

## Partial List C: TRENT STREAM SYSTEM - NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, ETC.

Note: Stand-alone Beck and Dyke are not annotated as OScand because there are so many of them. As on the Maps, they usually have an OE first element and thus are hybrids.

- (pre Eng)  
(OScand)  
(OScand)
- R. Trent (<Trisantonæ)  
Adlingfleet Drain (Humber)  
Back Dyke "Thornbek"  
The Beck (Carlton) "Mykelbec 1275,  
le Westbec 1340"
- Hagley's Dumble  
The Beck (Nottingham)  
Beck Dyke "le Beck" 1349  
Car Dyke "Kersyk, Kerhilles, Northker"  
Car Dyke (Hickerton)/The Wink  
Catchwater Drain  
Lee Beck  
Causeway Dyke  
Cocker Beck  
R. Devon  
R. Smite/"Cokerbek" 1375  
Dalby Brook  
Moor Dyke
- Stroom Dyke  
R. Whipling "Viplin" c. 1140  
Winter Beck  
Dover Beck  
Order Beck "Aldebec ditch" 1682  
Oxton Dumble  
R. Eau (Lincoln)  
Northorpe Beck (Lincoln)  
R. Erewash  
Blackwell Brook  
Cuttail Brook  
Nunn Brook  
Fairham Brook "Ke(u)worthbroke" 1346  
R. The Fleet/Slough Dyke "Holdetrent" 1335  
Folly Drain (Humber)  
R. Greet/ "Halam Beck"  
Edingley Beck  
Rundell Dyke  
Pingley Dyke  
Halloughton Dumble  
Westhorpe Dumble "Burrebek" 1594,  
"Westorpe Beck"
- R. Idle  
Gun's Beck  
Bycarrs Dike  
R. Maun

## SECOND PERSON DEIXIS IN JAPANESE AND POWER SEMANTICS

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**Introduction.** Selection of an address form by a speaker gives a direct linguistic cue for status relationship with the hearer which, in combination with situational factors, determines the style, development, and subsequent outcome of a conversation. Various second person deictic systems are found in the world's languages from relatively simple to complex kinds such as in Japanese. Taking the second person pronoun as the prototypical instance of address form, this paper will examine the Japanese second person pronouns and identify the general principles which govern the communicative uses of them. Central to the present descriptive framework is the sociolinguistic notion of power which manifests itself in various speaker-hearer relationships and determines the appropriate use of the second person pronouns for mutual address. Reference will be made to the 1977 power semantic study of second person pronominals in Romance and Germanic language by Brown and Gilman to draw insight from their findings for enriching the present description as well as for comparing the cross-linguistic pronominal characteristics from which we may predict possible problems in intercultural communication due to the incorrect assessment of relative power status and the application of address forms.

**Development of Romance and Germanic second person pronouns.** In a 1977 article "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity," Brown and Gilman explained the historical circumstances in which the second person plural pronoun came to acquire a sense of respect in the Romance and Germanic languages and was reinterpreted as the address form for the socially superior. The subsequent development and the uses of the singular deferential pronouns in the second person were explained with clarity, using the notion of power and different aspects of power such as sharing or non-sharing, and the associated notion of solidarity which is based on equal power sharing. Romance and Germanic singular second person pronouns consist of common and deferential or, more currently, formal types.

	COMMON	DEFERENTIAL/Formal
Latin	tu	vos
Italian	tu	Lei (< voi)
Spanish	tu	usted (< vos)
French	tu	vous
German	du	Sie (< ihr)
English	thou	you (< ye)

The uses of these pronouns are determined along the two sociolinguistic dimensions of power: non-reciprocal and reciprocal power. Non-reciprocal power separates the empowered from the unpowered, creating non-equal social relationships, and reciprocal power generates a more or less equal social status by power sharing, which in turn promotes solidarity. The plural deferential pronouns were developed in the domain of non-reciprocal power for addressing the empowered superiors. Social superiors in turn reciprocated the non-deferential common pronouns to their subordinates. Along the dimension of reciprocal power the socially privileged also addressed each other with the deferential pronouns for solidarity or for mere formality. During the course of time, the

semantics of non-reciprocal power which governed the second person pronouns became obsolete. As a result, the two-dimensional pronominal system has become reorganized along the single dimension of reciprocal power through the process which is abstracted in the following.

	Reciprocal Power		
	Solidarity	Solidarity	Nonsolidarity
Non-Reciprocal Power	$V \leftrightarrow V$ $\downarrow \quad \uparrow \quad \Rightarrow$ $T \leftrightarrow T$	$T \leftrightarrow T$ $\emptyset$	$V \leftrightarrow V$ $\emptyset$

$\leftrightarrow$  direction of reciprocal address

$\Rightarrow$  direction of chronological changes

Currently, the T-pronoun, or the common second person address, continues to promote solidarity among the speakers who are perceived as equals. In contrast, the mutual address which is carried out with the V-pronoun or the formal second person plural pronoun no longer brings the empowered together for solidarity; rather, it merely keeps a distance between interlocutors for politeness or out of unconcern. In short, the T-pronoun is a sign of intimacy, whereas the V-pronoun means being aloof.

**Development of Japanese second person pronouns.** Unlike Romance and Germanic languages, no generic second person pronoun has developed in Japanese. All the pronouns of address which are cited in the following are derived from linguistic dictionaries and grammatical descriptions of Japanese are marked for social status, gender, and age differences as well as relative intimacy to the speaker. In addition, second person pronouns in the common category for casual, everyday type speech further divide into intimate and familiar subcategories in accordance with the degrees of vulgarity or crudeness of the speakers rather than psychological distance from the addressee. Again the formal category in the Japanese pronominal system does not classify pronouns for deference, but ties them to non-casual speech situations.

Common				Formal
Intimate		Familiar		anata
Male omae	Female anta	Male kimi	Female anata	

Furthermore, each of the formal and common/informal varieties are marked for gender. Number is not morphologically encoded in Japanese pronouns. Pronouns can be pluralized with suffixes such as *anata-tachi* 'you, plural' but such plural pronominals have no deferential function.

In fact, all the second person pronouns which are commonly used in current Japanese developed as deferentials from nominal or demonstrative origins for avoiding direct personal address to superiors out of courtesy. **Omae** and **anata**, for example, which began to evolve during the Edo Period (1603-1867) meant literally 'in front of' and 'over there', respectively. **Kimi** used to mean one's master. Much earlier **anata** used to refer to a third person politely, but the shift from third person reference to deferential second person address seems to have occurred in the early eighteenth century (Okuaki 1988:130). Furthermore, the deferential sense began to weaken in the late nineteenth century until it became totally lost. Similar semantic downgrading has resulted in leveling the Romance and Germanic second person pronouns into a single dimensional system. In contrast, the second person pronouns in Japanese continue degenerating along the dimension of non-reciprocal power; hence they are not only used among equals for solidarity but also for lowering an addressee in subordinate positions. Today, **anata** together with its reduced form **anta** as well as **omae** 'common, intimate, male' and **kimi** 'common, familiar, male' designate an addressee of equal or lesser social status. A paradigmatic gap created by the loss of deferential address forms is being remedied by a large number of quasi-pronouns or lexical deferentials which have been added to Japanese second person deixis. These are similar in form to the Romance and Germanic vocative pronouns such as surnames with official titles, occupational identifiers, and kinship terms, but can function independently as a second person propositional argument.

#### Semantic characteristics of second person pronouns in Japanese

**Common Intimate Second Person Pronouns.** These pronouns are associated with informal, everyday speech, and as a rule in Japanese, the more colloquial the speech, the more clearly pronounced is the gender distinction of the speaker. The masculine address form **omae** is used among male speakers who are lower on the social hierarchy in terms of occupation, education, moral values, and age. Its users are of two kinds: those who use it habitually in daily life, and those who only use it in intimate, unsupervised conversation. For the first group the use of **omae** not only boasts their social class identity but also is a show of defiance against their social superiors. The use of **omae** by the latter is found in young male speech up to the pre-collegiate stage, and the absence of adult authority figures such as parents, teachers, and policemen is commonly presupposed from the scene of discourse. Although motivations may be different, the usage of **omae** by these two groups has the same function of generating solidarity to tie them together in a strong comradeship. Thus the principle of solidarity generally governs the use of **omae**, but we may not disregard that the use of **omae** among the latter is also constrained by the relative power relations between the speakers and the audience.

In contrast, the feminine common pronoun **anta** is used almost exclusively to address females of equivalent or lesser status. Commonly, females are conservative in their pronominal uses, and even young females seldom cross the sociolinguistic boundary to risk the offense of an audience supervisor. On the other hand, crossing the linguistic gender line is tolerated at this speech level, and male and female speakers may address each other with the pronouns of opposite gender under the circumstances in which solidarity relationship supersedes the power relation between opposite genders.

The common informal pronouns **omae** and **anta** may also be applied non-reciprocally to subordinates. The male pronoun **omae** is used for addressing people of lesser status of either gender such as one's wife, one's children, one's employees, one's servants, and younger persons. The female pronoun **anta** is likewise applied in speaking to lower status males or females such as a daughter and son, younger sister and brother, maid, store assistant, hair dresser, salesmen, and so on. For the sake of solidarity, female speakers may

so use the male pronoun **omae**. For that matter, dominant males may also cross the gender boundary and use the feminine non-reciprocal **anata** to young females and female employees, servants, and the like. The male use of **anata**, however, may achieve a patronizing effect rather than solidarity with the subordinates. In short, the reciprocal and non-reciprocal uses of gendered pronouns follow the formula of putting the addressee of the same gender in equivalent or non-equivalent positions, although the speakers may disregard gender distinctions for the sake of comradery relationships between males and females.

**Common Familiar Second Person Pronouns.** As a general rule, the higher the speaker's status is along the social hierarchy, the more conformist is his or her linguistic behavior to social convention and etiquette. For this reason, the male and female common familiar pronouns **kimi** and **anata** are mainly confined to reciprocal, solidarity use between the speakers of the same gender, approximately of the same age, and of the similar social status. Interestingly, however, **kimi** and **anata** may mutually overcome the gender differences in such circumstances as indicating strong affection or an emotional bond between lovers and married couples. Addressing a female with the male pronoun **kimi**, for example, implies the elevation of a female addressee to equal status of the male and sharing the same gender identity. A similar effect obtains when a female addresses a male with the female pronoun **anata**. When a male contacts a female with the female pronoun **anata**, he is stepping into female linguistic territory, thereby making the female addressee at ease in her own territorial grounds. Thus in the process of courtship, a male may use the male pronoun **anata** to an addressee at an earlier stage and **kimi** at a more advanced stage. Between married couples, distributions of masculine and feminine pronouns of address seem to be patterned by age. A younger husband tends to address his wife with the male pronoun **kimi**, while the older husband uses the female pronoun **anata**. In contrast, females, even during courtship or marriage seldom cross the male pronominal boundary and adopt the reciprocal use of **kimi**.

Thus, in heterogender encounters, females readily accept the entry of males into their own linguistic territory yielding to the male-dominated power relationship, but they themselves would hardly venture into the male pronominal area. Customarily, to avoid conflict with gender-based rules of mutual address, the adult male and female speaker of common familiar level speech address each other by either last or first names. The asymmetry in male-female address forms for expressing affection may also be explained by invoking the principles of power semantics. Primarily, male-oriented non-reciprocal power dictates the heterogender address, and the equal sharing of power is also initiated by males who no longer have free access to either of the gendered pronouns.

One of the exceptions to the regular rules for gendered pronouns is often observed in very young females. In mixed company young females use either male or female pronouns to address their male counterparts, but males may not reciprocate the same communicative behavior. Younger males appear to be more conservative in their speech habit than females, but as they grow older these communicative roles become reversed. According to secondary school teachers whom I interviewed the female-predominant speech patterns seem to persist until primary and junior high-school levels. Beyond these ages in young adulthood, women begin to be more reactive to male dominated communicative interactions and their address patterns change according to social conventions in which only males give the non-reciprocal male pronoun **kimi** to women and have the privilege of using the reciprocal female pronoun **anata**.

Another exception of occupational crossing of the gender boundary was also reported by the same school teachers. To take one example, it has become predominantly

common for female secondary school teachers to address the male only or male and female student groups by male pronoun **kimi** or sometimes **omae**. Considering the conventional male orientation in heterogender verbal exchange, it is understandable that the females adopt the male pronominal forms of address in order to gain solidarity or dictate non-reciprocal power relations with the male students.

The non-reciprocal use of the male pronoun **kimi** is socially institutionalized with reference to the power hierarchy. The pronoun **kimi** is used in public places by superior males to address subordinate males and females. Examples are a company boss to younger executives, executives to lower rank employees, a customer to service staff, a teacher to his students, and so on. In intimate interactions such as among family members who are not organized by strict power relationships the pronoun **kimi** is hardly used by dominant males to subordinate males or females. Usually the younger members in a family hierarchy, for example, receive the first name address by their parents or other adults.

In contrast, even when the common familiar feminine pronoun **anata** is directed to less powerful females and males, it generates only ambiguous power relationships among them. Since the uses of **anata** among equals and with subordinates are practically indistinguishable, it may be safe to conclude that there is no non-reciprocal use of the female pronoun **anata**. As mentioned before (pp. 3-4), the pronoun **anata** was historically derived from a demonstrative pronoun for the sake of keeping an addressee at a politeness distance from the speaker. While its degenerate form **anta** followed its own course of development and acquired a distinct semantic identity as the address form in common intimate female speech, the more formal and familiar **anata** seems to have maintained much of the demonstrative characteristics and therefore, its use has been very weakly subjected to power semantics. Our findings of the common second person pronouns, at least in their normative uses, are now summed up in the following diagram.

	<u>Solidarity/Reciprocal Power</u>			
	Common		Familiar	
	Intimate Male	Female	Male	Female
	omae <- -> omae <- -> anta <- -> anta		kimi <- -> kimi > anata <- -> anata	
<u>Non-reciprocal Power</u>	↓ omae	↓ anta	↓ kimi	

- <- -> direction of reciprocal mutual address  
 > direction of gender-based address  
 ↓ disrespectful address

Along the dimension of non-reciprocal power, all the common pronouns are used to address the subordinates except for the formal female pronoun **anata**. Along the solidarity/reciprocal dimension of power, all the common nouns have intra- and inter-gender uses among social equals except for the female pronoun **anata** which alone lacks cross-gender exchange with the male pronoun **kimi**. The male speaker may use the masculine pronoun **kimi** with the female addressee and also receive the feminine pronoun **anata** from the female speaker, but he would never be addressed with **kimi** by a woman. The systematic asymmetry between the familiar female pronoun **anata** and all the other pronouns along the dimensions of solidarity/reciprocal and non-reciprocal power may be attributed to

socio-cultural constraints on the linguistic behavior of female speakers of higher status which never allow domination nor competition with men in communicative interaction.

**Formal Second Person Pronoun.** The only member of the formal second person category is *anata*, and it happens to be morphologically identical to the common familiar female pronoun *anata*. They are also semantically similar in their inherent ambivalence to power relations and distancing effects which evolve from their common demonstrative origin. The formal pronoun *anata*, however, is gender-neutral. Although it is often and erroneously cited as a generic second person pronoun in exemplary textbook dialogues, pedagogical grammars, and other context-free metacommunications, it has only marginal use in highly restrictive contexts. Due to the diminishing sense of politeness, the reciprocal use of the pronoun *anata* is confined to exchanges between virtual strangers for whom there are no niches in the power hierarchy.

On the other hand, the semantic downgrading of the formal pronoun *anata* generates the semantic reversal of impoliteness in its non-reciprocal use, resulting in the lowering and alienating effect on the addressee. Typical non-reciprocal power relations which accompany the use of the formal pronoun *anata* are the likes of interrogation, cross examination, interview, accusation, denunciation, reproach, and other scenes of asymmetric power relations where the addressee is definitely at a disadvantage. In these situations the formal pronoun *anata* means an insult to the subordinate recipient, causing a great deal of offense. Of all the non-reciprocal uses of second person pronouns, none would probably assign a more impersonal and disrespectful status relationship between the speaker and the addressee than the formal second person pronoun.

Based on these semantic characteristics, a further systematic comparison of the homomorphic formal pronoun *anata* and the feminine pronoun *anata* reveals that their functions are exact opposites of each other along the two dimensions of power and solidarity. On one hand, along the dimension of reciprocal power, the feminine pronoun *anata* promotes solidarity with the addressee of equal status, whereas the formal pronoun *anata* suppresses solidarity by alienating the interlocutor.

	<u>Solidarity/Reciprocal power</u>	
	Common Familiar Female	Formal
	<i>anata</i> <--> <i>anata</i>	<i>anata</i> <--> <i>anata</i>
<u>Non-reciprocal Power</u>	∅	↓ <i>anata</i>

<--> direction of reciprocal mutual address  
↓ direction of disrespectful address

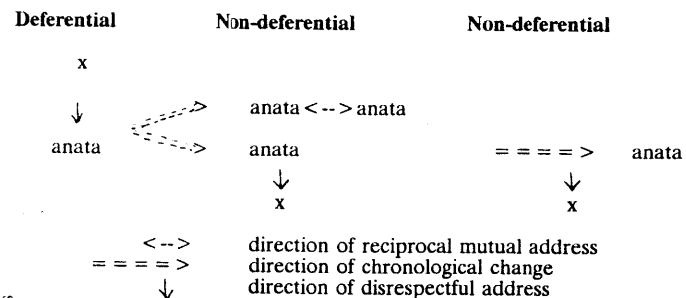
Along the dimension of non-reciprocal power, on the other hand, the female pronoun *anata* has not developed a corresponding form, while the non-reciprocal formal pronoun *anata* is maximally functional in lowering the status of the subordinate addressee. The discrepancy between these two pronouns may be attributable to the separate development of the distancing function which they have inherited from their common demonstrative origin. The distancing function has been adopted by the formal pronoun *anata* to alienate and lower the addressees. In the domain of female speech, on the other hand, the distancing

function is embraced for the sake of politeness in order to avoid explicit power relations through direct address.

**Concluding remarks.** The superficially complicated pattern of the second person pronouns in Japanese has been studied by application of the notion of power as a main descriptive strategy which also facilitates an almost impossible task of comparing the diverse pronominal systems of Japanese and of the Romance and Germanic languages. It turns out that what appears to be idiosyncratic characteristics of Japanese second person pronouns have a semantic resemblance with totally unrelated pronominal systems. As the result of semantic downgrading of the deferentials which occurred in these languages in common, the solidarity T-pronoun and the non-solidarity V-pronouns have evolved along the dimension of reciprocal power.

	<u>Reciprocal Power</u>			
	<u>Solidarity</u>		<u>Non-solidarity</u>	
	Romance-Germanic	Japanese	Romance-Germanic	Japanese
	T-pronoun	omae anta kimi anata (Female)	V-pronoun	<i>anata</i> (formal)
<u>Non-reciprocal Power</u>	∅	↓ omae anta kimi	∅	↓ <i>anata</i> (formal)

The processes of these evolutions, however, are quite different cross-linguistically. In the Romance-Germanic languages, the deferential V-pronouns were removed from the dimension of non-reciprocal power and became aligned with the solidarity T-pronouns along the dimension of reciprocal power. Consequently, the Romance-Germanic pronominal systems were levelled into a single dimensional paradigm in which the deferential V-pronoun was semantically reinterpreted as the non-solidarity pronoun for formal address. In Japanese, the downgrading of the deferential pronoun *anata* has split itself into the formal or non-solidarity reciprocal *anata* and the non-reciprocal pronoun *anata* of disrespect for lowering the addressee. Since the semantic change is still in progress toward the opposite direction of deference, eventually the non-reciprocal *anata* may oust the formal reciprocal *anata* from the Japanese second person pronominal system such as sketched in the following.



Thus the semantic shift in the meaning of the previously deferential pronoun *anata* did not eliminate the two dimensional system of Japanese second person pronouns. Hence the asymmetric relationship between the Romance-Germanic and Japanese pronominal paradigms have evolved.

	Reciprocal Power			
	Romance-Germanic		Japanese	
	T<-->T	V<-->V	T<-->T	V<-->V
Non-reciprocal Power	V			

<--> direction of reciprocal mutual address  
↓  
direction of disrespectful address

Contemporary Romance-Germanic T-pronouns and the Japanese T-pronoun *anata* along the dimension of reciprocal power are similar in the meaning to promote solidarity among the equally powered. While there is also a close correspondence between the Romance-Germanic and Japanese V-pronouns in their function of alienating the addressee, the Japanese formal V-pronoun *anata* is more marked for the context of occurrences than its Romance-Germanic counterparts. As has been observed before (p. 8), its use is restricted for a virtual stranger with whom the speaker's power relationship is ambiguous. Addressing some acquaintance with the V-pronoun may have a bizarre pragmatic effect on the addressee and might cause a great deal of offense. Worse still, the use of the homophonous non-reciprocal pronoun of disrespect *anata* further complicates the rules for mutual address. Okuauki (1988), for example, reports on unconventional exchanges of address such as speaking to superiors with *anata* in the cases of striking workers versus a managerial staff and disgruntled students versus a professor. Furthermore, the pronoun *anata* is also used by superiors to address subordinates such as parents to children and owners to a pet animal. The former may be interpreted as the non-reciprocal use for the sake of reversal of power relationships by lowering the status of the addressee. The latter is likely a transitional phenomenon for the speaker to raise the status of the addressees for solidarity which contradicts the semantics of the formal pronoun *anata* which alienates the addressee out of politeness or unconcern. The complex nature of the second person pronoun *anata* does not allow for static interpretation, since even a single utterance of *anata* may have a multitude of meanings depending on the con-

textual variables. For this reason misuse of the pronoun *anata* in interpersonal address may cause not only intercultural but intra-cultural communication failure.

The loss of the deferential pronoun has created a paradigmatic gap and the semantic anomaly with the pronoun *anata*. In order to remedy the deficiencies and serve various communicative needs, an elaborate system of lexical deferentials and address forms have been imported in Japanese second person deixis. These lexical quasi-pronouns are more frequently used in day to day communications, since matching any of these with the given power relations between the speaker and the addressee is quite obvious. Even a stranger can be addressed using his or her general attributes such as *ojisan* 'Mr.', *okusan* 'Ma'am', or *oneesan* 'Miss' rather than risking offense or insult to the recipient. The study of Japanese pronouns in conjunction with the lexical pronouns may give the second person pronominal system a different perspective from that suggested by some linguists (Suzuki, 1988).

The goal of the present study was to describe the interactions between the second person pronouns as the prototypical form of address and a multitude of power relations between the addressees rather than the broader communicative functions of pronouns. The notion of power which was proposed by Brown and Gilman (1977) for the study of pronouns is essentially valid for the description of the Japanese pronouns of address, and, in addition, the power-based descriptive framework has captured crosslinguistic characteristics of pronominal systems in the Romance-Germanic languages and Japanese. For a more detailed analysis of the Japanese pronominal system, however, the notion of power needs to be substantially enriched to account for various levels of power relationships which are unique to Japanese society such as between males and females, social superiors and inferiors, and interlocutors and audience, as well as degrees of psychological distance or empathy.

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REFERENCE-TRACKING SYSTEM AND ANAPHORA  
IN MANDARIN CHINESE CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE

LIANG TAO

## I. Introduction

This study is an examination of the function of anaphora as a reference-tracking device in Mandarin Chinese conversational discourse. By examining the data of natural conversation in Mandarin Chinese, the study proposes certain norms depicting the choice among full noun phrases, pronominal references and zero anaphora. Based on the study, the paper proposes the theory of *Emergent Semantics* on the cognitive strategies in processing Mandarin Chinese discourse.

Reference-tracking is a very important aspect in forming discourse cohesion. In their typological study on discourse structures, Foley and Van Valin (1984) divide the world's languages into four general types based on the four reference-tracking mechanisms: switch function, switch reference, gender and inference systems.

Foley and Van Valin claim that languages with switch function systems track a particular referent across clauses with verb morphology, as is exemplified in 1 and 2 below (F. & V. 1984:322). In 1, the sentence subject 'Fred' functions as the agent of both verbs 'to want' and 'to see'; in 2, 'Fred' is the agent of the verb 'to want', but the patient of the verb 'to see'.

1. Fred wants to see Marsha.
2. Fred wants to be seen by Marsha.

In the switch reference system, the verb morphology indicates whether a particular NP in the first clause is coreferential with a particular NP in the second clause. In languages with gender systems, NPs are assigned overt morphological codings. English provides a simple version of this system with a three-way classification of nouns based on animacy and sex, e.g. the full NPs 'men, trees' and the pronouns 'he, she, it, they' and so forth.

The inference system is exemplified mostly by Southeast and East Asian languages like Thai, Japanese and Chinese. These languages do not have any of the features presented in the first three systems, yet they share a distinctive feature of heavy use of zero anaphora and, according to Foley and Van Valin, the coreference in these languages is not directly signaled in the linguistic form but is determined by the 'subtle use' of sociolinguistic variables.

For the first three reference-tracking systems, Foley and Van Valin present an elaborated discussion, but for the fourth system the authors don't seem to have much to offer except to admit that these languages have raised the use of inference in assigning coreference among NPs 'to the status of a fine art'.

It is to provide an empirical as well as theoretical explanation of this 'fine art' that I have conducted this case study on the anaphoric devices used in conversational discourse structure of Mandarin Chinese (henceforth MC).