheng ru neng jiayi daode chongzheng...'If Mr. Ma can devote himself to morality rebuilding...'
- (3) Zhengzhong qinglian zhipiao keyi nuli kai. 'You may make many such honest promises.'
- (4) *Ni yiding yao dangxuan zongtong o!* 'You must get elected as president!'

- (5) 2008 Taiwan yao kao ni la!'2008 Taiwan is going to rely on you!'
- (6) Zuobuhao jiu hui shiqu zhengquan.'If you don't do well, you will lose political power.'

The distributions indicate that deontic modals overlap with dynamic and epistemic modals, suggesting deontic modality as a transitional concept that has extended its function from dynamic to epistemic modality. It follows that the functional elaboration of linguistic forms seems to mirror their grammaticalization history. The conclusion therefore clarifies the distinction and connection between semantics and pragmatics/discourse. It also sums up a coherent picture of Chinese modal meaning in language configuration, language use, and language change. Further research may be done on other speech acts or other languages to confirm the cross-contextual and cross-linguistic applicability of the present findings.

#### References

- Bai, Jie-Hong and Yu-Zhi Shi. 2008. Future markers and epistemic modalities. *Foreign Languages in Fujian* 2: 73-78.
- Bybee, Joan and Suzanne Fleischman (eds.). 1995. *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan L., William Pagliuca and Revere D. Perkins. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hansen, Maj-Britt Mosegaard and Jacqueline Visconti (eds.). 2009. Current Trends in Diachronic Semantics and Pragmatics. Bingley: Emerald.
- Heine, Bernd. 1992. Grammaticalization chains. Studies in Language 16.2: 335-368.
- Hsieh, Chia-Ling. 2002. Assertive "shi" and predictive-assertive "hui" in Mandarin Chinese. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*. 31.3: 249-300.
- Krug, Manfred G. 2000. *Emerging English Modals: A Corpus-Based Study of Grammaticalization*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lyons, John. 1977. Semantics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, F. R. 2001. Mood and Modality. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Papafragou, Anna. 2000. *Modality: Issues in the Semantics-Pragmatics Interface*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Sweetser, Eve. 1990. *From Etymology to Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs and Richard Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wang, Hong-Wei. 2009. Mechanisms of Semantic development of Chinese modal auxiliary "neng." *Journal of Fuyang Teachers College* 5: 33-35.

Poster # 7, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### Grammaticalization of *jieguo* in Taiwan Mandarin conversation

#### Chia Hung LI

National Taiwan University, Taiwan jljarvislee@gmail.com

Research on Chinese discourse markers has received much attention recently (eg. Biq 1990; Biq 1995; Su 1998; Wang 2005; Wang et al. 2006; Wang et al. 2007, etc). However, only one study has investigated the use of *jieguo*. Zhou (2008), based on written corpus, approaches the grammaticalization of *jieguo* from a historical point of view. He touches upon the fact that *jieguo*, when serving as a connective, can mark causality, contrast, and topic succession. Nonetheless, he did not probe into the connective function of *jieguo* in natural occurring data. The present study investigates the grammaticalization of *jieguo* in Taiwan Mandarin conversation. In accordance with the prediction that meaning-shift proceeds from propositional, textual, to expressive components (Traugott 1982), we examine the degree of grammaticalization of *jieguo* in spoken data. Furthermore, to account for the functional-semantic change of *jieguo* as a discourse marker, we demonstrate the role subjectification (Traugott 1995) plays in the process.

According to Chinese Wordnet, *jieguo* has the following senses: a. to bear fruit b. the result which is caused by a previous event and c. the final situation of an event. However, the first sense is absent in our data, which consists of TV interviews, 6 hours and 15 minutes in length. We identified four uses of *jieguo*: a. consequential use b. contrastive use c. temporal connective d. topic succession. There are 115 tokens of *jiequo* in our data. An example of each type and their distribution is given below.

(1)

(2)

A: 買那個尼古丁糖比買煙還貴,\ It was more expensive to buy nicotine sugar than to buy cigarettes. 結果還是買煙.\ → consequential use As a result, I bought cigarettes. B: 我聽說有人酒癮很重,\ L based say that some people are so addicted to shaped

I heard say that some people are so addicted to alcohol. 就是他會喝很多很多酒,\ They will drink a great deal of alcohol. **結果**他要動手術的時候,\ Then, when they are to have a surgery 就是要麻醉他,\ they have to be anesthetized 結果手術動到一半,\ however, in the mid of the operation 他就醒來了.\ they wake up

 $\rightarrow$  contrastive use

(3)

)	
C: 我陪她逛街,\	
I went shopping with her	
她剛好進去買.\	
she was buying something	
D:那結果你在幹麼,\	$\rightarrow$ topic succession
and then what are you doing?	
你離她們很遠嗎.\	
are you far away from them?	

Table 1 Distribution of <i>jieguo</i>	in Taiwan Mandarin conversati	on
	NT 1 C/ 1	р

	Number of token	Percentage
1. Consequential use	4	3%
2. Contrastive use	43	37%
3. Temporal connective	64	57%
4. Topic succession	4	3%
Total	115	100%

Our analysis of *jieguo* attest to Traugott's proposal that meaning-shift goes from propositional, textual to expressive component. We can see that *jieguo* is going from the second stage to the last stage in grammaticalization. All the tokens in our data fall in the textual and expressive domains. Consequential and contrastive uses are textual in that they serve to specify the relation between the foregoing and following units. Temporal connective and topic succession moves further from the textual to expressive domain. They are devices that the speakers use to encode his perspectives and attitudes toward discourse structure. In conversation, where interlocutors compete for the floor, speakers use *jieguo* to help them hold the floor even though the following discourse unit does bear neither consequential nor contrastive relation to the former. The analysis of *jieguo* is congruent with Traugott's claim that subjectification is the driving force of grammaticalization.

#### References

Biq, Yung-O. 1990. Conversation, continuation, and connectives. Text 10.3: 187-208.
Biq, Yung-O. 1995. Chinese causal sequencing and *yinwei* in conversation and press reportage. BLS 21 (Proceedings of the 21th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley)

Linguistics Society), Special Session, Discourse Topics in SE Asian Languages, 47-60.

- Su, Lily I-wen. 1998. Conversational coherence: the use of *ranhou* 'then' in Chinese spoken discourse. *Selected Papers from the Second International Symposium on Languages in Taiwan*, ed. by Shuanfan Huang, 167-181. Taipei: Crane.
- Traugott, E. C. 1982. From propositional to textual and expressive meanings: Some semantic-pragmatics aspects of grammaticalization. In *Perspectives on Historical Linguistics*, W. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel (eds.), 245-271. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1995. Subjectification in grammaticalization. Subjectivity and Subjectivisation: Linguistic Perspectives, ed. by Dieter Stein and Susan Wright, 31-54. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wang, Chueh-chen. 2006. Grammaticalization of connectives in Mandarin Chinese: A corpus-based study. Language and Linguistics 7.4: 991-1016.
- Wang, Yu-Fang. 2005. From lexical to pragmatic meaning: Contrastive markers in spoken Chinese discourse. *Text* 25.4: 469-518.
- Wang, Yu-Fang, Pi-hua Tsai, and Meng-Ying Ling. 2007. From informational to emotive use: meiyou ('no') as a discourse marker in Taiwan Mandarin conversation. *Discourse Studies* 9.5: 645-669.
- Zhou, Bi-ji. 2008. On the grammaticalization of *jieguo* and its pragmatic characteristics. *Chinese Language Learning* 6: 65-72.

Poster # 8, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### The acquisition of resultative compound verbs: A longitudinal study

#### Yen-Ting LIN & Li-mei CHEN

# National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan cherry.com@livemail.tw

This longitudinal study aims to investigate the acquisition of resultative verb compound (RVCs) by Mandarin children and the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in terms of RVC acquisition. The structure of compounding is said to be one of the most interesting topics in Chinese due to its flexibility in thematic relations and argumentation (Huang 2009). The experimental study suggested different compound combinations during the process due to typological distinction (Nicoladis & Yin 2002). In Chinese, Chen (2008) proposed that the acquisition of VCs began around 1;4 and 1;7 and concluded that the acquisition process is gradual. An RVC construction is said to possess two verbs-V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub>—with various relations combined such as a change-of-state. The study divides the RVCs in terms of transitivity and lexical semantic information between the verbs, examining the age factor, the compounding process and the associated arguments. The research questions are: 1) when do Mandarin children start to produce RVCs and what does the RVC do in the context; and 2) how children acquire the argument structure of the resultative verb compounds? By following a conceptual model—Word Grammar (WG) (Hudson 1984, 2007), a conceptual work with a parallel structure, to unpack the compositional, lexical and argument structure of RVCs, the syntactic analysis shows the dependency and distribution of the head and the arguments, while the lexically semantic primitives are participants, events, and linking relations. By retrieving the spontaneous speech in our project, the data accumulation comes from four children, aged 1;3 to 5;3, and compare the occurrence of the type of RVCs, their frequency, the thematic relations, and the contexts in which they are involved. The findings show that the appearance of RVCs is around 2;0 to 2;3, a bit later than that of some types of compounds like Verb-Object compound verbs. According to Huang's (2009) four types of RVC complements, except the absence of the intensifying complements, the highest frequency of the three complements of RVCs are phase complement -dao, the potential complement -qi, and the directional complement -qu respectively denoting the completion status of a situation, an endpoints of capability, and intentional direction. As to the verb combination, the intransitive  $V_1$  and transitive V<sub>2</sub>—are with lower frequency. The age and frequency indicates that children use a transitive verb in the  $V_1$  position more often, especially with the verbs of sense, and extend the usage to other types of verbs. In the context, the results discover that with the interlocutor, children use RVCs with phase complements to assure the state change of the situation and potential complement with infixes like de and bu to inform the positive and negative endpoints of their capability. We speculate that Children use RVCs by

consideration of relevance. The results favor Compounding Parameter (Snyder 1995, 2001) about the strong correlation between the age and the productivity of complex predicate, rejecting Chen's (2008) gradual development process. The implications are as follows: the frequency of the RVCs may reflect the importance of the age factors in early language acquisition and the results leave space for improvement of this partial construction on both the theoretical and experimental grounds. Future work is required to verify the validity of this finding with a larger sample and explore more about RVCs.

#### References

- Chen, J. (2008). *The Acquisition of Verb Compounding in Mandarin Chinese*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vrije University, Amsterdam
- Huang, Han-Chun. (2009). *Resultative Verb Compounds in Mandarin Chinese: A Construction Approach*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, National Tsing Hua University. Hsin-Chu
- Hudson, R. A., 2007. *Language Networks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hudson, R. A., 1984. Word Grammar. Oxford, Blackwell.
- Nicoladis, E., and Yin, H. 2002. The role of frequency in acquisition of English and Chinese compounds by bilingual children. In B. Skarabela, S. Fish, and A. H.-J. Do (Eds.), BUCLD 26 Proceedings. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Snyder, W. (1995). *Language acquisition and language attrition: The role of morphology*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Snyder, W. (2001). On the nature of syntactic variation: Evidence from complex predicates and complex word-formation. *Language*, 77, 324-342

Poster # 9, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### On grammaticalizing from 'acquire' to 'ability', 'permission' and 'possibility': A case study in Vietnamese

#### Soraj RUANGMANEE

Chulalongkorn University, Thailand khem17@hotmail.com

One of the most polyfunctional words in languages of Mainland Southeast Asia is the verb of getting or acquiring (Auwera 2007, Enfield 2003 and Takahashi 2003). Syntactically, the form with this meaning in a given language can function as a lexical verb, a preverbal auxiliary and a postverbal one. Semantically, in addition to the lexical meaning 'to acquire', this form conveys various grammatical meanings such as simple past, perfective aspect, epistemic and deontic modality. This study aims to examine the polyfunctionality of the verb meaning 'to acquire' in Vietnamese, namely, duoc. Based on the semantic map of modality postulated by van der Auwera (2007), and the grammaticalization process of modality in the evolution of grammar proposed by Bybee (1998), this study argues for the grammaticalization path from the lexical verb *duoc* in Vietnamese meaning 'to acquire' to a grammaticalized form marking many types of modality, namely, ability, permission and possibility. It is argued in this study that the lexical meaning 'to acquire' of the Vietnamese verb *duoc*, and its modality meanings are semantically related. The grammatical meanings are arguably extended from the source meaning 'to acquire' of this verb by means of the cognitive processes of metaphor and metonymy. This grammaticalization path of the verb of acquiring is widely attested in Mainland Southeast Asian languages and can be considered a prominent areal feature of these languages.

#### References

- Bybee, Joan L., Revere D. Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Language of the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Coates, Jennifer. 1995. The Expression of Root and Epistemic Possibility in English. In Joan Bybee, Susan Fleischman (ed.) *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.
- Endfield, N.J. 2003. *Linguistics Epidemiology: Semantics and Grammar of Language Contact in Mainland Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge
- Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson (1980). Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language*, 56:251-- 299.
- Manna, John, 2004. Get out of Here! Is GET Even Undergoing Grammaticalization at All?

*Seminar in Syntax: Grammaticalization.* Spring 2004. Available from: http://www.eden.rutgers.edu/~jgmanna/papers/get\_rev.pdf

- Palmer, F.R. 1995. Negation and the Modals of Possibility and Necessity. In Joan Bybee, Susan Fleischman (ed.) *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*. John Benjamins B.V.
- Panther, Klaus-Uwe, Linda Thornburg. 1999. The Potentiality for Actuality Metonymy in English and Hungarian. In Klaus-Uwe Panther, Gunter Radden (ed.) *Metonymy in Language and Thought*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.
- Takahashi, Kiyoko and Tasanee Methapisit. 2004. Observation on Form and Meaning of dây. In Burasphat, Somsong. (ed.) Papers from the 11th Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society 2001. Tempe: Program for Southeast Asian Studies Monograph Series Press, Arizona University.
- Takahashi, Kiyoko 2003 Accomplishment Constructions in Thai: Diverse Cause-Effect Relationships Papers from the 13th Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society 2003 (in press). Available from: http://www.kuis.ac.jp/~kiyoko/SEALS13
- van der Auwera, Johan and Vladimir Plungian. 1998. Modality's semantic map. *Linguistic Typology 2*. pp. 79–124.
- van der Auwera, Johan. P. Kehayov & A. Vittrant. 2007. Acquisitive modals. Available from: http://webh01.ua.ac.be/vdauwera/publications.html

Poster # 10, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### The analysis of parting poetry in Tang Dynasty—The view of cognition and metaphor

Po-wen TSENG

National Chengchi University, Taiwan teacatgarden@gmail.com

Tang Dynasty, as a brilliant era in Chinese history, produces a variety of poems. Poems of parting, which pour out the emotion of poets, can be widely composed because of the vast territory of Mainland and the inconvenience of transport. Metaphors are extensively appeared in Parting Poetry, generally being considered rhetorical using. Cognitive linguist Lakoff (1980) proposed a different viewpoint that metaphor is the reflection of our understanding of the world. Based on this notion, metaphor shows the way we construct the world. Moreover, Lakoff and Turner (1989) referred to poetic metaphor as a kind of conventional metaphor.

However, few studies have reported on the Chinese ancient poetry, especially on Parting Poetry, with the view of cognitive semantics. The purpose of this study was to investigate (1) the metaphor using in Tang Parting Poetry, and (2) the conceptualization of natural scenes in Tang Parting Poetry. In detail, the first purpose aimed to characterize certain natural scenes as ontology metaphor and structural metaphor in Parting Poetry, and the second one intended to preliminarily construct a setting of Parting Poetry. The electronic version of ancient books, including *Three Hundred Tang Poems* and *Complete Poetry of Tang Dynasty*, were examined in the study. Six natural scenes including willows, erigeron, flowing water, drifting clouds, the moon and sunset were collected and discussed in the study due to their frequent appearance in Parting Poetry.

One result revealed that erigeron and drifting clouds in Parting Poetry usually turn into men traveling, functioning as ontology metaphor and structural metaphor. The other result showed that conceptualization including viewpoint, focus, figure, and ground can be applied to explain the appearance of natural scenes involving willow, flowing water, the moon, and sunset in Parting Poetry. In the discussion, it is suggested that poetic metaphor is not only a kind of conventional metaphor but also a creative using. Besides, with the view of conceptualization, it is realized that the understanding of a setting in parting poetry may beinvolved in cultural knowledge.

#### Reference

Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1980. Metaphors we live by. Chicago : University of Chicago Press.

- Lakoff, George. 1987. Women, fire and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. and M, Turner. 1989. More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Saeed, John I. 1997. Semantics. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd

Ronald W. Langacker. 1987. Foundations of cognitive grammar. Stanford, Calif. :Stanford University Press.

Ronald W. Langacker. 1991. Concept, image and symbol. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

曹逢甫著(2004),《從語言學看文學 - 唐宋近體詩三論》。台北,中央研究院語言 學研究所。

- 胡壯麟著(2004),《認知隱喻學》。北京,北京大學出版社。
- 趙艷芳著(2006),《認知語言學概論》。上海,上海外語教學出版社。
- 束定芳著(2000),《隱喻學研究》。上海,上海外語教育出版社,第一版。
- 束定芳著(2004),《語言的認知研究──認知語言學論文精選》。上海:上海外語教育出版社,第一版。
- 蘇以文著(2005),《隱喻與認知》。台北,國立台灣大學出版中心。
- 蔡玲婉(2000),《盛唐送別詩研究》。高雄,國立高雄師範大學博士論文。
- 林增文(2006),《李清照詩詞中的譬喻運作:認知角度的探討》。台中,東海大學碩 士論文。
- 桂 甫(1993),《隱喻的重要性:試論隱喻在文學中的角色》。台北,國立臺灣大學 外文 研究所碩士論文。

Poster # 11, 10:00-11:00, May 2<sup>nd</sup>

#### Preferred strategies in advertising language

Nuan-Chen WEI

# National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan uno0218@hotmail.com

Advertising is composed of a number of channels, including images, speech, gesture, costume, setting, and text. One of the channels, the text or the advertising language, plays a prominent role in advertisements because it has the effect of bringing out the crucial point of advertisements (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000). This study aims to explore the strategies used in advertisements in order to know whether the types of products or services bear an influence on advertising tactics or not. Although various researchers have investigated advertising strategies, which advertising copywriters apply to persuade an audience, few studies have been dedicated to figure out the preferred advertising strategies based on different types of products or services. The data consist of the language of print ads in English, collected from English language magazines within the time frame between July and December 2009. The number of food advertising messages to be studied for the strategy use is 157; the number of skincare advertising messages to be studied is 114. Several strategies, including rhetorical questions, parallelism, punning, semantic presupposition, comparative construction, and personification, are found to be extensively used in advertisements. It is found that some strategies are used more frequently than others in certain type of products. This paper serves as a starting point for a contrastive analysis of advertising discourse in different languages.

#### Reference

Gardner, R., & Luchtenberg, S. (2000). Reference, image, text in German and Australian advertising posters. Journal of Pragmatics, 32(12), 1807-1821.

Dat	a			
	Product	Magazine	Headline	Body text
S1	Neck Cream (StriVectin)	BHG_07, 2009	Got Turkey Neck?	NewStriVectin Neck Cream visibly lifts, tightens, smoothes and tones neckline and décolletage.
F1	Sandwich (Smartones)	R_11, 2009	Guess who's yogurt's red hot rival?	Smart ones breakfast express Canadian style bacon English muffin sandwich is hot and cheesy—and with just 210 calories, it's smart too.

Data