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Discourse markers in Mandarin Chinese

Miracle, W. Charles, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1991
DISCOURSE MARKERS IN MANDARIN CHINESE

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

W. Charles Miracle, A.B., M.A.

*****

The Ohio State University
1991

Dissertation Committee:

James Tai
Michael Geis
Timothy Light
Robert Sanders

Approved by

Adviser
Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures
To My Family
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VITA

April 21, 1953 .................. Born - Knoxville, Tennessee

1975 .......................... A.B., University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia

1987 .......................... M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1984-1991 ..................... Teaching Associate, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1989-1990 ..................... Visiting Research Scholar, Center for Chinese Studies, National Central Library, Taipei, Taiwan

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FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field: East Asian Languages and Literatures
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1.0 Introduction

In traditional approaches to Chinese linguistics the scope of investigation has been largely limited to the study of phonology and syntax, linguistic phenomena which can be explained within sentence boundaries. Y. R. Chao succinctly summarized this point of view when he wrote, "The sentence is the largest language unit that is important for grammatical analysis" (1968:57). Ever since the publication of Ma Shi Wen Tong (1898 by Ma Jian Zhong), this sentence-based focus has dominated the field of Chinese linguistics. Yet even in some of the most traditional grammars, there is reference to and cognizance of the influence which the surrounding discourse has upon sentence-based phenomena. Wang (1959:44-5) in his discussion of demonstrative pronouns cites the use of sheiyang 'this way' and name 'like that' to form a connecting link between what precedes and follows them. In his examples these linguistic items are found in the sentence-initial position requiring the reader to look beyond the sentence boundary. In the same vein, Chao (1968:791-2) discusses the "macrosyntactic use" of danshi 'but' when it is used to begin a sentence. These grammars, grounded in the structuralist tradition and using examples created by the linguist, hinted that discourse might indeed be important, while at the time
insisting that their analyses remain firmly focussed within the boundaries of the sentence. In the late 1960's and 1970's the emphasis in the study of Chinese syntax shifted from the structuralist perspective to that of generative grammar, but the lack of interest in discourse and the reliance on artificial data remained the same. The sentence continued to constitute the largest unit of analysis and fabricated examples remained the basis for linguistic proof.

In the late 1970's and 1980's linguists working with Chinese began to look to discourse as a source of evidence in an attempt to resolve issues at the sentence level that remained controversial. The issue of pronominalization and anaphora was the first to force Chinese linguists outside the confines of the sentence. As Tai (1978), Li and Thompson (1979) and Chen (1986) all realized, the surrounding discourse had to be included in any viable account of pronominalization in Mandarin Chinese. They also moved away from the invented example as a source of evidence and instead used written narrative discourse to support their arguments.

Tsao (1978) in his pioneering work included analysis of the surrounding discourse in the study of topic in Mandarin Chinese. The title, *A Functional Study of Topic in Chinese: The First Step Towards Discourse Analysis*, suggests that the analysis of discourse is the object of this study. In fact discourse is used as a tool for the study of topic. Significantly, Tsao uses naturally occurring conversation (in this case telephone conversations) as the base for much of his analysis. Again information and evidence is brought to bear on the solution of an issue within the sentence, what is a topic and what is a subject.
The explanation of the function of the grammatical particle *le* also caused Chinese linguists to look to discourse for evidence. Spanos (1979) took segments of written and conversational discourse, removed the occurrences of the particle *le*, and then asked his subjects to add *le* where they felt it was necessary. Li *et al.* (1982) base their analysis of *le* largely on actual conversations while Chu and Chang (1987) base their analysis on written texts. Finally Sun and Givon (1985) use a quantitative survey of both written and oral narrative discourse to argue that Mandarin is typologically a Verb-Object language. In all of these studies, evidence largely from written discourse is brought to bear on unresolved, primarily sentence-based issues.

More recently linguists studying Chinese have begun to look specifically at spoken discourse as an area worthy of study in itself. Using naturally occurring spoken language they have attacked numerous issues in Chinese linguistics from the perspective of the overall discourse, rather than from the perspective of the sentence. Biq (1984, 1988b, 1990) has studied the role of indirect speech acts and the function of the markers *sheige* 'this,' *neige* 'that,' *shenme* 'what,' and *na(me)* 'so, then' in Mandarin conversation. Miracle (1989a and b) has begun the investigation of the markers *hao* 'okay, alright' and *na(me)* utilizing radio plays from Taiwan and a movie from mainland China. Hickman and Liang (1990) have investigated clause-structure variation in the spoken discourse of children and adults. Tai and Hu (1991) utilize spoken data gathered in Beijing in their study of inverted sentences. Sanders (1991) examines naturally occurring conversation gathered in Taipei and Peking from a sociolinguistic perspective in his analysis of markers of
modality. Hu (1987) utilizes conversational data gathered in Peking to provide a preliminary sociolinguistic description of colloquial Peking Mandarin. Based on the earlier work in syntax, these studies have attempted to broaden the field of Chinese linguists to include aspects of discourse analysis, pragmatics and sociolinguistics which have heretofore been largely unexplored in the study of the numerous varieties of Chinese.

The need to broaden the study of Chinese linguistics beyond the sentence can be seen from the following example (this example and discussion are taken from Miracle (1989a:214)).

(1)

L: ba, ma, na women zou ba
father mother then we walk PART
Mom, Dad, then let's go.

Z: hao ba, Wang xiansheng, zhei zhen buhaoyisi
fine PART Wang Mr. this real embarrassing
Fine, Mr. Wang, this is really embarrassing.

→B: hao le, hao le, bu yong keqi le.
fine PART fine PART NEG use politeness PART
Fine, fine, no need to be polite. (IUP 1984:20)

In Chao's (1968) analysis, B in the above exchange would consist of three "minor sentences." Regarding this type of sentence Chao states the following,

A minor sentence is not in the subject predicate form. It occurs more frequently in two-way conversation and in speech interposed or accompanied by action than it does in connected discourse. (Chao 1968:60)

The above example then would consist of the "minor sentences," a) Hao le., b) Hao le., and c) Bu yong keqi le. While this explanation may be adequate from the perspective of syntax, the role that hao le plays in the discourse structure is overlooked. As we shall see below, hao is
used here to mark the closure and satisfactory completion of this request sequence. The following example from Tai and Hu (1991:14) is also instructive.

(2) A: 柠事，这这，相机是半傻半傻。
   This be this this camera be half foolish NEG foolish
   'This camera is semi-automatic.'

   B: 半傻。
       Half foolish
       '(It is) semi-automatic.'

   -> C: 半傻半傻，你相。
       Half foolish NEG foolish PET you think
       '(It is) semi-automatic, you know.'

   B: 半傻半傻。
       half foolish NEG foolish
       '(It is) semi-automatic.'

Chao’s (1968) analysis would suggest that 尼相 in turn C is an afterthought. Based upon the surrounding discourse, however, Tai and Hu (1991:15) argue that this inverted structure is due to "thematization" which puts the theme of the conversation at the beginning of the utterance and,

    in order to keep his speech relevant and cohesive to what is under discussion, C places the echoing message before 'you think', which would normally occur at the sentence-initial position.

Analyses which focus on the sentence, in cases like those above, will fail to include issues which are revealed only when the surrounding discourse is taken into account.

The purpose of this current project is to continue to broaden the perspective of Chinese linguistics in this manner (focussing on discourse) by carrying out an in-depth analysis of a selected group of linguistic items in Mandarin Chinese, which I will call discourse
markers following the terminology of Schiffrin (1987), that operate on a level above that of the sentence. Discourse markers include such items as *well*, *okay*, *now*, and *y'know* in English and items such as *hao*, *dui*, *jiushi*, *keshi*, *denshi*, *buguo*, *shi a*, and *name* in Chinese. These markers, if Schiffrin's research can be seen as conclusive, "contribute to the integration of discourse - to discourse coherence" (1987:315).

2.0 Related Studies of Varieties of Chinese

While the role of discourse markers in natural conversation has attracted considerable attention from linguists working with English (Goldberg 1980, James 1974, Ostman 1981, 1982, Schiffrin 1982, 1987, and Schourup 1983), this subject has been largely ignored by researchers in Chinese. Some work has been done regarding the use of sentence final particles in Mandarin (Alleton 1981) and in Cantonese (Bourgerie 1987 and Luke 1990). To date, however, with the exception of Liao's (1986) work, the studies of Mandarin discourse markers have been limited to individual markers (Biq 1988a regarding *you*, Biq 1990 and Miracle 1989b regarding *na(me)*, and Miracle 1989a regarding *hao*).

Liao (1986) attempts a comprehensive study of what he calls "discourse connectives" in written discourse. While his focus is on written texts, he frequently mentions spoken discourse suggesting that he feels that his study has relevance in that area as well. Studies in English, however, have shown that there are clear differences between spoken and written discourse. They have different motivations and different forms and more importantly for our purposes here, written language is generally planned while spoken language is largely unplanned.
(Stubbs 1983:34). The primary aim of Liao's study is to delineate and categorize the connective units used in discourse. For this purpose he distinguishes among those connective units which are used exclusively in sentences to connect smaller syntactic units, connectives which are used both to connect units in sentences and larger discourse units, and those connectives which are used exclusively to connect discourse units. His study focuses on these two latter types of connectives units. Using both functional and positional criteria, Liao identifies two basic categories of connectives used in discourse, those which express time relationships between or among the connected units and those which express logical relationships between or among the connected units. He then meticulously subdivides each category, placing the connectives that he has identified into the appropriate category and gives representative examples of each category. Following this exercise he points out distinguishing features of discourse connectives including, 1) some connective relationships which are expressed by discourse connectives are in fact not expressed by sentence-internal connectives and vice versa; 2) when expressing the same connective relationship, in some cases different connective units are used within sentences and in discourse; 3) discourse connectives can generally be followed by a pause; 4) discourse connectives generally connect adjacent units although they can connect units across sentences or paragraphs, while connectives in sentences basically connect adjacent units; and 5) discourse connectives can all be found in the sentence-initial position and are basically sentence-initial (426). From his categorization and distinguishing features Liao concludes that discourse connectives must
be studied from the perspective of the surrounding discourse, that the units connected by discourse connectives are not language units but rather the persons, issues or things that these language units express. He then suggests areas for further study.

Liao’s categorizations are a necessary first step in the study of these connectives, but more in-depth study of individual connectives is needed. The distinguishing features of discourse connectives which he identifies and the conclusions which he draws are largely impressionistic and do not appear to have any significant data base to support them. As noted above, the focus of the study is on written discourse rather than spoken discourse. For these reasons, Liao’s work is of only limited relevance to the present study. Regarding the discourse markers in this study, Liao categorizes *ne(me)* as one of the connectives which expresses the logical relationship of continuance, marking the consequent, stressing a neutral condition or conditions. He categorizes *buguo, danshi* and *keshi* as connectives expressing the logical relationship of contrast and a turn in the course of events. He fails to include *hao* in his categorization. We will see in the chapters to follow that these categories capture only a small portion of the functions of these markers.

3.0 Goals

In the following chapters the discourse markers *hao, na(me), danshi* and *keshi* will be investigated in some depth with the aim of discovering their various uses, and from these uses determine a ‘core’ function for each marker. This knowledge will not only add to our store
of knowledge regarding Mandarin Chinese, but will also have practical value for those of us studying and teaching Chinese, particularly when constructing natural sounding dialogues and teaching advanced conversation. While completion of the above task is the primary goal of this study, this research will also serve to test and refine the theoretical models used here (see Chapter II for a detailed presentation) across a wider range of language data. In the case of Geis' (1989a and b) model of social actions, this project will determine whether that model, which is still being developed, has applicability to Mandarin Chinese.

Yet another goal of this project is to determine what characteristics found in discourse markers in English are consistent with the characteristics of discourse markers in Mandarin Chinese, a typologically unrelated language. Schiffrin (1987) has suggested a number of specific and general characteristics of discourse markers including the following,

1) markers do not create discourse relationships, rather they select and display particular relationships from among the possible relationships (318);

2) markers which retain their semantic meaning will operate primarily in the ideational structure (see Chapter II for details) of discourse while they will be freer to operate in other aspects of the discourse structure as they lose this semantic meaning (319);

3) while markers may have various functions in particular contexts, each marker will have only one "idexical function," (325) what I have been calling the core function; and
4) the following conditions will allow a linguistic unit to be used as a discourse marker,

   it has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence
   it has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance
   it has to have a range of prosodic contours
       e.g. tonic stress and followed by a pause, phonological reduction
   it has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse ... (328)

In the conclusion of this study we will see whether these characteristics hold for the Mandarin Chinese discourse markers studied here. In this regard this work will also add significantly to our knowledge of general linguistic theory in the areas of discourse structure and analysis.
NOTES

1. The examples cited all utilize the following abbreviation conventions: aspect marker (ASP), classifier (CL), interjection (INT), negative (NEG), nominalizer/genitive function (NOM), particle - grammatical or discourse (PART), plural (PL), progressive aspect (PROG), resultative suffix/infix (RES), and rhetorical question marker (RHET).

2. Reviews of these and other earlier studies of discourse markers in English can be found in Schiffrin (1982: Chapter 2) and Luke (1990: Chapter 6). Relevant aspects of these studies will be discussed in the following chapters.

3. The aspects of these earlier studies relevant to this current investigation will be discussed in the chapters to follow.

4. See Brown and Yule (1983) for a more detailed discussion of these differences.

5. The issue of planned versus unplanned discourse and its relationship to discourse markers is discussed more fully in Section 6.0 of Chapter II.

6. This concept derives from Light's (1989) "core-meaning analysis" which assumes that "each morpheme has a fundamental semantic content and that all uses and functions are derived from that semantic content" (131). In this study I will seek a "core" function for each of these markers that is fundamental to all the uses of that marker.
Chapter II
Theoretical Framework and Methodology

1.0 Introduction

The theoretical framework and methodology utilized in this study draws upon several traditions in two different disciplines engaged in the study of naturally occurring conversation. From the discipline of sociology I have been strongly influenced by the work of those scholars working in the area of conversation analysis. Within the discipline of linguistics this work draws heavily from the field of sociolinguistics generally and more specifically from the work of Schiffrin (1982 and 1987) and Geis (1989a and b, 1991) regarding the organization of everyday conversation. I utilize Schiffrin’s framework in the analysis of the discourse structure and the role of discourse markers in that structure. My definition of discourse marker draws upon the work of Östman (1981 and 1982) as modified by Bourgerie (1987) and Schiffrin (1987) to be discussed below. The method of discourse parsing utilized in this project is drawn primarily from the model proposed by Geis (1989a and b, 1991) in his effort to synthesize the work of the conversation analysts, the philosophers of language and the discourse analysts. I expect to forge a workable synthesis of these models that will pave the way for further, more empirical, analysis of naturally occurring language.
2.0 Discourse Marker - Definition

The first issue to be addressed here is one of terminology. While Schiffrin (1982 and 1987) discusses "discourse markers," these same phenomena are called "discourse particles" by Goldberg (1980) and Schourup (1983) and "pragmatic particles" by Östman (1982). In the study of Chinese, Bourgerie (1987) has used the term "discourse particle" while Luke (1988, 1990) has used the term "utterance particle" in their investigations of Cantonese particles. I have adopted the terminology of Schiffrin in part because I have utilized her model of discourse investigation, but primarily because the term "particle" seems too restrictive for the linguistic units under investigation. While some discourse markers are clearly included in this category of linguistic units, items like danshi, keshi, you meiyou, name, and others, being polysyllabic and containing significant phonetic content, do not fit the label "particle." The use of the term "particle" is particularly troublesome in the study of Chinese because this term has traditionally been used to refer specifically to sentence final particles, exclusive of what I will call discourse markers which are found in sentence-initial and sentence-internal positions.

Schiffrin (1987:31) defines discourse markers as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk." The key terms in this definition are "sequentially dependent" and "units of talk." "Sequentially dependent" is used to indicate that discourse markers operate on an extra-sentential level and are not wholly dependent on the sentences in which they occur. That is to say that the positioning of discourse markers relative to some preceding segment of talk and some following
segment of talk plays a significant role in the functioning of the discourse marker. "Units of talk" is an intentionally broad term used to include speech acts, utterances, turns, sentences and smaller syntactic units, and discourse markers can be used at different times to "bracket" all of these units. With respect to particular sentences, then discourse markers can occur sentence initially, finally and within sentences, depending on the sentence's relationship to the relevant "unit of talk." Östman (1982:149) approaches the definition of "pragmatic particles" in a rather different manner. He defines the pragmatic particle in prototypical terms as follows,

Typically, a pragmatic particle would be (a) short, and (b) prosodically subordinated to another word. It would (c) resist clear lexical specification and be propositionally empty (i.e., it would not be part of the propositional content of the sentence). Furthermore it (d) would tend to occur in some sense cut off from, or on a higher level than, the rest of the utterance, at the same time as it tends to modify the utterance as a whole.

As Bourgerie (1987:43) points out regarding discourse particles in Cantonese, the criterion addressing prosodic dependence does not necessarily hold across languages. One should also note that this is a definition of the prototypical discourse marker and, as such, deviations from this ideal should be expected. Again as Bourgerie (1987) has noted for Cantonese, the final criterion, that the marker operate on a level higher than the utterance, appears to be the crucial test for discourse markers.
3.0 Conversation Analysis

The field of conversation analysis developed within sociology as an application of the theory and methods developed by Harold Garfinkel and Erving Goffman for the study of everyday social phenomena. Their framework is known as ethnomethodology. Garfinkel (1967:11) himself defines ethnomethodology as "the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments of organized artful practices of everyday life." Indexical expressions are those phenomena whose understanding and interpretation are inextricably tied to the context in which they appear. Rather than shy away from indexical expressions in his study and theorizing, Garfinkel argues that all social phenomena are inherently indexical and thus indexical expressions should be a prime focus of sociological study (Sharrock and Anderson 1986:43). The investigative methodology can be described as follows,

(1) treat activities as reflexively accountable; (2) treat settings as self-organizing and commonsense as an occasioned corpus of knowledge; (3) treat social actors as inquirers into those settings and accounts. (Sharrock and Anderson 1986:38)

Activities are "reflexively accountable" in that the means by which members of a society produce, organize and manage a set of actions is identical to the means by which they themselves understand that activity (Garfinkel 1967:1).

Based on the foundation of ethnomethodology, conversation analysis is the application of this theoretical orientation and methodology to the study of everyday conversation, a particular type of everyday social
activity. The primary goal of researchers in conversation analysis is described succinctly by Heritage and Atkinson (1984b:1).

The central goal of conversation analytic research is the description and explication of the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction. At its most basic, this objective is one of describing the procedures by which conversationalists produce their own behavior and understand and deal with the behavior of others.

Heritage (1989:22) provides a further explication of the foundations of conversation analysis.

The basic orientation of conversation analytic studies may be summarized in terms of four fundamental assumptions: (1) interaction is structurally organised; (2) contributions to interaction are both context-shaped and context-renewing; (3) these two properties inhere in the details of interaction so that no order of detail in conversational interaction can be dismissed a priori as disorderly, accidental or interactionally irrelevant; and (4) the study of social interaction in its details is best approached through the analysis of naturally occurring data.

This initial assumption is based on the observation that participants in a conversation (or any sort of social activity) are able to make sense of their interaction, hence this behavior has an organizational basis, one which is accessible to the participants and the outside observer as well. Assumption (2) is based on the observation that a participant's contribution to conversation is influenced or shaped by the preceding talk (context-shaped) while at the same time influences or shapes the subsequent talk (context-renewing). The following assumption, (3), takes the form of a methodological directive; do not overlook any aspect of the conversation, no matter how seemingly trivial. As researchers we cannot know prior to our investigation what aspects of conversation are relevant to our understanding of its organization; this knowledge can
only come a posteori. The last assumption, (4), is also of considerable methodological import and is closely tied to (3) above. As Sacks (1984:25, cited in Luke 1990:19) has aptly pointed out,

... however rich our imaginations are, if we use hypothetical, or hypothetical-typical versions of the world we are constrained by reference to what an audience, an audience of professionals, can accept as reasonable. ... We will be using observations as a base for theorizing. Thus we can start with things that are barely imaginable, by showing that they happened. We can then come to see that a base for using close looking at the world for theorizing about it is that from close looking at the world we can find things that we could not, by imagination, assert were there. We would not know that they were "typical." Indeed, we might not have noticed that they happen.

The other point to be made is that with recordings of naturally occurring data, detailed and repeated analyses can be made affording the opportunity not only for other researchers to duplicate and empirically verify one's work but also for the data to later be reanalyzed in light of new empirical and theoretical findings. This focus on naturally occurring data, not data manufactured for and/or manipulated by analysts, is shared by both Geis and Schiffrin as well.

These last methodological points and what counts as evidence within conversation analysis, are of more direct relevance to this present study. Primary among the types of evidence used in conversation analysis as listed by Wootton (1989:244) are the following,

... the relationship of the device to just prior turns; co-occurring evidence within a turn; subsequent treatment of the device in question; discriminability of the device; and deviant cases in the use of the device.

Unfortunately if we limit ourselves to just the above types of evidence, we are in danger of missing important generalizations which can derive from a more systematic view of the general organization of conversation.
This point will be made clearer in the discussions below of Geis' and Schiffrin's view of the organization of conversation.

4.0 Geis' Model of Speech Acts and Social Actions

Geis (1989a and b, 1991) has proposed a new theory of speech acts in which he attempts to synthesize the work of the conversation analysts and of the speech act theorists, John Austin and John Searle. He argues that what have traditionally been called speech acts, because their illocutionary force is determined by "nonreferential, social aspects of context" (1991:19) rather than by linguistic factors are, in fact, fundamentally social rather than linguistic in nature. Geis thus uses the term 'social action' rather than 'speech act.'

Within this framework Geis describes three types of meaning. \textit{i}-meaning, or the speaker intention, includes the locutionary, perlocutionary and illocutionary intent of the speaker, a distinctly private matter for the speaker that is not necessarily readily accessible to the hearer or the analyst. \textit{L}-meaning or literal meaning is based on truth-conditional meaning, as well as conventional implicature and aspects of deixis. Finally we have \textit{s}-meaning which derives from the \textit{l}-meaning of the utterance, contextual information, background knowledge and commonsense reasoning. Corollary to these different types of meaning are types of acts, \textit{i}-acts, \textit{l}-acts and \textit{s}-acts, intentional acts, literal acts and social acts respectively. These latter acts, \textit{l}-acts and \textit{s}-acts, are the focus of Geis' theorizing. Regarding \textit{l}-acts Geis (1991:39) states "in uttering a sentence, one necessarily performs an \textit{l}-act (making an assertion, making an inquiry, or issuing a directive) which is
conventionally associated with the type of sentence uttered." Thus there is a one-to-one correspondence between the sentence type uttered and the I-act performed, e.g., declarative sentences assert propositions, interrogative sentences inquire about the value of a variable, and imperative sentences call upon the addressee to perform an action (Geis 1991:40). Unlike the case of I-acts, there is no direct correlation between utterance and the s-act performed, rather s-acts are a property of conversational sequences. Thus Geis (1991:13) states, "illocutionary force (especially from the perspective of the addressee) is an emergent property of conversational sequences."

Social actions (or s-acts) are subject to felicity conditions which play a crucial role in determining 1) the illocutionary significance of an utterance, 2) the relationship of adjacency pairs, and 3) the relationship among sets of adjacency pairs in larger conversational sequences (Geis 1991:12). Utterances are "meant to be taken literally in conversation" with the illocutionary force of an utterance being calculable given,

- the literal meaning (I-meaning) of the sentences (which includes truth-conditional aspects of meaning, presuppositions, conventional implicature, and most aspects of deixis)
- contextual information (including what has preceded conversationally, aspects of the social context, and epistemic context)
- shared background knowledge
- a set of conditions on social actions
- common sense reasoning of the Gricean sort
- principles governing the conduct of conversation, e.g., turn taking rules. (Geis 1989a:55-56)

Social actions are not necessarily or even normally accomplished in a single speaker (Sp) turn but are rather accomplished over a series of Sp turns and addressee (Ad) responses in which it is often the case that no
one utterance can be seen to have performed the social action. The various turns that comprise a single social action typically involve negotiation to satisfy the felicity conditions associated with that social action. The individual utterances (utilizing the various sentence types available in a particular language) which comprise a social action sequence contribute their literal meaning to the sequence, while the s-meaning of an utterance reflects what it contributes to the satisfaction of the felicity conditions on the s-act performed through the conversational sequence (Geis 1991:13). Participants to the conversation can then respond either to the l-meaning or the s-meaning (or both) of an utterance. When all of the felicity conditions are met, either implicitly through inference from the speech situation, the social relationship of the interlocutors, etc., or explicitly through the basic utterances, then the social action is successfully completed. As Geis (1991:84) puts it,

... conversation is made possible by the fact that understanding the conditions on social activities allows us to recognize what sort of social activity a given speaker may be initiating on any given occasion and allows us sufficiently to predict the course of such activities to generate strong expectations about what others are likely to be trying to say to us at any given stage in conversation and how they are likely to say it.

The following example¹ should serve to make this conceptualization more clear. The social action "proposal" can be seen to be subject to the following conditions,

Sp felicitously proposes that Ad join Sp in doing A if and only if Sp conveys some proposition \( P \) and

- Propositional Content Condition:
  - a. \( P \) predicates a future action of both Sp and Ad
- Essential Condition:
  - b. Conveying \( P \) counts as an attempt by Sp to cause Ad to do A with Sp
Preparatory Conditions:
  c. Sp believes that Ad may be willing to do A
  d. Sp believes that Ad may be able to do A

Sincerity Conditions:
  e. Sp wants Ad to do A
  f. Sp intends to do A (Geis 1991:65)

Now let us consider the following example,

(1)

L1: ni kan, nabian you ge kanxiangde, women you look that-side have CL tell-fortune-NOM I-PL
    guoqu qiaoqiao, hao bu hao go-over see good NEG good
    over and take a look, ok?

C1: ei, suan la, ai, ni bu jide women xiao shihou INT forget it INT you NEG remember I-PL little time
    chang na lai kaiwanxiaode naju hua often take come joke-NCM that-CL talk
    little that joke we used to say?

L2: shenme hua what talk
    What joke?

C2: you ming suan dao mei ming have fate calculate to NEG fate
    figure your future so often that you have no future.

L3: aiya, fanzheng shi chulai guang jie, sha shijian ma INT anyway be come-out wander street kill time PART
    Aw, anyway we came out to wander around and kill time!

C3: ei, HAO ba INT hao PART
    Oh, ok. (Miracle 1989a:223)

This entire sequence on Geis' analysis comprises a proposal social action. The propositional content and essential conditions are made explicit in turn L1. Speaker L suggests that L and C go see the fortune teller. From this we can conclude that she wants the hearer C to
perform this action and her use of the 1st person plural pronoun women implies that she intends to carry out the proposed action, thus satisfying conditions (e) and (f) above. The turns C1 through L3 can now be seen to be a negotiation between Sp and Ad regarding Ad's willingness to carry out the action (condition c). The context provides us with the information that both Sp and Ad are young people perfectly capable of walking across the street to see the fortunes teller satisfying condition (d). Finally in turn C3, after all the felicity conditions have been met, speaker C marks the completion of the social action with the discourse marker hao. We can see that numerous sentence types have been uttered in the performance of this single social action. Within the first turn alone, the three basic sentence types are represented, i.e., Mi kan, (Imperative); nabian you ge kanxiang de, (Declarative); and women guoqu qiaoqiao, hao bu hao? (Interrogative). From this example it should be clear that various sentence types can be used to perform a social action and that the completion of a social action consists of the satisfaction of the felicity conditions which are associated with that social action.

5.0 Discourse Structure – Schiffrin’s Model of Discourse Coherence

Schiffrin (1987) describes coherence in discourse as deriving from the interaction of different structures, frameworks and states in which the persons involved in a discourse participate. These different realms of discourse are the action structure, the exchange structure, the ideational structure, the information state and the participation framework.
The action structure is that structure in which speech acts (social actions in Geis' framework; I will use the term social action structure) are situated. Schiffrin defines this structure as revolving around the fulfillment of the "ritual requirements of talk,"

...the management of oneself and others so as not to violate standards regarding either one's own demeanor or deference for another;.... (Schiffrin 1987:25)

From example 1) we can see how the marker hao operates in the action structure of discourse to signal the completion of a particular social action.

The exchange structure is the turn structure to which the conversation analysts attend which establishes "conditionally relevant adjacency-pair parts" such as question-answer, greeting-greeting, etc. Schiffrin defines this structure as,

...the outcome of the decision procedures by which speakers alternate sequential roles and define those alternations in relation to each other. (Schiffrin 1987:24)

We can see from example (1) above that, in a certain sense, turns C1 and C2 must be answers to the preceding questions (or at least must be marked in some manner to show that they are not the answers which would otherwise be expected). Schiffrin also notes that these two structures are not linguistic per se, although they are certainly of importance to linguists studying discourse. Similar to Geis, she sees these structures as primarily social in nature.

The ideational structure (what I will call the idea structure) involves the organization of semantic units, propositions and ideas within the discourse. This structure includes the relationship between old information and new information, descriptive background and the main
Consider the following segment of speech.

(2) (xwgc:1)
renli bu zu fangmian, yinwei na shi bianzhi manpower NEG sufficient aspect because that be organization
As for insufficient manpower, because that's an organizational

wenti, xiang Pingdong xian, neige Pingdong shi, xian e problem like Pingdong county that-CL Pingdong city county PART
problem, like Pingdong County, Pingdong City, County, uh, that

Pingdong shishang, ta,..., dangxuan yihou, ta ba suoyoude mayor, after he was elected, he eliminated all of the temporary

linshi renyuan dou gei ta quxiaodiao meiyou zai zengjia temporary personnel all give s/he eliminate NEG-have again increase
personnel, he didn't increase them again. The result was that he

jieguo ta shi bande hen hao suovi bing bu shi shuo result s/he be manage-PART very good therefore also NEG be speak
did very well, so that doesn't mean all temporary personnel,..., 15

linshi renyuan dou,...biaoshi shuo women bu neng shixian temporary personnel all show speak I-PL NEG can implement
shows that we can't implement it. 18

In line 4 xiang is used to mark an example which supports a preceding general statement. Jiegao (line 13) marks what follows it as the result of what precedes it. Suoyi (line 13) is likewise used to mark the following talk as the culmination of the preceding segment of talk. All of these items, while not necessarily discourse markers, function in the ideational structure of this discourse, in the organization of the ideas presented.

The participation framework includes the relationship between the speaker and hearer deriving from their respective social status, the speech situation, etc. and the relationship between the interlocutors and their utterances. As an example of this former aspect of the
participation framework, in Chinese culture we would expect that the speech used between students and their teacher in the classroom would be different from that used between those same students outside of the classroom. Similarly we would expect that adults might use a style of speech, in many cases even a different code (in the case of Taiwan often a regional dialect rather than Mandarin) when speaking with their parents, different from that which they would use among with their peers. The latter aspect of the participation framework includes a speaker’s commitment to his utterance, his willingness to fight for or relinquish a turn, etc.. Consider the following example,

(3) (clr:7)
ye jiu shi shuo, ta zai xue yuyan de shiliou, gen also just be say s/he FROG study language NOM time with
That’s just to say, when they study language, with children

xiaohaizi tamen ye bu shi shuo dou shi cuowu, ye shi you yige they also NEG be say all be mistake also be have one-CL
child(ren) they also NEG be say all be mistake also be have one-CL
they’re not all mistakes. When they’re carrying on (language

pattern zai jinxing. NA zheige keneng yanjiuchulai yihou pattern FROG carry on na(me) this-CL probably research-out-come after
learning) they also have a pattern. So after you discover it,

ni keyi dui neige a foreign language teaching you bangzhu. you can toward that-CL a foreign language teaching have assistance
it can probably be very helpful in foreign language teaching.

In line 7 na(me) may be signalling a shift in the speaker’s orientation toward the material being presented, i.e., at this point the speaker shifts from presenting information to an evaluation of the material presented.

Finally, the information state is used to describe the speaker-hearer interactions regarding their respective cognitive states and their organization and management of knowledge and meta-knowledge.
Knowledge here is what the speaker/hearer knows while meta-knowledge is what they know or believe about their shared knowledge, i.e., the other's knowledge. Schiffrin (1987:28) points out that "information states are constantly evolving over the course of a conversation." We can see the evolution of the information state in the following example.

(4) (clr:2)

E: ...luohanguo, ni shuo de shi neige, dui le
luohanguo you say NOM be that-CL correct PART
...luohanguo (a kind of Chinese medicine), you mean that, right

[na zhong cai shi ]
[that kind just be ]
[that kind is... ]
[
]

C: [shi bu shi you yizhong] dongxi jiao shenme dongxi
[be NEG be there-be one-kind] thing call what thing
Isn't there something, what's it called?

F: pengdahai
pengdahai
Pengdahai (a kind of Chinese medicine)

B: a, pengdahai, na shi lingwai yizhong la
INT pengdahai that be other one-kind PART
Oh, pengdahai, that's another kind.

In turn B above, a can be interpreted as marking a change in the information state in that speaker B is signalling to the other participants that pengdahai is a part of her knowledge. She is thus now a participant in this shared knowledge.

Discourse markers operate in one or more of these structures, frameworks or states at the same time. Schiffrin argues that in this manner they tie together these different levels of discourse structure and thereby participate in the creation of discourse coherence.
Ostman (1982) has correctly argued that while discourse markers are present in all forms of language, they are most prevalent in and perhaps characteristic of impromptu speech. For this reason, an in-depth study of Chinese discourse markers can most efficiently and reliably derive from the analysis of a considerable body of natural conversation in Mandarin Chinese. The data gathering experiences of Labov (1984) and Milroy (1987) and their respective associates have shown that the most effective means of recording vernacular speech are through participant observation and the use of group recordings. These methodologies afford the researcher access to natural, informal speech which is relatively unburdened by the influence of the observer.

The collection of such a body of data can pose considerable difficulty for linguists working with Chinese, particularly if the researcher is an outsider and a foreigner. Within Chinese culture distinctions between insiders and outsiders are particularly clear. A foreigner would be the most extreme form of outsider. The data utilized in this study, therefore, derives from several different approaches to data collection. The bulk of the data utilized here were recorded by 16 different native Chinese speakers recruited to record data in a variety of settings including the home, the student dormitories, restaurants, and the student activities center. These recordings were made primarily by graduate and undergraduate university students among their peers and families. To supplement this data, recordings were made in a university classroom setting and additional recordings were made of more formal discussions of current social issues broadcast on local television in
Taiwan. While these two latter types of conversation are more formal and thus the speakers were presumably more conscious of their speech, these data all share the crucial feature that the speech is created "on the spot." This extemporaneous quality, as mentioned above, is particularly conducive to the use of the discourse markers which are the subject of this study. All of these data share the characteristic of being "natural language" in the sense that they were produced by native speakers for the purposes of conducting their everyday lives - they were not produced for the use of linguists or other analysts.
1. All of the examples cited are naturally occurring language and, unless otherwise noted, are taken from the data collected in the manner described in the Section 6.0 of this chapter.

2. [ ] represents a segment of speech where two or more speakers are speaking at the same time.
Chapter III

Hao: Marking Closure and Transition

1.0 Introduction

The lexical item hao in Mandarin Chinese has a variety of related functions and meanings as a review of several dictionaries and grammars will show. *A Concise Chinese-English Dictionary*, compiled in the People’s Republic of China for use by foreigners learning Chinese, defines hao as follows:

Adjective: 1) good, well, having the desired quality; 2) friendly; 3) of a high level; 4) beneficial, useful, efficient; 5) healthy, sound; 
Used as a resultative complement: 1) indicates that something is ready to be used; 2) in proper order; 
Indicates approval or agreement; That’s enough, stop; 
Adverb: 1) used with an exclamatory sense before an adjective to indicate high degree; 2) quite; 3) used before verbs to indicate that sth. is easy; 4) used before the predicate of the second clause of a compound sentence to introduce the purpose for which one does something. (BLI 1982:224 – emphasis added)

I will focus on the use of hao as described in the portion of the definition highlighted above, i.e., “indicates approval or agreement; that’s enough, stop.” Other reference works designed for the use of Chinese also recognize these uses of hao. The *Gwoyeu Ryuwbaw Tsvrdean*, compiled in Taiwan, states that hao is a “word which expresses approval and permission; expresses conclusion or stopping; contrary to expectation.”
(He 1974:198-99). Xiandai Hanyu Cidian, published in the People's Republic of China, states that *hao* "expresses a tone of approval, agreement or conclusion" (Linguistics Research Institute 1984:445). Finally, Lü Shuxiang comes closest to capturing the use of *hao* as I see it.

Expresses several kinds of mood. When used alone, it resembles an interjection.
   a) expresses agreement
   b) expresses conclusion, ...

While the above definitions do capture the essence of the meaning of *hao* they do not begin to explain the use of this lexical item in discourse.

2.0 The role of *hao* in discourse

In an earlier study of *hao* (Miracle 1989) it was found that it functioned primarily as a marker of closure of social actions and secondarily, within the turn structure of discourse as the answer to a question, the appreciation (acknowledgement and/or agreement) of a statement, or the assent to a command. That study also suggested that the use of *hao* might be limited to commissive/requestive social actions (commands, requests, offers, suggestions, invitations, etc.), those social actions that required a commitment of the participants to action following the closure of the social action. While that analysis was valid, the small size of the body of data and the fact that the data was somewhat artificial (radio plays produced from a script), limited the scope of that analysis.

This current study is based on a much larger body of data that was spontaneously produced by native speakers in the Taipei area. A more thoroughgoing analysis reveals that *hao* not only 1) plays a role in the
development and closure of commissive/requestive social actions, but also 2) acts as an appreciation of assertions and marks the transition to a new topic or social activity, 3) marks the closure of telephone calls or other physical activity, and 4) used within a particular speaker’s turn, functions as a marker of idea management signalling the completion of a prior topic or activity and the transition to another topic or activity.

2.1 Commissive/Requestive Social Actions

Searle (1979:14 from Austin (1962)) describes commissive illocutionary acts as those which commit the speaker to a course of action. Directive illocutionary acts, including commands, requests, and invitations, on the other hand, are attempts to commit the hearer to a course of action (Searle 1979:13). These two types of illocutionary acts share an important property in Searle’s classificatory framework; they have the same "direction of fit between words and the world" (Searle 1979:3). They both are attempts to cause “the world to fit the words,” i.e., to cause a change in the world. Hancher (1979), in his review of Searle’s taxonomy of illocutionary acts, faults Searle for inadequately dealing with the group of illocutionary acts which he calls "commissive directives" (Hancher 1979:6). These acts, including offers and invitations, at the same time commit the speaker to a course of action and attempt to move the hearer to action. Geis (1991:13) suggests that we may need to consider request-promise sequences combining both of these types of illocutionary acts (his s-acts).
Within commissive/requestive social actions, *hao* can mark the final closure of the social action or the completion of various smaller chunks of activity necessary to the completion of the overall action. A closer look at an order (s-act) sequence will illustrate this point.

(1) (cm56:6)

C1: *nimen qu zu luyingdai, zule ye shumbian zhuang qu,*
you-PL go rent videotape rent-ASP also conveniently turn go
You go and rent a video, rent it and then go over and buy

[ *qu mai cai* ] *ni mai cai guangwanle, shiyidian le,* =
[ *go buy food* ] you buy food stroll-RES-ASP 11:00 ASP
groceries, after you’ve bought groceries and strolled around,

B1: *[ Dinghao mai cai]*
[Dinghao buy food]
Buy groceries at Dinghao.

C2: *= women shiyidian kaishi nong cai, nong dao shierdian,*
I-PL 11:00 begin cook food cook to 12:00
11:00, at 11:00, we’ll start cooking, cook until 12:00,

*ni mama huilaile*
you mother back-come-ASP
then your Mom will come back.

-*A1:* HAO
*hao*
Okay.

-*B2:* HAO
*hao*
Okay.

A2: *NA ni mama jiu gandong, ayo, ni zenme zheime lihai*
*na you mother then moved INT you how · so formidable*
Then your mother will be moved, wow, how’d you get so good!

In this example two college students, speakers A and B, are at B’s home with her father, C, discussing plans for their dinner. This excerpt is the conclusion of a longer discussion regarding their trip to the market. In the marked turns A1 and B2, A and B use *hao* to assent to the order of B’s father. The distinction between an order and a request
hinges on the social relationship of the interlocutors\(^2\). In this instance the relationship between the father and the daughter is such that this series of exchanges can be viewed as an order. The disparity between the ages of the father and the boyfriend and their close relationship, within Chinese culture, can also justify labelling this sequence as an order sequence from the point of view of the boyfriend.

Following this exchange a new social action begins. The use of na (to be discussed in Chapter 5) in turn A2 also serves to mark the transition to the new social action. Hao thus marks the completion of the s-act order, and the stage is set for the beginning of a new social activity.

Earlier within this same order sequence we can see hao functioning to mark the completion of smaller chunks of the conversational work involved in the completion of this activity.

(2) (cm56:4)

C1: ..., mai shenme cai, nimen xihuan chi yu ne, jiu mai 1
    buy what food you-PL like eat fish PART just buy 2
    ..., what food (should we) buy, you like to eat fish, so 3

yitiao yu jiu haole 4
one-CL fish then alright-PART 5
buy a fish and be done with it. 6

B1: jiali you meiyou yu 7
home have NEG-have fish 8
Do we have any fish in the house? 9

C2: meiyou, mai yu zhengde la 10
NEG-have buy fish steam-NOM PART 11
No, buy a fish, steamed (we’ll steam it). 12

B2: zhengde yu a 13
steam-NOM fish PART 14
steamed fish 15

C3: jiande (??), jiande ye keyi 16
pan-fry-NOM (??) pan-fry-NOM also alright 17
Fried (??), fried is okay too. 18
Before the participants could reach any final closure of this activity, they had to first determine what they would cook in order to decide what
they would need to buy at the market. In turn C1 a suggestion is made by the father in such a manner that no discussion of the issue, whether or not to eat fish, is engendered. The following discussion regarding the way to cook the fish (lines 10-16) is brought to a conclusion through the use of hao. In turn A1 (line 19) hao is used as an appreciation of the preceding 1-act assertion and as an agreement with the mention of an alternative. The following speaker, B3, confirms the agreement to the alternative. Finally in turns B5, A3, B6 and A4 hao is used to mark the completion of the discussion of the type of fish to be bought (lines 25-31). Both speakers reiterate their remarks, changyu, hao and hao, to signify closure of this portion of the work involved in the overall s-act order. In the following turn, C6 (line 49), the agreement is restated and a new portion of the work needed to complete the order sequence is begun.

Social actions revolving around offers also occasion the use of hao as we can see in the following example.

(3) (cm56:14)
(telephone rings)

C1: dianhua
telephone
Telephone.

A1: wo lai jie
I come receive
I’ll get it.

->B1: HAO, ni lai jie
hao you come receive
Okay, you get it.

A2: wo lai jie, wo lai jiejue tamen, ...
I come receive I come resolve s/he-PL
I’ll get it, I’ll settle them. ...
This example involves the same speakers that we have been discussing above, C, the father; B, his daughter; and A, the daughter's boyfriend. In turn B1 the daughter is accepting A's offer to answer the telephone. This utterance is prefaced by hao which acts in the turn structure as an appreciation of the prior 1-act assertion and in the social action structure to accept and initiate closure of the offer sequence. Example (4) demonstrates the use of hao as part of an s-act suggestion.

(4) (cm47:19)
C1: ... , (4 sec) a, zenme hai meiyou wan
    PART how still NEG-have finish
    ... , (4 sec) hey, how is it hasn't finished yet?
B1: lu dao nalile a
    record to where-PART PART
    How long does it record?
A1: hao [ man ne ]
    very [slow PART]
    How [slow! ]
    
C2: [ dagai ] yao shifenzhong
    [ about ] need 10-CL-clock
    About 10 minutes.
->A2: HAO, ni keyi xixide, xi yifule
    hao you can wash-wash-NOM wash clothes-PART
    Okay, you can wash, wash clothes.
->B2: HAO, meiyou, women chifan
    hao NEG-have I-PL eat
    Okay, no, we can eat.
A3: dui a, yaoburan ni dou hui women lianggede shengyin
    right PART otherwise you all will I-PL two-CL-NOM voice
    Right, otherwise you'll only have our two voices.

In this example speakers A, B, and C are university coeds talking in their dorm room. Hao in turn B2 follows an 1-act assertion in the turn structure and acts as an appreciation of that assertion. Within the social action structure the assertion in A2 specifies the essential
condition of the s-act suggestion and thus hao acts as the acceptance of that suggestion. Hao can also play a role in request social actions.

(5) (cm1.1:11)
C1: ha (1 sec) ei CYT =
   INT INT name
   Oh, (1 sec) hey CYT =
A1: en
   INT
   hmm
C2: = ni zhidaow wo dianhua ma
   you know I telephone PART
   Do you know my phone number?
A2: you a, zai wo (??) shang a
   have PART on I (??) on PART
   Yes, on my (??)
->C3: hao a, ni da dianhua gei wo a
   hao PART you dial telephone give I PART
   Okay, give me a call.
A3: en
   INT
   hmm
C4: ni shenme shihou hui, keyi ludedao diyi juan gei wo ho'
   you what time can can record-success first CL give I PART
   When can you, can you record the first tape and give (it to) me?
A4: bu zhidao
   NEG know
   I don't know.
C5: libaiyi shang ke neng bang wo lu yixia
   Monday attend class can help I record a little
   When you go to class Monday can you help me record a little?
B1: libaiyi you meiyou shuxue
   Monday have NEG-have math
   Monday do you have math?
A5: hao meiyou shuxue, libaier you shuxue, libaier
   Hao NEG-have math Tuesday have math Tuesday
   Okay, I don't have math, Tuesday I have math, Tuesday?
C6: libaier keyi lu, shi a, NA wo libai, NA wo libaier wanshang
   Tuesday can record be PART na I week na I Tuesday evening
   You can record Tuesday, right? So, I, Tues, so Tuesday evening
gei ni lianluo
give you contact
I'll contact you.

A6:  
en
INT
hmm

->C7: HAO (1 sec) ei qing nimen zhuyi jiushi yiding yao
      PART please you-PL pay-attention exactly certainly need
      Okay, (1 sec) hey, please be sure, I definitely need it to be
      shi nimen tongxue a, ...
      be you-PL classmate PART
      your classmates. ...

The above example is part of a request sequence (s-act) where an older
female graduate student, C, is asking two female high school students, A
and B, to do some recording for her. Within the overall request
activity we can see that the issues of transmission of the tapes and the
participants in the recording need to be settled. Hao in turn C3 fol-
lows an j-act assertion and, within the turn structure, acts as an
appreciation of that assertion. This assertion is the answer to a
question, 'do you know my phone number?,' which addresses one of the
felicity conditions on the request sequence, e.g., the ability of the
addressee to comply with the request (see note #2 above, preparatory
condition d). Following hao is an imperative sentence. Hao thus marks
the completion of the preparatory work and sets the stage for the fol-
lowing utterance, ni da dianhua gei wo a which makes explicit the propo-
sitional content condition of the s-act. In turn C7 hao is again used
to mark completion of a portion of this request sequence. Preceding hao
is a minimal response marker, en, indicating agreement with the preced-
ing assertion, setting the time for the exchange of tapes. Following
we find the beginning of yet another issue which is subordinate to the overall request social action, the confirmation of the parties to be recorded. As in the case discussed above, hao closes one subsidiary issue and sets the stage for the introduction of another subsidiary issue.

We have seen from these examples that hao can function in commissive/requestive social actions to mark final closure of the activity or to mark closure of smaller chunks of action which are subordinate to the primary activity. This use of hao is remarkably similar to that of 'okay' in English as described by Merritt (1984). She found that in service encounters 'okay' has the following functions,

(1) that of signifying approval, acceptance, confirmation;
(2) that of providing a bridge, a linking device between two stages or phases of the encounter. In these cases, use of the term OK seems to signify that the speaker suggests the termination of the phase that has just preceded and agrees to take the initiative in continuing with the next phase (or be satisfied with termination). (144)

While the cases we have seen above are not service encounters, the type of social activity in service encounters, primarily requesting, is similar to the social activity we have examined. The issue of initiative mentioned by Merritt does not appear to be operative in the data discussed here. In a number of instances, the initiative to further the conversation or start a new social activity has shifted from the Sp (the person who used hao) to the Ad. This fact may just be a function of the open-ended nature of the speech situations encountered in these data. This conclusion is supported by work done by Condon (1986) concerning the discourse functions of OK. Her findings support those of Merritt
regarding the function of OK, but there is no indication from her data that the Sp has the initiative to further the interchange.

2.2 **Appreciation of Statements**

We have seen above in our discussion of the role of *hao* in commissive/requestive social actions that *hao* can act as the appreciation of an *i*-act assertion within this context. The marker *hao* can also function as an appreciation *i*-act assertions within a variety of *s*-act statements (simply conveying information), announcements, affirmations, assessments, etc. In this framework, then, *hao* can act as the appreciation of assertions which have a variety of different implications (*s*-meanings). Within these various *s*-acts *hao* functions to mark the transition from one issue or sub-activity to the next.

As an appreciation of an assertion, *hao* can operate in *s*-act inquiry sequences and in other settings where clarification is being sought. Consider the following example,

(6) (cm21:4)
C1: zenme ban, wo jintian xiawu yao qu fangwen xiaohaizi
   how do I today afternoon need go visit child
   What should I do? I have to go see some kids today.

->B1: HAO a, haowan
   hao PART fun
   Okay, that’s fun.

C2: ei, nimen gen xiaohaizi jiang hua, nimen dou zenme jiang a
   INT you with child talk speech you all how talk PART
   Hey, when you talk with kids, how do you talk?

The speakers in the above example are college coeds talking in their dormitory. In turn B1 *hao* follows an announcement and acts as an appreciation of that announcement within the context of the *s*-act
inquiry initiated in the prior turn, C1. Following *hao* speaker B offers an assessment of the situation presented by speaker C. Because no answer is forthcoming to the question posed by C in C1, *hao* also can be seen to clear the way for the addition of more specificity to the question of C. Related to this use of *hao* are the following,

(7) (cm1.1:3)

B1: quanbu dou shi Guoyu ma
   total all be national-language (Mandarin) PART
   All (of the situations) are the Mandarin.

A1: Guoyu a, ni hen shao jiang Taiyu de, shi bu shi?
   Mandarin PART you very seldom speak Taiwanese NOM be NEG be
   Mandarin, you rarely speak Taiwanese, right?

B2: dui a
   correct PART
   Right.

->A2: HAO, NA jiu tan Guoyu, ...
   *hao na* then talk Mandarin
   Okay, so then it’s speak Mandarin, ...

In this example the speakers, A (a graduate student) and B (a high school student), are discussing filling out a form regarding their language use in different settings. *Hao* is used in turn A2 as an appreciation of the prior assertion B2. Speaker A thus acknowledges B’s answer to her question and closes this side issue of clarification. The ground is then cleared for A to give her advice to B, her junior, that she should just mark the form as *guoyu*. *Na(me)* cooccurs with *hao* here and also serves to mark this transition.

(8) (cm1.1:1)

B1: (???) shi shenme dongxi
   (???) be what thing
   What is (???)?

A1: shenme dongxi?
   what thing
   What thing?
In example (8) above we see yet another situation in which *hao* follows the answer to an inquiry. This example is drawn from the same recording as (7) above in which speaker A is a graduate student and speakers B and C are high school students. In this example speaker A seeks clarification of B's utterance, this clarification being provided by speaker C (turn C1). Speaker A then acknowledges this clarification using *hao* (turn A2), marking end of the clarification and using this information for the basis for her furtherance of the conversation with the subsequent 1-act imperatives. This ground-clearing function of *hao* can also be seen in the following example.

9) (cm47b:1)

A1: wo bu shi gen ni jiangguo xuemeide neijian shi, I NEG be with you talk-ASP classmate (younger) that-CL matter Didn't I tell you about that business concerning my younger (female) classmate?

jintian xuemei (???), bu shi gen ni jiang xuemei (???), today classmate (???) NEG be with you talk classmate (???) Today her, (???) didn't I tell you her (???)?, I mean, I mean,

jiushi, jiushishuo ta neige, neige lianzide shi a just-is just-is-say s/he that-CL that-CL necklace be PART her, that, that necklace, is, ...

C1:  
[  ( ??? ) ]
[  ( ??? ) ]
[  ( ??? ) ]

B1:  [zai zhong] jiang, wo meiyou tingdao [FROG kind] talk I NEG-have hear-RES Talking like that, I didn't hear (it).
Turn A1 is a prelude to a story telling, what Polanyi (1985:187) has called "entrance talk." Speaker A is checking to see whether her listeners have heard this particular story before. In response to her inquiry, her listeners, B and C, confirm that they have indeed not heard the story. She acknowledges their response with the use of hao (turn A2), an appreciation of the 1-act assertion (turn C2). At the same time she clears the ground for the telling of the story which proceeds in turn A2. In all of these cases hao has operated as an appreciation marker within the turn structure while at the same time clearing the way for the continuation of the conversation at the s-act level (the social action structure).

In the context of appreciation of assertions, hao can also be used to mark the closure of a side issue or topic and the beginning or return to the main issue.

(10) (clr:8)
M:  ...jiu rang ni [ yang-mei-tu-qi ]
    ...then let you [feel-proud-and-elated]
    ... that'll let [ you feel proud ] elated.
F:  [ zongsuan qiu-ren]-de-ren
    [ finally get-what]-{we}-seek
    We'll finally get what we're after.

T:  yang-mei-tu-qi
    feel proud and elated
    Feel proud and elated

A:  HAO wo zheici baogao
    hao I this-time report
    Okay, I report this time.

In this example male (speakers F and A) and female (speakers M and T) graduate students are bantering with each other during class. This banter is brought to an end through the use of hao (turn A) which acts as an appreciation of the prior 1-act assertion (turn T) and at the same time closes the banter, moving the activity to the presentation of a report. The movement back to the main topic can be seen yet more clearly in the following example.

(11) (cm47a:9)
B1:  jiushi xuesheng zenyang, ta dou, yongyuan zai xiao-mi-mide,
    just-is student how s/he all always PROG smiling-PART
    It's just that no matter how the students are, he's always
    ranhou yongyuan shi, hen wenroude yige laoshi ye, zhende
    afterward always be very gentle-NCM one-CL teacher PART
    really smiling, and always, a very gentle teacher, really very gentle
    yige hen wenrou, hen you xuezhe fengdude yige laoshi,
    one-CL very gentle very have scholar demeanor-NCW one-CL teacher
    (and calm), a teacher with scholarly demeanor, but while he (can)
    danshi suiran jiao, laoshi bu hui ting ma
    hot teach teacher NEG can listen PART
    but although teach teacher NEG can listen PART
    teach, he can't listen (take advice?)

A1:  bu hui a, ta bu hui ting
    NEG can PART s/he can listen
    (He) can't, he can't listen.

->B2:  HAO, jiushi hen haode yige laoshi, ta shuo yihou, wo
    hao just-is very good-NCM one-CL teacher s/he talk after I
    So it's just that he's a very good teacher, he said that if I
In this example we have two female classmates chatting in their dorm. Speaker B is relating a description of one of her teachers to her friend. Speaker A (turn A1), echoing B's statement, offers a confirmation of the opinion expressed by B (turn B1) regarding the teacher. Hao (turn B2) acts as an appreciation of the confirmation while at the same time closing that aside and marking the transition back to the original topic.

Closely related to the use of hao in the closure of asides is its use in the closure or termination of complaints and disagreements.

(12)

B1: ..., tai lanle, zenme ban, wo yidian nian shude yuwang too rotten-PART how do I one-bit study book-NOM desire ..., it's too awful, I don't have any desire to study,
dou meiyou, wo xiang hui jia all NEG-have I like return home I'd like to go home.

A1: hai xiang hui jia, ni cai gang cong jiali lai, still like return home you just just from home come You still want to go home, you just now came back from home,
ni hai xiang hui jia you still like return home you still want to go home!

B2: dui a, bu xiang dai zai Taibei, juede hao fan correct PART NEG like stay at Taibei, feel very annoyed Right, I don't want to stay in Taipei, I feel real annoyed.

->A2: HAO ba, NA ba Taida qian dao Zhanghua qu, ni renwei ruhe, hao PART na take NTU move to Zhanghua go you consider how Okay, so move National Taiwan Univ. to Zhanghua, what do you think?

hehehe
(laughter)
Speakers A and B in this example are classmates. A uses *hao* to cut off B’s complaint about going to school in Taipei. The transition is also made to the facetious suggestion that follows, “move Taida (NTU) to Zhanhua.” Because of the positive semantic value of *hao* we can call it an appreciation of the preceding *I*-act assertion despite the fact that the closure of the *s*-act complaint sequence is not necessarily a positive action from the point of view of the preceding speaker. Also similar to this use of *hao* is its function in closing of disagreements.

(13) (cm1.1:23)
C1: nimen dou kaowanle ma, kaode you meiyou hen you-PL all test-RES-PART PART test-PART have NEG-have very Have you all finished testing? Did you do poorly in the lan rotten testing?

A1: meiyou, zheici kaode bijiao jiandan NEG-have this-time test-PART relative simple No, this time the testing was pretty easy.

B1: shenme bijiao jiandan, shi yinwei ni you nian, ni you what relative simple be because you have study you have What was easy! It’s because you studied, it was only because niandao cai jiandan, ni meiyou nian jiu nan ma study-RES only-then simple you NEG-have study then difficult PART you studied that it was easy, if you didn’t study it was hard!

→A2: HAO ma, wo cuole, dui bu dui *hao* PART I wrong-PART right NEG right Okay! I’m wrong, right?

B2: zheyangzi this-kind That’s how it is.

The speakers in this excerpt are three females, a graduate student (C) and two high school students (A and B). Once again *hao* (turn A2) functions as an appreciation of an *I*-act assertion. Within the social
action structure *hao* serves to bring to a close the disagreement between speakers A and B in turns A1 and B1. The emphatic particle *ma* following *hao* adds a somewhat sarcastic tone to A's agreement with B as we can see from B's next turn (B2), also emphatic. The close relationship between these speakers (classmates) makes this type of sarcastic banter possible. The use of *hao* to close disagreements is not always successful as we can see from the following example.

(14) (cm56a:2-3)
C1: ... mai yihe wandou, wo lai chao, chao, chao, rouding buy one-CL pea I come stir-fry stir-fry stir-fry meat-cube ... but a container of peas, I'll stir-fry, stir-fry the meat cubes.

B1: yao bu yao kede want NEG want shell-NOM Do you want the shelled ones?

C2: a [kede (??)] = PART [shell-NOM ]
Oh, [ shelled ] =
A1: [ wandou ]
[ peas ]
[ Peas ]

C3: = bu haode NA (??), o, o, douzi bu xing a, NA douzi NEG good-NOM na (??) PART PART beans NEG alright PART na beans That's no good, so, uh, uh, beans aren't alright, uh, beans

B2: bu shi, wandou jiushi gen yiqian nage [ (??) ]
NEG be peas just-be with before that-CL [ (??) ]
No, peas, that's like those before (??)[
[ ]

->A2: [HAO, HAO, meiyou ]
[ hao hao NEG-have ]
Okay, okay, it doesn't

guanxi, chihacle, [meiyou guanxi ]
bearing eat-RES-PART [NEG-have bearing]
matter, eat (it), it [doesn't matter ]

B3: [ bu shi ] ma bu shi you shuo, NEG be mother NEG be have say
[ No ] Mom, didn't she say
Here we again have the father C, his daughter B, and her boyfriend A that we have seen in examples (1-3) above. Again hao (turn A2) is used as an appreciation of the preceding i-act assertion (turn B2). At the s-act level, however, a disagreement has developed over whether to buy wandou `peas' or douzi `beans' (turns C1 through B2). The boyfriend attempts to cut off his girlfriend, the daughter, and bring the disagreement to a close. As we can see from turn B3, this attempt is unsuccessful, and the disagreement is finally resolved by the father and daughter (turns B3 and C4). In all of the examples above involving the closure of complaints and disagreements, the interlocutors have a very close personal relationship suggesting that hao is most appropriately used in this manner among social intimates or by a person in a higher social position.

2.3 Completion of Physical Activities

The closure of physical activities can also be marked by hao. In these instances hao marks the closure of the physical activity, but transition is not necessarily made to another social activity. Consider the following example.
(15) (cm56a:18)
A: dui, dui, keneng shi bingguo
   correct correct probably be refrigerate-ASP
   Right, right, it was probably refrigerated (frozen).

   ->B: zhei bijiao xin a, HAO, wo baowanle, ni kan wode
      this relatively fresh PART hao I wrap-RES-ASP you look me-NOM
      This is pretty fresh, Okay, I’m finished wrapping, look at my
           shouyi
           skill
           handiwork.

Here speakers A and B, the college students (the boyfriend and
girlfriend) that we have seen earlier, are now cooking dinner. B
interrupts the train of their talk with an aside regarding her comple­
tion of the wrapping that she has been doing. Hao marks the completion
of the wrapping which is reaffirmed by B’s statement, "I’ve finished the
wrapping." This type of closure can also be seen in the following
example.

(16) (cm56a:18)
A: ni zhi hui zuo yumi nongtang, wo zhi hui zuo
   you only can make corn thick-soup I only can make
   You can only make thick corn soup and I can only

   -> Guangdong zhou (sound of chopping ends) HAO ba
      Canton rice porridge hao PART
      make Cantonese rice porridge, (sound of chopping ends), Okay.

(6 sec)

B: yige ren zong yao you yige zhuanchang ma
   one-CL person always need have one-CL speciality PART
   A person always needs to have a speciality!

Once again we see hao marking the end of a physical activity, this time
chopping (turn A). Following a pause, the speakers resume their
original topic. The following example is of the closure of a telephone
conversation.
In example (17)  hao  is used to mark the closure of the conversational work of the phone conversation which is confirmed by  baibai. In this example and the few other examples in the data of telephone calls,  hao  is followed by either  baibai  or  zaijian  `goodbye.' While I have no examples in my data, it is not uncommon, from this author’s experience, to have a repetition of  hao  close the conversation with no subsequent utterance. These examples demonstrate that  hao  can be use to mark the closure of physical activities, related or unrelated to the conversational topic at hand.

2.4 Turn Internal Use of  hao

Finally  hao  can operate within the turn of a particular speaker as a marker of information management.  Hao  serves to close one topic or issue and marks the transition to the next topic. The new topic may or may not be related to the prior topic. This use of  hao  may be related to the completion of some sort of mental activity on the part of the speaker although empirical evidence for this proposal is difficult to find. Consider the following example.

(18) (cm56a:17)

-> A: zheme lihai,  HAO, wo lai, wo lai, wo lai kankan ni
so formidable  hao  I come I come I come look you
How great, okay, I’m coming, I’m coming, I’m coming to see whose
And I father-NOM skill which-CL good I father also can make skill is best, yours or my Dad’s, my Dad can make it too.

In example (18) there is a shift in social activity from assessment to assertion. Hao occurs following the assessment sequence (in this case only one turn) and prior to the following assertion sequence. A brief pause, a fraction of a second, also precedes hao. It appears that hao is not only marking the transition from one s-act to another, but also signalling that some sort of mental deliberation has occurred and has been completed. Schourup (1982) in his study of discourse particles in English argues that these particles (markers) are "evincives" that signal that "the speaker is engaged in or has just been engaged in thinking, ..." (14). The following example will further demonstrate this point.

(19) (cm2.1:10)

A: ..., ránhòu wò jiù shuō, kēshì wò fènxi gěi nǐ tīng hā, 1 afterward I just say but I analyze give you hear PART 2
... then I’ll tell you, but I’ll analyze it for you, 3

tóidān jìànr shuō, shī yīge sanshísùdé nánhāizi, yí tā 4 today if say be one-CL thirty-year-NCM boy regarding he 5
tóidān, sàiyī fènxi gěi nǐ tīng hā, 6

dānxíng, gěn tā dé tìáojiān lái shuò, 7
his appearance, and his qualifications, 8

yàoxiangdē wáixīng, gěn tā dé tìáojiān lái shuò, 7
this-type-NCM appearance regarding he-NOM qualification come say 8
his appearance, and his qualifications, 9

nǐ shuō tā mēiyòng yīng yīn zài shēnbiàn, nǐ yídìng huì 10
you say he NEG-have girlfirend at body-side you certain will 11
nǐ shuō tā dōngmà hǎi gēi zài shēnbiàn, nǐ yídìng huì 12
you say he doesn’t have a girlfirend at his side, you’ll 12

juédè hēn qígù, jiāshī shuō, tā dé tìáojiān gē fāngmián 13
feel very odd if say he-NOM qualification each aspect 14
certainly think it’s wierd, if say, all aspects of his 15
dōu péi hé, bāoqù tā yě huì jiāng huà de-huà, NA 16
all coordinate include he also can talk talk PART-talk na 17
qualifications fit, including savvy in talking, so, you see (if)18
ni shuo ta meiyou nüpengyou, ni yiding juede hen huaiyi, 19
you say he NEG-have girlfriend you certain feel very suspicious 20
he doesn't have a girlfriend, you'll definitely be suspicious, 21

- NA, HAO, jiu suan ta meiyou nüpengyou, keshi ta 22
na hao then consider he NEG-have girlfriend but he 23
so, okay, figure he doesn't have a girlfriend, but he's 24

sanshisui er meiyou jiehun er meiyou jiaoguo nupengyou, 25
thirty-year and NEG-have marry and NEG-have meet-ASP girlfriend 26
thirty and isn't married, and has never had a girlfriend, 27

ni juedui juede zhege nanhaizi yiding nali you wenti,...28
you absolute feel this-CL boy certain somewhere have problem 29
you'll definitely think this guy has a problem somewhere, ... 30

The speaker, A, in this example is giving his views on the subject of
unmarried males to his friend. The argument can be seen to be struc-
tured as follows,

(13a) Intent: give you an analysis (line 1)

Situation (1): male, 30 years; his (good) appearance and
qualifications; no girlfriend (lines 3-10)

Result (1): you'll think it's odd (lines 11 & 13)

Situation (2): his qualifications all fit, even his savvy
in talking; no girlfriend (lines 13-19)

Result (2): you'll be suspicious (line 19)

na, hao (line 22)

Situation (3): no girlfriend; but
30 years; and not married; and never had a
girlfriend (lines 22-25)

Result (3): you'll think the guy has a problem (line 28)

Conclusion/Opinion (not included)

What we have here is the supporting evidence portion of an argument with
the conclusion and opinion to be supported (not included here) after
this excerpt. After repeating essentially the same evidence twice, the
speaker evidently decides that his point is still not sufficiently
clear. Hao, and na (see Chapter 5) as well, indicate that this sort of internal deliberation occurred with hao signifying that this deliberation is completed. Thus hao marks the transition from one presentation of evidence to yet another presentation of evidence in support of an argument (operating in the idea structure). Related to this use of hao in managing ideas and idea units within discourse is the following.

(20) (clr:9)
A: ..., jiushi shuo, zai bu tongde changhe, bu tongde jiaose, just-is talk at NEG same-NOM setting NEG same-NOM role ...
that is to say, in different settings, different roles,

-> tamen dou hui you sheiyangde bu tong, HAO NAME sheipian they all will have this-kind-NOM NEG same hao name this-CL they will have that kind of difference, okay so the author

zuozhe, ta jiu jieshao shuo, mm jiushi shuo, ta kankan, a writer he just introduce talk INT just-is say s/he look PART he just introduced, hmm, that is, he looked at, uh,

zheige middle class American cultures, ranhou, ...
this-CL afterward
the middle class American cultures, and then, ...

Here we see hao mark a shift in topic within a report given by a student. The completion of the prior topic is marked by hao as is the transition to the following topic. Another related topic follows and is elaborated after the excerpt you see above. In the following example we will see a situation where hao is used to mark the transition from one activity to the next.

(21) (cm22a:2)
A: ..., NA YF, ni yao haohaode jilu, (2 sec) HAO a,
na name you must carefully-PART record hao PART ...
so YF, you have to take minutes well, (2 sec) okay,

xianzai kaishi, (3 sec), ...
now start
let’s start now, (3 sec), ...
The speaker in this example is the head of a university student organization and is conducting a meeting, thus he is in a position of authority relative to his classmates. In (21) hao marks the transition from the secondary issue of recording the minutes to the primary activity at hand, the committee reports.

In this section we have seen that hao can function within a given speaker’s turn as a tool for idea management to mark the closure of one topic or activity and the transition to the next topic or activity. We have also seen that in each of these instances, hao was preceded by a pause suggesting that the marker may be serving an evincive function as well.

3.0 Summary

From the above examples and discussion it should be clear that the marker hao has a number of different, but ultimately related functions in Mandarin conversation. Within commissive/requestive social actions, hao can both mark the closure of small chunks of the conversational work as well as mark the closure of the s-act itself. In this respect hao is operating primarily in the social action structure of the discourse. Within the turn structure of the discourse, hao can act as the appreciation of l-act assertions which are a part of numerous different social actions, including conveying information, announcing, inquiring, disagreeing and complaining. In this context we have seen that hao has a ground-clearing and closure function that paves the way for the subsequent continuation of the conversational work at hand or the transition to another social action. Hao can also operate to mark the completion
of physical activities which may or may not be related to the social activity which is the object of the ongoing talk at the time. Finally,  

_hao_ can act as an aid to idea management (operating in the idea structure) marking the completion of one issue or action and the transition to the next. In this role the marker _hao_ also appears to have an evincive function, marking that some sort of relevant mental activity on the part of the speaker has been completed.

Table 1: Discourse Use of _hao_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Discourse</th>
<th>Function (Marking)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Action Structure</td>
<td>closure s-act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>closure physical act (s-act)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>completion of subsidiary action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn Structure</td>
<td>appreciation of assertion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idea Structure</td>
<td>completion of idea - transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information State</td>
<td>completion of internal deliberation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout this discussion of the multiple uses of _hao_ there have been several commonalities. In all of its usages, in the various aspects of the discourse structure, _hao_ remains a marker of closure and transition. This core function of closure can be seen to be directly related to the use of _-hao_ as a resultative complement conveying the idea of satisfactorily finishing something.
NOTES

1. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

2. To understand this distinction, the felicity conditions on an order in Geis’ (1991:34-5) framework are as follows,

   Sp felicitously orders Ad to do A if and only if Sp conveys some proposition \( P \) and
   Propositional Content Condition:
   a. \( P \) predicates a future action of Ad.
   Essential Condition:
   b. Conveying \( P \) counts as an attempt by Sp to cause Ad to do A.
   Preparatory Condition:
   c. Sp believes that Ad is under an obligation to perform A-type acts of the sort predicated in \( P \) if Sp desires.
   Sincerity Condition:
   d. Sp wants Ad to do A.

while the felicity conditions on requests are,

   Sp felicitously requests Ad to do A if and only if Sp conveys some proposition \( P \) and
   Propositional Content Condition:
   a. \( P \) predicates a future action of Ad.
   Essential Condition:
   b. Conveying \( P \) counts as an attempt by Sp to cause Ad to do A.
   Preparatory Condition:
   c. Sp believes that Ad may be willing to do A.
   d. Sp believes that Ad may be able to do A.
   Sincerity Condition:
   e. Sp wants Ad to do A.

We can see that the distinguishing feature of these two social actions lies in the preparatory conditions and hinges on the "obligation" of the Ad from the point of view of the Sp. In Chinese society in Taiwan today, a person in a position such as the father's in our example would normally feel that his daughter's boyfriend would be under obligation to carry out tasks of the type described here.

3. The symbols (??) and (???) indicate a segment of speech which is unclear, with (???) indicating a longer segment than (??).
4. An *s*-act suggestion is subject to the following felicity conditions, Sp felicitously suggests to Ad that Ad do A if and only if Sp conveys a proposition $P$ and

Propositional Content Condition:

a. $P$ predicates a future action of Ad

Essential Condition:

b. Conveying $P$ counts as an attempt by Sp to cause Ad to do A.

Preparatory Conditions:

c. Sp believes that Ad faces some problem $P$.

Sincerity Condition:

d. Sp believes that Ad’s doing A may enable Ad to solve $P$ (Geis 1991:35).

5. This particle, borrowed from Southern Min, is used in the Mandarin spoken in Taiwan to call forth agreement from the addressee. The vowel $o$ is nasalized (Kubler and Ho 1984:12).
Chapter IV
Contrastive Markers: keshi, danshi and buguo

1.0 Introduction

The study of the disjunctive or concessive conjunctions buguo, danshi and keshi in Mandarin Chinese has been largely been confined to their use as conjunctions within the boundary of the sentence. Conjunctions, however, while clearly playing a role in the syntax of sentences, are also uniquely tied to the surrounding discourse. Stubbs (1983:78) has aptly noted,

Almost by definition, conjunctions cannot be fully dealt with within syntax, since they are not really part of the structure of syntactic units. They have rather a sequencing function of relating syntactic units and fitting them into a textual or discourse context.

In the last chapter the use of hao as a discourse marker was shown to be only distantly related to its more commonly studied use as an adjective, adverb and resultative complement. In the case of buguo, danshi and keshi we will see that their use as discourse markers is very closely tied to their use as conjunctions and can in fact be seen to derive directly from this use.

The standard grammars of Mandarin Chinese all address the sentence internal use of these conjunctions and some also make mention of their connection to the surrounding discourse. Lü (1980:122-3) describes danshi as a conjunction that "expresses contrast, draws forth a meaning
opposite of the prior text, or limits, supplements the meaning of the
prior text. The main point to be expressed follows the conjunction."
Regarding the use of *danshi* in discourse he mentions that it can be used
to connect both sentences and paragraphs. *Keshi* and *buguo* are described
in a similar manner with the additional notes that *keshi* can appear
either before or after the subject of the sentence (301) and that *buguo*
is generally used in casual speech (80). Zhu (1984:217-8) puts *danshi*
and *keshi* in the category of conjunctions which occur in the second
clause of conjoined sentences and specifically in regard to *keshi* points
out that it can be used in response to another speaker or in the turn of
a speaker in the sentence-initial position. In this position *keshi*
creates "a mutual meaning relationship which surpasses sentence bound-
aries" (218) and connects the preceding with the following talk. Y. R.
Chao also recognized the dependence of these linguistic units on pheno-
mena outside the sentence in which they occur when he discussed the
"macrosyntactic use" of conjunctions (1968:791-2). Among the conjunc-
tions that he included as being subject to this type of use were *danshi*
and *keshi*. He noted that in addition to its syntactic use, *danshi* can
be used to "begin a sentence... after completing a previous sentence or
in commenting on something another person has said" (791). Li and
Thompson (1981:651-3) place *buguo*, *danshi* and *keshi* in their class of
"adverbial backward-linking elements" which appear in clause-initial
position. With regard to these "backward-linking elements" they state
that the clause can be either linked to "the speaker's own previous
clause or to a clause that someone else has just said" (651).
By far the most comprehensive study of the contrastive conjunctions buguo, danshi and keshi can be found in the work of Ross (1978). She distinguishes these three items in several ways finding that keshi is the most versatile of the three. While danshi and keshi are used in both spoken and written discourse, keshi is the more colloquial of the two with danshi being preferred in written discourse. She notes though that this distinction may be disappearing in Taiwan due to the influence of the Southern Min dialect spoken natively by the majority of the population (200). These items also are distinguished by the type of contrast found in the conjuncts that they join. Danshi and keshi are preferred in cases of "oppositional" contrast, where there is a close similarity in the syntactic and semantic relationship of the conjuncts, while buguo is preferred in situations of "non-oppositional" contrast where the semantic and syntactic relationships of the conjuncts are more distant and not parallel (202-2). She concludes that danshi, keshi, and buguo all conventionally imply a common topic and contrast, but that in the case of keshi the conventional implicature is oppositional contrast, while with buguo the conventional implicature is one of non-oppositional contrast.

The corpus of data in this study contains only a few examples of buguo, and for this reason the emphasis will be placed on danshi and keshi with only tangential mention of buguo. Analysis of the data does not reveal any significant differences among the functional uses of buguo, danshi and keshi. It does appear, however, that keshi is more likely to be used in informal speech settings while danshi is more likely to be used in more formal speech settings. In this chapter I
will explore those "macrosyntactic" uses of buguo, danshi and keshi, i.e., I will explore their function as discourse markers and show that their use as discourse markers flows directly from their use as conjunctions.

2.0 Analysis

From the frame of reference of the surrounding discourse, the analysis of the disjunctive markers buguo, keshi and danshi can be divided into two categories. The first category to be discussed will be those markers which occur within a single speaker's turn. The second category will be those disjunctive markers which are used to initiate the turn of a particular speaker. A turn here is meant to be the speech of one speaker bounded by the speech of other speakers. This division is made for clarity and ease of explanation as well as to show how the use of these markers derive from their use as conjunctions. We will see that the two categories have marked similarities. One would expect that those markers used within the turn of a single speaker would bear the closest resemblance to the sentence-internal use of these items, while those used turn-initially would tend to deviate from that use. In fact we will see that their functions are remarkably similar.

2.1 Turn-internal keshi and danshi

As noted above, Li (1980) describes danshi as a conjunction which:

expresses a turn in the course of events, draws forth a meaning opposite of that expressed previously or limits, supplements the meaning of the prior text. (122)
He gives the same explanation for the function of *keshi* (301). We can see in the following discussion that while these explanations may be useful for *danshi* and *keshi* as conjunctions, they are woefully inadequate in explaining these linguistic units as discourse markers.

Consider the following example.

(1) (xwgc:1)

Z: DANSHI zheige tingzhang shuo, tebie qiangdiao jiushi na shi *danshi* this-CL minister say special stress just-be that be
But the director said, (he) particularly stressed, that that is
weilai qushi mingunde zheige yiyuan future trend people-NOM this-CL wish
a future trend, the people’s desire,

\[ \rightarrow \text{DAN } \text{bu shi xian, xian jieduande } \text{dan NEG be current current stage-NOM but (it) isn’t the current stage.} \]

In (1), with the highlighted use of *dan* (an alternate form of *danshi*), we see an example of what Ross (1978) called "oppositional" contrast. The two conjuncts of *dan* are parallel in syntactic structure, 'is a future trend, the people’s desire' vs. 'isn’t the current stage.' The meanings of the two conjuncts are also very closely related, differing only in negation and the noun phrase used. Here *dan* is operating to connect the contrasting ideas expressed in the two clauses. The following example shows a contrast in the content of the two connected phrases without the syntactic parallel seen above.

(2) (xwgc:2)

A: zheige gei gongwuyuan fangbian, this-CL give public-official convenient
that’s convenient for the officials,

\[ \rightarrow \text{DANSHI... dui minzhongde qiagong zaocheng bu bian } \text{danshi toward public-NOM carry-out-business create NEG convenient but, for the public conducting business, it’ll create inconvenience.} \]
In this instance there is a clear semantic contrast between the proposition expressed prior to and subsequent to danshi; the policy is convenient for the officials but inconvenient for the public. This marker is used here in the idea structure to mark a contrast between the two propositions. We will see later exactly how this marker operates in the construction of this particular argument.

The following examples present a less clear-cut example of the idea contrast marked by keshi and danshi.

(3) \(\text{(cm18a:29)}\)

A: dui a, ta shuo keyi zhu
right PART s/he say can live
Yeah, she said you can live there,

\(\rightarrow\) **KESHI** yao kaochhang yanjiusuo
keshi must test-up graduate school
but you have to be admitted to graduate school

jiu keyi zhu
then can live
then you can live there.

In this example we can see that keshi is used to introduce a condition on the preceding statement. The following example shows danshi marking an idea contrast in which a qualification of the prior clause is found in the following clause.

(4) \(\text{(xwgc:8)}\)

Z: zhei shi youde, **DANSHEI** jixiao bufen
this be have-NOM danshi extremely-small part
(You) have this, but it’s a very small part.

In the following examples we will see the idea contrast become even less straightforward.

(5) \(\text{(cm18a:25-26)}\)

A: erqie, ta meitian, ta neiyang
moreover s/he every-day s/he that-way
Furthermore she’s like that every day,
wo jue ta bu keneng nei yang a
I feel s/he NEG probably that-way PART
I don’t think she can be like that!

piru shuo, wo zai shui jiao o wo hui sheng qi
for example I PROG sleep PART I will angry
For example if I were sleeping, I’d get mad,

-> DANSHE yin wei shi ouer shui, ye bu shi meitian
danshi because be occasional sleep also NEG be every-day
but it’s occasional, it isn’t an everyday thing,

zhei yang shi ba women qu an bu sheng huo da gu lai, ni
that-way be take I-PL complete life turn-upside-down you
that’s turning our whole lives upside down,

zhidao ma?
know PART
you know?

NA nandao women jige ren, sange, sige yao pei he
na NERT I-PL several-CL people 3-CL 4-CL need accomodate
So do we, the three, four of us have to accommodate

ta ma
s/he PART
her? (rhetorical question)

In the above example danshi is used to contrast a hypothetical situation
with a real one. Once again the contrast is one of ideas with danshi
operating in the idea structure to organize these ideas. This function
can be seen from examining the argument structure in (5) in some detail.

(5a) Position: she’s like that everyday and shouldn’t be (lines 1-4)

Support (1): if I were sleeping I’d get mad (line 7)

DANSHE it’s occasional, not everyday (line 10)

Support (2): it’s turning our lives upside down (line 13)

NA Position restatement: why should we accommodate? (lines 19-22)

We can see that danshi precedes a conjunct which mitigates the prior
conjunct. Support of an argument is offered and then qualified through
the use of danshi. Consider the following example.
(6) (cm18a:12)
A: ni zhidao ma
you know PART
Do you know,

wo jintian liudian gang chu men o
I today 6-o’clock just exit door PART
today at 6:00 when I had just come out,

you yiliang chezi
have 1-CL car
there was a cab,

→ KESHI ta jiushi yijing bu shi zai zhanpai wang qianmian
keshi it just-is already NEG be at stand-sign toward front
but it was already, it wasn’t at the cab stand, it was a little

yidian
one-bit
in front (of the cab stand).

In (6) above the contrast signalled by keshi is not overt but must be
deduced from the shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer in this
conversation, i.e., that a cab is expected to be at the cab stand. From
this example and examples (1) through (5) above we can see danshi and
keshi operating at the local level of the argument^ structure in marking
idea contrast with the immediately preceding segment of talk. We can
see in (5a) how this function can fit into the overall organization of
an argument.

In the examples that follow we will explore the functions of
danshi and keshi that go beyond the local level of organization in
discourse. Consider the following example.

(7) (xwgc:2)
A: tongshi wo geren renwei, yige libai xiuqi liangtian shi,
   same-time I individual think one-CL week rest two-day be
1
At the same time, I think two days off in one week is,
2

   zheige shi bian guan er bu li min
   this-CL be convenient official but NEG benefit people
3
4
it’s convenient for the officials but not for the people. 6
er yinwei women dou xiaode, women zhengfu wei min
further because I-PL all know I-PL government for people
And because we all know, government is to serve the people

fuwu gei minzhong geng duode fangbian,
serve give public even more-NOM convenience
to make things more convenient for the public,

gei minzhong geng duode liyi
give public even more-NOM benefit
to be more beneficial to the public,

zhei shi womende tianzhi
this be I-PL-NOM duty
that’s our duty.

-> DANSHI, zheige, women zhengfu, zidongde jianshao
danshi this-CL I-PL government independent-PART reduce
But, this, if our government, on it's own reduces the

gongwuyuande shangban shijian a,
public-official-NOM attend-work time PART
public servants working hours,

zhei gei gongwuyuan fangbian,
this-CL give public-official convenient
that’s convenient for the officials,

-> DANSHI... dui minzhongde qiagong zaocheng bu
danshi toward public-NOM carry-out-business create NEG
but, for the public conducting business, it’ll create

bian, dui minzhongde quanyi, hui zaocheng
convenient toward public-NOM rights-interests will create
inconvenience, it’ll hurt the public’s interest.

hen dade shanghai
very large-NOM harm

suoyi wo geren renwei macran shishi, keneng shi
therefore I individual think rashly try probably be
So in my opinion to rashly try (this system) is probably

bian guan er bu li min
convenient official but NEG benefit people
convenient for the officials, but it doesn’t benefit the
public.

The structure of the above argument can be interpreted as follows:
(7a)
Position: two day weekend is good for officials, not public
(lines 1-4)

ER Support (1): government is to serve the people (line 7)
Expansion (1): give the people more convenience (line 10)
Expansion (2): give the people more benefit (line 13)
Summary: this is our duty (line 16)

DNSHI Support (2): reducing hours is convenient for officials
(lines 19-25)
DNSHI Expansion (1): inconvenient for public business
(line 28)
Expansion (2): hurts people's rights and interests
(line 31-34)

SUOYI Restatement of Position: try two day weekend rashly is good
for officials, not the public (lines 36-39)

In this argument danshi is used at a local level to create a contrast
between two items expanding support for the position (line 28) and at a
more global level to mark the contrast between two different supporting
arguments (line 19). At this level danshi is also marking the struc-
tural contrast between the immediately prior summary (line 16) of the
preceding the position and the subsequent second item in support of the
argument. Keshi can be used in a similar fashion.

(8) (clr:10)
A: NAME yiben role play, jiushi shuo, yongde fangfa
name general role play just-be say use-NOM method
So generally role play, that is, the main method
zhuyao shi yong role play
main be use
used is role play,

-> KESHU yiben role play jiushi shuo rang xuesheng
keshi general role play just-be say make student
but generally role paly, that is, has students talk
The structure for this example can be seen as follows,

\[(8a)\]

**NAME** Situation: role play usually used (lines 1-4)

**KESHT** Specification of the situation: students talk on the spot (lines 7-10)

Example: you play mom, you play dad (line 13)

**KESHT** Qualification of the situation: this method has problem (line 16)

The contrast marked by *keshi* in line 7 is that between the general and the specific; there is no clear contrast of ideas. Rather, the contrast is between the structural roles of the two utterances within this argument, e.g., the utterance preceding *keshi* in lines 1-4 presents a general statement of the situation while the utterance following *keshi* presents a more specific realization of the situation. *Keshi* in line 16 marks a structural contrast at a higher level of this segment. There is no idea contrast with the immediately prior segment of talk, but rather with the initial utterance in line 1, a contrast which is contrary to the expectation of the participants. In this context, one would expect that the manner of research that is "generally" used (lines 1-4) would be without problems. *Keshi* (line 7) here marks the structural movement in this segment from the general to the more specific and then (line 16)
marks the move back to the general. Thus we have seen in examples (7) and (8) that danshi and keshi can be used at different levels in the idea structure to mark idea contrast as well as structural contrast. This contrast tends to highlight the subsequent argument or portion of an argument. This type of highlighting is particularly apparent in the following example.

(9) (xwgc:3)

H: dang quan shijie, zheige keji jinbu, jingji just-at whole world this-CL science-technology advance economy

fazhan yihou, gongzuo shijian hui jianshao, daiyu hui tigao, develop after work time will reduce salary will rise advanced, the economy has developed, time needed for labor will

shehui fuli, dou yinggai tigao, society welfare all ought rise
decrease, salaries will rise, social welfare, all ought to rise,

-> DÂN wenti shi ni jingji fazhan dao shenme chengdu dan problem be you economy develop to what level
but the problem is to what level should your economy develop
(before this happens)?

In this example, the contrast is one that Ross (1978) would describe as "non-oppositional." The contrast derives from the expectation that there would be no problem with the advance of science and technology, economic development, etc. The introduction of a problem following dan is thus contrary to the hearer's expectation. This contrast and perhaps the "looseness" of the contrast, i.e., the contrast is not direct and readily apparent, serves as a rhetorical device to place stress on the point following the marker. This rhetorical effect of focusing attention and thus emphasizing the point following the marker can also be seen in the following example.
women hen danxinde shi, women gongwujiguan shishi zhihou, I-PL very worry-NOM be I-PL public-offices carry-out after What we’re worried about is, after public offices carry this out, chanye jiu genjin industry then follow industry will then follow. zheige shihou keneng dique zhei hui zaocheng gangcai Lin this-CL time probably certainly this will create just-now Lin At this time this would probably, certainly create what Minister tingzheng suo jiangde minister that-which talk-NOM Lin has just mentioned. NAME women hen keneng chanyejiede, neige shengchan NAME I-PL very probably industrial-sector-NOM that-CL production So our industrial sector will likely, the production volume liang, hui shoudao yingxiang volume will receive influence will be influenced. NAME, DANSHI wo weishenme hui bijiao qingxiang shuo xianzai name danshi I why will relatively favor say now So, but why do I tend to favor saying that we should now women shi yinggai lai kaoli, NAME cong zheige, e si NAME I-PL be should come consider name from this-CL PART four consider, say beginning from this system of one day rest zhou yi xiu zhidu kaishi ne week one rest system start PART every four weeks? yinwei ruguo women bu caiqu jianjinde fangshi hen keneng because if I-PL NEG adopt gradual method very probably Because if we don’t adopt a gradual method, we will very likely, rang womende qian chanyejie yizhi weichi zai cause I-PL-NOM money industrial-sector all-along remain at our money, industrial sector, will continue to remain yige tigao shengchangliang er bu shi tigao 1-CL raise production-volume but NEG be raise focussed on raising production output but not on raising shengchanglide zheiyangde guanlian productivity-NOM this-kind-NOM connection the production capacity, that kind of connection.
The use of *danshi* in line 19 above does not mark any clear informational contrast. If there is any contrast at all, it is between the relevant and the irrelevant. The speaker uses *danshi* to reestablish contact with his overriding concern, i.e., the need to move gradually. Here *danshi* is operating in the social action structure to mark the reintroduction of the main topic. The rhetorical effect of this move is accentuated by the use of *danshi* and the established expectation, from the conventional implicature of contrast and a common topic (discussed in section 4.0 above), that something immediately relevant will be forthcoming. This expectation serves to emphasize what follows. In fact the speaker does go on to establish the relevance of this rhetorical question in the remainder of the excerpt.

Within a given turn, we have seen that *danshi* and *keshi* function in the idea structure of the discourse much as they do as conjunctions, connecting and marking a contrast between an immediately preceding clause and subsequent clauses. These idea contrasts can be either immediately apparent or can be derived from the expectations and information shared by the participants. *Danshi* and *keshi* can be used at different levels of the idea structure in this fashion. In this final example we have also seen that *danshi* can act in the social action structure without marking any clear idea contrast to reestablish a connection with an earlier topic which is not recoverable from the
immediately surrounding discourse. The expectation of contrast and a common topic, deriving from the conventional implicature carried by these markers, forces the listener to seek the relevant connection.

2.2 Turn-initial danshi and keshi

As we have seen with turn-internal danshi and keshi, the use of these markers in the turn-initial position can mark varying degrees of closeness of information contrast in the idea structure of the discourse. They can also be used to establish a connection with and make reference to prior positions in the social action structure of the discourse. Unlike danshi and keshi when used turn-internally, in turn-initial position they can also mark the introduction of new topics or issues in the social action structure. This function derives from their conventional implicature of contrast and a common topic and Grice’s (1975:46) maxim of relation, "be relevant." A new dimension of the function of danshi and keshi is also revealed, their function in the turn structure of the discourse marking dispreferred responses.

As is the case with turn-internal danshi and keshi, in the turn-initial position these markers can mark an idea contrast between the following talk and the immediately preceding talk, in this case another speaker’s turn.

(11) (cm18a:18)
B1: libailiu, zheige libailiu shi meiyou shi la
Saturday this-CL Saturday be NEG-have business PART
Saturday, this Saturday is free.

A1: hen su o
very plain PART
How boring!
In the above example, while the syntax is not parallel, there is a
direct contrast in the content of the two turns, A1 and B2, i.e., it’s
boring vs. it might not be. In turn A1 speaker A offers an assessment
of B’s earlier turn. Within the turn structure, preference organization
would call for an appreciation of that assessment. Instead *keshi*
introduces an dispreferred response. I should point out here, as
Levinson (1983:307) does, that preferred and dispreferred as I am using
the terms refer to linguistic rather than to social or psychological
preference. We will see that this notion of dispreferred response,
introducing disagreement, is basic to the use of *danshi* and *keshi* in a
turn initial position. Now consider the following example.

(12) (cm18a:19)
D: ruguo wo xian dao wo yiding hui xian shanglaide
   if  I first arrive I certainly will first up-come
If I get there first, I’ll certainly come up first.

   ->A: KESHI ruguo yidian dian jiu  bu xuyao la
       *keshi* if   one-bit bit then NEG need
       But if it’s just a little bit (you) don’t need to.

In this example there is again a direct contrast in the informational
content of the turns, I’ll come up vs. you don’t need to. In the turn
structure of the discourse, following the specification of the essential
condition on an *s*-act offer in turn D we would expect an acceptance in
turn A. Once again a dispreferred response, a rejection, is received
and is prefaced by *keshi*. *Keshi* is operating in the turn structure to mark a dispreferred second turn.

(13) (cm18a:8)

A: aiyo, ruguo ye suan shi, jiushi hen chengshide ren,
INT if also consider be just-be very upright-NOM person
Hey, if she's considered a very upright person,

NA ta he ta nanpengyou zhu na bu shi ye hen mafan
na she and her boyfriend live that NEG be also very troublesome
then she and her boyfriend live (together), isn't that a lot of
trouble?

->D: **KESHI** women bu keneng shuo neiyang ma
keshi I-PL NEG probably say that-way PART
But we wouldn't talk that way!

In D above we can see that *keshi* serves several different functions.
Within the social action structure it introduces an opinion, a contrasting challenge to the position expressed by A, i.e., we wouldn't talk like that. There is a clear contrast between the content of A's initial turn and the content of B's challenge. *Keshi* also functions in the turn structure of this segment. In terms of the preference organization of these two turns, the question in A requires an answer in D. Because D does not answer the question, *keshi* thus introduces a dispreferred response. *Danshi* is also used to mark the types of "oppositional" contrast seen above.

(14) (xwgc:1)

Zu: ..., suoyi yinggai shi zui xinde ziliao, bu shi jianglaixingde
therefore ought be most new-NOM data NEG be future-type-NOM
..., so it should be the latest data, not what will be.

->Z: **DANSHI** zheige tingzhang shuo, tebie qiangdiao jiushi na shi
danshi this-CL minister say special stress just-be that be
But the director said, (he) particularly stress, that is

weilai qushi mingunde zheige yiyuan
future trend people-NOM this-CL wish
a future trend, the people's desire,
The latter portion of this example (turn Z) was cited earlier as example (1). Here danshi prefaces a direct contradiction of the prior talk, "it's the latest data, not what will be" vs. "it's a future trend." In the turn structure an appreciation is expected, but instead a disagreement is forthcoming, a dispreferred response, marked by danshi.

In the following examples we will see that, as was the case with the turn-internal use of danshi and keshi, the content contrast of the two utterances involved is not always as clear and direct as we have seen in the previous examples.

(15) (cm47a:10b)
B: nazhong ren shi zhende hen pa shou shanghaide, ta that-kind person be really very fear receive injury-NOM s/he That kind of person really is afraid of getting hurt, he's
bijiao te-li-du-xing, bu yi zai zhei fangmian tuchu ziji relative independent NEG easy at this respect project-out self pretty independent, it's not easy for him to push himself forward.

-A: dui KESHI ruguo shuo ta yijing liaojie women jiu keyi right keshi if say s/he already understand I-PL then can Right, but if he already understands us, the he can try
shizhe ba zijide...
try-FROG take self-NOM
(talking about) himself...

In this example keshi marks the idea contrast of actual vs. hypothetical. Again the response in A is dispreferred, disagreement with, rather than appreciation of, the preceding assertion. A yet more loose idea contrast is found in the following examples.
NA neige fangzi shi, jiushi sanfangdong, neiyang, 
na that-CL house be just-be sublet that-way  
Now that place, it's a sublet, like that,  

NA neige shi waiguoren,  
na that-CL be foreigner  
and he's a foreigner,  

NA ta yao leisi jiao, jiaohuan yuyan neiyang  
a s/he want similar exchange language that-way  
and he wants to exchange language too, that kind of thing.  

Cl: mm, NA ni keyi a  
INT na you can PART  
Hmm, so you can do that.  

D2: KESHI haishi yao fu neige fang, neige fangzu a  
keshi still need pay that-CL house that-CL rent PART  
But you still have to pay that, the rent.  

C2: fangzu yao duoshao  
rent need how-much  
How much is the rent?  

There is no clear information contrast between turns Cl (line 10) and 
turn D2 (line 13), rather the contrast must be deduced from the context 
and the shared information of the participants, in this case the fact 
that in Taipei all college students want to learn English and would jump 
at the chance to practice more. Speaker D contradicts this expectation 
by introducing a problem associated with the situation initially des­
dcribed by herself in lines 1, 4 and 7. In the social action structure 
here keshi prefaces a shift in the immediate topic, while in the turn 
structure it once again introduces a dispreferred response (it was not 
an appreciation of Cl (line 10)).
In this segment the two speakers are university coeds who have been belittling a male classmate of theirs. The position presented in B1, in providing some justification of this student's behavior, is thus contrary to the expectations that have been developing between these coeds in their earlier discussion. Here keshi marks this more distant contrast while at the same time in the turn structure introducing a dispreferred response to speaker A's assessment. Danshi can also be used in marking this type of loose contrast.

(18) (cml18a:30)

D1: Zhonghe, ni hai mei tingdao zai nali shi bu shi, zai Zhonghe Zhonghe you still NEG hear-RES at where be NEG be at Zhonghe Zhonghe, you still haven't heard where it is, right? It's in Zhonghe.

B1: hao yuan o very far PART So far!

D2: **Danshi** xianzai zai Taibei fangzi dou hen gui a danshi now at Taipei house all very expensive PART But now in Taipei all housing is expensive.

In this example two university coeds are discussing an apartment one of them is considering renting. Here we have another example in which the
contrast marked by *danshi* is one which is contrary to the Ad’s expectation. Zhonghe is generally considered rather far from Taipei so the addition of another argument in support of this place to rent and the consequent lack of an agreement with the assertion in Bl is unexpected. In terms of linguistic preference, in the turn structure *danshi* marks the dispreferred response in D2; it is not an appreciation of the preceding assessment.

The idea contrast marked by these disjunctive markers is not always found between the immediately preceding and subsequent segments of talk. The following example illustrates this point.

(19) (cm47a:8b)

A1: ..., qishi kaode fenshu, ta zhi kan ni zongfen, ta actually test-NOM grade s/he only look you overall-score s/he ..., actually the test grade, he only looked at your total, he
genben bu kan ni[ de ] shijian zenme [ tiaopei ] simply NEG look you[ -NOM ] time how [ arrange ] really didn’t look [ at how ] your time was [ spent. ]

Bl: [ duì a, ] [a wo qianmian]
[ right PART ] [ PART I front ]
Right. Before I,
jiu meiyou, qianmian jiu meiyou... just NEG-have front just NEG-have just didn’t, didn’t before...

->A2: BUGuo ye hao, ye bu yiding a, ni yizhi xie buguo also good also NEG certain PART you all-along write But alright, not for sure, if you write the whole time

shuobuding dou gaicuo, ... perhaps all change-wrong you might change (it) incorrectly, ...

In example (19) speaker A uses *buguo* to mark an idea contrast, not with the immediately prior turn (Bl), but rather with her own prior turn (A1). She initially argued that a longer time period spent writing
would have a positive influence on one's grade, but then in turn A2 contradicts this position suggesting that this might not always be the case. Speaker B agrees with her initial position, but A contradicts herself nonetheless. The marker buguo marks this dispreferred response in the turn structure.

Yet another capacity of danshi and keshi to operate across turn boundaries can be seen in the following examples. These examples are related to the preceding ones in that they return to the speaker's prior turn for contrast. In these cases the return is more distant, i.e., the return is not necessarily to the speaker's immediately prior turn. As Li and Thompson (1981) have aptly pointed out, these items are backward linking, but not necessarily to the immediately prior segment of talk. In addition stress is placed on the segment immediately following the markers. This function has been noted by Li (1980) as well.

(20) (cm47b:18b)
B1: kandao zheige wo jiu xiangdao yiqian zai ni chuangshang
look-RES this-CL I then think-RES before on you bed-on
When I looked at this, I thought of, before on your bed

bu shi you yizhi hei heide...
NEG be have one-CL black black-NOM
didn't you have a black one...

C1: xingxing, KESHI na yizhi hen keai ei
orangutan keshi that one-CL very cute PART
Orangutan, but that one (stuffed animal) is real cute.

->B2: dui a, DANSHI wo kandao tade yanse jiu hui xiangdao
right PART danshi I look-RES s/he-NOM color then will think-RES
Right, but when I looked at the color I thought of that one.

nazhi
that-CL

->C2: dui a, KESHI zheizhi hen keai a
right PART keshi this-CL very cute PART
Right, but this one is real cute.
Here we see both *danshi* (turn B2) and *keshi* (turn C2) acting in an identical fashion. There is no idea contrast between either turns C1 and B2 or B2 and C2. Unlike the previous examples *danshi* and *keshi* here follow another marker, *dui a*. *Dui a* is used as an appreciation of the prior statement, softening the contrast which follows *danshi*. Thus the dispreferred nature of the content of the statement following *danshi* is ameliorated by the use of *dui a*. *Danshi* and *keshi* also function to mark a return to the speakers prior turn and the contrast with those turns. In both cases the restatement of the assertion and the use of the disjunctive markers both serve to place emphasis on the segment of talk following the markers. Related to this example are the following examples. We will see that this return to an earlier point can follow a multi-turn interval.

(21) (cm18a:29)

D1: xianzai shi hai bu tai queding la 1
now be still NEG too definite PART 2
Now it's still not too definite. 3

B1: meiyou, women zheibian bu shi hai you yige dasi 4
NEG-have I-CL this-side NEG be still have 1-CL senior 5
No, don't we still have a senior, 6

jiu shi hai you yige 7
just-be still have 1-CL 8
still have a ... 9

D2: keyi... 10
can 11
(you) can (stay?) 12

B2: zai nian yiniande hua, xuexiao yiding hai keyi zai 13
PROG study 1-year-NOM speech school certainly still can PROG 14
When you're in your freshman year, you can certainly continue 15

zhu a 16
live PART 17
to live at school. 18
The use of *danshi* in D3 (line 19) above, as we have seen in earlier examples, marks an informational contrast between what follows and the immediately preceding turn, i.e., certainty vs. uncertainty. The function of *danshi* in the social action structure of this excerpt is, however, somewhat unique here. By looking at this longer segment we can see that *danshi* looks backward and makes a connection with the earlier topic of this discourse, the main point (line 1). *Danshi* reestablishes the relevance of the original topic following a disagreement over that assertion.

(22) (cm56a:12b-13)
A1: nimen jia shenme dou you, shi bu shi?
   you-PL home something all have be NEG be
   Your family has everything, don’t you?

B1: HAO a, xiyixi ba
   Hao PART wash-one-wash PART
   Okay, wash (them).

C1: xiyixi a
   wash-one-wash PART
   (Wash) them.

->B2: KESHI mama dou meiyou yong e
   keshi mom all NEG-have use PART
   But Mom doesn’t use any of them.

In this example once again there is no idea contrast to be found between the segments of talk immediately prior to and subsequent to *keshi*. The use of *keshi* is unrelated to the prior request or command sequence in the turn structure. Rather *keshi* marks a return to an earlier issue, the question in turn A1, while at the same time marking the subsequent segment of talk as a dispreferred response to that question. Thus
*keshi* marks a return to an earlier turn following an interruption, an aside unrelated to the current topic.

(23) (clr:4-5)

E1: ruguo ni yao pinyin [yao pin, juedui ] meiyou cuo
    If you need spell [need spell certain] NEG-have mistake
    If you need romaniza[tion, it's certainly] not wrong.

T1:

[ particles, (???) ]

F1: keyi Yingwen jieshi ma
    can English explain PART
    Can (we) use English to explain?

E2: ye keyi
    also can
    That's okay too.

F2: Yingwen jieshi ma
    English explain PART
    Can (we) use English to explain?

M1: dui, Yingwen jieshi [ shi a ]
    Right, use English to [explain is uh]...

F3:

[ bu yao ba ]

[NEG need PART]
You don't need to.

->E3: DANSHI qianwan, bu yao zhi pinyin, meiyou Zhongwen,

*Danshi* must NEG must only spell NEG-have Chinese
But definitely don't just use romanization,

ou, zhei yangde hua, kanbudong e
PART this-kind-NOM talk read-NEG-understand PART
oh, in that case, I couldn't understand it.

Once again in this example there is no local idea contrast marked by the use of *danshi*. The idea contrast marked by *danshi* is found between turns E1 and E3, a qualification of the earlier assertion. This is the same type of contrast seen earlier in the discussion of the syntactic use of these conjuncts and in the turn-internal use of these markers.
In this case *danshi* not only marks this idea contrast, but also serves to focus the listener’s attention backward in order to find the connection of the following utterance with the prior discourse. In these cases the conventional implication of contrast and a common topic place the burden on the Ad to find this earlier connection.

The final examples will show further how this backward looking feature of the markers *danshi* and *keshi* can be utilized in conversation. In these examples there is no idea contrast to be found. The expectation of contrast and a common topic, carried by the conventional implicature found in these markers, is utilized to give the very loosely related or unrelated topics or issues which follow the markers the appearance of cooperation and relevance in the Gricean sense. If there is any contrast to be found it is between the immediately prior unrelated issue and the following issue which is related to a much earlier topic and issue.

(24) (cm18a:32)
Cl: NA nimen zhende xiang banchuqu a 1
   na you-PL really want move-out PART 2
   So do you really want to move out? 3

B1: wo cong, ei LL, ruguo nimen you yinxiang, wo cong bu zhidaao 4
   I from PART name if you-PL have impression I from NE3 know 5
   I’ve from, hey LL, if you remember, from I don’t know what 6

   daji jiu yizhi zai han na 7
   large-how-many just all-along PROG shout PART 8
   year (of college), been telling you all along! 9

A1: dui a 10
   right PART 11
   Right. 12

->C2: ei, *KESHI* BB ni bu shi yao hui qu le ma? 13
   INT keshi name you NEG be need return go PART PART 14
   Hey, but BB don’t you have to go back (home)? 15
In this example, keshi along with the marker/interjection ei, causes the listener to hark back to the earlier appeal issued by the speaker in C1 (line 1). After an extensive discussion regarding the logistics of moving out, A appears to have become resigned to the fact that B does intend to move, but in C2 (line 13) the speaker, with the assistance of the markers ei and keshi launches a new challenge to her resolve. Keshi does not mark any idea contrast except in the most abstract sense. Rather it is used in the social action structure to begin anew the earlier assault on the resolve of her listener in an attempt to dissuade her from moving out.

(25) (cm47a:11)
A1: dui ma, youqi shi xiang women xuexiao nian yingyuxi nanzi
right PART especially be like I-PL school study Eng.-dept. man
Right, especially like the men studying in our English department.

B1: ta jia shi zhong nong, zhong-tiande
s/he home be grow farming farm-NOM
His family is farm, farmers.

A2: o
PART
Oh.

(3 sec.)

->B2: dui a, hai you, jiushi shuo, e, o, KESHI wo jiu shuo
right PART still have just-be say PART PART keshi I just say
Right, still, that’s, uh, but I say if you are chosen,

ruguo ni xuanshang de-hua, jiushi yao bian de bijiao
if you choose-RES NOM-talk just-be need chang-PART relative
then you have to get pretty self-seeking, pretty crafty, ...

jian, bijiao jiaohua e, ...
self-seeking relative crafty PART

Here the speakers are the two university coeds seen earlier in (17) who have been discussing the kind of men who are students studying English at their school and one of their male classmates in particular. Again
there is no idea contrast being marked by *keshi*. As was the case above, *keshi* marks a connection with an earlier issue in the conversation, moving from the particular back to the general. In fact *keshi* here marks a shift in the topic. The speaker B uses the expectation of contrast and a common topic to move cooperatively to a new but related topic.

3.0 **Summary**

From the above discussion we have seen that *keshi, danshi* and *buguo*, operating as discourse markers, have a variety of uses. Central to all of these various uses is the semantic notion of contrast that is also basic to their use as conjunctions. In the idea structure of discourse *keshi, danshi* and *buguo* can be used at both the local level and at a more global level of arguments to mark idea or propositional contrasts and contrasts in the structural roles within arguments. These propositional contrasts can be readily apparent or they may require the analyst or listener to draw upon contextual and cultural information to establish the connection; the linguistic units contrasted can be both immediately adjacent and further removed. Within the social action structure of discourse *keshi, danshi* and *buguo* are used to introduce conflicting positions and to reestablish the relevance of an earlier topic or concern. This backward reaching function of these markers within the social action structure utilizes the expectation of contrast and common topic deriving from the conventional implicature these items carry to establish the relevance of the subsequent talk, even when that relevance is not in fact there. Finally we have seen that in the turn
structure of discourse, *danshi* and *keshi* mark linguistically dispreferred responses, a function closely tied to the expectation of contrast which comes with the use of these disjunctive markers.

**Table 2: Discourse Use of *keshi*, *danshi* and *buguo***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Discourse</th>
<th>Function (Marking)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Idea Structure</td>
<td>idea contrast</td>
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<td>local</td>
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<td></td>
<td>distant</td>
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<td></td>
<td>contrast from expressed ideas</td>
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<td>contrast from context</td>
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<td>Social Action Structure</td>
<td>introduction of disagreement</td>
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<td>reintroduction of topic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turn Structure</td>
<td>introduction of dispreferred response</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The uses of the disjunctive markers *keshi*, *danshi* and *buguo* described above bears a marked resemblance to the discourse use of *but* described by Schiffrin (1987:Chapter 6). In her study she found that *but* could be used to mark "referential contrast, functional contrast, and contrastive actions" (177). She uses referential contrast to refer to the type of contrast I have described above as idea contrast, functional contrast to describe the contrast seen between functional units in the idea structure described above, and contrastive actions to refer to the return of a speaker to an earlier point following an interruption, challenge, etc. All of these uses of *but* have parallels in the use of *keshi*, *danshi* and *buguo*.
NOTES

1. If the classroom situation and the television debate settings are taken to be formal speech situations and the discussions among friends and family members are taken to be informal speech settings, there is a statistically significant difference (significant at the .01 level using a chi² test) between the use of danshi and keshi in these settings. This finding is statistically significant even if the classroom setting is considered an informal setting. The language background (with regard to Mandarin and Southern Min) of the speakers is not taken into account in this finding.

2. The term argument is used in this study, not with the technical linguistic sense of the term, but rather with the non-technical sense of offering reasoning for or against a particular position or point of view.

3. "Dispreferred" responses are structurally marked and in English are usually issued,
   (a) after some significant delay; (b) with some preface marking their dispreferred status, often the particle well;
   (c) with some account of why the preferred second cannot be performed (Levinson 1983:307).

4. The felicity conditions on an s-act offer are as follows,
   Sp felicitously offers to do A for Ad if and only if Sp conveys a proposition P to Ad and
   Propositional Content Condition:
      a. P predicates a future action A by Sp.
   Essential Condition:
      b. Conveying P counts as an expression of willingness by Sp to make a commitment to Ad to do A by way of satisfying some need Sp believes Ad may have.
   Preparatory Condition:
      c. Sp believes that Ad may wish A to be done.
   Sincerity Conditions:
      d. Sp is able to do A.
      e. Sp is willing to do A. (Geis 1991:30)

5. The speakers in this excerpt are the father, C, his daughter, B, and her boyfriend, A, that we saw earlier in Chapter 3. These 1-act directives, in turns B1 and C1, thus have specify the essential condition of a request and command respectively.
Chapter V

Na(me) and Continuation

1.0 Introduction

Traditional approaches to the description of na(me) have largely focussed on its use as a sentential conjunction. The Xiandai Hanyu Cidian defines na(me) as follows, expresses (something) following from or in the same direction as the topic of the prior text/speech, stating the result which ought to follow (the prior text/speech can be from the other interlocutor or can be an issue or hypothesis brought up by the speaker himself) (LRI-CSSI 1984:813). The Gwoveu Ryhbaw Tsvrdean defines na(me) as a "continuing conjunction" (He 1974:843). Lü (1980:358) in his Xiandai Hanyu Babai Ci describes na(me) as a "conjunction - continues prior text/talk, introduces a phrase which indicates a result or assessment." A Concise Chinese-English Dictionary (BLI 1982), written for foreign learners of Chinese, defines na(me) as a conjunction meaning "in that case" (397). In all of these examples the definitions are restricted to the sentential use of na(me), and the sentence examples used for illustrative purposes all have na(me) used with another conjunction, ruguo 'if,' jiran 'since,' or yaoshi 'if.' Chao (1968) in his Grammar of Spoken Chinese makes the only reference to na(me) in sentence initial position giving us a hint of its significance in the surrounding discourse. He glosses na(me) as 'so, thus' and 'in that case' and observes that it "is often followed by
a pause or a pause particle, thus making it a free conjunction rather than an attributive adverb" (658). As we will see below, the reference works cited above do not give an adequate description of the use of \( na(me) \) in spoken discourse.

2.0 Prior Treatments of \( na(me) \)

Biq (1988 & 1990) has begun the work needed to determine the role of \( na(me) \) in conversation by distinguishing the various functional usages of \( na(me) \). She has observed that \( na(me) \) is used in both a sentential context and in the context of the surrounding discourse (i.e., the function of \( na(me) \) cannot be understood by looking only at the sentence in which it appears). As a clausal connective \( na(me) \) is used in "if...then" conditionals. This same conditional usage, according to Biq, is found in the connection of sentential units; "\( na(me) \) can be used to connect the antecedent (premise) and the consequent (conclusion) of a conditional relation, with \( na(me) \) preceding the consequent" (Biq 1990:189 citing Chao 1968, Lü 1980 and Liao 1986).

This conditional relationship between the first segment of talk and the following segment of talk can either be marked by other conditional markers, i.e., \( ruguo \), \( ... \), \( dehua \), \( jiran \), etc., in the initial clause or by \( na(me) \) alone. Biq argues that in this usage \( na(me) \) prefaces the upcoming segment of talk and marks it as a consequence of the preceding segment of talk.

Biq goes on to observe that \( na(me) \) functions as a discourse connective to relate or connect "topic related segments of talk." In this role, Biq initially argued (1988), that \( na(me) \) is used 1) to
connect topically parallel units of talk; 2) to connect two units of talk where the second unit is part of the first, i.e., an elaboration of the first, 3) to introduce topic return, i.e., to return to a main topic upon completion of a subtopic, or 4) to introduce a new topic (in this role it marks a connection with the previous talk while moving away from it). In her later work Biq (1990) argues that in its use as a discourse connective, in addition to marking conditional relationships, na(me) can mark both topic succession and topic change. As a marker of topic succession na(me) can connect immediately related segments of talk, e.g. immediately adjacent segments produced by the same or a different speaker, or distantly related segments, connecting the segment following na(me) with a prior, but not immediately prior, segment of talk (195-6). In all of these cases na(me) marks a "continuation" relationship as noted previously by Miracle (1989b). Biq's research does not, however, address the "evincive" use of na(me) to be discussed below.

When na(me) is used to mark topic change Biq states that this continuation relationship is played out in the interactional aspect of discourse with na(me) signalling the continuation of "the formerly established feature of other-attentiveness, ..." (1990:200). Thus the new topic introduced by na(me) must in some manner demonstrate this "other-attentiveness." As examples of this phenomena she cites situations in which the new topic derives from the shared knowledge of the Sp and the Ad, questions addressed to the Ad, and conventional and semi-conventional pre-closing moves which attend to the Ad. She further notes that the deictic aspect of the demonstrative pronoun na 'that' is
reflected in the all of these discourse uses of na(me), in that it points to both the prior and upcoming segments of talk (202).

In my earlier study of na(me) (Miracle 1989b) I argued that na(me) is used in the idea structure of discourse to organize idea or topic units, i.e., to mark parallel topics, the continuation of a prior topic and the return to an earlier established topic. In the social action structure of discourse na(me) can be used to introduce new social actions and mark these new s-acts as related to the earlier discourse. Na(me) is used in the information state of discourse to signal that thought has occurred in the private world of the speaker and to make that thought partially available in the speaker and hearer's shared world. The connection to the prior discourse occurs internally within the speaker's private world, and s/he externalizes that connection through the use of na(me). In all of these instances the unifying function of na(me) is to establish the connection of and thus the relevance of the following unit of talk to a prior unit of talk. We will see in the remainder of this chapter how the above descriptions fall short of a comprehensive explanation of the role of na(me) in discourse.

3.0 Analysis

As we have seen earlier in the discussion of hao, danshi and keshi, much of the use of the marker na(me) in Chinese discourse is closely related to its use as a demonstrative pronoun and conjunction. In this section we will explore the variety of functions of na(me) including its use to mark the consequent segment of talk, to mark
succession in time of discourse units, to mark topic related units, and 
finally as a pause marker. All of these uses are rather closely 
connected to the sentence internal uses of na(me). For the purposes of 
this analysis I will consider na and name to be variants of the same 
marker. From a functional perspective they appear to be in free varia-
tion. In the data examined in this study, name and na both appear in 
the formal speech settings (the television debate and the classroom) 
while na clearly predominates in the informal settings (name is rarely 
used in these settings).

3.1 Conditional Use of na(me)

As earlier studies of na(me) have shown, this marker is used 
sentence internally to mark the consequent portion of 'if..., then...' 
conditionals. When used in this manner, na(me) marks the consequent 
clause while the antecedent clause can be marked by ruguo... 'if...,' 
jiashe... 'if...,' ...dehua 'in the case of...,' etc. as we can see in 
the example below.

(1) (cm18a:8, cited earlier)
A: aiyo, ruguo ye suan shi, jiushi hen chengshide ren, 
INT if also consider be just-be very upright-NOM person 
Hey, if she’s considered a very upright person,

-> NA ta he ta nanpengyou zhu, na bu shi ye hen mafan 
na she and her boyfriend live that NGB be also very troublesome 
then she and her boyfriend live (together), isn’t that a lot of 
trouble?

Here two coeds are discussing a friend of theirs in their dormitory. 
With the pattern ruguo..., na..., 'if..., then...,' we can see clearly 
that in this conditional sentence the second clause is a consequence of 
the satisfaction of the condition stated in the initial clause. That
na(me) is used to mark the latter clause as the consequent clause can be seen from the sentence itself without recourse to analysis of the surrounding discourse.

(2) (cm47a:20b)
A: ... , ruguo bu xing-dehua zai, zheige a ,
    if NEG alright-NOM-talk again this-CL PART
    ..., if it's not alright, then, this,

-> NA wo jiu kaishi gen ta jiepou yixie daoli, ...
    na(me) I then start with s/he dissect several reason
    then I'll start explaining reason to him, ...

In this example both ruguo and dehua mark the conditional clause while na(me) again marks the consequent clause. In some cases the conditional relationship is not marked in the first clause.

(3) (xwgc:2)
K: ..., zheige shihou hen keneng, dique zhei hui zaocheng
    this-CL time very likely indeed this will create
    ..., (if) at that time, it's likely, certainly will create

gangcai Lin tingzhang suo jiangde
     just-now Lin minister all say-NOM
     what Minister L has just said,

-> NAME women hen keneng chanyejie de neige
    na(me) I-PL very likely industrial-sector-NOM that-CL
    then the industrial sector, the manufacturing volume,
    shengchan liang hui shoudao yingxiang, ...
    manufacture volume will receive influence
    will very likely be influenced, ...

In (3) the conditional relationship is not overtly marked except by na(me), and the analyst must rely on his interpretation of the meaning of the respective utterances and their interrelationship to posit the "if..., then" relationship.

(4) (cm56:6, cited earlier)
Cl: nimen qu zu luyingdai, zule ye shunbian zhuan qu,
    you-PL go rent videotape rent-ASP also conveniently turn go
    You go and rent a video, rent it and then go over and buy
[go buy food] you buy food stroll-RES-ASP 11:00 ASP
[groceries, after] you’ve bought groceries and strolled around,
[ ]
B1: [dinghao mai cai]
[Dinghao buy food]
Buy groceries at Dinghao.

->C2: = women shiyidian kaishi nong cai, nong dao shierdian,
    I-PL 11:00 begin cook food cook to 12:00
    at 11:00, we’ll start cooking, cook until 12:00,
    ni mama huilaile
    you mother back-come-ASP
    then your Mom will come back.

A1: HAO
    hao
    Okay.

B2: HAO
    hao
    Okay.

->A2: NA ni mama jiu gandong, ayo, ni zenme zheime lihai
    na you mother then moved INT you how so formidable
    Then your mother will be moved, wow, how’d you get so good!

The conditional relationship discussed above can also carry across
different speakers’ turns. In this example the antecedent conditional
situation is expressed in turn C2, we’ll cook until 12:00, and
presumably the cooking will be finished. “If” that happens, “then” your
mother will be moved. In turn A2 both na(me) and jiu are used to mark
the consequence. Jin (1988:132) has argued that jiu in fact is the
conjunction marking the consequent clause while na(me) is a pronoun
whose antecedent is the prior clause.

3.2 Na(me) Marking the Consequent

Na(me) can be used to mark the consequence not only in conditional
relationships, but also in causal relationships. This fact is true of
the use of na(me) as a sentential conjunction (it was earlier noted that na(me) is often used with jiran 'since') and as a marker as well. Schiffrin (1987, Chapter 7) in her discussion of the use of because and so distinguishes three different types of causal relationship relevant to the study of these markers.

A fact-based causal relation between cause and result holds between idea units, more precisely, between the events, states, and so on, which they encode. A knowledge-based causal relation holds when a speaker uses some piece(s) of information as a warrant for an inference (a speaker inference), or when a speaker intends a hearer to do so (a hearer inference). An action-based causal relation holds when a speaker presents a motive for an action being performed through talk - either his/her own action or an interlocutor's action. (202)

She uses the following example sentences to illustrate these distinctions.

(5)  a. John is home because he is sick.
     b. John is home because the lights are burning.
     c. Is John home? Because the lights are burning. (202)

The fact-based causal relation (5a) exists in the idea structure (her ideastional structure), the knowledge-based causal relation (5b) in the information structure and the action-based causal relation (5c) in the social action structure (her action structure). These same distinctions and causal relations are relevant to the analysis of the use of na(me) in Chinese.

3.2.1 Cause and Result in the Idea Structure

In the idea structure na(me) can be use to mark "result" segment of talk following a "cause."
Here the causal relationship is overtly marked in both the antecedent segment of talk and the consequent segment. *Yinwei* marks the cause while *na(me)* marks the result. This cause-result relationship is not always marked in the antecedent segment.

In this example *na(me)* marks the following segment of talk as a direct consequence of the prior segment, i.e., I talked to her so she entered my name. A fact-based causal relationship can also be seen in the next example.
This type of causal relationship was relatively infrequent (four of 129 tokens, 3%) in my data.

3.2.2 Warrant and Inference in the Information State

The use of *na(me)* in the information state to mark the "inference" segment of talk based on a prior "warrant" segment of talk is more common than the fact-based causal relation discussed above, but it is still not common (15 of 129 tokens, 12%). Consider the following example.

(9) (xwgc:8)
K: ..., zheige changshang, yuangongde, zheige gongzuo 1
    this-CL firm personnel-NOM this-CL work 2
    ..., these firms, the personnel, their working hours 3

    shijian chaoguo wushige xiaoshi 4
time exceed 50-CL hour 5
exceed 50 hours, 6

-> **NAME** ben xianran womende sidonghua chengdu xiangdangde di 7
na(me) very obvious I-PL-NOM automation level quite-PART low 8
so obviously our level of automation is quite low, 9

-> **NAME** yinci yixiazi jurande caiqu zheige 10
na(me) therefore at-once suddenly-PART adopt this-CL 11
so, because of this to suddenly, at one stroke, adopt this 12

    zhoushixiu-liang-tiande zheige fangshide, wode zheige 13
week-rest-two-day-NOM this-CL way-PART I-NOM this-CL 14
two day weekend, this way, our industry then couldn’t 15

    chanye jiu shoubuliao, ... 16
industry then tolerate-NBG-RES 17
tolerate it, ... 18

In this example the "warrant" is presented in lines 1-4 with the first inference drawn in line 7, marked by *na(me)*. Lines 1-7 can then be seen as the warrant for the second inference drawn in lines 10-16, again preceded by *na(me)*. The nature of this inference is additionally
demonstrated by the use of yinci ‘therefore, because of this’ which also precedes the conclusion that is drawn.

(10) (crl:7, cited earlier)
ye jiushi shuo, ta zai xue yuyan de-shihou, gen also just-be say s/he PROG study language NOM-time with
That’s just to say, when they study language, with children

xiaoahaizi tamen ye bu shi shuo dou shi cuowu, ye shi you yige child they also NEG be say all be mistake also be have one-CL
they’re not all mistakes, when they’re carrying on (language

pattern zai jinxing,
pattern PROG carry-on
learning) they also have a pattern,

-> NA zheige keneng yanjiuchulai yihou ni keyi na(me) this-CL probably research-out-come after you can
so after you discover it, it can
dui neige a foreign language teaching you bangzhu, ...
toward that-CL have assistance
probably be very helpful in foreign language teaching, ...

Again in this example we see na(me) marking the inference drawn based upon the immediately prior segment of talk. In the above examples the speaker is drawing the conclusions. In the following example the speaker utilizes a rhetorical question to call upon the Ad to draw the inference based on the previously presented information.

(11) (cm18a:25-26, cited earlier)
A: erqie, ta meitian, ta neiyang
moreover s/he every-day s/he that-way
Furthermore she’s like that every day,

wo juede ta bu keneng neiyang a
I feel s/he NEG probably that-way PART
I don’t think she can be like that!

piru-shuo, wo zai shuijiao o wo hui shengqi
for-example I PROG sleep PART I will angry
For example if I were sleeping, I’d get mad,

DANSHI yinwei shi ouer shui, ye bu shi meitian
danshi because be occasional sleep also NEG be every-day
but it’s occasional, it isn’t an everyday thing,
As we saw in the previous chapter, the above argument can be analyzed as follows,

(11a)

**Position:** she’s like that everyday and shouldn’t be (lines 1-4)

**Support (1):** if I were sleeping I’d get mad (line 7)

**DANSHI** it’s occasional, not everyday (line 10)

**Support (2):** it’s turning our lives upside down (line 13)

**NA** Conclusion: why should we accommodate (i.e., we shouldn’t accommodate)? (line 19-22)

From this segment it can be seen that the "warrant, the basis for the conclusion, drawn in lines 19-22 is presented in lines 7-15. *Na(me)* here operates in the information state marking a conclusion that the Sp wishes the Ad to draw; he attempts to make this conclusion part of their shared information, their shared world.

### 3.2.3 Motive and Action in the Social Action Structure

The most prevalent use of the marker *na(me)* found in my data is that in which it marks a consequent action based upon an previously presented motive (47 of 129 tokens, 36%). The antecedent action can be
either the speaker's own action or another speaker's action. In all of
these cases na(me) marks the initiation of a new social action and marks
this initiation as connected to, the result of, some prior action.

Consider the following example.

(12) (cm56a:2)
B1: ma bu shi you rousi, meiyou a,
   mother NEG be have meat-shred NEG-have PART
   Doesn't Mom have shredded meat, no huh,

   -> NA wo qu dinghao mai
      na(me) I go Dinghao buy
      then I'll go to Dinghao to buy (some).

C1: dui a
    right PART
    Right.

   -> B2: o, NA wo ji yixia
         INT na(me) I record a-bit
         Oh, I'll write it down (the grocery list).

In this example we see the father C and daughter B whom we have seen in
earlier chapters. Based upon the determination that they do not have a
needed ingredient for their dish, shredded meat, the daughter offers (in
turn B1) to go to the market to buy it. The 1-act declarative following
na(me) can be seen as an instantiation of an s-act offer\(^1\) in this
setting and is accepted by the father in turn C1. The s-act assertion
in turn B2, again marked by na(me) is based on the need established in
turns B1 and C1, going to the market and the resultant need to make a
list. In the following example na(me) is used with an s-act proposal
and s-act orders.

(13) (cm22a:1-2)
D1: ni shi kaihui yihou cai xie, haishi xianzai xie
    you be meet after then write or now write
    Do you want to write the minutes now or wait until after the
    meeting?
A1: jiushi kaihuiwan yihou cai xie, huozhe shi, (laughter)  
just-be meet-RES after then write or be  
Write them up after the meeting, or ... (laughter)  

->D2:NA,  
dajia xian [ shou ]qilai, hao bu hao, =  
na(me) everyone first [collect]-RES good NEG good  
So everybody take [ notes,] okay?  
[ ]  
A2:  
[ bian ], =  
[ side ]  

D2:  
[ everyone first collect-RES ]  
[ Everybody first take notes. ]  
[ ]  
A2:  
[ bian nian ] bian xie ye keyi  
[ side read ] side write also can  
Read and write at the same time is okay too.  

?:  
you kong jiu xie  
have empty then write  
Write (them up) when you have time.  

B1:  
hm, zheiyangzi, HAO a,  
INT this-kind hao PART  
Hm, like that, okay,  

-> NA  
ge, geying baogao nimen dajia geying (???)  
na(me) each each-group report you-PL everyone each-group (???)  
so each group report your, everybody, each group, (???)  
nimen yanzhong, haiyou women zheng, zhengge yingde yundong  
you-PL important still-have I-PL whole whole group-de activity  
your important, and our entire group’s activities and  
zhuangkuang,  
situation  
situation,  

-> NA  
YF, ni yao haohaode jilu, ...  
na(me) name you must good-PART record, ...  
now YF you need to record well, ...  

The setting for this segment of talk is a meeting of a university  
student association. Speaker B is the leader of the group and thus in a  
position of relative authority. For this reason the 1-act directive in  
turn D2 specifies the essential condition of a proposal (D being one of
the members of the group) while the marked directives in turn B1 specify
the essential conditions of orders. The new s-act proposal initiated in
D2 (line 8) is marked by na(me) establishing it as a consequence of the
preceding discussion by the other participants in the conversation, an
action with the motive preceding it. The l-act directives in turn B1
(lines 28 and 37) have the illocutionary significance of orders and are
again marked by na(me). Based upon the completion of the discussion
regarding the recording of the minutes marked in line 25 by hao, the
group leader proceeds to the business at hand. Na(me) marks the subse-
quent talk as a causal consequent of the earlier action and introduces
the new action in the action structure. In this case and the case of
the directive in line 37, the new social actions initiated are based
upon earlier actions of the Sp. S-act directive sequences marked by
na(me) can also be based upon the actions of another speaker.

(14) (cm1.1:3, cited earlier)
B1: quanbu dou shi guoyu ma
All (of the situations) are the Mandarin.
na

A1: guoyu a, ni hen shao jiang taiyu de, shi bu shi?
Mandarin PART you very seldom speak Taiwanese NOM be NEG be
Mandarin, you rarely speak Taiwanese, right?

B2: dui a
correct PART
Right.

->A2: HAO, NA jiu tan guoyu, ...
hao na then talk Mandarin
Okay, so then it's speak Mandarin, ...

In this example na(me) is again used in conjunction with the marker hao.
Hao marks the closure of the previous s-act inquiry, while na(me)
introduces the following s-act order^ marking it as a consequence of
their earlier discussion, specifically B’s confirmation of fact that she seldom speaks Taiwanese.

S-act inquiries can also be introduced by na(me) connecting them to the prior talk (action). Once again the earlier action can be that of the same speaker or of another speaker.

(15) (xwgc:10)
Z: ..., jiushi ruguo weifande, zheige, zhengge sheng, just-be if violate-PART this-CL whole province ...
   it’s just that if you violate the whole province’s,
   zhongyangde mingling de-hua, keneng hui daozi yu, central-NCM order NOM-talk probably will lead to the central government’s order, it will probably lead to
   zheige chezhi jiguó a, shenme jiang xin ne, this-CL dismiss record-demerit PART what drop salary PART dismissal, a black mark, a drop in salary, or something,
   -> NA ni mianlin zheige wenti de-hua, ni caiqu lichang na(me) you face this-CL problem NOM-talk you choose position so faced with this problem, what is your position, or
      shi shenme, haishi yong-wang-zhi-qian be what or advance-bravely
      is it march forward courageously?

In this example the s-act inquiry sequence following na(me) is marked as a consequence of the situation presented by the same speaker earlier in the turn. Na(me) establishes the connection in the social action structure between the prior assertions and the following inquiry.

(16) (cm47a:1)
A1: kaoshide fanwei a, nimen kao nali a? test-NOM scope PART you-PL test where PART The scope of the test, what will you test?

B: kao, kao women ye bu xiaode kao nali, fanzheng, test test I-PL also NBG know test where at-any-rate Test, test, we don’t know what we’ll test either, at any rate,
   jiushi hu ce just-be idle guess
   it’s just idle speculation.
Here the \textit{s-act} inquiry initiated in turn A2 is marked by \textit{na(me)} as a consequence of the assertions of the prior speaker, B; since the contents of the test can only be speculation, do you have information regarding the volume of the testing? In this section we have seen that \textit{na(me)} can be used to introduce a variety of \textit{s-acts} in the social action structure, marking them as the consequence of earlier \textit{s-acts} and thus establishing their connection to the prior discourse.

3.3 \textbf{Succession in Time Marked by \textit{na(me)}}

Just as the demonstrative pronoun \textit{na} when used in time expressions such as \textit{nashihou} `that time' can indicate relative time, \textit{na(me)} when used in discourse can also be used to mark time relationships. Schiffrin (1987:229), in her analysis of the discourse markers \textit{now} and \textit{then}, distinguishes between event time indicating "the temporal relationship between propositions" and discourse time indicating "the temporal relationship between utterances in a discourse." Event time refers to the time relationship between the events described in a discourse while discourse time refers to the sequential relationship of the utterances themselves. Both of these types of time relationships can be marked by \textit{na(me)}. Consider the following example in which \textit{na(me)} marks a consecutive relationship in event time.

(17) (cm47a:3b)
\begin{quote}
A: ..., wo jiu gen xuemei jiang yixia, I just with elder-classmate (female) talk one-bit
..., I just talked with my classmate,
\end{quote}
NA xuemei shi ba wo lieru dangran
na(me) elder-classmate be take I enter-into certainly
then she entered me as the certain candidate,
renxuan,
candidate

- dui a, NA wo shuo hai hao le,...
right PART na(me) I say still good PART
right, then I said fine, ...

The use of na(me) in this example marks the events described in the
discourse as related to one another and occurring in consecutive order.
In the idea structure these events are consecutive; first I talked with
her, then she entered my name, and then I said fine. Na(me) can also be
used as a marker of discourse time to mark essentially parallel events
which are of equal importance in the idea structure.

(18) (cm47a:20a)
B: ..., jiu jiceng gongzuo renyuan hui juede lei ma
just basic-level work staff will feel tired PART
..., is it just the lower level workers that’ll feel tired,

- qita yinggai bu hui duo lei ma
na(me) other ought NEG will much tired PART
the others shouldn’t feel too tired, should they?

In this example two questions are juxtaposed (the lower level workers
vs. the others) with na(me) being used to mark the second question,
explicitly establishing its connection with the prior question. This
same type of juxtaposition can also be marked by na(me) when it is
embedded in an argument.

(19) (xwgc:6)
Z: ..., NAME ni kandao muqian women guonei, yibande
na(me) you see-RES now I-PL country-inside general-NOM
..., so now you see in our country, generally in the
neige minjianqiye, dagai genju yige zongji,
this-CL private-business approximate according-to one-CL statistic
private sector, about, according to one statistic,
jiu baifenzhiershi, shi meige libai shang ban wu tiande just 20-percent be each week attend work five day-NOM only 20 percent work five days a week,

-> NAME jiangjin bashi yishang a, hai shi meige libai shang na(me) almost 80 over PART still be each week attend now almost, over 80 percent still work five and a half days

ban wu tian ban, ... work 5 day half per week, ...

Here na(me) marks the consecutive and parallel relationship between what is prior, only 20% work five days, and what follows, 80% still work five and a half days. A series of parallel propositions placed consecutively in a discourse can also be marked by na(me).

(20) (cml18a:27, cited earlier)
D1: bu shi, ta xianzai zhaodao yige fangzi a NEG be s/he now find-RBS one-CL house PART No, now she's found a house.

C1: o, dui INT right Oh, right.

-->D2: NA neige fangzi shi, jiushi sanfangdong, neiyang, that-CL house be just-is sublet that-way Now that place, it's a sublet, like that,

-> NA neige shi waiguoren, that-CL be foreigner and he's a foreigner,

-> NA ta yao leisi jiao, jiachuan yuyan neiyang s/he want similar exchange language that-way and he wants to exchange language too, that kind of thing.

C1: mm, NA ni keyi a INT na you can PART Hmm, so you can do that.

In this excerpt the propositions presented in turn D2 are all marked by na(me) establishing their sequential connection in discourse time. This temporal relationship in discourse time may have been instrumental in
Biq's (1990) labelling na(me) used in this manner as examples of "topic succession." In these cases and the ones below, na(me) marks not only the progression through discourse time, but also the successive development of the topic in the idea structure.

3.4 Topic Related Talk

Closely related to, and often indistinguishable from, the above discussed use of na(me) marking the progression through discourse time is the use of na(me) to connect "topic related segments of talk." The connected segments of talk can be 1) consecutively related parallel idea units as we saw above, 2) loosely related idea units where the second segment is in fact a related shift from the earlier topic, or 3) the same topic with na(me) marking the re-introduction of the previously established topic. By establishing the connection between the two units of talk na(me) serves to smooth the transition from the prior talk to the subsequent talk. This function is particularly important in the cases of topic shift and topic return to assist in the smooth flow of the conversation.

3.4.1 Topic Development

Na(me) can be used to mark the successive development of a topic in the idea structure of discourse. Consider the following example.

(21) (xwgc:3)
H: ..., xianzai piru-shuo meiguo, ta ge liangwanyi, now for-example USA it CL 21,000 ...
..., now for instance, in the US, their $21,000,
women jintian zai qigianwu, dui bu dui, I-PL today at 7500 right NEG right
today, we're at $7500, right?
"Na(me)" "deng yige jiating ne, ni zhuan liangwanyi bi jiating, so when a household, a household earning $2100,  
na(me) wait one-CL household PART you earn 2100 CL household 
-> Na ta you, hen haode jiankang, you zuo hen haode fanzi, it have very good-NOM health also live very good-NOM house 
na(me) it have very good-NOM health also live very good-NOM house 
so it (the household) has good health, also lives in a nice house, 
na(me) wait one-CL household 
eat very good-NOM thing 
eats well, ...

Here "na(me)" marks the progressive development of the general topic, the 
average annual household income. "Na(me)" reiterates the connection 
between these propositions and ties the argument together. Even when 
another speaker's turn intervenes, "na(me)" can be used to establish this 
progressive relationship.

(22) (cm47a:21a) 
B1: wo jue de bandai fan'er nei you shenme shi zuo I think the class rep, on-the-contrary NEG-have any work do 
I feel class-rep on-the-contrary NEG-have any work do 
A1: dajia mei you shenme shi zuo everyone NEG have any work do 
Nobody has any work to do. 
B2: dui a, NA dang bandai gua yige right PART na(me) act-as class-rep be-covered one-CL 
Right, so being class rep is getting an undeserved 
xuming zai nali hebi ne undeserved-reputation at there why-necessary PART 
reputation, why is that necessary?

In this example the utterances in B1 and B2 are progressive developments 
of the same topic, the discussion of the class representative. Here 
"na(me)" marks the immediately subsequent assertion as connected to the 
assertion in the speaker's earlier turn. In spite of the intervening 
turn, an assertion by speaker A and the subsequent appreciation of that 
assertion by B, "na(me)" establishes the connection with the earlier
utterance, turn B1. This relationship can also be seen in the following example.

(23) (cm18a:27, cited earlier)
D1: bu shi, ta xianzai zhaodaoyige fangzi a
   NEG be s/he now find-RES one-CL house PART
   No, now she’s found a house.

C1: o, du
   INT right
   Oh, right.

->D2: NA neige fangzi shi, jiushi sanfangdong, neiyang,
   na that-CL house be just-is sublet that-way
   Now that place, it’s a sublet, like that,

Again the idea units in turns D1 and D2 are successive developments of the same topic, the house or apartment being discussed. Na(me) marks the second utterance as connected to the earlier utterance by the same speaker, in spite of the intervening turn by the other interlocutor.

3.4.2 Topic Shift

Na(me) can be use to introduce an idea unit that marks a shift, related while at the same time divergent from the earlier established topic.

(24) (clr:9-10, cited earlier)
A: ..., ta renwei shuo, haizi, ha, haizi keneng, keneng
   s/he consider say child PART child probably probably
   ..., he says, children, y’know, children probably

zai hen xiaode shihou, jiu yijing, jiu yijing kaishi acquire
at very small-NOM time just already just already begin
when they’re very small have already started acquiring

this kind of, uh, ability, to use the appropriate register, or
this kind of, uh, ability, to use the appropriate register, or

language, ha,
   PART
language, y’know,
The speaker in the above excerpt is a graduate student presenting a review of a paper that the students have read. In lines 1-9 and earlier he has been explaining the hypothesis of the author of the paper. In line 12, following *na(me)*, there is a shift in the topic from the hypothesis to the research methodology. *Na(me)* marks this shift in topic and establishes the connection of the prior talk with the subsequent talk; *na(me)* maintains the connection while the idea units diverge.

### 3.4.3 Topic Return

Related to the use of *na(me)* in the development and shifting of the topic of talk in the idea structure is its use in reestablishing an previously established topic.

(25) (cm47a:3)

A1: nühaizi gen nanhaizi jiu bu tong
   girl and boy just NEG same
   Girls and boys are just different.

B1: dui a
   right PART
   Right.

A2: nühaizi xiang chulai, ai, you buhao yisi la piao
   girl think out-come PART but embarassed seek vote
   Girls think of coming out, but they’re embarassed to ask for

   qishi ta ye xiang dang
   in-fact s/he also thing act-as
   votes, in fact she’d also like to be elected,

→ **NA** nanhaizi jiu bu tong, ...
   *na(me)* boy just NEG same
   well, boys just aren’t the same, ...

- **NAME** ta zheibian yongde fangfa zhuyao shi yong *role play*
  name s/he this-side use-PART method main be use
  so, here, the main method used is role play,
In this example *na(me)* is used in turn A2, along with the repetition of the statement of the topic itself, to reestablish the topic found earlier in turn A1. The earlier topic is readily recoverable from the prior talk in this case. In the following example the earlier topic is not readily recoverable.

(24) (xwgc:2-3, cited earlier)

K: women hen danxinde shi, women gongwujiguan shishi zhihou, I-PL very worry-NOM be I-PL public-offices carry-out after

What we’re worried about is, after public offices carry this

chanye jiu genjin
industry then follow
out, industry will then follow.

zheige shihou keneng dique zhei hui zaocheng gangcai Lin this-CL time probably certainly this will create just now Lin

At this time this would probably, certainly create what Minister

tingzhang suo jiangde
minister that-which talk-NOM
Lin has just mentioned.

NAME women hen keneng chanyajiede, neige shengchan, I-PL very probably industrial-sector-NOM that-CL production
So our industrial sector will likely, the production volume

liang, hui shoudao yingxiang
volume will receive influence
will be influenced.

-> NAME, DANSHI wo weishenmo hui bijiao qingxiang shuo xianzai name danshi I why will relatively favor say now

So, but why do I tend to favor saying that we should now

women shi yinggai lai kaolu, NAME cong zheige, e si I-PL be should come consider name from this-CL PART four
consider, say beginning from this system of two days rest

zhou yi xiu zhidu kaishi ne, ...
week one rest system start PART
every four weeks? ...

The highlighted use of *na(me)* in this example, along with the marker *danshi* (discussed in Chapter 4) mark the following segment of talk as
topically connected to the earlier discourse, in this case a position expressed by the speaker a short while earlier in the discourse and related to the immediately prior topic.

(25) (cm47a:5b)
A1: ..., ergie wo tingshuo baosongde yinggai shi, hui bijiao moreover I hear-say recommend-NOM ought be will relative ...., what's more I'd heard that those recommended should be

niangling, ta shuo meiyou, ta xuanshang de-hua, yao qu young s/he say NEG-have s/he select-RES NOM-talk need go relatively young, (but) he said no, if you're selected you have

jixun
gather-train
to go for training.

B1: shei zhidao
who know
 Who knows?

A2: shei a
 who PART
 Who?

->B2: bu xiaode, NA ni xianzai kandao shetuande you meiyou NEG know na(me) you now see-RES organization-NOM have NEG-have I don't know, so when you see a member now, do you

shaowei da yixia zhaohu
slightly send one-bit greet
say hello a bit?

Here the use of na(me) in turn B2 marks a return to a much earlier topic. The speakers had earlier (over a minute earlier) been discussing a situation in which A ran into a member of their group, said hello, and got no response. Since that time the topic of their conversation had diverged significantly. In the context of the immediate talk, this return could be considered an entirely new topic of conversation. The use of na(me) eases the topic transition at this point by marking the connection to the earlier talk.
3.5 *Na(me) Marking New Topics*

*Na(me)* can also be used to mark the introduction of new topics. Biq (1990) observed that when used in this fashion, the statement of the new topic exhibited an "other-attentiveness" feature in the interactive sphere of discourse. We have seen above that in the case of topic return, the "new" topic calls forth information that is part of the shared world of the Sp and the Ad. Below we will once again see this feature of "other-attentiveness."

(26) (cm56a:16b)

A1: *weishenme yao qie zheiyang*
    why need cut this-way
    Why do you need to cut (it) that way?

C1: *zhei genben yao qiediao ma*
    this simply need cut-RES PART
    You just have to cut that out!

A2: *o*
    INT
    Oh.

(20 sec)

->A3: *nimen xianzai yao jiu ni zui ben, ni bu hui zuo (???)
    na(me) you-PL now need save you most stupid you NEG can do (???)
    So now you have to save your stupidest, you can't do (???)

In (26) above *na(me)* is used to introduce a completely new topic. It is not at all related to the earlier talk, but it does possess the other-attentiveness feature. The 1-act imperative following *na(me)* in turn A3 explicitly (using the 2nd person pronoun *nimen*) involves the other participants in the conversation. Here the connection that is marked by *na(me)* is in the interactional sphere (what Schiffrin (1987) calls the participation framework). Regarding this use of *na(me)* Biq (1990:200) has argued,
Since the prefaced new topic possesses the other-attentiveness feature, and \textit{na(me)} indicates continuation, it appears that whatever came before \textit{na(me)} has always possessed the other-attentiveness feature. Since both the preceding talk and the following talk are now characterized by other-attentiveness, the topic transition between talk units becomes smooth, and discontinuity is lessened.

Again \textit{na(me)} marks the connection to the prior talk while at the same time moving away from it.

3.6 The Evincive Use of \textit{Na(me)}

Miracle (1989b) argues that related to the connective function of \textit{na(me)} is its use as an evincive. Schourup (1983:14) has defined evincive as follows,

>a linguistic item that indicates that at the moment at which it is said the speaker is engaged in, or has just been engaged in, thinking; ...but does not completely specify its content.

\textit{Na(me)} can be used to indicate that the speaker is carrying on some type of internal deliberation and signal to the hearer that the Sp has established a connection between the prior and following talk. Used in this manner \textit{na(me)} acts as a pause marker indicating that the Sp intends to continue his/her turn. Huo (1958:12)) has noted that “the wording in conversation is thought of as it is spoken.” He mentions \textit{na(me)} as one of the “pet phrases” used by speakers when they have not thought cut what they are going to say sufficiently well.

(26) (cmi.1.11, cited earlier)

\textit{-C:} libaier keyi lu, shi a, NA wo libai, NA wo libaier wanshang Tuesday can record be PART na I week na I Tuesday evening You can record Tuesday, right? So, I, Tues, so Tuesday evening

gei ni lianluo
give you contact
I’ll contact you.
Here *na(me)* is used in a restart of a sentence indicating that the speaker will continue but is in the process of determining what will follow.

(27) (xwgc:3)

K: *NAME*, DANSHI wo weishenmo hui bijiao qingxiang shuo xianzai 
*name* danshi I why will relatively favor say now

So, but why do I tend to favor saying that we should now

→ women shi yinggai lai kaolu, *NAME* cong zheige, e si 
I-PL be should come consider *name* from this-CL PART four

consider, say beginning from this system of two days rest

zhou yi xiu zhidu kaishi ne 
week one rest system start PART
every four weeks?

In (27) *na(me)* is used at a possible turn transition point to indicate that, in spite of the prior pause, the speaker is not prepared to relinquish his turn and intends to continue.

(28) (xwgc:6)

K: ..., yinci wo hai shi geren zhuzhang, zheige si-zhou, 
therefore I still be individual advocate this-CL 4-week

..., therefore I myself still advocate this, rest one day

*NA*, xiu yi tian, weishenme ne, ...
*na(me)* rest one day why PART
each week, why? ...

*Na(me)* in this example does not appear at a possible turn transitional point, but rather in the middle of a constituent. Once again *na(me)* signals for the hearer that the Sp is carrying on internal activity and does in fact intend to continue.

4.0 Summary

In this chapter we have seen that *na(me)* can be used to mark a variety of different relationships between units of talk in discourse. It can be used to mark the consequent segments of talk, to mark the
succession in time of discourse units, to mark topic related units, and to mark pauses when the speaker is intending to continue.

Table 3: Discourse Use of \textit{na(me)}

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<td>reintroduction of topic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Action Structure</td>
<td>reintroduction of topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>introduction of new topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>introduction of s-act (based on motive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information State</td>
<td>inference (based on warrant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ongoing internal deliberation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn Structure</td>
<td>holding turn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of these uses share the characteristic of marking continuance that has earlier been noted by Miracle (1989b) and Biq (1990). Biq (1990:201–2) has noted the semantic connection between the marker \textit{na(me)} and the distal demonstrative \textit{na} arguing that the deictic function and the distal semantic value are instrumental in the development of \textit{na(me)} as a discourse marker. \textbf{That} in English, a demonstrative pronoun with distal reference as is \textit{na}, also “looks backward in discourse time” (Schiffrin 1987:229). This backward-looking feature of \textit{na(me)} can
account for its ability to establish connections as we have seen above. Even the evincive use of \textit{na(me)} has a deictic function pointing to the internal thought process of the speaker. Thus we can again see how the discourse use of this marker can be traced to its sentence-based use.
NOTES

1. Geis (1990:30) has described the felicity conditions on an *s-act* offer as follows,

   Sp felicitously offers to do A for Ad if and only if Sp conveys a proposition *P* to Ad, and
   Propositional Content Condition:
   Essential Condition:
   b. Conveying *P* counts as an expression of willingness by Sp to make a commitment to Ad to do A by way of satisfying some need Sp believes Ad may have.
   Preparatory Condition:
   c. Sp believes that Ad may wish A to be done.
   Sincerity Conditions:
   d. Sp is able to do A.
   e. Sp is willing to do A.

   In this case the preparatory condition is satisfied in the initial portion of turn B1 with the essential and propositional content conditions being satisfied in the latter portion of the turn, following *na(me)*. The sincerity conditions can be assumed by the participants.

2. The participants in this segment are discussing how to fill out a language use questionnaire. The questionnaire has been presented to speaker B, a female high school student, by A, a female graduate student. Given their relationship, A's assertion in turn A2 has the illocutionary significance of an order.

3. This phrase was used by Biq (1988b) to cover a broader grouping of the uses of *na(me)* in discourse.
1.0 Summary of Findings

1.1 Discourse Use of hao

From the discussion in Chapter III we have seen that hao has a number of different, but ultimately related functions in Mandarin conversation. Operating in the social action structure, hao can be used to mark both the closure of commissive/requestive social actions and the completion of smaller chunks of the conversational work involved in the completion of the overall s-act. In this respect we have seen that hao can mark the completion of the felicity conditions associated with the social action. Hao can also act in the turn structure of discourse to mark the appreciation of an s-act. These assertions may be a part of a variety of different social actions including conveying information, announcing, inquiring, disagreeing and complaining. In these situations, hao marks the closure of the prior conversational work and clears the way either for the continuation of the work necessary for completion of the s-act or for the transition to a new s-act. In this respect hao is again operative in the social action structure.

Completion of physical activities can be marked by hao as well. These activities can be related to the ongoing talk of the participants or may be unrelated to that talk. While these physical activities may
not be conversational per se, the function of *hao* here still has relevance in the social action structure by marking the transition back to the then current social activity. Finally we have seen that within the idea structure *hao* can assist in the management of ideas, marking the completion of one issue or action and the transition to the next. When operating in the idea structure in this manner, *hao* appears to be simultaneously operating in the information state of the discourse signalling that the speaker has just completed some type of relevant internal deliberation.

In all of the different aspects of discourse structure, the social action structure, the turn structure, the idea structure, and the information state, *hao* acts as a marker of closure and transition. This core function manifests itself differently in the particular environments detailed above, but remains constant throughout the use of *hao* as a discourse marker.

1.2 Discourse Use of *danshi, keshi* and *buguo*

As we have seen with *hao*, the markers *danshi, keshi* and *buguo* also operate in different aspects of the discourse structure. Within the idea structure of discourse these markers are used both at the local level and at a more global level to mark contrasting idea units and contrasting structural units in the organization of particular arguments. In some instances these contrasts are apparent from the verbally expressed ideas, while in other instances the contrast can only be understood when unexpressed contextual and cultural information is taken into account. The marked contrasts are at times between adjacent
segments of talk and at other times span not only utterances but even turns. In the social action structure danshi, keshi and buguo can be used to introduce conflicting positions and to reestablish the relevance of an earlier topic. Within the turn structure, these markers are used to mark linguistically dispreferred responses to prior turns.

Central to all of the various functions listed above is the semantic notion of contrast that is also basic to the use of danshi, keshi and buguo as conjunctions. The expectations of contrast and a common topic between the connected units of talk which derives from the conventional implicature which these items carry are instrumental to their use as discourse markers. Though these linguistic units are used as markers, they are not devoid of meaning.

1.3 Discourse Use of *na(me)*

*Na(me)* too operates in different spheres of the discourse structure with a variety of functions. In the idea structure *na(me)* can mark consequent units of talk following a prior condition or cause, the progressive movement through event time or discourse time, parallel or developing idea units in an argument, topic shift and the reintroduction of a topic. In the social action structure *na(me)* can mark the reintroduction of an earlier topic (this function occurs simultaneously in the social action structure and the idea structure) as well as the introduction of a new topic and can mark the introduction of a new social action based upon an earlier motive. In the information state, *na(me)* can mark an inference based upon an earlier warrant, a change in the knowledge of the speaker. Finally, as an evincive *na(me)* operates
simultaneously in both the information state and the turn structure of discourse signifying that relevant thought is currently taking place in the mind of the speaker and thus holding the turn of the speaker.

In all of its various uses na(me) maintains a core function of marking continuation. Whether operating in the idea structure, the social action structure, the turn structure or the information state, the notion of continuation is central to the function of na(me). The notion of continuation is also basic to the use of na(me) as a connective within sentences.

2.0 Pedagogical Implications

The value of these findings for teachers of Chinese can be readily seen if we take hao as an example. Given the myriad of uses of hao, how are teachers of Chinese to handle the teaching of this discourse marker? We will first examine how current language textbooks and pedagogical grammars handle this issue and then turn to some possible alternatives. The typical approach in Chinese textbooks is to introduce the verb hao 'is good, well, fine' very early in the text, generally as part of the fixed phrase for greeting, ni hao ma 'hello, how are you.' After this initial introduction the textbook authors generally feel free to use hao liberally in its variety of uses, verbal, marker and otherwise, with an English gloss added. Hao is variously glossed as 'good,' fine,' 'nice,' 'very nice,' 'okay,' 'all right,' 'yes,' 'certainly,' or not glossed at all. The unstated assumption apparently is that students will inductively determine how it functions.
There are, however, some notable exceptions to this pattern. Among first year Chinese texts, Practical Chinese Reader, Book I (ELI 1985) published in the People's Republic of China and the Workbook for Beginning Chinese (Walker et al.) produced in the U.S., both attempt to address the discourse use of hao. In addition to introducing the verbal use of hao, the Practical Chinese Reader in Lesson 22 uses hao-le in the dialogue and offers this explanation in the grammar notes, "(it) is used to express the wish to discontinue an argument..." (327). It is not listed as a new vocabulary item. This type of explanation runs the risk of encouraging students to insert hao-le at any point where they have heard enough and thus lead them to socially inappropriate uses of hao. The Chinese explanation is not nearly as dangerous, "expresses a kind of tone of closure," but of course the students using this text can only read the English and are not privy to the information conveyed in Chinese characters. Unfortunately this is the only discourse use of hao that is given an explanation. Walker et al. in the Workbook for Beginning Chinese also try to give students some guidance in the discourse use of hao. In Unit 2 (2-42) in explanation of the dialogue in which hao is used to agree to a suggestion, they write that hao "can also mean 'O.K. (I'll do that.)'" as an expansion of an old vocabulary item. In Unit 3 (3-192) they include a drill called "Confirming Suggested Action" instructing the students to agree to a suggestion they hear on the tape in the following fashion:

Prompt:  Wo kan ba. 'Why don't I look around.'
Response:  Hao, ni kankan ba. 'O.K., you look around a little.'
           (the students are not given a translation of the example)
Later in Unit 9 where hao is used to mark assent to a request in the
dialogue, hao is added as a new phrase, "OK; I understand" (9-79).

Earlier in the unit students are told,

when something is explained to you, you can express the fact
that you understand with the phrase: HAO "I understand;
OK,"

and an example dialogue is given. While this type of handling of hao is
much more constructive, it is still insufficient to handle the various
discourse uses of hao that appear in the dialogues of the text.

Brown and Hsu (1983) in Speaking Chinese in China, an intermediate
level text, also attempt to introduce students to the discourse uses of
hao. In Lesson 3, following the use of hao to close a telephone conver­
sation, they offer the explanation,

The Chinese may finish with zaijian, but very often the
signal is nothing more that something like en en or hao hao
hao," and the American might think he was cut off. (48)

In the dialogue in Lesson 13, after the use of hao ba, hao ba as an
appreciation of an assertion (a correction of the speaker), the authors
explain,

She uses hao ba, hao ba to get back on the right track
(O.K., here, here...).

These explanations for the use of hao in discourse are all correct as
far as they go, but none of them are sufficient.

The grammars of Chinese offer no help to students of Mandarin on
the use of hao in discourse. Chao (1968) and Li and Thompson (1981),
the two standard Chinese grammars written in English, do not even
mention the issue. The pedagogical grammars also offer little help.
Teachers (Li et al. 1984, 1989) does not mention the discourse use of hao and Essential Grammar for Modern Chinese (Lin 1981) mentions hao only in passing in the discussion of modal particles. She notes that when hao ba is used,

showing the speaker’s acceptance of a proposal, a challenge, or an offer, then a certain degree of hesitation or unwillingness is suggested. ... If the speaker is completely happy about the proposition, he would have responded “hao a!” (274-5)

This explanation is hardly sufficient to explain the multiple uses of hao in Chinese discourse.

Language teachers are faced with a dilemma when dealing with discourse items such as hao. If they avoid the use of discourse markers in elementary and intermediate texts, the dialogues which are created will sound unnatural and stilted. If, on the other hand, such complex discourse items are included, language teachers have to either explain their use and risk overloading their students or not explain them (the more popular course) and hope that students will “discover” their proper usage on their own. This latter course is the one chosen by most Mandarin Chinese textbooks. By merely giving students an English "equivalent" teachers and textbook authors are telling them that hao functions in the same way as okay or fine or whatever English word(s) is chosen as a gloss.

As an alternative, teachers can take a course similar to that followed by Walker et al. Discourse markers can be presented in an appropriate context and with a description of each new function as it appears. Listing each new use as a new vocabulary item is not likely to be productive. This type of approach only encourages students to use
the one-to-one correspondence with a native language lexical item that such a presentation requires. In the case of *hao*, we do not have enough empirical data about the use of possible native language equivalents, *okay*, *sure*, *fine*, etc., to make an informed decision on an appropriate choice. Lacking this type of information, merely glossing *hao* with an English "equivalent" is at best misleading, at worst, simply wrong.

In order to present *hao* in a manageable way to beginning and intermediate students, teachers can start with the role that *hao* plays in the development and closure of requests, commands, suggestions and offers, the commissive/requestive social activities. These functions are the ones that appear most commonly in the texts. Coincidentally, this use of *hao* is very similar to the use of *okay* in English as the work of Merritt (1984) has shown. Although contrastive analysis has fallen out of favor these days in pedagogical circles, I would suggest that teachers conscientiously use this similarity to our advantage in this particular instance, rather than let their students do it unwittingly. Merritt's research has shown that *okay* is used in service encounters to mark completion and closure of various stages of the encounter (144). *Hao* is found scattered throughout textbook dialogues in restaurants, when shopping, etc., in the service encounter that students are taught to handle. Realistic, communicative exercises can be designed which allow students to use *hao* to communicate within the limits of their linguistic abilities.

A likely next step would be the introduction of *hao* in closing telephone conversations. This introduction will require special care and contrastive analysis will again be important. The differences
between *hao* and *okay* will need to be stressed. As Schegloff and Sacks (1973) have pointed out, *okay* marks the completion of the conversational work in telephone calls and sets the stage for closing. It is not actually used in closing. In Chinese *hao* can serve both these functions. Teachers would want to expose their students to these uses but might want to save their training in production for later in their study. The use of *hao* as an appreciation of assertions, particularly complaints and disagreements, is clearly an issue that should be saved for the more advanced levels of language study as is also the case in the use of *hao* in the rhetorical management of ideas.

Throughout these explanations of the various uses of *hao* teachers should utilize the commonalities among the uses that have been discussed earlier above, the concepts of closure and transition from one activity, issue, topic, etc. to the next. In this way students can be led to make the appropriate generalizations regarding the use of *hao* in discourse and can avoid wasting valuable time attempting to discover these generalizations on their own through trial and error. This type of approach should have applicability not only to the teaching of *hao*, but also to the teaching of discourse markers generally.

3.0 Theoretical Implications

3.1 Implications for the Study of Chinese Linguistics

The findings of this study, as summarized above, have provided significant insight into the functioning of these discourse markers in Mandarin Chinese and thus adds significantly to our store of knowledge of the Chinese language. This type of qualitative study of *hao, keshi,*
Danshi, buguo, and na(me) is a necessary first step to a fuller understanding of the role discourse markers play in Chinese conversation.

While the findings themselves are certainly important, perhaps more significant is the utility of the method of study used here. Luke (1990) has already shown that the application of the techniques of conversation analysis to the study of Cantonese conversation can be very productive. Here we have seen that the approach of the conversation analysts enlightened by the insights of linguists, specifically Geis and Schiffrin, into the organization of conversation can yield very fruitful results when applied to the study of Mandarin conversation. This study has also shown the value of working with naturally occurring data when studying Chinese discourse. Naturally occurring data is clearly more difficult to work with. Countless hours must be spent in meticulous transcription, and an hour of tape may only contain a few tokens of the linguistic item to be studied. However, this study and others using naturally occurring data clearly demonstrate the value of this data source. Particularly when studying conversational discourse, created data cannot compare with the naturally occurring data in richness and reliability.

This study has addressed the functioning of only a small set of discourse markers used in Mandarin Chinese. No attempt has been made at the analysis of the use of shi a, dui a, fanzheng, gishi, jiushi, jiushi shuo, haoxiang, and others. Here we have merely begun the process of investigation of the discourse markers in Mandarin Chinese and demonstrated in the process a valuable methodology for that investigation.
3.2 Implications Regarding Geis’ Social Action Model

The utility of Geis’ model in the preceding analysis of these discourse markers in Mandarin Chinese adds more credibility to the model. Not only does this model have considerable explanatory value in English, but it can also account for similar phenomena in Mandarin Chinese, a typologically unrelated language.

We have also seen in Chapters III and V that the phenomena described by Geis, particularly social actions, are not merely theoretical constructs, but also are recognized by the participants in the conversation (recall this criteria from the conversation analysis for what makes sound theory). Please reconsider example (1) from Chapter III.

(1) (cm56:6)
C1: nimen qu zu luyingdai, zule ye shunbian zhuan qu, you-PL go rent videotape rent-ASP also conveniently turn go You go and rent a video, rent it and then go over and buy
[  qu mai cai ] ni mai cai guangwanle, shiyidian le, =
[ go buy food ] you buy food stroll-RES-ASP 11:00 ASP groceries, after you’ve bought groceries and strolled around,
B1: [ dinghao mai cai] [Dinghao buy food] Buy groceries at Dinghao.
C2: = women shiyidian kaishi nong cai, nong dao shierdian, I-PL 11:00 begin cook food cook to 12:00 at 11:00, we’ll start cooking, cook until 12:00,
ni mama huilaile
you mother back-come-ASP
then your Mom will come back.

→A1: HAO
hao
Okay.

→B2: HAO
hao
Okay.
This is an example of an s-act order. Recall that in Geis' framework orders are subject to the following felicity conditions.

Sp felicitously orders Ad to do A if and only if Sp conveys some proposition $P$ and

Propositional Content Condition:
  a. $P$ predicates a future action of Ad.

Essential Condition:
  b. Conveying $P$ counts as an attempt by Sp to cause Ad to do A.

Preparatory Condition:
  c. Sp believes that Ad is under an obligation to perform A-type acts of the sort predicated in $P$ if Sp desires.

Sincerity Condition:

The propositional condition of this s-act is specified and the essential condition is fulfilled in turns C1 and C2. Taking into account Grice's maxim of quality, "Try to make your contribution one that is true," (1975:46) we can infer from turns C1 and C2 that the speaker C wants the hearers, A and B, to carry out the action of going to the store, satisfying the sincerity condition. As discussed earlier, satisfaction of the preparatory condition can be derived within Chinese culture from the relationship among the speakers, e.g., children can be expected to do shopping for their parents. From this explanation we can see that the s-act order has been completed upon the utterance of turn C2. The addressees themselves acknowledge completion of this s-act through their use of the marker hǎo. The use of $na(me)$ in turn A2 is further proof that the participants see this as a unit, with $na(me)$ referring back to this entire unit, the s-act order. This same type of confirmation was seen in Chapter V, example (12) shown below.
Recall from the discussion in Chapter V, note 1 how the felicity conditions on this s-act offer were satisfied. In this example dui a is used by the addressee, C, to acknowledge closure of the s-act. Once again we see na(me) being used to refer back to the entire s-act as a unit.

While this study does not address the entirety of Geis’ model, the utility of the model as seen in the above discussion certainly suggests that this model of social actions has considerable explanatory value in the study of conversation and certainly warrants continued development.

3.3 Implications Regarding Schiffrin’s Model of Discourse Coherence

Schiffrin’s model has been used throughout the above analysis of the discourse functioning of hao, na(me), buguo, danshi and keshi. Although in this study the names have been changed somewhat (for various reasons\(^1\)), the concepts of action structure, exchange structure, ideational structure, information state and participation framework have all been found to be relevant to our understanding of the markers studied.

It has been argued that hao operates in the action structure, the
exchange structure, the ideational structure and the information state; 
*danshi*, *keshi*, and *buguo* can operate in the ideational structure, the 
action structure and the exchange structure; while *na(me)* operates in 
the ideational structure, the action structure, the exchange structure 
and the information state of discourse. This relevance of Schiffrin's 
model across languages offers additional evidence for its theoretical 
value.

As mentioned in the Introduction, Schiffrin (1987) has also 
suggested several characteristics of discourse markers. We will look at 
each of these in turn below.

1) Markers do not create discourse relationships, rather they select and 
display particular relationships from among the possible relationships 
(318).

We can see that this is the case by examining the following examples.

(3a) (cm18a:12, cited earlier)
A:  ni zhida ma
    you know PART
    Do you know,

    wo jintian liudian gang chu men o
    I today 6-o’clock just exit door PART
    today at 6:00 when I had just come out,

    you yiliang chezi
    have 1-CL car
    there was a cab,

    KESHI ta jiushi yijing bu shi zai shanpai wang qianmian
    *keshi* it just-is already NEG be at stand-sign toward front 
    but it was already, it wasn't at the cab stand, it was a little

    yidian
    one-bit
    in front (of the cab stand).
This example has been discussed earlier in Chapter IV (example (6)) regarding the use of *keshi*. The two propositions expressed, 'there was a cab when I came out today' and 'the cab was a little in front of the cab stand,' when taken out of context do not have any predetermined relationship. Based on the context in which this segment occurred, it has been argued that the latter proposition is contrary to the expectation of the Sp. In Taipei there are areas of the city where one could reasonably expect to find cabs at a specified spot, the cab stand. There are other areas in Taipei, however, where this is not the case. In those areas you would generally expect to find cabs anywhere but at the designated spot. Consider the following example.

\[(3b)\] (created example)
A: ni zhidaq na
you know PART
Do you know,

wo juntian liudian gang chu men o
I today 6-o`clock just exit door PART
today at 6:00 when I had just come out,

you yiliang chezi
have 1-CL car
there was a cab,

\[\rightarrow\] NA ta jiushi yijing bu shi zai zhanpai wang qianmian
na(me) it just-is already NBG be at stand-sign toward front
and it was already, it wasn`t at the cab stand, it was in front

yidian
one-bit
(of the cab stand) a little.

Here *na(me)* marks a sequential relationship (consecutive occurrences in event time) between the two propositions. This utterance would be appropriate in either of the contexts mentioned above. The utterance could have occurred as well without a discourse marker between the
propositions. We can see that the marker does not create the relationship between the propositions, rather it "displays" a possible relationship that already exists.

2) Markers which retain their semantic meaning will operate primarily in the ideational structure of discourse while they will be freer to operate in other aspects of the discourse structure as they lose this semantic meaning (319).

All of the markers that have been studied here continue to retain significant semantic content when they operate as discourse markers. They also all play a role in the idea structure of discourse. When one discusses the issue of degree, however, Schiffrin's claim becomes very difficult to substantiate. While in the case of the contrastive markers buguo, danshi and keshi one can argue that they retain their meaning and thus operate primarily in the ideational structure, the cases of hao and na(me) are not nearly so clear. Both na(me) and hao retain much of their semantic meaning, yet they have significant roles to play in the information state, the action structure and the exchange structure. It would be difficult to argue that they have "less" meaning than the contrastive markers and thus are "more" free to operate in different aspects of the discourse structure.

3) While markers may have various functions in particular contexts, each marker will have only one "indexical function" (325).

It has been argued that hao is a marker of closure and transition, buguo, danshi and keshi mark contrast, and na(me) marks continuation. These markers all retain these "indexical functions" in the various contexts in which they are used.
4) The following conditions will allow a linguistic unit to be used as a discourse marker,

- it has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence
- it has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance
- it has to have a range of prosodic contours, e.g., tonic stress and followed by a pause, phonological reduction
- it has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse ...

All of the markers examined in this study meet the above conditions. They can be syntactically detached from the sentences that precede and follow them; they are generally found in the initial position of an utterance; they have been shown to operate both locally and more globally in discourse; and, while this characteristic has not been stressed, they all have a range of phonetic realizations, i.e., they have reduced forms, can be accompanied by a pause, etc.

This study has affirmed the characteristics of discourse markers suggested by Schiffrin. The utility of both Geis’ and Schiffrin’s models, developed in the study of American English, has been clearly demonstrated in the study of Chinese conversation. These facts and the similarities noted throughout this study among the discourse markers used in English and Chinese all indicate that there are needs or functions in the creation of spontaneous conversation in all languages that call for the use and thus the development of discourse markers. This proposal is certainly worthy of further study in other languages.
1. In the case of the action structure, this study has used social action structure to accommodate the inclusion of Geis' model of social actions. The exchange structure has been called the turn structure because that is the more commonly used term for that concept. In the case of the ideational structure, idea structure has been used because it is a more straightforward representation of the concept.
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