

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:

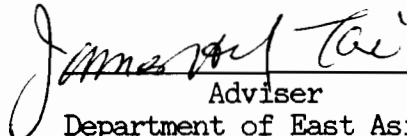
James Tai

Michael Geis

Timothy Light

Robert Sanders

Approved by


Adviser
Department of East Asian
Languages and Literatures

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the course of my work on this dissertation I have benefitted from the guidance and assistance of many individuals and institutions. Their advice has been always appreciated though not always followed. I express my deep appreciation to each member of my dissertation committee, Professors James Tai, Michael Geis, Timothy Light, and Robert Sanders. Particular thanks is due to my committee chair and adviser, James Tai, who has supervised this project from its inception. Professor Michael Geis helped me to see conversation in a new light, Professor Timothy Light got me started in the study of natural language data, and Professor Robert Sanders routinely gave me feedback and support. Without their collective assistance this project could never have been completed. My gratitude must be expressed as well to those teachers who were instrumental in the earlier portion of my graduate career, including the members of my general examination committee, Professors Marjorie Chan, Arnold Zwicky and especially Timothy Wong who has been both my teacher and my friend.

My field research in Taipei, Taiwan during the 1989-90 academic year was supported jointly by the Center for Chinese Studies, National Central Library, Taipei, Taiwan and the U.S. Department of Education, National Language and Area Studies Fellowship, and their assistance is hereby acknowledged. I am particularly indebted to Professor Eunice Lii

(Shih Yu-huei) and her students at the National Taiwan Normal University for their assistance in collecting data and to my neighbors in Taipei Hsiao-Cheng for their personal support of myself and my family during our stay in Taipei. The final stage of this project has been supported by The Ohio State University through a Presidential Fellowship.

I would be remiss if I did not express my thanks to those who have travelled this path before me and with me, particularly Professor Dana Bourgerie, Professor Scott McGinnis and his lovely bride Rebecca for their friendship, commiseration and support.

Finally I express my heartfelt appreciation to my friend and wife Betty and our children Sarah, Aaron and Michael. Without their love, support, tolerance and prodding none of this would have been possible.

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

PUBLICATIONS

- "Hao: A Chinese Discourse Marker." In Bradley Music, Randolph Graczyk, and Caroline Wiltshire (ed.), *Papers from the 25th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, Part 2: Parasession on Language in Context*, (1989): 213-27. Chicago: University of Chicago Linguistics Department.
- "Tone Production of American Students of Chinese: A Preliminary Acoustic Study." *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 29.3 (October 1989): 49-65.

FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field: East Asian Languages and Literatures

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
VITA	v
LIST OF TABLES	viii
CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Introduction	1
2.0 Related Studies of Varieties of Chinese	6
3.0 Goals	8
NOTES	11
II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY	12
1.0 Introduction	12
2.0 Discourse Marker - Definition	13
3.0 Conversation Analysis	15
4.0 Geis' Model of Speech Acts and Social Actions	18
5.0 Discourse Structure - Schiffrin's Model of Discourse Coherence	22
6.0 Methodology for Data Collection	27
NOTES	29
III. <i>HAO</i> : MARKING CLOSURE AND TRANSITION	30
1.0 Introduction	30
2.0 The Role of <i>hao</i> in Discourse	31
2.1 Commissive/Requestive Social Actions	32
2.2 Appreciation of Statements	41
2.3 Completion of Physical Actions	49
2.4 Turn-Internal Use of <i>hao</i>	51
3.0 Summary	55
NOTES	57
IV. CONTRASTIVE MARKERS: <i>KESHI</i> , <i>DANSHI</i> , AND <i>BUGUO</i>	59
1.0 Introduction	59

2.0	Analysis	62
2.1	Turn-Internal <i>danshi</i> and <i>keshi</i>	62
2.2	Turn-Initial <i>danshi</i> and <i>keshi</i>	73
3.0	Summary	86
NOTES	. . . . .	88
V.	<i>NA(ME)</i> AND CONTINUATION	89
1.0	Introduction	89
2.0	Prior Treatments of <i>na(me)</i>	90
3.0	Analysis	92
3.1	Conditional Use of <i>na(me)</i>	93
3.2	<i>Na(me)</i> Marking the Consequent	95
3.2.1	Cause and Result in the Idea Structure	96
3.2.2	Warrant and Inference in the Information State	98
3.2.3	Motive and Action in the Social Action Structure	100
3.3	Succession in Time Marked by <i>na(me)</i>	105
3.4	Topic Related Talk	108
3.4.1	Topic Development	108
3.4.2	Topic Shift	110
3.4.3	Topic Return	111
3.5	<i>Na(me)</i> Marking New Topics	114
3.6	The Evincive Use of <i>na(me)</i>	115
4.0	Summary	116
NOTES	. . . . .	119
VI.	CONCLUSION	120
1.0	Summary of Findings	120
1.1	Discourse Use of <i>hao</i>	120
1.2	Discourse Use of <i>danshi</i> , <i>keshi</i> and <i>buguo</i>	121
1.3	Discourse Use of <i>na(me)</i>	122
2.0	Pedagogical Implications	123
3.0	Theoretical Implications	128
3.1	Implications for the Study of Chinese Linguistics	128
3.2	Implications Regarding Geis' Social Action Model	130
3.3	Implications Regarding Schiffrin's Model of Discourse Coherence	132
NOTES	. . . . .	137
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	138

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
1.	Discourse Use of <i>hao</i>	56
2.	Discourse Use of <i>keshi</i> , <i>danshi</i> and <i>buguo</i>	87
3.	Discourse Use of <i>na(me)</i>	117

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

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 *zheyang* '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 *zheige* '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.

(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
 hao PART Wang Mr. this real embarrassing
 Fine, Mr. Wang, this is really embarrassing.

->B: **hao** le, **hao** le, bu yong keqi le.
 hao PART hao 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: Zhe shi, zhe zhe, xiangji shi ban sha bu sha.
This be this this camera be half foolish NEG foolish
'This camera is semi-automatic.'

B: Ban sha.
Half foolish
'(It is) semi-automatic.'

->C: Ban sha bu sha ba, **ni xiang**.
Half foolish NEG foolish PRT you think
'(It is) semi-automatic, you know.'

B: Ban sha bu sha.
half foolish NEG foolish
'(It is) semi-automatic.'

Chao's (1968) analysis would suggest that *ni xiang* 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*, *danshi*, *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, Östman 1981, 1982, Schiffrin 1982, 1987, and Schourup 1983²), 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*³).

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 discourse⁴. 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)⁵. 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 focusses 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 *na(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'⁶ 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. Schifffrin (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 "indexical 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 Schifffrin (1982: Chapter 2) and Luke (1990: Chapter 6). Relevant aspect 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 Schifffrin (1982 and 1987) and Geis (1989a and b, 1991) regarding the organization of everyday conversation. I utilize Schifffrin'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 Schifffrin (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 postiori*. 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 Schifffrin 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 Schifffrin'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. *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. *L*-meaning or literal meaning is based on truth-conditional meaning, as well as conventional implicature and aspects of deixis. Finally we have *s*-meaning which derives from the *I*-meaning of the utterance, contextual information, background knowledge and common-sense reasoning. Corollary to these different types of meaning are types of acts, *i*-acts, *l*-acts and *s*-acts, intentional acts, literal acts and social acts respectively. These latter acts, *l*-acts and *s*-acts, are the focus of Geis' theorizing. Regarding *l*-acts Geis (1991:39) states "in uttering a sentence, one necessarily performs an *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, naban you ge kanxiangde, women
 you look that-side have CL tell-fortune-NOM I-PL
 Look over there, there's a fortuneteller, let's go

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
 Aw, forget it, hey, don't you remember when we were

chang na lai kaiwanxiaode naju hua
 often take come joke-NOM 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, fangzheng 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., *Ni 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 *hac* 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

point, specific instances and a generalization based on them, etc..

Consider the following segment of speech.

(2) (xwgc:1)

renli	bu	zu	fangmian, yinwei na shi bianzhi	1
manpower	NEG	sufficient	aspect because that be organization	2
As for	insufficient	manpower,	because that's an organizational	3
wenti, xiang	Pingdong	xian, neige	Pingdong shi, xian e	4
problem	like	Pingdong county	that-CL Pingdong city county PART	5
problem,	like	Pingdong County,	Pingdong City, County, uh, that	6
Pingdong	shizhang, ta,...,	dangxuan	yihou, ta ba suoyoude	7
Pingdong	mayor	s/he	be-elected after s/he take all-NOM	8
mayor,	after he was	elected,	he eliminated all of the temporary	9
linshi	renyuan	dou gei ta	quxiaodiao meiyou zai zengjia	10
temporary	personnel	all give s/he	eliminate NEG-have again increase	11
personnel,	he didn't	increase them	again. The result was that he	12
jieguo	ta shi	bande	hen hao suoyi bing bu shi shuo	13
result	s/he be	manage-PART	very good therefore also NEG be speak	14
did very	well,	so that	doesn't mean all temporary personnel,...,	15
linshi	renyuan	dou,...biaoshi	shuo women bu neng shixian	16
temporary	personnel	all show	speak I-PL NEG can implement	17
shows that	we can't	implement it.		18

In line 4 *xiang* is used to mark an example which supports a preceding general statement. *Jieguo* (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)	1
ye jiu shi shuo, ta zai xue yuyan de shihou, gen	2
also just be say s/he PROG study language NOM time with	3
That's just to say, when they study language, with children	4
xiaohaizi tamen ye bu shi shuo dou shi cuowu, ye shi you yige	5
child(ren) they also NEG be say all be mistake also be have one-CL	6
they're not all mistakes. When they're carrying on (language	7
pattern zai jinxing. NA zheige keneng yanjiuchulai yihou	8
pattern PROG carry on na(me) this-CL probably research-out-come after	9
learning) they also have a pattern. So after you discover it,	10
ni keyi dui neige a foreign language teaching you bangzhu.	11
you can toward that-CL a foreign language teaching have assistance	12
it can probably be very helpful in foreign language teaching.	13

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 example².

- (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: pengdahui
 pengdahui
 Pengdahui (a kind of Chinese medicine)
- B: a, pengdahui, na shi lingwai yizhong la
 INT pengdahui that be other one-kind PART
 Oh, pengdahui, 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 *pengdahui* 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.

6.0 Methodology for Data Collection

Östman (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.

NOTES

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 Ryhbaw Tsyrdcan, compiled in Taiwan, states that *hao* is a "word which expresses approval and permission; expresses conclusion or stopping; contrary to expectation¹"

(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, ... (Lü 1980:226)

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 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
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 lihailai
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 interlocutors². 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 |
| | | |
| | yitiaoyu 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 (??) ³ , jiande ye keyi | 16 |
| | pan-fry-NOM (??) pan-fry-NOM also alright | 17 |
| | Fried (??), fried is okay too. | 18 |

		35
->A1:	HAO a	19
	hao PART	20
	Okay.	21
B3:	chi jiande haole	22
	eat pan-fry-NOM alright-PART	23
	Let's eat fried (fish).	24
A2:	shenme yu ya	25
	what fish PART	26
	What kind of fish?	27
B4:	youyu	28
	squid	29
	Squid.	30
C4:	changyu a	31
	cuttlefish PART	32
	Cuttlefish!	33
->B5:	changyu, HAO	34
	butterfish hao	35
	Butterfish, okay.	36
C5:	ni bu shi xihuan chi changyu ma	37
	you NEG be like eat butterfish PART	38
	Don't you like to eat butterfish?	39
->A3:	HAO	40
	hao	41
	Okay.	42
->B6:	changyu, HAO	43
	butterfish hao	44
	butterfish, okay.	45
->A4:	HAO	46
	hao	47
	Okay.	48
C6:	mai dian, mai dian changyu, yu, a, zai chao	49
	buy bit buy bit butterfish fish PART again stir-fry	50
	Buy a little, buy a little butterfish, (we'll) cook	51
	liangge cai, ...	52
	two-CL food	53
	two more dishes, ...	54

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 *l*-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 jie jue 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 *I*-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 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 *I*-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 suggestion⁴ 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 zhidao 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 ho⁵
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
 hao 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 follows an *I*-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 following utterance, *ni da dianhua gei wo a* which makes explicit the propositional 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 preceding assertion, setting the time for the exchange of tapes. Following

hao 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 xiaowu 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?

C1: maikefeng
microphone
Microphone.

->A2: HAO, bu yao guan ta, women jiu suibian liaotian
hao NEG need bother-about it I-PL then casual chat
Okay, don't worry about it, we'll just chat.

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 *l*-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
[PROG kind] talk I NEG-have hear-RES
Talking like that, I didn't hear (it).

C2: dui a
 right PART
 Right!

->A2: HAO a, jiushi ta, ta xuejie, dasi xuejie a,
hao PART just-is s/he s/he classmate (older) senior classmate PART
Okay, it's just that her, her, classmate, the senior, she,

ta dasi xuejie songgei ta yige hen piaoliangde lianzi,
s/he senior classmate give s/he one-CL very pretty-NOM chain
the senior classmate gave her a very pretty chain.

ranhou ...
afterward
and then ...

Speakers A, B, and C are college coeds chatting in their dormitory.

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 *I*-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 and] 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-NOM 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-NOM one-CL teacher
(and calm), a teacher with scholarly demeanor, but while he (can)

danshi suiran jiao, laoshi bu hui ting ma
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-NOM one-CL teacher s/he talk after I
So it's just that he's a very good teacher, he said that if I

yaoshi neng xiang ZMZ neiyang duo hao, ...
 if can like (person's) name that-kind more good
 can be like ZMZ, that good a teacher, ...

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, jue de hao fan
 correct PART NEG like stay at Taibei, feel very annoyed
 Right, I don't want to stay in Taibei, 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

hehehe
 (laughter)
 think?

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 Zhanghua." 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, chihaoie, [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

jiushi nage dinghao maide, shenme, hongluobo, yushushu
 just-be that-CL Dinghao buy-NOM what carrot corn
 that the ones (we) bought at Dinghao, what, carrots, corn,

[(???)]

[(???)]

[(???)]

[]

C4: [dui, dui, dui] neige, neizhong meiguanxi a
 [right right right] that-CL that-kind NEG-bearing PART
 [Right] those, that kind, it doesn't matter.

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 completion 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.

(17) (cm56a:14)

A: (on the telephone) ..., NA ni shenme shihou yao huilai?
 na you what time will comeback
 So when will you come back?

-> HAO, mei guanxi, HAO, HAO, NA baibai
 hao NEG bearing hao hao na goodbye
 Okay, it doesn't matter, okay, okay, goodbye.

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

gen wo bade shouyi, neige hao, wo ba ye hui zuo
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: ..., ranhou wo jiu shuo, keshi wo fenxi gei ni ting ha, 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
- jintian jiaru shuo, shi yige sanshisuide nanhaizi, yi ta 4
today if say be one-CL thirty-year-NOM boy regarding he 5
today, say if there is a thirty year old guy, and with 6
- zheyangde waixing, gen tade tiaojian lai shuo,7
this-type-NOM appearance regarding he-NOM qualification come say 8
his appearance, and his qualifications, 9
- ni shuo ta meiyou nǚpengyou zai shenbian, ni yiding hui 10
you say he NEG-have girlfriend at body-side you certain will 11
you say he doesn't have a girlfriend at his side, you'll 12
- juede hen qiguai, jiashi shuo, tade tiaojian ge fangmian 13
feel very odd if say he-NOM qualification each aspect 14
certainly think it's wierd, if say, all aspects of his 15
- dou peihe, baokuo ta ye hui jiang hua de-hua, 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 nüpengyou, 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 juegui 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 structured as follows,

(19a) 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 zheiyangde bu tong, HAO NAME zheipian
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 *I*-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*

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

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 felicitiously ~~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 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 boundaries" (218) and connects the preceding with the following talk. Y. R. Chao also recognized the dependence of these linguistic units on phenomena outside the sentence in which they occur when he discussed the "macrosyntactic use" of conjunctions (1968:791-2). Among the conjunctions 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 settings¹. 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, Lü (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 minqunde zheige yiyuan
 future trend people-NOM this-CL wish
 a future trend, the people's desire,

 -> DAN bu shi xian, xian jieduande
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,

 -> DANSHI... dui minzhongde qiagong zaocheng bu bian
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) (cm18a:29)

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

-> **KESHI** yao kaoshang 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) (xwgc:8)

Z: zhei shi youde, **DANSHI** 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 straight forward.

(5) (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,

1
2
3

		65
	wo juede ta bu keneng neiyang a	4
	I feel s/he NEG probably that-way PART	5
	I don't think she can be like that!	6
	piru shuo, wo zai shuijiao o wo hui shengqi	7
	for example I PROG sleep PART I will angry	8
	For example if I were sleeping, I'd get mad,	9
->	DANSHI yinwei shi ouer shui, ye bu shi meitian	10
	<i>danshi</i> because be occasional sleep also NEG be every-day	11
	but it's occasional, it isn't an everyday thing,	12
	zheiyang shi ba women quanbu shenghuo daoguolai, ni	13
	that-way be take I-PL complete life turn-upside-down you	14
	that's turning our whole lives upside down,	15
	zhidao ma?	16
	know PART	17
	you know?	18
	NA nandao women jige ren, sange, sige yao peihe	19
	<i>na</i> RHET I-PL several-CL people 3-CL 4-CL need accomodate	20
	So do we, the three, four of us have to accommodate	21
	ta ma	22
	s/he PART	23
	her? (rhetorical question)	24

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)

DANSHI 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 argument² 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	xiuxi	liangtian	shi,	1
	same-time	I	individual	think	one-CL	week	rest	two-day	be	2
	At the same time,	I	think	two days off	in one week	is,				3
	zheige	shi	bian	guan	er	bu	li	min		4
	this-CL	be	convenient	official	but	NEG	benefit	people		5
	it's	convenient	for the	officials	but	not	for the	people.		6

		67
	er yinwei women dou xiaode, women zhengfu wei min	7
	further because I-PL all know I-PL government for people	8
	And because we all know, government is to serve the people	9
	fuwu gei minzhong geng duode fangbian,	10
	serve give public even more-NOM convenience	11
	to make things more convenient for the public,	12
	gei minzhong geng duode liyi	13
	give public even more-NOM benefit	14
	to be more beneficial to the public,	15
	zhei shi womende tianzhi	16
	this be I-PL-NOM duty	17
	that's our duty.	18
->	DANSHI, zheige, women zhengfu, zidongde jianshao	19
	danshi this-CL I-PL government independent-PART reduce	20
	But, this, if our government, on it's own reduces the	21
	gongwuyuande shangban shijian a,	22
	public-official-NOM attend-work time PART	23
	public servants working hours,	24
	zheige gei gongwuyuan fangbian,	25
	this-CL give public-official convenient	26
	that's convenient for the officials,	27
->	DANSHI... dui minzhongde qiaogong zaocheng bu	28
	danshi toward public-NOM carry-out-business create NEG	29
	but, for the public conducting business, it'll create	30
	bian, dui minzhongde quanyi, hui zaocheng	31
	convenient toward public-NOM rights-interests will create	32
	inconvenience, it'll hurt the public's interest.	33
	hen dage shanghai	34
	very large-NOM harm	35
	suoyi wo geren renwei maoran shishi, keneng shi	36
	therefore I individual think rashly try probably be	37
	So in my opinion to rashly try (this system) is probably	38
	bian guan er bu li min	39
	convenient official but NEG benefit people	40
	convenient for the officials, but it doesn't benefit the	41
	public.	42

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)

DANSHI Support (2): reducing hours is convenient for officials
(lines 19-25)

DANSHI 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 structural 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 yiban role play, jiushi shuo, yongde fangfa	1
	<i>name</i> general role play just-be say use-NOM method	2
	So generally role play, that is, the main method	3
	zhuyao shi yong <u>role play</u>	4
	main be use	5
	used is role play,	6
->	KESHI yiban role play jiushi shuo rang xuesheng	7
	<i>keshi</i> general role play just-be say make student	8
	but generally role paly, that is, has students talk	9

		69
	jiang shidi	10
	talk on-the-spot	11
	on the spot,	12
	piru shuo ei, jintian ni yan baba, ni yan mama	13
	for-example say PART today you play dad you play mom	14
	for example, today you play mom, you play dad,	15
->	KESHI hai renwei shuo, zheiyang you yige quedian, ...	16
	<i>keshi</i> still consider say this-kind have one-CL fault	17
	but still, this method has a problem, ...	18

The structure for this example can be seen as follows,

(8a)

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

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

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

KESHI 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
 Just when the whole world, after science and technology has

 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,

 -> **DAN** 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 focussing attention and thus emphasizing the point following the marker can also be seen in the following example.

(10) (xwgc:2-3)

women hen danxinde shi, women gongwujiguan shishi zhihou, 1
I-PL very worry-NOM be I-PL public-offices carry-out after 2
What we're worried about is, after public offices carry this out, 3

chanye jiu genjin 4
industry then follow 5
industry will then follow. 6

zheige shihou keneng dique zhei hui zaocheng gangcai Lin 7
this-CL time probably certainly this will create just-now Lin 8
At this time this would probably, certainly create what Minister 9

tingzhang suo jiangde 10
minister that-which talk-NOM 11
Lin has just mentioned. 12

NAME women hen keneng chanyejiede, neige shengchan, 13
name I-PL very probably industrial-sector-NOM that-CL production 14
So our industrial sector will likely, the production volume 15

liang, hui shoudao yingxiang 16
volume will receive influence 17
will be influenced. 18

-> NAME, **DANSHI** wo weishenme hui bijiao qingxiang shuo xianzai 19
name *danshi* I why will relatively favor say now 20
So, but why do I tend to favor saying that we should now 21

women shi yinggai lai kaolü, NAME cong zheige, e si 22
I-PL be should come consider name from this-CL PART four 23
consider, say beginning from this system of one day rest 24

zhou yi xiu zhidu kaishi ne 25
week one rest system start PART 26
every four weeks? 27

yinwei ruguo women bu caiqu jianjinde fangshi hen keneng 28
because if I-PL NEG adopt gradual method very probably 29
Because if we don't adopt a gradual method, we will very likely, 30

rang womende qian chanyejie yizhi weichi zai 31
cause I-PL-NOM money industrial-sector all-along remain at 32
our money, industrial sector, will continue to remain 33

yige tigao shengchangliang er bu shi tigao 34
1-CL raise production-volume but NEG be raise 35
focussed on raising production output but not on raising 36

shengchanglide zheiyangde guanlian 37
productivity-NOM this-kind-NOM connection 38
the production capacity, that kind of connection. 39

suoyi	wo	bijiao	zancheng	jianjinde	zheizhong	fangshi	40
therefore	I	relatively	support	gradual-NOM	this-kind	method	41
Therefore	I	tend to	support	carrying out	the	gradual method.	42
	lai	shishi					
	come	carry-out					

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!

->B2: **KESHI** wo hen nan shuo, you-shihou xiang yao qu nali jiu
keshi I very difficult say sometime think want go anywhere then
 But that's hard to say, sometimes I want to go somewhere and I

hui qu nali
 will go anywhere
 just go there.

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 a 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 preference³. 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-PART
 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 PART
 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 offer⁴ 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 that is
 weilai qushi minqunde zheige yiyuan
 future trend people-NOM this-CL wish
 a future trend, the people's desire,

DAN bu shi xian, xian jieduande
dan NEG be current current stage-NOM
 but (it) isn't the current stage.

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-PROG 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.

(16) (cm18a:27)

- D1: NA neige fangzi shi, jiushi sanfangdong, neiyang, 1
 na that-CL house be just-be sublet that-way 2
 Now that place, it's a sublet, like that, 3
- NA neige shi waiguoren, 4
 na that-CL be foreigner 5
 and he's a foreigner, 6
- NA ta yao leisi jiao, jiaohuan yuyan neiyang 7
 na s/he want similar exchange language that-way 8
 and he wants to exchange language too, that kind of thing. 9
- C1: mm, NA ni keyi a 10
 INT na you can PART 11
 Hmm, so you can do that. 12
- >D2: **KESHI** haishi yao fu neige fang, neige fangzu a 13
keshi still need pay that-CL house that-CL rent PART 14
 But you still have to pay that, the rent. 15
- C2: fangzu yao duoshao 16
 rent need how-much 17
 How much is the rent? 18

There is no clear information contrast between turns C1 (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 described 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 C1 (line 10)).

(17) (cm47a:11b)

- A1: dui a, wo shi juede wo bu xihuan zai nabian gen ta 1
 right PART I be feel I NEG like at that-side with s/he 2
 Right, I don't like to intrigue against him. 3
- gou-xin-dou-jiao 4
 intrigue-against-each-other 5

->B1: **KESHI** nanhaizi gen women bu yiyang a, ta yinwei nanhaizi
keshi boy with I-PL NEG same PART s/he because boy
 But boys aren't like us, because he's a boy, he

shuo ta bu xihuan gen renjia gou-xin-dou-jiao,
 say s/he NEG like with other-person intrigue-against-each-other
 says he doesn't like to intrigue against other people,

zheiju hua jiangchulai jiu zhengming ta you xie nengli
 this-CL talk talk-out-come just prove s/he have some ability
 once he says that though it proves that he has some inadequacies

buzude difang
 inadequate-NOM place
 he can't make up for.

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 dis-preferred response to speaker A's assessment. *Danshi* can also be used in marking this type of loose contrast.

(18) (cm18a: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 B1 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.

B1:	[	dui 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 (B1), 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 Lü (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 |
| | jiushi 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 |

->D3: dui	a,	DANSHI	zenmeyang	wo	hai	bu	zhidao	19
	right	PART	<i>danshi</i>	how-is-it	I	still	NEG know	20
	Right,	but	I	still	don't	know	what will happen.	21

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 command⁵ 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, juegui] meiyou cuo
 if you need spell [need spell certain] NEG-have mistake
 If you need romaniza[tion, it's certainly] not wrong.

T1: [particles, (???)]
 [particles (???)]
 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 English explain [be PART]
 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, zheiyangde hua, kanbudong ei
 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)

- | | | |
|-------|---|----|
| C1: | 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 zhidao | 4 |
| | I from PART name if you-PL have impression I from NEG 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 <i>keshi</i> 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 biande 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*

Aspect of Discourse	Function (Marking)
Idea Structure	idea contrast local distant contrast from expressed ideas contrast from context structural contrast local global
Social Action Structure	introduction of disagreement reintroduction of topic
Turn Structure	introduction of dispreferred response

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 χ^2 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 *l*-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 Gwoyeu Ryhbaw Tsyrdan 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 variation. 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...', *jiashen...* '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 NEG 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 chanyejiède 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)

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.

->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** casual 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 ideational 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."

- (6) (cm60a:1b)
 A: ..., **yinwei** mingtian ni yao shang di-si-tang,
 because tomorrow you will attend number-4-class
 ..., because when you're attending the fourth class tomorrow,

 wo cai shang di-san-tang,
 I then attend number-3-class
 I'll only be attending the third class,

 -> **NA** ni xian xuede, ...
 na(me) you first study-PART
 so you'll attend first, ...

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.

- (7) (cm47a:3b)
 A: ..., wo jiu gen xuemei jiang yixia,
 I just with elder-classmate (female) talk one-bit
 ..., I just talked with my classmate,

 -> **NA** xuemei shi ba wo lieru dangran
 na(me) elder-classmate be take I enter-into certainly
 so/then she entered me as the certain candidate, ...

 renxuan, ...
 candidate

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.

- (8) (cm60a:5a)
 B: ..., ta jiu, dui, ta shuo ni keyi cai you
 s/he then right s/he say you can step-on oil
 ..., then he, yeah, he said you can step on the gas,

 -> **NA** wo jiu cai.
 na(me) I then step-on
 so/then I stepped on (it).

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:6)
- 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** hen xianran womende zidonghua 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
- zhou-xiu-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-NEG-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) (clr: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

xiaohaizi 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	1
	moreover s/he every-day s/he that-way	2
	Furthermore she's like that every day,	3
	wo juede ta bu keneng neiyang a	4
	I feel s/he NEG probably that-way PART	5
	I don't think she can be like that!	6
	piru-shuo, wo zai shuijiao o wo hui shengqi	7
	for-example I PROG sleep PART I will angry	8
	For example if I were sleeping, I'd get mad,	9
	DANSHI yinwei shi ouer shui, ye bu shi meitian	10
	danshi because be occasional sleep also NEG be every-day	11
	but it's occasional, it isn't an everyday thing,	12

		100
	zheiyang shi ba women quanbu shenghuo daoguolai, ni	13
	that-way be take I-PL complete life turn-upside-down you	14
	that's turning our whole lives upside down,	15
	zhidao ma	16
	know PART	17
	you know?	18
->	NA nandao women jige ren, sange, sige yao peihe	19
	na RHET I-PL several-CL people 3-CL 4-CL need accomodate	20
	So do we, the three, four of us have to accommodate	21
	ta ma	22
	s/he PART	23
	her? (rhetorical question)	24

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 *I*-act declarative following *na(me)* can be seen as an instantiation of an *s*-act offer¹ 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	1
you be meet after then write or now write	2
Do you want to write the minutes now or wait until after the	3
meeting?	4

- A1: jiushi kaihuiwan yihou cai xie, huoze shi, (laughter) 5
 just-be meet-RES after then write or be 6
 Write them up after the meeting, or ... (laughter) 7
- >D2: NA, dajia xian [shou]qilai, hao bu hao, = 8
 na(me) everyone first [collect]-RES good NEG good 9
 So everybody take [notes,] okay? 10
 [] 11
- A2: [bian], = 12
 [side] 13
 14
- D2: = [dajia xian shouqilai] 15
 [everyone first collect-RES] 16
 [Everybody first take notes.] 17
 [] 18
- A2: = [bian nian] bian xie ye keyi 19
 [side read] side write also can 20
 Read and write at the same time is okay too. 21
- ?: you kong jiu xie 22
 have empty then write 23
 Write (them up) when you have time. 24
- B1: hm, zheiyangzi, HAO a, 25
 INT this-kind hao PART 26
 Hm, like that, okay, 27
- > NA ge, geying baogao nimen dajia geying (???), 28
 na(me) each each-group report you-PL everyone each-group (???) 29
 so each group report your, everybody, each group, (???), 30
- nimen yanzhong, haiyou women zheng, zhengge yingde yundong 31
 you-PL important still-have I-PL whole whole group-de activity 32
 your important, and our entire group's activities and 33
- zhuangkuang, 34
 situation 35
 situation, 36
- > NA YF, ni yao haohaode jilu, ... 37
 na(me) name you must good-PART record, ... 38
 now YF you need to record well, ... 39

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 *I*-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 subsequent 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
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 *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 order² 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 dao zhi yu,
central-NOM order NOM-talk probably will lead to
the central government's order, it will probably lead to

zheige chezhi jiguo 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 NEG 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.

->A2: ha, e, **NA** nimen xia libai hui bu hui kao hen duo?
 INT INT *na(me)* you-PL next week will NEG will test very much
 Hmm, oh, so next week will you test a lot?

Here the *s*-act inquiry initiated in turn A2 is marked by *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 *na(me)* can be used to introduce a variety of *s*-acts in the social action structure, marking them as the consequence of earlier *s*-acts and thus establishing their connection to the prior discourse.

3.3 Succession in Time Marked by *na(me)*

Just as the demonstrative pronoun *na* when used in time expressions such as *nashihou* 'that time' can indicate relative time, *na(me)* when used in discourse can also be used to mark time relationships. Schiffrin (1987:229), in her analysis of the discourse markers *now* and *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 *na(me)*. Consider the following example in which *na(me)* marks a consecutive relationship in event time.

(17) (cm47a:3b)

A: ..., wo jiu gen xuemei jiang yixia,
 I just with elder-classmate (female) talk one-bit
 ..., I just talked with my classmate,

- > **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 ren yuan hui jue de lei ma
 just basic-level work staff will feel tired PART
 ..., is it just the lower level workers that'll feel tired,
- > **NA** 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) (cm18a:27, cited earlier)

D1: bu shi, ta xianzai zhaodao yige fangzi a
NEG be s/he now find-RES 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,
na that-CL house be just-is 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
na 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."³ 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 reintroduction 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 qiqianwu, dui bu dui,
 I-PL today at 7500 right NEG right
 today, we're at \$7500, right?

- > **NA** deng yige jiating ne, ni zhuan liangwanyi bi jiating,
na(me) wait one-CL household PART you earn 2100 CL household
 so when a household, a household earning \$2100,
- > **NA** ta you, hen haode jiankang, you zhu hen haode fanzi,
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,
 chi hen haode dongxi, ...
 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 juede bandai fan'er meiyou shenme shi zuo
 I feel class-rep on-the-contrary NEG-have any work do
 I think the class rep, on the contrary, doesn't have any work.
- 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 zhaodao yige fangzi a
 NEG be s/he now find-RES 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,
 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	1
	s/he consider say child PART child probably probably	2
	..., he says, children, y'know, children probably	3
	zai hen xiaode shihou, jiu yijing, jiu yijing kaishi <u>acquire</u>	4
	at very small-NOM time just already just already begin	5
	when they're very small have already started acquiring	6
	<u>this kind of, uh, ability, to use the appropriate register, or</u>	7
	this kind of, uh, ability, to use the appropriate register, or	8
	<u>language, ha,</u>	9
	PART	10
	language, y'know,	11

-> **NAME** ta zheibian yongde fangfa zhuyao shi yong role play 12
 name s/he this-side use-PART method main be use 13
 so , here, the main method used is role play, 14

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

B1: dui a
 right PART
 Right.

A2: nūhaizi xiang chulai, ai, you buhaoyisi 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, ...

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 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 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: ..., erqie 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

nianqing, 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 interactional 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: **NA** 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 *I*-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 Schifffrin (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 *na(me)* indicates continuation, it appears that whatever came before *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 *na(me)* marks the connection to the prior talk while at the same time moving away from it.

3.6 The Evincive Use of *Na(me)*

Miracle (1989b) argues that related to the connective function of *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.

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 *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 *na(me)* as one of the "pet phrases" used by speakers when they have not thought out what they are going to say sufficiently well.

(26) (cm1.1:11, cited earlier)

->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 *na(me)*

Aspect of Discourse	Function (Marking)
Idea Structure	consequent of: condition cause movement through time discourse time event time parallel - developing idea units topic shift reintroduction of topic
Social Action Structure	reintroduction of topic introduction of new topic introduction of <i>s</i> -act (based on motive)
Information State	inference (based on warrant) ongoing internal deliberation
Turn Structure	holding turn

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 *na(me)* and the distal demonstrative *na* arguing that the deictic function and the distal semantic value are instrumental in the development of *na(me)* as a discourse marker. That in English, a demonstrative pronoun with distal reference as is *na*, also "looks backward in discourse time" (Schiffrin 1987:229). This backward-looking feature of *na(me)* can

account for its ability to establish connections as we have seen above. Even the evincive use of *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:

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.

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.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

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 *I*-act assertion.~~ 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 (BLI 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 conversation, they offer the explanation,

The Chinese may finish with zaijian, but very often the signal is nothing more than 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.

Mandarin Chinese: A Practical Reference Grammar for Students and

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 our 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 Schiffrrin, 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*, *qishi*, *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.

->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!

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:
 - d. Sp wants Ad to do A. (1991:34-5)

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 *hao*. 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.

- (2) (cm56a:2)
- B1: ma bu shi you rousi, meiyou a,
 mother NEG be have meat-strip NEG-have PART
 Doesn't Mom have meat strips, 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).

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 reasons¹), 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 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).

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 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,

-> **NA** ta jiushi yijing bu shi zai zhanpai wang qianmian
na(me) it just-is already NEG 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, Schifffrin'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 ... (328)

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.

NOTES

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.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALLETON, VIVIANE. 1981. Final particles and expressions of modality in modern Chinese. *Journal of Chinese linguistics* 9:91-114.
- ATKINSON, J. MAXWELL AND JOHN HERTIGAGE (eds.). 1984a. *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ATKINSON, J. MAXWELL AND JOHN HERTIGAGE. 1984b. Introduction. In Atkinson and Hertigage (1984a:1-15).
- BEIJING YUYANXUE YUAN (Beijing Language Institute-BLI). 1982. *A concise Chinese-English dictionary*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
- . 1985. *Practical Chinese reader*, Book I. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
- BROWN, J. MARVIN AND YING HSU. 1983. *Speaking Chinese in China*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- BIQ, YUNG-O. 1984. Indirect speech acts in Chinese polite expressions. *Journal of Chinese Language Teacher's Association* 19(3):1-10.
- . 1988a. From objectivity to subjectivity: The text-building function of *you* in Chinese. *Studies in language* 12(1):99-122.
- . 1988b. The multifunctionality of discourse markers in Chinese. Paper presented at the Chinese Language Teachers Association annual meeting, November, 1988, Monterey, CA.
- . 1990. Conversation, continuation and connectives. *Text* 10(3):187-208.
- BOURGERIE, DANA S. 1987. Particles of uncertainty: A discourse approach to the Cantonese final particles. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Ohio State University.
- BROWN, GILLIAN AND GEORGE YULE. 1983. *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CHAO, YUEN REN. 1968. *A grammar of spoken Chinese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- CHEN, PING. 1986. Referent introducing and tracking in Chinese narrative. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

- CHU, CHAUNCEY E. AND W. VINCENT CHANG. 1987. The discourse function of the verbal suffix -le in Mandarin. *Journal of Chinese linguistics* 15(2):309-334.
- COLE, P. AND J. L. MORGAN (eds.). 1975. *Syntax and semantics: Speech acts*, vol. 3. New York: Academic Press.
- CONDON, SHERRI L. 1986. The discourse functions of OK. *Semiotica* 60(1-2):73-101.
- GARFINKEL, HAROLD. 1967. *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- GEIS, MICHAEL L. 1989a. A linguistically motivated theory of conversational sequences. In Music et al. (1989:50-64).
- , 1989b. A new theory of speech acts. In Joyce Powers and Kenneth de Jong (eds.), *Proceedings of the fifth Eastern States Conference on Linguistics*, 163-74. Columbus: The Ohio State University.
- , 1991. Speech acts and social actions. Manuscript, Ohio State University Department of Linguistics.
- GOLDBERG, JULIA A. 1980. Discourse particles: An analysis of the role of y'know, I mean, well, and actually in conversation. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge.
- GRICE, H. P. 1975 (1967). Logic and conversation. In Cole and Morgan (1975:41-58).
- HE RONG. 1974. (ed.) *Gwoyeu ryhbaw tsyrdean* (Mandarin daily news dictionary). Taipei: Mandarin Daily News Publishing Division.
- HERITAGE, JOHN. 1989. Current developments in conversation analysis. In Roger and Bull (1989:21-47).
- HICKMAN, MAYA AND JAMES LIANG. 1990. Clause-structure variation in Chinese narrative discourse: A developmental analysis. *Linguistics* 28:1167-1200.
- HU MINGYANG. 1987. *Beijing hua chu tan* (A preliminary investigation of Peking Mandarin). Peking: Commercial Press.
- HUO, XINYI. 1958. Zheige, zheige..., name, name... (This, this..., then, then...). *Yuwen xuexi*, 3(March):12.
- INTER-UNIVERSITY PROGRAM FOR CHINESE LANGUAGE STUDIES (IUP). 1984. *New radio plays*.
- JAMES, DEBORAH. 1974. The syntax and semantics of some English interjections. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.
- JIN, LIXIN. 1988. Name de cilei wenti (The question of the grammatical category of name). *Zhong yuwen*, 203(1988:2):131-33.

- KUBLER, CORNELIUS AND GEORGE T.C. HO. 1984. *Varieties of Standard Mandarin, Volume II: A speaker from Taipei*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris Publications.
- LABOV, WILLIAM. 1984. Field methods of the project on linguistic change and variation. In John Baugh and Joel Sherzer (eds.), *Language in use: Readings in sociolinguistics*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- LEVINSON, STEPHEN C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LI, CHARLES N. AND SANDRA A. THOMPSON. 1979. Third-person anaphora and zero-anaphora in Chinese discourse. In Talmy Givón (ed.), *Discourse and syntax*, Syntax and semantics, vol. 12, 311-35. New York: Academic Press.
- 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- LI, CHARLES N., SANDRA A. THOMPSON AND R. McMILLAN THOMPSON. 1982. The discourse motivation for the perfect aspect: The Mandarin particle *le*. In Paul J. Hopper (ed.), *Tense and aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics*, 19-44. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- LI, Y. C., et al. 1984, 1989. *Mandarin Chinese: A practical reference grammar for students and teachers*, 2 vols. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Company.
- LIAO, QIUZHONG. 1986. Xiandai hanyu pianzhangzhongde lianjie chengfen (Connectives in modern Chinese discourse). *Zhongguo yuwen*, 195(1986:6):413-27.
- LIGHT, TIMOTHY. 1989. The door is closed on *zhe ne*. In James H-Y Tai and Frank F. S. Hsueh (eds.), *Functionalism and Chinese grammar*, Chinese Language Teachers Association Monograph Series (1):127-56.
- LIN, HELEN. 1981. *Essential grammar for modern Chinese*. Boston: Cheng and Tsui Company, Inc.
- LINGUISTIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE, CHINESE SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE. 1984. *Xiandai hanyu cidian* (Modern Chinese dictionary). Beijing: Commercial Press.
- LÜ SHUXIANG. 1980. *Xiandai hanyu babai ci* (800 words in modern Chinese). Hong Kong: Commercial Press, Hong Kong Division.
- LUKE, KANG KWONG. 1988. A conversation analytic approach to the study of utterance particles in Cantonese. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of York.

- , 1990. *Utterance particles in Cantonese conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- MA, JIAN ZHONG. 1898. *Ma shi wen tong*. Shanghai: Commercial Press.
- MERRITT, MARILYN. 1984. The use of 'okay' in service encounters. In J. Baugh and J. Scherzer (eds.), *Language in use*, 139-47. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- MILROY, LESLEY. 1987. *Observing and analysing natural language data: A critical account of sociolinguistic method*. New York: Basil Blackwell Inc.
- MIRACLE, W. CHARLES. 1989a. *Hao*: A Chinese discourse marker. In Music et al. (1989:213-27).
- , 1989b. The role of *na/name* in Chinese discourse: A preliminary investigation. Paper presented at the Northeast Conference on Chinese Linguistics, Ohio State University.
- MUSIC, BRADLEY, RANDOLPH GRACZYK, AND CAROLINE WILTSHIRE, (eds.). 1989. *Papers from the 25th regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, Part 2: Parasession on language in context*. Chicago: University of Chicago Linguistics Department.
- ÖSTMAN, JAN-OLA. 1981. *You know: A discourse-functional approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V.
- , 1982. The symbiotic relationship between pragmatic particles and impromptu speech. In Nils Enkvist (ed.), *Impromptu speech: A symposium*, 147-77. Abo, Finland: Abo Akademi.
- POLANYI, LIVIA. 1985. Conversational storytelling. In Teun A. Van Dijk (ed.), *Handbook of discourse analysis*, (Vol. 3, Discourse and dialogue), 183-201. London: Academic Press.
- ROGER, DEREK, AND PETER BULL (eds.). 1989. *Conversation: an interdisciplinary perspective*. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, Inc.
- ROSS, CLAUDIA. 1978. Contrasting conjunctions in English, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.
- SANDERS, ROBERT. M. 1991. The expression of modality in Peking and Taipei Mandarin. Manuscript, Ohio State University Department of East Languages and Literatures.
- SCHEGLOFF, EMANUEL AND HARVEY SACKS. 1973. Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, 7(4):289-327.
- SCHIFFRIN, DEBORAH. 1982. Discourse markers: Semantic resources for the construction of conversation. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- , 1987. *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SCHOURUP, LAWRENCE C. 1983. Common discourse particles in English conversation. Ohio State University dissertation. *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics*, 28.

SHARROCK, WES AND ANDERSON, BOB. 1986. *The ethnomethodologists*. London: Tavistock Publications Limited and Ellis Horwood Limited.

SPANOS GEORGE. 1979. Contemporary Chinese usage of LE: A survey and a pragmatic proposal. *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association*, 14.1:36-70, 14.2:47-102.

STUBBS, MICHEAL. 1983. *Discourse analysis: The sociolinguistic analysis of natural language*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

TAI, JAMES H.Y. 1978. Anaphoric constraints in Mandarin Chinese narrative discourse. In John Hinds (ed.), *Anaphora in discourse*, 279-338. Edmonton, Alberta: Linguistic Research.

TAI, JAMES H.Y. AND WENZE HU. 1991. Inverted sentences in Beijing conversational discourse. Manuscript, Ohio State University Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures.

TSAO, FENG-FU. 1979. *A functional study of topic in Chinese: a first step towards discourse analysis*. Taipei: Student Book Company, Ltd.

WOOTTON, A. J. 1989. Remarks on the methodology of conversation analysis. In Roger and Bull (1989:238-58).

WALKER, GALAL, et al. Workbook for beginning Chinese. Unpublished field test edition.

WANG, LI. 1959. *Zhongguo xiandai yufa* (Modern Chinese grammar), 2 vols. Hong Kong: Zhonghua Publishing Co.

XU, DAN. 1988. Qiantan zhei/nei de buduichenxing (Preliminary discussion of the non-symmetry of zhei and nei). *Zhongguo yuwen*, 202(1988:2): 128-30.

ZHU, DEXI. 1984. *Yufa jiangyi* (Notes on grammar). Beijing: The Commercial Press.