

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Indexicality and Discourse Functions of Manner Demonstratives Zheyang and Nayang in Spoken Mandarin

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9c3558qh>

Author

Lee, Yu-Hui

Publication Date

2020

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Indexicality and Discourse Functions of Manner Demonstratives *Zheyang* and *Nayang*
in Spoken Mandarin

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Applied Linguistics

by

Yu-Hui Lee

2020

© Copyright by

Yu-Hui Lee

2020

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Indexicality and Discourse Functions of Manner Demonstratives *Zheyang* and *Nayang*
in Spoken Mandarin

by

Yu-Hui Lee

Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Hongyin Tao, Chair

This study investigates uses of manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* in spontaneous conversation in Chinese (Mandarin). Following Interactional Linguistics, I hold the view that uses of manner demonstratives are shaped by the immediate interactional needs in ongoing conversations. This study uses video-recorded conversations as empirical data to examine uses of the manner demonstratives: (i) deictic use and nonverbal expressions, (ii) anaphoric use in the subject position, and (iii) discourse/interactional uses as inferential connectives, discourse boundary markers, and receipt tokens.

First, my analyses on deictic manner demonstratives, together with nonverbal expressions (i.e., hand gestures, body demonstrations, eye gaze and visible display) show (i) the range of the manner demonstratives' references includes movements, situations/events, and the manner, quality and/or degree of a referent; and (ii) most of the nonverbal expressions are treated as a part of the verbal conversation that the speakers had planned to produce as the verbal expressions. Second, anaphoric manner demonstratives function as overt subjects to (i) express an emphasis or contrast on the co-referent, or (ii) introduce the speakers' assessments. When used for emphasis, the manner demonstratives co-refer the same referents with a refined granularity by indicating them as motions, ways/methods or events, instead of individual entities. When used for assessments, manner demonstratives serve as anaphors referring to co-referents as events on which the speakers are given knowledge access in the conversation for follow-up comments.

Discourse/Interactional uses of the manner demonstratives deal with their uses as discourse markers. First, when used as inferential causal connectives, the manner demonstratives are used for speakers to claim the causal relationship between two events based on their subjective inferences. Second, it is also found for the first time that both the proximal and the distal manner demonstratives can be used as completion markers. The completion marking use occurs when speakers (i) declare unilaterally a turn as the end of a topical discussion, and (ii) await responses from other potential next speakers. The distal manner demonstratives are marked completion markers used for discourse that are perceived as temporally or mentally distant from the speakers. The last use observed is the manner demonstratives marking the current turns as collaborative finishes for previous turns. Last, based on only a few occurrences observed,

zheyang(zi) used as neutral receipt tokens express the current speakers' receipt of information but withhold their agreement (or disagreement).

This study joins the existing body of usage-based studies, in particular Interactional Linguistics, and emphasize using video-recorded conversation as empirical data to examine language use and language structures emerge from a situated context, how language is used to respond to ongoing conversations, as well as how these uses are triggered by interactional needs in terms of turn management and sequencing.

The dissertation of Yu-Hui Lee is approved.

Shoichi Iwasaki

Sung-Ock Sohn

Steven E. Clayman

Hongyin Tao, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

感謝我的父母、家人、求學一路上遇到的好朋友們、師長、同事以及優秀的同儕所帶給我的幫助和正面能量。昱慧心中常存感謝之心。由於本感謝文會在網上永久公諸天下，我就在此含蓄地寫以下感謝文。

剛進 UCLA 校園時，我的入門指導教授 Professor Charles Goodwin 曾經說過，他覺得在博士班的研究生活中，可以從同儕們學到的東西往往比從教授身上學到的多。我自己親身經歷，完全同意他的說法。但我也想說，我在 UCLA 有幸遇到的老師們，都是極度的優秀，我想說，我也從諸位老師身上學到了一樣多寶貴的做研究的方法和為人處世之道。

感謝全世界最有耐心的指導教授陶老師，他總是非常有耐性和毅力地教導我看文章、寫報告、做研究，也在資助我學業上幫了極大的忙。陶老師過人的學術研究和工作效率，是我們每個博士生學習的榜樣。Professor Steven Clayman has been very generously offered a lot of his time mentoring me through one after another research projects. He also provided strong support and a lot more time for me to complete my dissertation. Professor Iwasaki is a very fun and inspiring professor. I had so much fun and learned a lot from his classes. Professor Sohn kindly provided her support when I needed it. 還有以下的老師、教授，也給予了我很多的指點和教導：應用語言學系的 Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia; 語言學系的 Professor Russell Schuh, Professor Kie Ross Zuraw; 東亞系的姚老師、沈老師、漆老師、孫老師、吳老師以及傅老師; 社會學系的 Professor John Heritage 和 Professor Tanya Stivers。我也特別感謝國立政治大學開發的漢語口語語料庫，讓我得以使用貴校的口語資料完成本篇研究論文。

讀博士班大部分的時間是孤獨的。如果身邊沒累積幾個智氣相投的好朋友，我一定不知道會多抓狂幾百遍。讀博士班也是向同儕競爭、學習的難得機會。如果沒遇過幾個值得學習的同學、學長和學姊，我可能會什麼都沒學到。以下是我在台灣、在美國遇到的朋友、同儕，你們都是我心中極度感謝的人：

Sihan, Paul, Jen C., Han C., Christine (楠), Ayano, Greg, Danjie, Effie, I-Ni, Lance, Phillip, Meimei, Jin, You (悠), Kathy, Ying (Vivian), Mia, Insky, Wanmeng, Sophia (Ying), Chun-Yi, Hsin-Fu, Haiping, Ni-Eng (Er-Rong), Chung-Yu, Yan, Spencer, R Lila, Sung P, Wanyi, Yue-Ming, Pearl, Chun-Wan, Cheng-Yu, and 助教.

我想說：「謝謝你們出現在我的生命中、出現在我博士生涯之中。你們每個人獨特的個性、待人處事的方法和做學問的嚴謹態度，都讓我學習了很多：你們時常在我需要的時候，提點了我、又或者拉了我一把。謝謝！」

Please forgive me if I miss anyone's name in this list. I still deeply appreciate for your help in my life!

最後，我也要感謝我在台灣和在美國的家人：如果沒有他們的全心支持，我不可能有辦法靠自己完成博士學業。我在台灣的家人自始至終支持耐心的等我畢業，給我經濟上

以及心理上無限的能量，讓我可以無後顧之憂。媽媽當初投資我的學費和心意，現在也算沒有白投資了。My family in the U.S. has been treating me just like a part of the (Fox) family from the beginning. They have given me a home to return to in the U.S. My friend and my husband, Matt, has also provided me so much support. 本篇感謝文主要以「國語」寫成，是為了希望方便我的家人和朋友閱讀。

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Objectives.....	1
1.2 Usage-based Approaches	3
1.2.1 Usage-based functional approaches for linguistic studies	4
1.3 Grammatical Functions of Manner Demonstratives <i>Zheyang</i> and <i>Nayang</i>	7
1.3.1 Manner demonstratives as adverbials.....	9
1.3.2 Manner demonstratives as pro-verbs	11
1.3.3 Manner demonstratives as adnominals.....	13
1.3.4 Manner demonstratives as pronouns	13
1.4 Functional Analyses on Manner Demonstratives <i>Zheyang</i> and <i>Nayang</i>	16
1.4.1 Situational use of manner demonstratives	18
1.4.2 Tracking use of manner demonstratives	21
1.4.3 Discourse/Interactional functions of manner demonstratives	23
1.5 Roadmap.....	24
Chapter 2 Data and Methodology	26
2.1 Corpus Data.....	26
2.2 Identifying Manner Demonstratives <i>Zheyang</i> , <i>Nayang</i> and Their Variations	29
2.2.1 Frequency of occurrences of the manner demonstratives	30
2.3 Uses of Chinese Manner Demonstratives	31
2.3.1 Deictic use	31
2.3.2 Anaphoric use	33
2.3.3 Discourse deixes	36
2.3.4 Connectives	37
2.3.5 Discourse completion markers	38
2.3.6 Receipt tokens.....	39
2.4 Distribution of Pragmatic Uses of Manner Demonstratives <i>Zheyang</i> and <i>Nayang</i>	40
2.5 Summary	41
Chapter 3 Deictic Use of Manner Demonstratives <i>Zheyang</i> (<i>zi</i>)	43
3.1 Introduction	43
3.2.1 Deictic use of manner demonstratives and co-speech nonverbal expressions	44
3.2.2 Pure text deixis	46

3.2 References and Nonverbal Expressions in Deictic Use of Manner Demonstratives	46
3.2.1 Types of manual gestures	46
3.2.2 Types of referents	47
3.2.3 Simultaneity analysis between demonstrative and gesture production	48
3.3 Analysis.....	51
3.3.1 Reference of deictic manner demonstratives shaped by syntax	51
3.3.2 Deictic manner demonstratives followed by commentary	53
3.3.3 Deictic manner demonstratives with a presentation composed by multiple gestures ..	54
3.4 Discussion	57
3.5 Summary	58
Chapter 4 Anaphoric Uses of Manner Demonstratives in the Subject position	60
4.1 Introduction	60
4.2 Previous Studies on Manner Demonstratives for Tracking	60
4.2.1 Anaphoric and recognitional uses of manner demonstratives	61
4.2.2 Anaphoric use of manner demonstratives in the subject position	61
4.2.3 Discourse deictic use of manner demonstratives.....	63
4.2.4 Recognitional uses of demonstratives	65
4.2.5 Zero anaphora in Chinese	66
4.3 Manner Demonstratives as Overt Subjects	70
4.4 Analysis.....	72
4.4.1 Zheyang/nayang as tracking anaphors with a special focus.....	72
4.4.2 Zheyang/nayang as a transformed focus in assessments	76
4.4.3 Proximal manner demonstratives preferred over distal manner demonstratives.....	79
4.5 Discussion	82
4.6 Summary	85
Chapter 5 Discourse/Interactional Uses of Manner Demonstratives.....	87
5.1 Introduction	87
5.2 Literature Review	88
5.2.1 Manner demonstratives as adverbial connectives	88
5.2.2 Manner demonstratives as markers of affirmation	89
5.2.3 Manner demonstratives as discourse boundary markers	89
5.2.4 Manner demonstratives as a receipt token.....	92
5.2.5 Other uses of manner demonstratives.....	95
5.2.5.1 Equative comparative	96

5.3 Analysis for Manner Demonstratives as Inferential Causal Connectives	97
5.3.1 Pragmatic functions of manner demonstratives as inferential connectives	98
5.3.2 Interactional functions of manner demonstratives as inferential connectives	106
5.3.3 Interim summary.....	114
5.4 Manner Demonstratives as Discourse Completion Markers.....	114
5.4.1 Previous studies on manner demonstratives as discourse completion markers.....	114
5.4.2 Analysis on manner demonstratives as a discourse completion marker	117
5.4.3 Manner demonstratives as explicit discourse completion markers	122
5.4.4 Manner demonstratives as explicit discourse completion marker for packing information	127
5.5 Discussion	132
5.6.1 Pragmatic strengthening: From clauses to lexicalized particles	133
5.6.2 Remaining issue: Manner demonstratives zheyang(zi) used as neutral receipt tokens	134
5.6 Conclusion.....	138
Chapter 6 Conclusion.....	139
6.1 Summary of The Study	139
6.2 Implications for Future Research	142
References.....	145

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Types of Demonstratives in Chinese and English (c.f. Liu, Pan & Gu, 1983:48).....	8
Table 2. Lexical Differences in Demonstratives of Manner, Quality and Degree	10
Table 3. Basic Information of Spoken Data Selected from NCCU Corpus.....	28
Table 4. Morphological Variations of Chinese Manner Demonstratives	29
Table 5. Occurrences of <i>Zheyang</i> and <i>Nayang</i> in the NCCU Corpus	30
Table 6. Functions of <i>Zheyang</i> , <i>Zheyangzi</i> and <i>Zhege Yangzi</i> in Conversation	40
Table 7. Functions of <i>Nayang</i> , <i>Nayangzi</i> and <i>Nage Yangzi</i> in Conversation	41
Table 8. Deictic Uses of Manner Demonstratives Between English and in Chinese	44
Table 9. Types of Referents of Deictic Manner Demonstratives.....	47
Table 10. Production of Verbal <i>Zheyang</i> and Its Gesture Preparations.....	50
Table 11. Production of Verbal <i>Zheyang</i> and Its Co-speech Gesture Strokes.....	51
Table 12. Anaphoric Use of <i>Zheyang/Nayang</i> in Phrases	63
Figure 1. Demonstratives <i>Zheyang/Nayang</i> as Discourse Deixes in NCCU Corpus	65
Figure 2. <i>Zheyang(zi)</i> as a Sequence-closing Third.....	93
Table 13. Frequency of Occurrences of Connectives <i>Zheyang(zi)</i> and <i>Nayang(zi)</i>	99
Table 14. Turn Positions of Connectives <i>Zheyang</i> and <i>Nayang</i>	107
Table 15. Distributions of Proximal and Distal Manner Demonstratives.....	118
Figure 3. First Laugh after Completion-marking <i>Zheyang</i>	124
Figure 4. Nodding after the Production of a Completion-marking <i>Zheyang</i>	131
Table 16. Frequency of Occurrences of Demonstratives in Chinese.....	143

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Demonstratives <i>Zheyang/Nayang</i> as Discourse Deixes in NCCU Corpus	65
Figure 2. <i>Zheyang(zi)</i> as a Sequence-closing Third.....	93
Figure 3. First Laugh after Completion-marking <i>Zheyang</i>	124
Figure 4. Nodding after the Production of a Completion-marking <i>Zheyang</i>	131

ABBREVIATIONS

CLS. Classifier; Measure word

Q.PART. Question Particle

PART. Particle

PL. Plural

POSS. Possessive

PROG. Progressive

VITA

Yu-Hui (Daphne) Lee

Education

- 2010** **National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan**
M.A. in Linguistics
- 2007** **World Chinese Language Association, Taipei, Taiwan**
Certificate of Teaching Chinese as a Second Language.
- 2000** **National Ilan University, Taiwan**
B.S. in Applied Animal (now Animal Science)

Current Position

January 2019 - Present Professor (Non-tenure track), School of Liberal Arts, Savannah College of Art and Design (SCAD)

Fellowships, Grants

- 2019 Marianne Celce-Murcia Award for Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Department of Applied Linguistics, UCLA
- 2018 Conference Travel Grant, Department of Applied Linguistics, UCLA
- 2016 Conference Travel Grant, Department of Applied Linguistics, UCLA
- 2015 - 2016 Dissertation Year Fellowship (DYF), UCLA
- 2014 - 2015 University of California Regent Stipend, UCLA

Publications

- Lee, Y. (2019). An A to Z grammar for Chinese language learners (當代中文語法點全集) [Review of the book by S. Teng]. *Chinese as a Second Language*, 54(2), pp. 178-182.
- Li, Y.*, C. Le, P. Weng, and Y. Chiou. (2006). Language Shift in Thao Aborigines in Taiwan: From Sociolinguistic Perspective. *The Proceedings of SICOL 2006: The Seoul International Conference on Linguistics*, Seoul, South Korea: Linguistic Society of Korea.

*Li was an alternative spelling for my last name.

Presentations (Selected)

“Exploring New Applications to College Chinese Language Teaching: From Research to Classroom Practices.” 2018 National Chinese Language Conference. Salt Lake City, Utah. May 17-19, 2018 (With H. Chiu and C. Peng).

“Deixis *zheyang* as a Completion Marker in Taiwanese Mandarin Conversation.” The 14th New York International Conference on Teaching Chinese. New York, NY. May 2016.

“Manner Deixis as a Completion Marker in Taiwanese Mandarin Conversation.” The 48th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics at UCSB. Santa Barbara, CA. August 2015.

“Discourse Functions of the Manner Demonstrative *zheyang* in Taiwanese Mandarin.” The 27th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics at UCLA. Los Angeles, CA. April 2015.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Objectives

This dissertation investigates uses of manner demonstratives in spontaneous conversation, a natural habitat in which language forms and structures are not only a cognitive but also social and interactional achievement by the speaker and the addressee in a situated context (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990; Schegloff, 1992; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2001; Huang, 2003). According to Diessel (1999), demonstratives subsume both nominal demonstratives (e.g. *this/that* or *so/such* in English or *zhe/na* in Chinese) and demonstrative expressions (e.g. *this/that man/book* in English or *zhege/nage* ‘this/that (one)’ or *zheyang/nayang* ‘this way/that way’ in Chinese) that are used as pronouns, noun modifiers (i.e. as adjectives or adverbs), and adverbs (e.g. locative and manner demonstratives).

Demonstratives have been widely researched on their forms and grammar as well as their pragmatic functions across different languages by both theoretical and functional linguistic approaches (Kaplan, 1979; Teng, 1981; Clark et al., 1983; Hanks, 1992, 1993; Laury 1996, 1997; Tao, 1999; Strauss, 2002; Dixon, 2003; Levison, 2004; Hayashi and Yoon, 2006). The primary function of demonstratives is to identify or locate an entity or object in the speech context (or in the physical world) and relate them to the discourse (Traugott, 1982:250). For example, in the sentence *The bee is **this** big* (said with a framed distance between the thumb and index finger showing the referred size), the speaker makes a connection between the nominal demonstrative *this* with the gesture to refer to the size of the bee in discussion. The use of *this* here, called endophoric use or **deictic** use, has the pragmatic function of focusing the attention of the conversation on an object or entity instead of verbal expressions given in the conversation

(Diessel, 1999). In Hanks (1992), this is termed as the Referential function, in which a deictic demonstrative is used to individualize a referential object. When a demonstrative reference is in the discourse context, it is termed **endophoric** or **tracking** use, an umbrella term including anaphoric, discourse deictic (or cataphoric) and recognitional uses (Himmelmann, 1996; Diessel, 1999). **Anaphoric** use of a demonstrative can be seen in the example *That sounds great*, in which the distal demonstrative *that* refers to the earlier discourse referent, that is, what was said earlier in the conversation. **Cataphoric** use occurs when a demonstrative is given prior to its reference, as *this* in *I want to say this: Thank you*. Here, *this* refers to the discourse referent *Thank you* that is given later in the conversation. Recognitional use refers to a demonstrative is used to indicate a referent that is assumed known by the addressee (Himmelmann, 1996). In the sentence 那個人又來了 ‘The/That person is coming again, 那個人 ‘that person’ implies that the addressee should know who that is in the context (Lü, 2002 [1985]). While these functions have been widely recognized by both theoretical and functional/usage-based linguistic studies, there are other uses that are particularly found relevant to social interaction, such as when demonstratives are used as discourse fillers, as discourse connectives or discourse markers for information or interaction organization (Diessel, 1999; Wu, 2004; Diessel, 2006; Biq, 2007; Fang, 2014; Koenig & Umbach, 2018).

Manner demonstratives in Chinese are *zheyang/zheme* ‘(like) this’ and *nayang/name* ‘(like) that.’ Manner demonstratives refer to an action or event, or the manner, quality, and/or degree of a referent (Lü, 2002 [1985]; Dixon, 2003), which are a newly proposed subclass of demonstratives by Koenig and Umbach (2018). They are equivalent to English demonstratives *this/that, such* and *so*, as in *He is THIS tall*. Uses of demonstratives in conversation can be grammatical, discourse, or interactional. The focus of this dissertation is then on the functions of

manner demonstratives *zheyang/nayang* that are most relevant to spontaneous conversation in terms of how speakers and addressees cooperatively use demonstratives to shape a conversation and the social actions within it that. This includes their use as deixes, used anaphorically as overt subjects, and their discourse/interactional uses as discourse connectives and explicit completion markers.

This dissertation adopts the central idea from Interactional Linguistics that naturally occurring spontaneous conversations are the locus to understand how linguistic expressions are shaped by both speakers and addressees in a situated context. Manner demonstratives here are viewed not as simply function words used for grammatical necessity or cognitive identification (Koenig & Umbach, 2018, Laury 1997). Instead, their occurrences in spontaneous conversation are triggered and shaped by the immediate interactional needs in ongoing conversations. As there has not been enough manner demonstrative studies focusing on their discourse/interactional functions, this study aims to fill this gap by investigating their discourse/interactional functions in conversation. This study joins the existing body of usage-based studies, in particular Interactional Linguistics, and emphasize using video-recorded conversation as empirical data to examine language use and language structures emerge from a situated context, how language is used to respond to ongoing conversations, as well as how these uses are triggered by interactional needs in terms of turn management and sequencing.

1.2 Usage-based Approaches

This dissertation examines uses of manner demonstratives *zheyang* ‘this way’ and *nayang* ‘that way’ in Chinese spontaneous conversation. As mentioned earlier, manner demonstratives here

are treated as referential expressions with not only referential but also discourse/interactional functions. That is, rather than simply seeing indexicality of manner demonstratives as coded or defined by grammar, I examine how their meanings are cooperatively shaped in clauses, as well as how their uses are socially motivated by speakers and addressees in sequential conversations (Heritage, 1984; Enfield, 2009). This perspective adopts the central idea that from usage-based approaches that language studies should be based on spontaneous conversation, in which social activities play an important role in understanding linguistic forms and their discourse functions (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2008).

1.2.1 Usage-based functional approaches for linguistic studies

Usage-based functional linguistics refers to the linguistics subfield focusing on the relationship between linguistic form and function. Functional linguistics differs from theoretical linguistics in that the former view spoken language as an object of investigation, which are charged with discourse functions reflected in the sentence structures, lexical choices and grammatical particles used by speakers. Functional linguistics support the assumption that language structures and systems of language are determined by the cognitive and social functions of language and language forms (Thompson, 1992). Focusing on language use, functional linguistics views language structure, or grammar, is "essentially routinized patterns of language use" (Tao, 2003:837). Thus, "[b]eing an open system, language forms respond to communicative and interactional functions of its users" (Thompson, 1992:37). Under this framework, uses of function words such as aspect markers, tense markers, even demonstratives are not simply for grammatical requirements; in some cases, uses of present tense markers would have been

“ungrammatical” grammatically but pragmatically appropriate, for example, historical present tense (see Schiffrin, 1981).

Early descriptive Chinese linguistic studies had included social and contextual explanations in linguistic analysis. Chao (1979) mentioned an inserted pause or intonation can shape two grammatical sentences into one sentence with a conditional subordinate clause. He also mentioned sometimes demonstrative *nage* ‘that (one)’ is sometimes used to replace an expression that the speaker does not want to say. In his analyses on Chinese demonstratives and pronouns, Lü (2002 [1985]) included observations on important contextual factors that may affect uses of pronouns and demonstratives, for example, sometimes a speaker’s perspective can shift within a clause when referencing an object as proximal, distal, second person or first person. This echoes with Hanks (1990:43) which stresses that "the indexical ground is constantly emergent and shifting in interaction." While both descriptive and functional linguistics viewed context as an important locus to study spoken language, Conversation Analysis emerged to further linguistic studies. Among other Chinese functional linguists, Tao points out the arbitrariness of studying language including language structures based on artificially constructed language data. Using natural conversation, Tao and McCarthy (2001) investigate how nonrestrictive relative clauses (NRRCs) are used to express social functions such as providing assessments or managing topic continuation in conversation. This shows that while formalists view relative clauses as a linguistic phenomenon allowing unlimited exploration on, for example, reference binding limitations, they fail to explain their emergence, that is, how a relative clause is socially triggered and used in natural conversation. Since language has been playing a primary role in human evolution and communication (Rizzolatti & Arbib, 1998), it is critical to

investigate how language is used in its natural habitat – naturally occurring spontaneous conversation.

Conversation Analysis, with their central concept that everyday conversation is a critical locus to study social order, provides a set of methodological tools to study empirical speech data (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Sacks, 1995; Couper-Kulen & Selting, 2001).

Conversation Analysis examines structural social actions and underlying interactional organization practiced in conversation that are considered norms in a speech community.

Conversation Analysis provides a systematic way to examine how linguistic expressions and clauses are constructed not simply by the speaker but also together by the addressee simultaneously in an ongoing conversation (Goodwin, 1979).

Interactional Linguistics, according to Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2018), examines an interdisciplinary space in which the common interests of Conversation Analysts and linguists meet to study talk-in-interaction (p.18). Interactional Linguistics, then, is "primarily interested in language and aims to account for its practices in social interaction" (ibid). Interactional Linguistics differs themselves from Conversation Analysis in the fact that there is a central focus on language use (instead of social norms and social actions) and the consideration that language practices and social norms/actions can vary in different languages and/or speech communities. With repetition of language uses, grammar then emerges from social interaction. As nicely summarized in Iwasaki (2015), grammatical constructions that are useful for the purpose of communication in conversation will be employed by speakers repeatedly, became deeply ingrained in speakers' cognitive systems, and finally develop into a part of the grammar" (p.3).

Interactional Linguistic studies, according to Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2001:3) focus on answering two questions:

- (1) What linguistic resources are used to articulate particular conversational structures and fulfil interactional functions?
- (2) What interactional function or conversational structure is furthered by particular linguistic forms and ways of using them?

My goal in this dissertation is then an attempt to answer these questions by investigating the indexicality of Chinese manner demonstratives *zheyang/nayang* in spontaneous conversation as well as how they are used to achieve discourse/interactional functions. In the following, I will introduce their grammatical functions (1.3) and discourse/interactional functions (1.4).

1.3 Grammatical Functions of Manner Demonstratives *Zheyang* and *Nayang*

Use-based approaches have provided us a better understanding on demonstratives and types of demonstrative. Demonstratives can locate or identify “persons, objects, events, processes, and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance” (Lyons, 1977: 637; Levinson, 1983; Levinson, 2004; Diessel, 2012).

Demonstratives and demonstrative expressions cross-linguistically can be divided at least into two expressions based on their proximity to a referent from the deictic center.

Demonstrative systems with a two-way dichotomy distinguishes the proximal and distal

references, and the systems with a three-way trichotomy distinguishes the proximal, neutral and distal references. Both the demonstratives in English and in Chinese have the two-way dichotomy. Chinese demonstrative system includes the nominal proximal demonstrative *zhe* ‘this’ and distal *na* ‘that’, as well as other types of demonstrative expressions (Table 1). Other types of demonstratives are (i) demonstrative pronouns *zhe(ge)* ‘this one’ and *na(ge)* ‘that one’, (ii) locative demonstratives *zhebian/zheli* ‘here’ and *nabian/nali* ‘there’, (iii) temporal demonstratives *zhehui* ‘at this moment’ and *nahui* ‘at that moment’, and (iv) adverbial manner demonstratives *zheyang/zheme* ‘(like) this’ and *nayang/name* ‘(like) that.’ Table 1 below shows the types of demonstratives in Chinese and in English.

Table 1. Types of Demonstratives in Chinese and English (c.f. Liu, Pan & Gu, 1983:48)

	Chinese	English	Chinese	English
	Proximal	Proximal	Distal	Distal
Nominal	這 <i>zhe</i>	This	那 <i>na</i>	That
Nominal	這個 <i>zhege</i>	This (one)	那個 <i>nage</i>	That (one)
Locative	這裡/ 這兒/ 這邊 <i>zhèli/zhèr/zhèbian</i>	Here	那裡/ 那兒/ 那邊 <i>nali/nar/nabian</i>	There
Temporal	這會(兒) <i>zhehui(er)</i>	Now	那會(兒) <i>nahui(er)</i>	Then
Situation, Action, Manner, Quality, Degree	這樣/ 這麼(樣) <i>zhèyang/zhème</i> (<i>yang</i>)	This, so, this way	那樣/ 那麼(樣) <i>nayang/name</i> (<i>yang</i>)	That, thus, that way

As shown in the table above, each type of demonstratives contains both proximal and distal expressions that indicate a deictic contrast their relative distance between a referent and the deictic center (Diessel, 1999; Diessel, 2006). For example, *zheli* ‘here’ refers to a location close or at where the deictic center (usually the speaker) is, while *nali* ‘there’ refers to a place away from the deictic center. In Chinese, 我們這裡沒下雨 ‘It’s not raining here (where we are)’ shows such a use.

In his typological study, Dixon (2003) finds three well-attested types of demonstratives: nominal demonstratives, adverbial locative demonstratives and verbal demonstratives. Unlike other demonstratives, Chinese manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* have relatively diverse grammatical functions that allow them to serve not only as nominal demonstratives (demonstrative pronouns) but also as adverbial manner demonstratives and verbal demonstratives. Their other functions that go beyond these grammatical types will be discussed in 1.4.

1.3.1 Manner demonstratives as adverbials

Adverbial demonstrative adverbs include temporal demonstratives, locative demonstratives and manner demonstratives. Manner demonstratives modify a verb or a predicate to indicate the manner, degree, or quality related to the verb or predicate (Koenig & Umbach 2018). In his typological study on manner demonstratives in German and several other languages, Koenig and Umbach (2018) proposes that manner demonstratives, or demonstratives of manner, degree and quality, should be considered a new subclass of demonstratives indicating manner, degree, quality of a referent. Koenig and Umbach also point out that lexical differences based on content dimensions are commonly seen in the subclass of manner demonstratives, with only German as the exception. As shown in Table 2, lexical forms of the manner demonstratives are different when referring to manner, quality or degree. In English, for example, *such* is used to indicate the quality, as in *such people* (this kind/quality of people) versus *so bad* (such degree). In German, however, *so* does not have such a distinction.

Table 2. Lexical Differences in Demonstratives of Manner, Quality and Degree Based on Content Dimensions (Adopted from Koenig & Umbach, 2018)

	manner	quality	degree
German	so	so/solch	so
English (arch.)	(thus)	(such)	so
French	ainsi/si/tant	tel/pareil	comme ça, (au)tant, tellement
Spanish	asi	asi	tan
Latin	sīc	talis	tantus
Japanese	koo, soo, aa	konna, sonna, anna	konnani, sonnani
Polish	tak	taki	tak

Chinese is a language that lacks inflectional morphology (Lü, 1999 [1980]; Li & Thompson, 1989; Li, 1997). Lacking inflectional morphology means a manner demonstrative would remain in the same forms whether they function as a pronoun, pro-verb or adverb. When used adverbially, manner demonstratives function as pro-adverbs and substitute for the manner, degree or quality of a referent. In (1), both German *so* and English *that* indicate the degree of length (60 cm) of the fish. In (2), *zheyang* is the manner demonstrative used as an adverb indicating that the person in question *ni* ‘you’ lacks such a degree of conscience. (2) below shows an equivalent use of Chinese *zheyang*

(1) Manner demonstratives as pro-adverbs in German and English (from Koenig & Umbach, 2018)

A. Der Fisch war 60 cm lang. – B. War der wirklich so lang? (GERMAN)

A. The fish was 20 inches long. – B. Was it that long? (ENGLISH)

(2) Demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* as pro-adverbs in Chinese (from Liu, Pan & Gu, 1983)

原來 你 這樣 沒 良心。 (CHINESE)

Yuánlái nǐ zhèyàng méi liángxīn.
origin you this.way no conscience
'I see you are so without conscience.'

1.3.2 Manner demonstratives as pro-verbs

Pro-verbs are expressions that replaces and indicates anaphorically to a verb given earlier (Chao, 1979). Manner demonstratives *zheyang/nayang* can also function as pro-verbs, for example, allowing to be modified by an auxiliary verb or be followed by aspect particles (Chao, 1979). Other pro-verbs in Chinese include *lai* 'to come/do', *gao* 'to do', and the other set of manner demonstratives *zheme/name* 'such/such.' Dixon (2003) observes that there is a small amount of languages that lack manner adverbial demonstratives but have verbal demonstratives. An example of a verbal demonstrative is *ene(ii)* 'do like this' in Fijian (Dixon, 2003). In English, such uses are often expressed by *do*, *do so* or verb ellipsis (Quirk et al., 1985). The examples below show demonstrative pro-verbs in English and Chinese. In (3) a. to c., the verb phrase *feeding the dog* is replaced by other expressions functioning as pro-verbs in the subordinate conditional *if*-clauses. In a., it is replaced by the null anaphora (indicated by "Ø"). In b., it is replaced by pro-verb *done*; in c., it is replaced by *so*.

(3) Uses of pro-verbs in English (from Quirk et al., 1985: 875)

- a. Would you mind [feeding the dog]_i, if you haven't Ø_i already?
- b. Would you mind [feeding the dog]_i, if you haven't already done_i?
- c. Would you mind [feeding the dog]_i, if you haven't already done so_i?

In (4) below, the speakers Jane was describing a high school male student of hers who one time talked and acted like a girl, which had surprised her. Here, *zheyang* functions as a pro-verb

(modified by the modal particle *hui* ‘would’) in line 3321 ‘(He) would not make people thought that he would *zheyang* (-> ‘do it/ behave so’).’

(4) Demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* as a pro-verb [M001 After school, 396-397]

3320 Jane: ... (1.3) 他 就是 .. 憨憨厚厚 的 感覺.
... (1.3) Tā jiùshì .. hānhānhòuhòu de gǎnjué.
He just innocent POSS. feeling

3321 -> .. 不 會 給 人 家 覺 得 他 會 這 樣.
.. Bù huì jǐ rénjiā juéde tā huì zhèyàng.
not would to others think he would *this.way*

-> ‘...(1.3) He just.. looks simple and straightforward. (He) would not make people thought that he would *zheyang* (-> ‘do it/ behave so’).’

In (5) below, *zheyang* is also used as a pro-verb, referring to a verb or verb phrase mentioned in the preceding discourse. The speaker Erin is describing the non-stop feeding a new mother usually has to do for the newborn baby through the day. The manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* in line 413 both refer to feeding the newborn baby mentioned earlier. As a pro-verb, *zheyang* in the second clause is modified by adverb *ye* ‘also.’

(5) Manner demonstrative *zheyang* as a pro-verb used in the predicate position [M009: Motherhood center]

413 Erin: -> 你 媽 媽 白 天 這 樣 子 , 然 後 晚 上 也 這 樣.
Nǐ māma báitiān zhèyàngzi, ránhòu wǎnshàng yě zhèyàng.
your mother daytime *this.way*, then evening also *this.way*.

-> ‘You (as a) mother *zheyang* (-> ‘does so’) during the day, and *zheyang* (-> ‘does so’) too at night.’

Except for replacing a verb or verb phrase, manner demonstratives *zheyang/nayang* can also replace nominal expressions as demonstrative pronouns.

1.3.3 Manner demonstratives as adnominals

When precedes a noun head in a noun phrase, a demonstrative is used adnominally to refer the definiteness of a noun or noun phrase. In (6), the speaker Erin is discussing with the other speaker whether a new mother who needs a post-pregnancy recovery care should be taken care of by her mother-in-law or by a professional caretaker for new mothers. She believes that there is no way to please both the mother-in-law, who should be trusted for the care, or the new mother, who would like to receive care professionally.

(6) Manner demonstrative *zheyang* as an adnominal demonstrative [M009: Motherhood center]

1187 Erin: → (0.9) 就是 會 有 這 樣 的 問 題 啊。
Jiùshì huì yǒu zhèyàng de wèntí a.
precisely would have this.way DE problem PART.

→ '(0.9)There would be exactly *zheyang* (→ 'such') problems.

To conclude her own thoughts, Erin in line 1187 states that there would be such problems.

Zheyang here is then used as an adnominal demonstrative specifying *such* for the noun 問題 'problem(s).'

1.3.4 Manner demonstratives as pronouns

Demonstratives and demonstrative expressions are commonly used to replace a noun or noun phrase as demonstrative pronouns. For example, English *this/that* or Chinese *zhe/na* can occupy the subject or the object position in a sentence as a demonstrative pronoun to refer to something mentioned earlier in the discourse. Such a use is often called pronominal demonstratives or demonstrative pronouns (Wang, 1943; Lü, 1999 [1980]; Liu, Pan & Gu, 1983). Based on the language data in his time, Lü (1999 [1980]) viewed *zheyang* and *nayang* as synonymous as

zheme(yang) and *name(yang)* (as they are both manner demonstratives with very similar indexicality), but the former now are use much more frequent than the latter in the language data today (Tseng, 2001). When used as a demonstrative pronoun, *zheyang/nayang* indicates manner, features, actions or situations/events, which distinguish themselves from the nominal demonstratives *zhe(ge)* ‘this’ and *na(ge)* ‘that’ (Lü, 2002 [1985])¹. Paige in (7) is in the midst of the discussion with her church friend Holly about the news that their church wants to host monthly concerts (line 346). As a church volunteer, Paige does not like the idea, and hence comments on the news. After discussing where the new was from in line 348 to 360, in line 361, Paige started the line with *yīnwèi wǒ juéde hái* ‘because I think’ but then restarts her turn with *zhèyàngzi hái mán lèide* ‘it’s quite tiring.’ *Zheyang* here then is used pronominally as the subject, referring to the situation when the church hosts monthly concerts.

(7) *Zheyang* in the subject position [M006: Church volunteer duties]

- | | | |
|------|-------|---|
| 0346 | Paige | 下個 (.) 明年度 開始 (.) 什麼 一個 音樂。
Xiàgè (.) Míngniándù kāishǐ (.) shénme yīgè yīnyuè.
Next Next year begin what a music (concert) |
| 0347 | Holly | ...(0.9) 喔.. 為什麼。
...(0.9) Ō.. Wèishéme.
Oh. Why.
(Lines 348-359 omitted) |
| 0359 | -> | ...(2.1) 為什麼 要 這樣子?
...(2.1) Wèishéme yào zhèyàngzi?
Why want this.way |
| 0360 | | ...(1.2) 不 曉得 啊。
...(1.2) Bù xiǎodé a.
not know PART. |

¹ 呂叔湘 (2002:221) "這、那是實體指示代詞，這麼、那麼是性狀指示代詞(這裡的"性狀"包括動作的樣式)。
 " (Translation: *Zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ are physical demonstrative pronouns, while *zheme* ‘this way’ and *name* ‘that way’ are feature/property demonstrative pronouns (the meaning of “feature/property” here includes ways of doing an action.)

- 0361 Paige: -> 因為 我覺得 還 這樣子 還 蠻 累的
yīnwèi wǒ juéde hái zhèyàngzi hái mán lèide
because I think quite *this.way* still quite tiring
- 0346 Paige 'Next (.) Starting next year (.) (the church will host) some kind of music (concert).'
- 0347 Holly '...(0.9) Oh (.) why.'
(Lines 348-360 omitted)
- 0359 -> ...(2.1) Why doing *zheyangzi*?
- 0360 ...(1.2) I have no idea.
- 0361 Paige: 'Because I think quite- *zheyangzi* (-> 'it') was/sounds quite tiring.'

In the past studies, manner demonstratives used as subjects as shown in this example have been simply viewed as one of their many grammatical functions; however, why they are used has not been explored.

Zheyang/nayang used as subjects is relevant in Chinese grammar in that a co-referred expression is not grammatically required, which is a distinctive feature in pro-drop languages (Lü, 2002 [1985]; Li, 1997). That is, a subject, object or even a predicate can be omitted when they have the same reference as it is in the previous sentence or clause (Huang, 2003). The omitted subject, object or a predicate is then referred as zero anaphora (Li, 1997; Huang, 2003). In the case when the subject in a subsequence clause refers to the same topic or subject as it does in the previous clause, it is considered grammatically unnecessary (as the same subject appears twice) Lü (2002[1985]).² When reviewing (7), it is noticeable that *zheyangzi* in line 361 is

Original text in Lü (2002 [1985]:127) is provided here: "主語重複": 主語和主要動詞之間常常有些別
的詞語，有時候作者忘了前面已經有了一個主語，又在後面再來一個。"暗中更換主語": 一般的情
形，如果下一個動詞沒有主語，我們的了解是他跟上一個動詞的主語相同。

referring to the same referent as referred by *zheyangzi* in line 359, both referring to the church hosting monthly concerts. The recurring subject *zheyangzi* in line 361 is then by default a redundant subject. I will argue in Chapter 3 that such a use of manner demonstratives are overt subjects that are pragmatically motivated for emphasis and giving assessments. In the next section, I will turn to review pragmatic uses of demonstratives.

1.4 Functional Analyses on Manner Demonstratives *Zheyang* and *Nayang*

Studies based on natural language data have found that function words such as demonstratives are often used beyond their grammatical necessity for interactional purposes. This had been pointed out in several early Chinese linguistic studies that were based on their own observations on everyday conversations as well as written texts close to spoken language (e.g. novels). One of the earliest Chinese linguists, Chao (1979), for example, noted how actual pronunciations of demonstratives can differentiate their syntactic functions and correlating interpretations. Based on available texts close to spoken language of his time, Lü (2002 [1985]) observed that Chinese demonstratives *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ differ from each other not only spatially but also psychologically. For example, when a speaker changes their perspective in the same conversation, an item originally referred by *that* may be immediately referred by *this*. Recent functional linguistic studies have further proven that uses of demonstratives are influenced by contextual factors, such as lexical choices between a proximal and a distal form, or forms of gesture use (Tao, 1999; Enfield et al, 2007).

Usage-based studies generally analyze demonstratives based on of indexicality: (situational) deictic, cataphoric and anaphoric uses (Teng, 1981; Lü, 2002 [1985]; Himmelmann, 1996; Diessel, 1999; 2006; Koenig & Umbach, 2018). Observing natural language use, several early Chinese linguists observed that uses of demonstratives concern factors beyond physical distance. In several studies, Lü states uses of *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ beyond their physical indexicality. Although stating that the proximal nominal demonstrative *zhe* indicating an entity in proximity and the distal nominal demonstrative *na* in distal distance, Lü observes that the indexicality of *zhe* and *na* are weakened to be neutral (and thus interchangeable) when they are not used at the same time for contrast. As indexicality weakened, *zhe* can indicate a presently focused entity (當前事物), to indicate anaphorically what was said or related to the previous discourse or topic. On the other hand, *na* with weakened indexicality can refer to an entity that is temporally or psychologically distant, or something that is known both by the speaker and the addressee. Based on spontaneous conversational data in Mandarin, Tao (1999) elaborates Himmelmann’s framework and proposes discourse factors involving the uses of demonstratives and demonstrative expressions.

Among major studies on the functional aspects of demonstratives, Himmelmann (1996) proposes four major usage types of demonstratives based on typological data: Situational use, Endophoric/Tracking use (including cataphoric/discourse deictic use and anaphoric use), and recognitional use.

1.4.1 Situational use of manner demonstratives

Situational use, or *dangqian zhi* ‘immediate indexing’ in Chinese, refers to when a demonstrative use refers to an entity present in the speech situation, such as *this* referring to an apple on the table. This is sometimes termed exophoric use. Situational use occurs when a linguistic expression indicates an entity present in the current situation (Himmelmann, 1996). Situational indexicality by demonstratives has been widely considered the default function of demonstratives from the perspectives of semantics and language acquisition (Levinson, 2005). Focusing on deixes of nominal demonstratives, traditional linguistic studies on demonstrative deixes, such as *this* and *that* in English and *zhe* and *na* in Chinese, considered their uses and lexical choices were based on the relative distance between the referent vis-à-vis the deictic center/the speaker. For example, the proximal *this* indexes an entity close to the speaker, and the distal *that* an entity far from the speaker.

Studies based on empirical observation in natural language use, however, have different observations. Lü, one of the earliest Chinese linguistics who studied demonstratives, states that, when used together, *zhe* and *na* make a distant contract between two referents; when not used together, their indexicality becomes neutralized (Lü, 2002 [1985]). Tao (1999) further supports this view with authentic conversational data and states that non-physical factors are involved in the lexical choice between the proximal and distal demonstratives. Related to the lexical choice of a proximal or a distal demonstrative, the choice among many types of demonstratives is also situated in what the speaker intends to express. Laury (1996) also found that social and interactive factors are at least equally important to concrete spatial factors in the speaker's choice of demonstratives in Finnish spoken discourse.

The situational use can be further divided into (i) the deictic use, when a manner demonstrative refers to a referent in the actual speech context, and (ii) the pure text deictic use, when a manner demonstrative refers to linguistic entities as an object (Lyons, 1977; Teng, 1981). According to Lyons (1977) both the deictic use and the pure text deictic use locate an object in the speech context; The latter treats a referred utterance as an “speech” object just given in the previous discourse. For example, *that* in *I didn't say that*. This dissertation focuses on the deictic use of manner demonstratives.

Past literature has pointed out several observations in deictic use of demonstratives in conversation. First, studies based on natural language data have found that uses of demonstratives do not necessarily mark a deictic contrast with the use proximal and distal demonstratives (Hanks 1992; Diessel, 2006; Enfield, 2009). Lü (2002 [1985]) stated that Chinese nominal demonstratives *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ are used for contrasts; when only one of them occurs, their indexicality would be weakened as neutral indexicality (p. 155). Observing Mayan conversation, Enfield (2009) proposes that proximal and distal distinctions should be viewed as something emerged in language use. Wang (1943) stated that the proximal demonstrative *zhe* ‘this’, for example, is preferred when referring to an entity focused at the very moment of speaking, regardless of its physical distance from a deictic center. The distal demonstrative *na* ‘that’ refers to a referent that is somewhat distant in the sense of the physical or mental distance. For example, in the sentence 這樣不行，這樣才行 ‘this way doesn’t work; this way works’ the first and second manner demonstratives *zheyang* can refer to different objects in the speech context (for example, the ways certain items are placed together) regardless their physical distance to the speaker’s deictic center. Lü (2002 [1985]) stated that sometimes the first demonstrative can also be a distal one and the second a proximal one. While there has been

abundant literature on uses of demonstratives for indexing physical objects, or exophoric use of demonstratives, across different languages, such as Hanks (1990, 1992), Enfield et al. (2007), Enfield (2009), Goodwin (2003), Hanks (1993), Diessel (1999), to name just a few, there is only a small body of research on exophoric demonstratives used in Chinese conversation (Tao, 1999; Zhao, 2007). To fill this gap of understanding, this dissertation starts with an investigation on how the references of exophoric manner demonstratives are indexed and shaped by discourse and gesture use including nonverbal expressions by the head, hands, other body parts and eye gaze. This also provides implications to the close relationship between verbal expressions/discourse and nonverbal expressions in shaping meanings.

Second, it is still an ongoing investigation on how references are indicated and identified. When a demonstrative, together with a demonstratum, such as a nonverbal expression such as a hand gesture, gazing or bodily demonstration (Clark et al., 1983), establishes a referent in the speech context (i.e. the physical world), its interpretation requires to go beyond the linguistic expressions. Another aspect in deictic use of manner demonstratives is, how its reference with a more complicated nature than a nominal or locative demonstrative is established through pointing? Goodwin (2003) investigates types of complex pointing proposes that the organization of pointing includes: (i) the pointing gesture, which can be a hand, or any tool used; (ii) a domain of scrutiny, where the addressee should look to find the target of the point, or the particular entity being pointed at; (iii) a pointed entity, which is a graphic field within which signs of a particular type can occur. This then also sheds lights on the possible complex nature of nonverbal expressions including complex pointing used together with manner demonstratives in Chinese. As past literature on Chinese deictic demonstratives mainly focus on nominal demonstratives,

such as *zhe/na* ‘this/that’ and *zhege/nage* ‘this/that (one)’, examining the deictic use of Chinese manner demonstratives in this dissertation can contribute to our current understanding on the referential relationship between demonstratives and nonverbal expressions.

1.4.2 Tracking use of manner demonstratives

Tracking use of demonstratives indicate referents existing in the discourse, which is the opposite of the deictic use introduced earlier. Anaphoric use, or tracking use in Himmelmann (1996), refers to when a demonstrative anaphorically refers to expressions in the discourse. This is equivalent to *hui zhi* ‘backward indexing in Chinese linguistic term. As in (8) a., *zhe* ‘this’ refers to the old guys in the speech context. In (8) b., *zhe hua* ‘these words’ refers to the utterance given earlier. Another tracking use is cataphoric demonstratives, or *qian zhi* ‘forward indexing’ in Chinese, refers to a discourse referent that is about to be given in the conversation. Himmelmann (1996) considers discourse deictic use of a demonstrative, considered as a type of cataphoric use, occurs when it refers to propositions or events in discourse/text. For example, *that* in the sentence *I didn’t say that*, functions as a discourse deixis as it refers to what was said earlier. Lastly, recognitional use refers to when a demonstrative refers to something that is assumed known or identifiable by the conversation participants through shared knowledge. As in (8) c., *Nage ren* ‘that person’ refers to a person that is assumed known by the speaker and the addressee, for example, in storytelling.

(8) Uses of *zhe* and *na* (Lü, 2002 [1985]:167)

a. 這 老子 挑 著 一 擔 糕 粥。 (Situational use)

Zhè lǎozǐ tiāo zhe yī dān gāo zhōu.
this old.guy carry PROG. one load cake congee
‘This old guy is carrying a load of cake and congee.’

b. 這 話 也 不 可 告 訴 第 三 個 人。 (Anaphoric use)

Zhè huà yě bù kě gàosù dì sāngè rén.

This speech also not allow tell third person
'These words also cannot tell to a third person.'

- c. 那個人又來了。(Recognitional use)
Nàgè rén yòu lái le.
that person again come F.P.
'That person is coming again.'

As straightforward as it may seem, this framework did not differentiate several crucial elements in the uses of Chinese manner demonstratives. For example, do they refer to the same type of referents when the manner demonstratives are used anaphorically? In (9), the manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* are all referring to previous discourse, which can refer to either the meaning in a discourse referent, the proposition of a discourse referent or the discourse itself:

(9) *Zheyang* and *nayang* and discourse referents (Lü, 2002 [1985]:167)

- a. 這樣的事情經常發生。
Zhèyàng de shìqíng jīngcháng fāshēng.
'*Zheyang* (-> 'such/this') thing happens a lot.'
- b. 這樣不好，那樣才好。
Zhèyàng bù hǎo, nà yàng cái hǎo.
'*Zheyang* (-> 'This/Doing so') is not good. *Nayang* (-> 'That/Doing so') IS good/better.'
- c. 我讀了兩遍，又請人講了一遍，這樣，我才算懂了。
Wǒ dúle liǎng biàn, yòu qǐng rén jiǎngle yī biàn, zhèyàng, wǒ cái suàn dǒngle.
'I read it twice, and then asked someone to teach me one more time, *zheyang* ('by doing so'), I then can say I understood it.'

Further, it seems arbitrary to decide which use it is by only looking at the grammatical positions of the demonstratives. For example, *zheyang* in (9) a. can be understood as anaphoric or cataphoric tracking out of context. As pointed out in (7) earlier, the pronominal use of manner demonstratives has not been examined from pragmatics viewpoints, thus it is a neglected area. This study will show that this use of manner demonstratives as overt subjects, having almost

10% of the total occurrences (N=52/552), are often linked to emphatic/contrastive reference and assessments.

1.4.3 *Discourse/Interactional functions of manner demonstratives*

On the other hand, there are several studies on manner demonstratives functioning as discourse markers such as connectives, responses, or completion markers in natural conversation (Diessel, 1999; Liu, 2002; Lu, 2016; Hsieh, 2017; Koenig & Umbach, 2018; 陳, 2019). Koenig and Umbach (2018) found that the manner demonstratives cross-linguistically demonstrate a common tendency in their discourse functions that are derived along a similar tendency on the path grammaticalization. For example, manner demonstratives are frequently used as adverbial connectives which are used in isolation or with other connecting expressions in many languages, including English, Japanese and archaic German. For example, English *so* can denote various discourse relations including causality conditionality, inference and concessivity (Koenig & Umbach, 2018). (38) below shows manner demonstratives as connectives in English adopted from Koenig and Umbach (2018).

(38) Manner demonstratives as connectives

- a. (It is pouring down outside.) So, we cannot leave right now. (Causal)
- b. Even so we could leave right now (if we take a taxi). (Concessive)
- c. So, you don't mind the rain. (Inferential)
- d. I would like to wait, so that I can get home dry. (Resultative)

However, the studies have yet provided a full picture of the diverse interactional functions of manner demonstratives in (Mandarin) Chinese. It is thus my goal to contribute my

new findings to fill the gap of the current understanding to manner demonstratives, especially how Chinese manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* are used in naturally occurring conversation. This includes the deictic use of *zheyang* and *nayang*, and two discourse-marking uses, that is, inferential connectives and completion markers. This dissertation contributes to our current understanding on demonstratives by showing how occurrences of manner demonstratives in Chinese are connected locally to language structure, turn design, and turn sequencing, as well as globally to social actions and interactional tasks relevant to the current and the next speakers in situated context in conversation.

In this chapter I have briefly reviewed the usage-based approaches that are adopted in this dissertation, including Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics. I have also reviewed grammatical and functional uses of demonstratives relevant to Chinese manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang*.

1.5 Roadmap

In Chapter 2, I will introduce the corpus and corpus data used in this dissertation (2.1). In addition. The method used to identify pragmatic use of manner demonstratives as well as examples for each type of uses based on my analysis will also be provided (2.2 and 2.3). Chapter 3 examines deictic use of manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* in the aspects of their co-speech gestures, referents and synchronicity. As past literature has not explored deictic use of *zheyang* and *nayang*, this chapter fills the gap of our understanding on deictic manner demonstratives and their nonverbal expressions occurring in natural speech context. Chapter 4 examines the anaphoric use of manner demonstratives as overt subjects to express speakers'

subjective evaluation (i.e. assessments). When used as overt subjects, *zheyang* and *nayang* express an emphatic meaning showing discourse contrasts or express the speaker's assessment toward previous discourse. Chapter 5 examines uses of manner demonstratives as discourse markers, including their uses as inferential connectives and explicit discourse completion markers. When used as inferential connectives, *zheyang* and *nayang* establish an inferred causal relationship based on the speaker's subjective belief. When used as explicit discourse completion markers, *zheyang* and *nayang* are given to (re-mark) the completion of the current turn when the next speakership is absent. Chapter 6 summarizes my findings and implications for future research.

Chapter 2 Data and Methodology

In studies in talk-in-interaction and Function/Interactional Linguistics, it has been widely recognized that interactional data reveal the inter-connection between grammar of language and its use in social interaction (Iwasaki & Horie, 2000; Raymond, 2003; Thompson et al, 2015; Wu & Tao, 2018). In this dissertation, I use spontaneous conversation data in National Cheng Chi University (hence the NCCU corpus). The corpus data, collected in Taiwan with careful documentation, are featured by the video-recorded spoken data in mundane face-to-face conversations (Chui & Lai, 2008). While there is a larger Chinese corpus, Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese, which is featured by its wide scope of language genre, ranging from formal to informal language use, its spoken data is rather limited to monologue narratives, and dyadic formal meetings. The interaction in these settings is constrained by their planned turn-taking, topic and/or speech register (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). Thus, a corpus with natural conversation is required to explore the diversity of language uses by demonstratives.

2.1 Corpus Data

The spoken data in the NCCU corpus includes conversations among college students who knew each other (collected between, 1994 and, 1995) and other conversations collected since 2006 among family members, friends, and colleagues (Chui & Lai, 2008). As some of the recorded conversations contain Taiwanese (Southern Min) and non-native Chinese speech, I only include recordings in which Mandarin is the main spoken language in my research.

Of the 27 video-recordings available in the NCCU corpus, 17 were selected for analysis based on the following criteria. First, at least at least 90% of each recording are in “Taiwan

Mandarin” (台灣國語), a variation of Mandarin Chinese acquired and used by Mandarin speakers in Taiwan. Taiwan Mandarin is perceived a different Mandarin variation from Putonghua (普通話), the standard Mandarin spoken in mainland China, as the former contains several linguistic traits from the dominant dialect Southern Min in Taiwan (Cheng, 1985). In addition, utterances produced with non-native linguistic features (usually by non-native Mandarin speakers) are excluded. Second, the manner demonstratives expressed in non-Mandarin speech are excluded to ensure that the particular forms of manner demonstratives in question (ending with *-yang*) are analyzed with the same criteria. For example, *anne* ‘like this’ in Southern Min (Chang, 2002; Li, 2002) is excluded in the analysis. Third, recordings that consist of lengthy non-verbal activities (such as eating or watching television during which a conversation is discontinued) are excluded. Being constantly distracted, such conversations contain a large amount of fragmented turns of talk and discontinued topics. Finally, recordings with background noises to the degree that would lead to analytical uncertainty are also excluded.

The seventeen video-recorded conversations were selected based on the criteria mentioned above. The total length of the conversation for analysis is 400 minutes and 25 seconds, in which over a hundred thousand characters ($N = 103,496$) were spoken by the speakers. On average, 4.2 words were spoken per second. All of the conversations were face-to-face that occurred spontaneously in informal settings, including a dining room or a bedroom, and a resting area in a school or a church. The speakers include 13 males and 27 females, aged between 15 to 45 years old (Chui & Lai, 2008). The speakers were friends, family members, or school/classmates at the time of recordings (identified by the contents of conversation). Table 6 below provides the details of each recording.

Table 3. Basic Information of Spoken Data Selected from NCCU Corpus

Recording	Setting	Male	Female	Length	Words
M001 After school teaching	Bedroom	0	3	0:20:12	6241
M002 Photo discussion	Dining room	0	2	0:21:29	5195
M003 Blogs	Bedroom	0	2	0:14:10	4961
M004 Science conference	School	1	1	0:27:55	4260
M006 Church volunteer duties	Church	1	2	0:23:58	6618
M009 Motherhood center	Bedroom	0	2	0:40:09	9713
M010 Foreigners Taiwan impression	Bedroom	2	0	0:20:38	4218
M011 Movie	School	2	0	0:19:55	5466
M012 Cram school	Bedroom	1	1	0:21:18	5263
M014 Colleague	Bedroom	1	1	0:21:53	4853
M016-1 Script part 1	School	0	3	0:21:30	6581
M016-2 Script part 2	School	0	3	0:24:45	7035
M020 Hydrogenated oils	Bedroom	1	1	0:20:12	6661
M021 Friends job	Bedroom	1	1	0:20:51	4576
M023 Blogger	Bedroom	1	1	0:20:06	4064
M024 Bee hive	Bedroom	0	2	0:24:38	6338
M025 Stock trade	Dining room	2	0	0:17:22	4415
M026 Decayed tooth	Bedroom	0	2	0:21:24	7038
Total		13	27	6:42:25	103,496

Data transcriptions, based on the original transcription provided by the NCCU Corpus, is refined for transcription accuracy, transcription formats for the purpose of identifying functions of the manner demonstratives *zheyang*, *nayang* and their morphological variations.

2.2 Identifying Manner Demonstratives *Zheyang*, *Nayang* and Their Variations

Previous studies have observed that the manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* have free variations, including *zheyangzi/nayangzi*, *zhege yangzi/nage yangzi* (Wang, 1943), as shown in Table 4 below. In the NCCU Corpus, these forms of manner demonstratives are identified when (i) they are pronounced clearly without truncations, and (ii) the conversation turn in which they occur is produced fully in Mandarin. That is, an occurrence of the manner demonstratives is excluded when its pronunciation is unclear, incomplete, or not fully used with other Mandarin utterances. This is to avoid the mixed use of the demonstratives adopted in Southern Min or in English expressions.

Table 4. Morphological Variations of Chinese Manner Demonstratives

	Default form	Default form + <i>zi</i>	Default form in <i>ge ...zi</i>
Proximal manner demonstrative	這 樣 zhè yàng this appearance	這 樣 子 zhè yàng zi this appearance suffix	這 個 樣 子 zhè ge yàng zi this CLS. appearance suffix
Meaning	'this way; like this'		
Distal manner demonstrative	那 樣 nà yàng that appearance	那 樣 子 nà yàng zi that appearance suffix	那 個 樣 子 nà ge yàng zi that Clas. appearance suffix
Meaning	'that way; like that'		

In identifying deictic uses of the manner demonstratives, nonverbal gestures including pointing, hand gesturing, facial and body expressions are annotated when their productions are relevant and/or synchronic with the occurrences of the manner demonstratives.

2.2.1 Frequency of occurrences of the manner demonstratives

The standard of the frequency of occurrences used in this study uses a widely accepted measurement proposed by Brysbaert et al. (2017) for English corpus linguistic study. In their Chinese corpus study, Yang et al. (2015) recognize the standard of high frequency words as occurring over 40 frequency per million words, or over 60 frequency per million words. However, this standard is not usable in this study as it would mark almost every forms of the manner demonstratives as high frequency words. Thus, this dissertation adopts the widely accepted measurement of high frequency words in Brysbaert et al. in which (i) low-frequency words have less than 5 frequency per million (fpm) and (i) high-frequency words have more than 100 fpm, although it should be noted that the measurement here is not without issues (Brysbaert et al., 2017). According to their criteria, four out of six forms of the manner demonstratives are still qualified as high frequency words. In fact, *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* exceed the high fpm standard by 30 and 10 times, respectively. Table 5 here shows the numbers and frequency of occurrences for each morphological variation of the manner demonstratives.

Table 5. Occurrences of *Zheyang* and *Nayang* in the NCCU Corpus

	Token	Frequency Per million words (Fpm)		Token	Frequency Per million words (Fpm)
<i>zheyang</i>	340	3285	<i>nayang</i>	28	270
<i>zheyangzi</i>	153	1478	<i>nayangzi</i>	18	174
<i>zhege yangzi</i>	6	58	<i>nage yangzi</i>	7	68
Total	499	4821	Total	53	512

With a total of 552 tokens of manner demonstratives, the proximal demonstratives consist 97% of the uses, while the distal demonstratives consist only 3%. This distribution presents a quite different distribution from other demonstratives. In my data, the total occurrences of other

demonstrative expressions (excluding the manner demonstratives) is 2107 tokens. This includes 18.3% of proximal demonstrative expressions (N = 386) and 81.6% (N = 1721) of distal demonstrative expressions. This difference in distributions shows that the proximal manner demonstratives *zheyang* and its variations seem to behave very differently from other proximal demonstratives. In particular, their high frequency of occurrences here may have provided a basis for the demonstratives to enter the path of grammaticalization and pragmaticization. Discussion on this topic will be given in Chapter 6.

2.3 Uses of Chinese Manner Demonstratives

Based on their distributions and uses in conversation, *zheyang*, *nayang* and their variations can be categorized into the following uses: (1) deictic use, (2) anaphoric use, (3) discourse deictic use (4) connective, (5) completion marker, and (6) response token. In the follow section, I provide examples for each use identified here. Further analyses will be given in the following chapters.

2.3.1 Deictic use

Deictic *zheyang* or *nayang* occurs when it indicates a nonverbal referent in the speech situation, such as an appearance, situation, action, or the manner, quality, degree of an action or object. Due to its wide range of references and the abstract nature of referents, it can be hard to demonstrate or specify a particular referent for a manner demonstrative by a simple pointing finger (Goodwin, 2003). For example, how would a speaker use *zheyang* ‘this way’ to indicate an action or a situation in an ongoing conversation? Similarly, how would the referent of an

appearance be demonstrated through a nonverbal expression such as a hand gesture? In (10) below, the speakers Tina (on the left) and Elle (on the right) are in the midst of the conversation about a wasp they both saw earlier. In line 9, Tina mentioned that the bee they saw was quite big and, in line 10, used both her index finger and the thumb to display the size of the bee. The deictic *zheyang* together with the hand gesture indicate the size of the wasp.

(10) Deictic uses of *zheyang* [M024: Bee hive]

(Speaker Tina and Elle are discussing the size of a wasp they both saw the other day. Tina expresses that the bee was unusually large.)

- 0009 Tina: 黄 蜂 很 大 隻 耶。
Huángfēng hěn dà zhī ye.
wasp very big CLS. PART.
- 0010 -> 大概 這樣. ((framing gesture))
Dàgài zhèyàng.
About this.way
- 0011 Elle: 屁 啦。
Pì la.
Ass PART.
- Tina: -> ‘The wasp is very big. (It’s) about *zheyang* (-> ‘this’) ((framing gesture)).’
Elle: ‘Ass (Nonsense).’

Line 0010: ‘About *zheyang*.’

Enlarged hand gesture



Here, the size of the bee is demonstrated not through a simple pointing that can commonly locate an individual object or location for *this* or *here*. Together with the meaning given in the clauses (line 9-10), Tina's gesture indicates the size by the displayed space between the fingers. More detailed discussion on deictic manner demonstratives and nonverbal expressions will be given in Chapter 3.

2.3.2 Anaphoric use

Anaphoric use occurs when *zheyang* or *nayang* refers backwardly to an antecedent in the previously given discourse. In Chinese, anaphoric *zheyang/nayang* can be used independently as a demonstrative pronoun, demonstrative predicate, or a demonstrative determiner. In all of the three uses, *zheyang* and *nayang* can refer to a referent's property/properties (i.e. manner, quality, degree), a situation/event or an action. In (11), Holly is asking Paige and Mike, who married to each other decades ago, about how they met. Being shy and conservative, Paige tries to avoid

talking about it in Line 528. *Zheyangzi* here refers to the action of Holly's asking her the question.

(11) Anaphoric use of *zheyang* referring to action [M006 Church volunteer duties]

- 0526 Holly: 說 說 看 你 們 怎 麼 怎 麼 認 識 的。
 Shuō shuō kàn nǐmen zěnmē zěnmē rènshí de.
 say say see you how how meet de
- 0528 Paige: -> (0)不 要 這 樣 子。
 (0) bù yào zhèyàngzi.
 not want this.way
- Holly: 'Tell (me) how how you met (each other).'
- Paige: (0)'Don't be/do *zheyang* (-> 'like this').'

To refer to the manner of an action, anaphoric manner demonstratives naturally functions as adverbs, modifying its accompanying verb or verb phrase. In (12), Shelly is discussing with June and two other classmates, all high school students, about the blood types that can be used interchangeably to save people's lives. After Shelly introducing the blood types in her family, June in line 855 responds by confirming that one can divide functions of blood types in this way. *Zheyang* in the same line refers to the way of dividing blood types as addressed in line 851-854.

(12) Anaphoric use of *zheyang* referring to manner [M016-1 Script part 1]

- 0851 Shelly: ..喔 我 媽 <L2 A L2> 型 我 爸 <L2 B L2> 型,
 Ō wǒ mā <L2 A L2> xíng wǒ bà <L2 B L2> xíng,
 oh my mother A type my father B type
- 0852 然後 我 跟 我 大 妹 是 <L2 O L2> 型,
 ránhòu wǒ gēn wǒ dà mèi shì <L2 O L2> xíng,
 and I and my oldest.sister be O type
- 0853 然後 我 小 妹 [是.. <L2 A L2> 型.]
 ránhòu wǒ xiǎo mèi [shì.. <L2 A L2> xíng.]
 and my youngest.sister be A type
- 0854 我 [[小 弟]] 是 <L2 B L2> 型。
 wǒ [[xiǎo dì]] shì <L2 B L2> xíng.
 my youngest.brother be B type
- 0855 June: -> [可以 這 樣 分 呐.]
 [kěyǐ zhèyàng fēn nà.]

0856 can this.way divide PART.
 ..[[對 啦.]]
 ..[[Dui la.]]
 Right PART.

Shelly: ‘Oh, my mom is type A, my father is type B, and I and my big sister are type O, and my little sister is type A. My little brother is type B.’
 June: ‘You can distinguish (blood types) like this. Right.’

In addition to referring to actions and manners, the manner demonstratives can also refer to the state or the appearance of a referent. (13) below is in the midst of a discussion on a common friend of Ken and Jay. Witnessing the friend losing and gaining weight repeatedly, Ken in line 3235 expresses that he does not know how one can lose weight to the extent they saw. *Zhege yangzi* here refers to the state or appearance of the friend in discussion.

(13) Anaphoric use of *zheyang* referring to state [M011 Movie]

3233 Ken: (0)eh 沒有然後我就覺得
 (0)Eh méiyǒu ránhòu wǒ jiù juéde
 PART. no and I just think
 3234 ..我覺得他好厲害
 .. Wǒ juéde tā hǎo lihài
 I think he very excellent
 3235 -> 為什麼 可以瘦 成 這個樣子
 wèishéme kěyǐ shòu chéng zhège yàngzi
 why can thin become this.way/appearance

 -> ‘(0) no. And I just thought, I thought he was great. How come (he) could lose weight to *zhege yangzi* (-> ‘(look) like this’).’

A special use of anaphoric use observed in my data is when *zheyang* or *nayang* occupies the subject position. Being the subject in a clause, *zheyang* and *nayang* tend to be followed by evaluative predicate and form a turn of assessment as a response to the previous turn of talking. This is shown in (14) below. Ella and Sara are looking at photos of a common friend. Ella commented in line 305-307 that the friend still does not look handsome even when standing next

to a very handsome guy. Sara responds by saying ‘*zheyangzi* is sad/pitiful.’ Here *zheyangzi* refers to the person’s situation addressed by Ella.

(14) Anaphoric use of *zheyang* leading assessment [M002 Photo discussion: 176-178]

- 0305 Ella: ..而且,
 .. Érqǐě,
 and
 0306 ..已經站在很帥的人的旁邊了,
 .. Yǐjīng zhàn zài hěn shuài de rén de pángbiān le,
 already stand Prep. very handsome DE person DE next.to F.P.
 0307 -> ..<@為什麼還可以這個樣子.@>
 ..<@Wèishéme hái kěyǐ zhègè yàngzi.@>
 why still can zhege yangzi
 0308 Sara: .. ((laugh))
 0309 ..<@我也 不知道.@>
 ..<@Wǒ yě bù zhīdào.@>
 I also not know
 0310 Ella: -> (1.5) [這樣子 很 可憐.]
 (1.5) [Zhèyàngzi hěn kělián.]
 this.way very pitiful
- Ella: ‘And, (he) already stood next to a handsome person, <@how come (he) still could (look like) this @>.’
 Sara: ‘((laugh)). <@I don’t know @>.’
 Ella: (1.5) ‘[*Zheyang* (-> ‘This’) is sad.]’

2.3.3 Discourse deixes

Discourse deictic use occurs when *zheyang* or *nayang* indexes to a discourse referent in the previously given discourse. As mentioned earlier, when used as a discourse deixis, *zheyang* or *nayang* is used adverbially. In (15) below, Fay and Frank, siblings, are discussing what they have heard from their teachers. Prior to line 3662, Fay gave a speech about what many teachers have told her and her classmates about them competing against the entire world in the future but not just against people around them. In line 3664, Frank responds with surprise that his teachers at

school did not tell them anything about it. Here, *zheyang* in the verb phrase *zheyang jiang* ‘say this’ indicates Fay’s turns prior to line 3662.

(15) Discourse deictic *zheyang* [M012 Cram School]

- 3662 Fay: ..跟全球是-全球競爭.
 .. Gēn quánqiú shì- quánqiú jìngzhēng.
 with globe is globe compete
- 3663 ..我想說屁 le.
 .. Wǒ xiǎng shuō pì le.
 I think say ass PART.
- 3664 Frank: (0) ((laugh))
- 3665 Fay: -> (0)老師- 學校 老師 根本就沒有跟我們這樣講.
 (0) Lǎoshī- xuéxiào lǎoshī gēnběn jiù méiyǒu gēn wǒmen zhèyàng jiǎng.
 teacher school teacher at.all just not.have with we this.way say
- Fay: ‘(We will) compete against the entire world. I was thinking ass.’
- Frank: (0) ((laugh))
- Fay: -> ‘(0) Teacher- (My) school teacher(s) did not say this to us at all.’

2.3.4 Connectives

Zheyang and *nayang* function as inferential connectives when they connect two clauses by marking the immediately following clause as an inferred consequence based on the event in the previous clause. As in the example below, *zheyang* in line 1076 is used as a connective to indicate the relationship between ‘I cannot say the name’ in line 1074 and ‘she would be exposed’ in line 1076.

(16) Same turn *zheyang*-led event B [M016 I Script part 1]

- 1073 Shelly: [九 班 九 班]有 一 個 我 認 識 的 女 生,
 [Jiǔ bān jiǔ bān] yǒu yīgè wǒ rènshíde nǚshēng,
 Nine class nine class have one I know girl
- 1074 ..不 能 講 名 字.
 .. Bù néng jiǎng míngzì.
 Not can tell name
- 1075 要 不 然,
 yào bùrán,

1076 Otherwise
 ➤ 這樣 就 會 曝光。
 zhèyàng jiù huì pùguāng.
 This.way then will expose

Shelly: ‘In Class 9 there is a girl I know, (I) cannot say the name. Otherwise, *zheyang*
 (➤ ‘if doing so) (she) would be exposed.’

2.3.5 Discourse completion markers

Zheyang and *nayang* function as a clause-completion marker when they are located at the end of a clause (the rightmost location of a clause) and mark the end of the utterance. Huang (1999) first mentioned *zheyang* used as a discourse boundary marker. When used as a completion marker, *zheyang* and *nayang* function on the discourse organizational level and barely carry any compositional meaning. (17) below shows how *zheyang* is used at the end of a clause. Prior to line 2482, Speaker Jane, a high school teacher, was describing how she found two students she knew were in a relationship. In lines 2482-2483 she was quoting what she said to the two students after she found their relationship: ‘Anyways if anything (happens), just come talk to me *zheyang*.’ Here, *zheyang* is used to signal the end of the reported speech.

(17) *Zheyang* as a discourse completion marker for reported speech [M001: After school teaching: 267]

2482 Jane: 我 就 說,
 Wǒ jiù shuō,
 I then say
 2483 ➤ 反正 就是 有 什麼 事 就 可以 來 跟 我 說 這 樣。
 Fǎnzhèng jiùshì yǒu shéme shì jiù keyǐ lái gēn wǒ shuō zhèyàng.
 anyway simply have what matter then can come with me say *zheyang*
 Jane: ‘I then say, anyway, if anything (happens), just come talk to me *zheyang*.’

2.3.6 Receipt tokens

The last pragmatic use found in my data is when *zheyang* is used as a receipt token. Simply functioning as a neutral receipt token to a turn of informing, *zheyang* may or may not be followed by other discourse. The example below shows *zheyangzi* marking the receiving of information. In (18) below Erin is talking to Carrie about her and other people visiting a friend, who just gave birth and had been staying in a motherhood center for recovery. Line 103-106 is a reported speech on a nurse in the center, complaining that there were too many visitors staying there and talking for too long. In line 107, Erin explains that the nurse's complaint was because there were three visitors. Carrie in line 108 uses *zheyangzi* to register her receipt of the information, which is followed by her question with surprise 'There was a limit for visitors.'

(18) *Zheyangzi* as a receipt token [M009: Motherhood center: 40-41]

- 0103 Erin: (0.5) 他說,
(0.5) Tā shuō,
he say
- 0104 嗯,
Ēn
((acknowledgement))
- 0105 你們 怎麼 還 這麼多 客人在。
nǐmen zěnmē hái zhème duō kèrén zài.
you.PL. how come still so much guest exist
- 0106 而且你們 客人的 量 也多 了一點 喔。
Érqiě nǐmen kèrén de liàng yě duō le yīdiǎn ō.
also you.PL. guest pos. quantity also much F.P. a bit PART.
- 0107 因為 我們 三 個人 嘛。
Yīnwèi wǒmen sān ge rén ma.
Because we three M.W. people PART.
- 0108 Carrie: <L3 ha L3>?
Ha?
- 0109 -> 這樣子 喔?
Zhèyàngzi ō?
this.way PART.
- 0110 還 有限 人 數 喔?
Hái yǒuxiàn rén shù ō?
Still limit people amount PART.

- Erin: '(0.5) He says, uh, how come there are still so many people here. And there are a bit too many of you visiting here. Because there are three of us.'
- Carrie: 'Hann ((Surprise))? Is it so? There was a limit for visitors?'

In this section, I have stated how I identify each pragmatic use of the manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang*. In the next section, I show the distributions of the uses in my data.

Analyses and discussions on each use will be given in Chapter 3, 4, and 5.

2.4 Distribution of Pragmatic Uses of Manner Demonstratives

Zheyang and *Nayang*

There is a total of 552 tokens of *zheyang*, *nayang* and their variations in my data, in which the majority (97%, N=499) is the proximal demonstratives. Among 499 tokens, *zheyang* has the most frequency of occurrences, followed by *zheyangzi*. *Zhege yangzi* is extremely infrequent. Although considered as the same as *zheyang* (Wang, 1943), it only occurs 6 times as anaphors.

Table 6 below shows the functional distribution of the proximal manner demonstratives *zheyang*, *zheyangzi* and *zhege yangzi* in the selected conversation in the NCCU corpus.

Table 6. Functions of *Zheyang*, *Zheyangzi* and *Zhege Yangzi* in Conversation

	<i>Zheyang</i>	<i>Zheyangzi</i>	<i>Zhege yangzi</i>	Total	
Deixis	54	27	0	81	16.2%
Discourse	30	2	0	32	6.4%
Tracking	154	55	6	215	43.1%
Connective	30	10	0	40	8.0%
Completion marker	70	54	0	124	24.8%
Receipt token	2	5	0	7	1.4%
Total	340	153	6	499	100.0%

Based on the distribution shown here, the proximal manner demonstratives are used the most as anaphors across all three formal variations. The completion marker is the second highest use, and the deixis is the third highest used function. On the other hand, *nayang* and its free variations are mainly used as anaphors and completion markers. Among 215 tokens of tracking use, there is only one cataphoric tracking use with *zheyangzi* and zero of the distal manner demonstratives in the corpus.

Table 7. Functions of *Nayang*, *Nayangzi* and *Nage Yangzi* in Conversation

	<i>Nayang</i>	<i>Nayangzi</i>	<i>Nage yangzi</i>	Total	
Deixis	1	0	0	1	1.9%
Discourse deixis	1	1	0	2	3.8%
Tracking	18	13	7	38	71.7%
Connective	3	1	0	4	7.5%
Completion marker	5	3	0	8	15.1%
Receipt token	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Total	28	18	7	53	100.0%

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have described the corpus data used in this study, as well as the frequency of occurrences for the forms of manner demonstratives. The statistics shows that the proximal demonstratives *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* are the two forms with the highest frequency of occurrences. I have also introduced how the manner demonstratives are grouped according to their functions. The analysis shows that the anaphoric use has the highest frequency occurrences (N=246/552), followed by their use as discourse completion marker (N=132/552) and their deictic use (N=82/552). The statistics also shows that the proximal manner demonstratives occur much more frequently (N=499/552) and have much wider uses than the distal ones (N=53/552).

I have also examined uses of manner demonstratives, including deictic use, anaphoric use, discourse deictic use, connectives, discourse completion markers, and receipt tokens. Deictic use of manner demonstratives occurs when its referent exists in the speech world and is established through both verbal expressions (i.e. discourse and a manner demonstrative) and one or more than one nonverbal expression (e.g. a hand gesture or actions). More discussion will be given in Chapter 3. Anaphoric use includes manner demonstratives used to co-refer a subject, an object, a predicate, an adnominal adverb or an adverb modifying a verb. When used as a subject, a manner demonstrative is used as a pronoun. This pronoun use in Chinese contains an interactional uses: Introducing assessments. More details will be given in Chapter 4. Among the six uses, three are mainly used as discourse markers: inferential connectives, discourse completion marker and receipt tokens. The three are grouped here as the interactional uses of manner demonstratives as their main functions are on organizing conversational turns and/or social actions in conversation. These functions will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3 Deictic Use of Manner Demonstratives

Zheyang(zi)

This chapter investigates the deictic use of manner demonstrative *zheyang(zi)* in natural conversation with a focus on the referential relationship between the demonstratives, its co-speech gestures, and referents. In the following, I will first provide an overview of the deictic use of demonstratives, and how nonverbal expressions such as gestures are used simultaneously to establish the references of the manner demonstratives.

3.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there are at least 5 types of demonstratives in Chinese (c.f. Table 1). The indexicality of each type of the demonstratives are indicated in their lexical meanings. For example, a nominal demonstrative usually refers to something as an individual entity, while a locative demonstrative refers to some location. Chinese manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang*, with the suffix *-yang* ‘shape, appearance, situation’, index action, a situation, appearance, and the manner, degree and quality of a referent. When use deictically, they have a wide range of references including events, situations, actions, the manner, degree, and/or quality of a referent.

When used in conversation, the deictic reference of a demonstrative involves a referent and a co-speech gesture which indicates the referent of the demonstrative. Gestures here refer to 'gesticulation' in Kendo (1980), which is "motion that embodies a meaning relatable to the accompanying speech" (p. 58). The gestures, also called co-speech gestures, are often produced

with the arms and hands but can be produced also, or instead, by other body parts such as the head or legs and feet, or just be a nod or a gaze (Clark et al., 1983; McNeil, 2006).

3.2.1 Deictic use of manner demonstratives and co-speech nonverbal expressions

Based on my corpus data, deictic manner demonstratives *zhèyàng(zi)* ‘this way’ can indicate the following types of referents, as shown in Table 8 b. to g.:

Table 8. Deictic Uses of Manner Demonstratives Between English and in Chinese

Chinese	Co-speech gesture	Transcript no.
a. 我買的這個。 Wǒ mǎi de zhège. I buy POSS. this.CLASS ‘I bought this.’	((Pointing to coffee))	M016-1
b. ..我就 <@ 整個 會@> 這樣 咚 咚 咚 咚 Wǒ jiù <@ zhěnggè huì@>zhèyàng dōng dōng dōng dōng I just this.way would this.way ((making sound)) 咚 咚 咚 . dōng dōng dōng. ((making sound)) ‘My whole (body) would be like dong dong dong dong dong dong dong ((making sound)).’	((Gesturing with palm moving up and down))	M026
c. 就 忽然間 出現 這樣子 的 場景。 jiù hūránjiān chūxiàn zhèyàngzi de chǎngjǐng. Just suddenly appear this.way POSS. scene ‘This/Such a situation suddenly appeared.’	((Referring to the speech situation))	M006
d. 他手 剛好 就 這樣。 tā shǒu gānghǎo jiù zhèyàng. His hand by accident just this.way ‘His hand happened to do this.’	((Mimicking the hand movement))	M002
e. 不要 這樣 看 我。 bùyào zhèyàng kàn wǒ. Not want this.way look at me ‘Don’t look at me like this.’	((Referring to staring))	M016-2

- f. 然後 他就 這樣 慢慢 走. ((Mimicking the M002
ránhòu tā jiù zhèyàng mànman zǒu. manner of slow
And he just this.way slowly walk walking))
‘And he just walked slowly like this.’
- g. 其實 很小 大概 (0.9) 這樣 吧. ((showing the M024
qíshí hěnxiǎo dàgài (0.9) zhèyàng ba. size of a
Actually small probably this.way PART. beehive))
‘Actually it is small probably (0.9) like this.’

As the functional taxonomy of demonstratives widely used is based on western languages like English in which adverbial demonstratives (e.g. this/such) share the same lexical form as the nominal one (e.g. this), uses of adverbial demonstratives are rarely examined. Situational use of Chinese demonstratives *zheme/name* (and *zheyang/nayang*), mentioned in Lü (2002 [1985]), involves some hand gestures. Koenig and Umbach (2018), based on his empirical observations on typological data, proposes a subclass of demonstratives of manner, quality and degree. Using German *so* as an example, he proposes that *so* is the only adverbial demonstrative, or demonstratives of manner, quality and degree, that can refer to manner, quality or degree without any morphological change. He further discusses their situational use in which co-speech signs and their referents demonstrate distinctive features from nominal demonstratives, including the complexity of co-speech signs and reference resolutions (Koenig & Umbach, 2018). As there has been no study on the situational use of *zheyang* and *nayang* in Chinese, I will examine the use of deictic *zheyang* and *nayang*, in particular the indexicality involving co-speech signs and referents. Co-speech signs will be examined by the types of gestures used with *zheyang* and *nayang*; the referents will be discussed from the aspect of referent types such as actions, events, and other features of a referent in the speech situation. I will also examine how to establish the deictic use in terms of the temporal relationship between the occurrences of *zheyang/nayang* and its co-speech gesture.

3.2.2 Pure text deixis

The other situational use related to *zheyang* and *nayang* is when they function as pure text deixis (Lyons, 1977:668). Pure text deixis refers to the other situational use that treats linguistic entities as an object. For example, Chinese *zheyang* can be used to indicate an onomatopoeic expression of a rapid up-and-down motion in the clause *zheyang do do do do* ‘moving *do do do* like this.’ (This contrasts to what Diessel (1999) refers to as the endophoric use of demonstratives, which refers to the proposition or event of a discourse.) This use rarely occurs in our corpus and will not be further discussed. In the following section, I will show that deictic manner in Chinese show several distinctive features from other demonstratives.

3.2 References and Nonverbal Expressions in Deictic Use of Manner Demonstratives

3.2.1 Types of manual gestures

McNeil (2006), based on Kendon's gesture studies, proposes four categories of gestures:(a) iconic gestures, (b) metaphoric gestures, (c) deictic gestures, and (d) beat gestures. Iconic gestures show a certain physical aspect of the conveyed information, or the referent of a manner demonstrative. The aspect being gestured may include the shape of the referent or the direction of a movement of the referent. Metaphoric gestures are iconic gestures expressing abstract ideas such as the end of a story. Deictic gestures conceptually indicate persons, objects, directions, or locations, although the things pointed maybe invisible, abstract, or imaginary. Deictic gestures often involve indicative or pointing movements by the extended index finger. Beat gestures are

movements, usually simple and fast, related to the process of speaking rather than meanings the speaker conveys (Wagner, Malisz & Kopp, 2014). Most of the co-speech gestures in my data are iconic, presenting physical aspects of a referent by means of hand gesturing, body movement, and gazing. Almost all of the gestures in my data are iconic, with a small amount of eye gaze directing referents. On the other hand, there are some special gesture use found in my data, including demonstrating a physical force/touching on the addressee.

3.2.2 Types of referents

The use of deictic manner demonstratives include not only the production of a manner demonstrative but also its co-speech gesture and referents. Theoretically, the referents of a manner demonstrative include all the possible references, but not all the possible references occur in my data. Referents of the deictic manner demonstratives in my data fall into the following six types: (i) Manner of an action, (ii) An action, (iii) Quality of an object, (iv) A situation, and (v) quality of a person. There is a total of 82 deictic manner demonstratives found in the corpus data, including 54 tokens *zheyang*, 27 tokens of *zheyangzi* and only one token of *nayang*. The analyses here are based on these occurrences in my data. As shown in Table 9 below, manner of an action is the most often seen referents among all of the types, followed by an action and quality of an object. Situation as a referent has 6 occurrences, and quality of a person as a referent only has 2 occurrences.

Table 9. Types of Referents of Deictic Manner Demonstratives

Deictic	<i>zheyang</i>	<i>nayang</i>
Manner of an action	35	1
Action	19	0

Quality of an object	19	0
Situation	6	0
Quality of a person	2	0
Total	81	1

When functioning as an adverb modifying a verb, a manner demonstrative refers to the manner of the action. The manner referents in my data include (i) how an action is done, for example, the way a person leaning on a cushion, the way a person wearing their contact lenses, or the way a person walks, and (ii) how a motion occurs, for example, the strong up and down movement of a motorcycle running. When functioning as the verb in a clause, a manner demonstrative then refers to an action or motion. Action referents include the speaker displaying the action such as covering up the mouth, walking upstairs, doing massage, hitting a ball.

Other types of referents indicated by manner demonstratives include the quality of an object, quality of a person, and a situation. Quality of an object referred in my data include the size or shape of an object, for example, the size of a bee or the shape of a special window. Referring to a situation as the referent occurs when the speaker uses a manner demonstrative to indicate the current speech situation that is visible to all the conversation participants. Quality of a person occurs twice, both indicating the appearance of a person. Examples of the referents will be given when discussing interactional aspects of the deictic use in data analysis.

3.2.3 Simultaneity analysis between demonstrative and gesture production

A complete co-speech gesture consists of 5 phases that categorize the beginning, middle and the end of a gesture production in conversation. Co-speech gestures here are examined according to their temporal relation between the starting point of a gesture preparation phase and the starting

point when a manner demonstrative is produced. According to Kendon (1980) and Wagner, Malisz and Kopp (2014), the phases include: (a) Rest position, which is a stable position from where the gesticulation is initiated; (b) preparation phrase, during which a movement away from the resting position begins in order to prepare the next phase; (c) gesture stroke, which is typically regarded as obligatory and containing a peak of effort (directed at manifesting the communicative function) and a maximum of information density; (d) holds, which are a motionless phase potentially occurring before or after the stroke; and (e) retraction/recovery phase, during which the hands are retracted to a rest position.

The occurrence of a gesture is considered preceding the production of a manner demonstrative if the gesture has moved away from the resting position before a demonstrative is pronounced. The occurrence of a gesture is considered following the production of a manner demonstrative if the gesture is produced after the pronunciation of the manner demonstrative has begun. When a gesture preparation and a demonstrative pronunciation begin at the same time, the occurrences are then considered simultaneous.

49 out of 82 deictic manner demonstratives are selected randomly for careful examination for simultaneity analysis of the gesture and demonstrative production and the duration of gesture production. On average, the production difference between a demonstrative and a gesture is 0.5 second. Therefore, a gesture is considered simultaneous to a demonstrative when it is produced with 0.5 second before or after the demonstrative is produced. Although the stroke phase of a gesture may be reached after the demonstrative is fully pronounced, all of the gestures entered the preparation phase prior to the pronunciation of the demonstratives.

Among the 49 gesture uses, two gesture uses were excluded here as they do not have an observable starting point of occurrences; the gestures, including two uses of eye gaze and one continuous gesture use, do not demonstrate a clear preparation or stroke phase. As shown in Table 10 below, analysis shows that most of the gestures (64%, 30/47) were prepared at the same time as a manner demonstrative was pronounced. More than one-third of the gestures were prepared at the same time as a manner demonstrative was pronounced. No gesture was prepared after the pronunciation of a demonstrative.

Table 10. Production of Verbal *Zheyang* and Its Gesture Preparations

Gesture Preparation	Number	%
Preceding verbal production	30	64%
Same time as verbal production	17	36%
Following verbal produced	0	0%
Total	47	100%

The analysis shows that most of deictic use of a manner demonstrative is planned as part of the speech, shown by the fact that a gesture, such as a hand gesture or a body movement, moves into the preparation phase prior to the verbal production of a demonstrative. This can be further compared with the timing when the gesture strokes were reached. Gesture stroke is the meaningful part of a gesture use. Table 11 below shows the amounts of gesture strokes reached prior to, following, or simultaneously reached when a manner demonstrative was pronounced. Most of the gesture strokes (72%, 34/47) were reached when a manner demonstrative was pronounced, although a small portion were reached before verbal pronunciation (11%, 5/47). Also, a small amount of gesture strokes was reached only after verbal pronunciation (17%, 8/47). That is, the indexicality between a manner demonstrative and its referent can be established even if its meaningful stroke was given after the production of a demonstrative.

Table 11. Production of Verbal *Zheyang* and Its Co-speech Gesture Strokes

Gesture Stroke	Number	%
Preceding verbal production	5	11%
Same time as verbal production	34	72%
Following verbal produced	8	17%
Total	47	100%

3.3 Analysis

3.3.1 Reference of deictic manner demonstratives shaped by syntax

The deictic use of manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* is related to their syntactic position in a clause, while their gesture remains iconic or deictic. That is, a gesture of a deictic manner demonstrative cannot be interpreted correctly without considering the part of speech.

This is seldom mentioned in past studies which mostly examine nominal and locative demonstratives whose referents are objects or locations regardless in the subject or object position. This is shown in (19) below. Speaker Elle (on the right in the picture) is describing to Tina (on the left) a romantic gesture done by one of her volleyball team members. Prior to Line 3912, Elle states that she felt she became a princess in a romantic scene when a guy in her volleyball team helped her get up from the floor after she fell. She expresses that although people do help each other to get up, a guy pulled her up in a very romantic way. In line 3914, she shows what the romantic gesture looks like by performing it with Tina.

(19) Deictic *zheyang* referring to the manner of an action [M024 Bee hive]

- 3912 Tina: ... 喔對啦,
 ... Ō duì la,
 oh right PART.
- 3913 一定要這樣子 抓 [一下的那種 一定要這樣 抓 .]
 Yīdìng yào zhèyàngzi zhuā [yīxià de nàzhǒng yīdìng yào zhèyàng zhuā.]
 must want this.way grab a bit DE that sort must want this.way grab

3914 Elle: -> [他 就 把 你 這 樣 從 ..從 地 上 拉] 起 來 啊 .
[Tā jiù bǎ nǐ zhèyàng cóng.. cóng dìshàng lā] qǐlái a.
he just Ba you this.way from from the.ground pull up PART.

Tina: ‘Oh right. (He) must grab (generic you) *zheyangzi*/like this or the sort,
must grab *zheyang* (-> ‘in this way’)

Elle: -> ‘He just pulled you (-> ‘in this way’) from the ground. ‘

‘He just pulled you *zheyang* (-> ‘in this way’) from the ground. ‘



The gesture performed actively

by Elle in line 3914 can be interpreted as the whole action of pulling or the manner of the pulling. The correct interpretation relies on the understanding of both the focus of the conversation and the part of speech *zheyang* is. In line 3914, *zheyang* is at an adverbial location, followed by a locative preposition phrase ‘from the floor’ and a verb phrase ‘pull up.’ Given that the action of pulling has been established in the conversation, the gesture performed here actually demonstrates new information not given in speech, that is, the way the pulling is done. The excerpt shows that gesture use requires the addressee understanding the focus of the conversation, which can be risky when the understanding cannot be completed on time. This leads to my next analysis.

3.3.2 Deictic manner demonstratives followed by commentary

As a gesture relies on the addressee's ability to interpret its meaning, there is a risk that the gesture is not understandable immediately after it is produced in an ongoing conversation.

Eleven out of 82 deictic demonstratives are immediately followed by the speaker's commentary, stating what the gestures express. Such a commentary is likely motivated by the lack of expected response from the addressee based on the speaker's judgement. In (20) below, Luke (on the left in the picture) is discussing his haircutting experience with Peggy (on the right), who was also with Luke. Prior to line 114, they were describing how impatient Peggy's father was waiting in the hair salon, while the hair stylist took his time to cut and blow-dry his hair carefully and slowly. Peggy in line 115 uses *zheyang* to demonstrate the hair stylist's slow movement (shown in the picture). *Zheyang* here is used as a verb substitute, indicating both the action and the manner of hair drying. As shown in the picture, Peggy's performance provides more information than just doing blow-drying, for example, her facial expression also shows the picky attitude of the stylist. The deictic *zheyang* here is immediately followed by the verb phrase *manman chui* 'slowly blow-drying.'

(20) Gesture use followed by a commentary [M023 Blogger: 114-115]

- 114 Luke: [已經很][抓狂.]
[Yījīng hěn][zhuākuáng.]
Already very frantic
- 115 Peggy: -> [[慢慢這樣...慢慢吹..慢慢吹.
[[mànman zhèyàng...mànman chuī.. mànman chuī.
slowly this.way slowly blow slowly blow
- 116 ..你應該跟他講說,
.. Nǐ yīnggāi gēn tā jiǎng shuō,
you should to he say speak
- 117 ..不用吹了不用吹了]]
.. Bùyòng chuī le bùyòng chuī le.]]
no.need blow Pert. no.need blow Pert.

Luke: ‘(Your dad) has gone very crazy.’
 Peggy: ‘Slowly *zheyang*, blow-drying (your hair), blow-drying (your hair). You should have told him, no blow-drying necessary, no blow-drying necessary.’

Line 115: ‘Slowly *zheyang*.’

‘Slowly blowdrying (your hair).’



The commentary may be added based the speaker’s judgement that either the gesture may not provide enough information for the addressee to understand the meaning, or the addressee does not respond to the performance with an expected reaction. Here, Peggy seems to be expecting a more dramatic laugh from Luke, which could show that Luke appreciates her performance, but Luke just smiled to Peggy’s performance.

3.3.3 Deictic manner demonstratives with a presentation composed by multiple gestures

Compared to other demonstratives, manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* contain complicated meanings. The complexity has been shown in the fact that their co-speech gestures are mostly iconic and can include more than one gesture. This is consistent to Lü (2002 [1985])’s early observation that the deictic use of *zheyang* and *nayang* usually involves a series of hand gestures indicating different features of a referent. As manner demonstratives can indicate the

abstract features of a motion, sometimes both gestures and sounds can join the presentation. As shown in the excerpt below, the speaker Winter (on the left in the picture) is explaining to Susie (on the right) that she does not like to borrow her family's scooter, named the Basket because it is old and only used when buying grocery in a street market. Winter explains in line 2161 that if she rides the Basket, her whole body is always shook up and down on the scooter. Here, the up and down motion of the scooter is indicated by *zheyang* in line 2161, which is joined by Winter's hand movement and her onomatopoeic sound *dong dong dong* with several repetition. The sound, termed pure textual deixis, is used here to provide the sound the scooter creates by its shaking against the surface of the road.

(21) Deictic *zheyang* with gesture and sound [M026 Decayed tooth: 239]

2160 Winter: → (0)如果坐菜籃號,
 (0) Rúguǒ zuò cài lán hào,
 if sit basket name
 2161 ..我 就 <@ 整個 會@>這樣咚咚咚咚咚咚.
 .. Wǒ jiù <@ zhěnggè huì@>zhèyàng dōng dōng dōng dōng dōng dōng dōng.
 I just whole would this.way dong dong dong dong dong dong dong.

'If I ride the Basket (scooter), my whole body would be *zheyang* dong dong dong dong dong dong (meaning shaking up and down).'

'*zheyang* dong dong dong dong dong dong dong (meaning shaking up and down).'



The example of *zheyang* below shows that the gesture of *zheyang* can be a joint gesture composed by earlier gestures by different speakers. (22) here is the continuation of (22), in which Tina (on the left in the picture) and Elle (on the right) are debating the size of a wasp they both saw earlier. Prior to Line 0012, Elle disagrees with Tina's measurement of the bee and had used a gesture to display her version of the measurement. In line 0012, Tina again shows the size of the wasp with her gesture. Elle then in Line 0013 aligns her gesture with Tina's gesture to compare their size difference (picture below). In line 0014, Tina moves her gesture closer to Tina's, Elle at the same time lowered her gesture to match Tina's (picture below). After reaching their gestural agreement in line 16, Elle states that their combined gesture looks like they are exchanging some radio wave in line 17. Here, *zheyang*'s gesture is a transformed gesture that integrate the two gestures produced earlier.

(22) Deictic uses of *zheyang* [M024: 12-17]

- 0012 Tina: → ...真的 真的 ..差[不多]這樣.
 ...Zhēnde zhēnde.. Chà[bù duō] zhèyàng.
 Really really similar this.way
- 0013 Elle: → [這樣.]
 Zhèyàng
 this.way
- 0014 Tina: → ..沒有 啦. 這樣 啦 , 這樣.
 .. Méiyǒu la. Zhèyàng la , zhèyàng.
 No PART. this.way PART. this.way
- 0015 Elle: ..你 是 說 全 長 就 加 手 加 腳 嗎 ?
 .. Nǐ shì shuō quán cháng jiù jiā shǒu jiā jiǎo ma ?
 You be say full length exactly add hand add leg Q.PART.
- 0016 Tina: 對 [對 對 ((laugh))]
 Duì [duì duì ((laugh))]
 Right right right ((laugh))
- 0017 Elle: → [我們 這樣] 好像 在 進行 什麼 奇怪的 電波.
 [wǒmen zhèyàng] hǎoxiàng zài jìnxíng shénme qíguàide diànbō.
 We this.way seemingly be process what strange wave
- Tina: 'Seriously...About this (long).'
- Elle: 'This (long).'
- Tina: 'No. This (long), this (long).'

Elle: 'Are you talking about the total length including the hands and the legs?'
Tina: 'Right [right right ((laugh))]
Elle: '[We doing this]seems to be doing some weird radio wave.'

Line 0013: 'This (long).'



Line 0014: 'No. This (long), this (long).'



3.4 Discussion

Several features of the nonverbal signs used with deictic *zheyang* are observed. First, the average production of a nonverbal sign is 1.8 second. On average, a nonverbal sign is launched 0.5 second (at the preparation phase) prior to the production of *zheyang*. That is, the speaker already knows what part of the discourse meaning they want to express nonverbally (and how they should demonstrate it) before the production of *zheyang* which locates where the nonverbal sign should be interpreted syntactically. Xu (2013) investigates the relationship between the production of a gesture and its related verbal expression (including function and content words). In her analysis, around 66% of the gestures is simultaneous, 39% is prior to the speech, and less than 5% is after speech. In my corpus, all *zheyang*-gestures (100%) are launched prior to the production of *zheyang*. This is different from Xu's finding in which there's some gestures produced post-speech. This is however explainable. In Xu's data, the gestures investigated are

not limited to demonstratives, that is, the speech of the gestures may accomplish its meaning with or without a gesture. The gestures observed in my corpus, however, are co-speech gestures of the manner demonstratives whose meaning is dependent solely on the gesture meaning. Therefore, it is important for the gesture to reach its stroke phase when its verbal expression is produced.

3.5 Summary

In this section, I have examined deictic use of manner demonstratives together with their co-speech nonverbal expression and how nonverbal expressions are used to indicate their references. First, as the Chinese manner demonstratives can function as an adverb, predicate, determiner, or pronoun, meanings of their deictic uses are connected with their syntactic positions. The interpretation of the co-speech gestures by the addressee thus requires an integrated comprehension of the ongoing conversation and the speaker's focus in the gesture presentation. For example, while a gesture may seemingly demonstrate an action, it may actually demonstrate the manner or degree of the action enacted by the speaker. Second, as a gesture relies on the addressee's ability to interpret its meaning, there is still a risk that the gesture is not understandable immediately after it is produced in an ongoing conversation. Therefore, a co-speech gesture can be followed by a commentary by the current speaker with or without a delay. Such a commentary is likely motivated by the lack of expected response from the addressee based on the speaker's judgement. Lastly, deictic use of *zheyang* allows more than one nonverbal gesture, which is different from other demonstratives such as 'this' or 'here', whose referents are usually indicated by a single nonverbal gesture such as a pointing finger or eye gaze.

Chapter 4 Anaphoric Uses of Manner Demonstratives in the Subject position

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on how manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* are used as anaphors in the subject position. In my conversational data, anaphoric *zheyang/nayang* is often used as overt subjects in assessment clauses. The first type of context is when anaphoric *zheyang/nayang* are used as overt subjects for emphasis on referents. Such an emphatic use is often used by the same speaker to support or to strengthen a statement or argument preceding the assessment. The second type of context is when anaphoric *zheyang/nayang* are used to lead first-position assessments as responses to the previous speakers' turns of talk. Such first-position assessments often occur when speakers transform non-assessible referents into assessible by changing the granularity of the referents with the help of manner demonstratives.

4.2 Previous Studies on Manner Demonstratives for Tracking

According to Diessel (1999), anaphoric use of demonstratives establishes a coreferential relationship between a noun phrase given in the preceding discourse and the demonstrative in order to keep track of the same referent. Discourse deictic use of demonstratives refer to when a demonstrative or demonstrative express refer to a chunk of discourse as an object. According to Himmelmann (1996), a recognitional demonstrative involves a referent that is assumed to be familiar to both the speaker and the hearer due to prior shared experience. Lü (2002 [1985]) describes such a use as something that seems to enter (the conversation) out of nowhere.

4.2.1 Anaphoric and recognitional uses of manner demonstratives

When co-referring with its antecedent, an anaphoric demonstrative expression functions as a tracking device to inform the addressee what has been talked about. Himmelmann (1996) points out that one major difference between anaphoric use and discourse deictic use is that the former may point to an antecedent mentioned very early in the discourse, while the latter always indexes an immediately adjacent discourse. In English, anaphoric tracking expressions include the pronoun *it* and nominal demonstrative *that*. (English *this* tends to be used to cataphoric and/or emphatic use.) In Chinese, on the other hand, the default anaphoric tracking device is zero anaphora (Li, 1997), although demonstratives *zhe*, *na*, *zheyang* and *nayang* can also be used. When referencing anaphorically or cataphorically, nominal *zhe/na* co-refers a nominal expression given earlier or later, respectively. However, co-reference is not as straightforward in the tracking use of *zheyang* and *nayang*.

4.2.2 Anaphoric use of manner demonstratives in the subject position

As mentioned earlier, anaphoric *zheyang* and *nayang* can function adverbially or nominally. Thus, their co-referents also vary by their syntactic distributions. When functioning as a demonstrative pronoun, an anaphoric *zheyang/nayang* occupies the subject position in a sentence or clause for tracking purpose, as shown in (23) below. In (23), Sara is talking with her friend Ella. The previous speaker Ella was describing the exaggerated makeup they saw on a common friend of theirs. Sara in line 0842 addresses her view on the makeup in a rather positive tone 這

樣蠻有創意的我覺得 ‘it is quite creative I think.’ *Zheyang* here refers to the person’s exaggerated eye makeup mentioned in the previous turns of talk.

(23) Manner demonstrative *zheyang* in the subject position [M002: Photo discussion]

0842 Sara: 可是 這樣 蠻 有創意的 我 覺得。
Kěshì zhèyàng mán yǒuchuàngyìde wǒ juéde.
But this.way quite creative I think

‘But *zheyang* (-> ‘this way/type (of behavior)’ is quite creative, I think.’

However, Mandarin is a language in which zero anaphor is the default device used for tracking when the reference in the current clause is the same as the last clause. Therefore, *zheyang* as the subject is rather a marked use. On the other hand, the nominal demonstrative *zhe* or *na*, are also the default tracking anaphors that can replace *zheyang* in the same clause (Wang, 1943). It is not uncommon to see that *zheyang* and *nayang* are used as tracking anaphors.

However, the manner demonstratives used nominally were rarely mentioned. This may be due to the fact that *zheyang/nayang* by its morphology is by default considered a demonstrative adverb. Although *zheyang/nayang* can be used as a demonstrative pronoun, its indexicality is rather abstract (e.g., manner, degree, quality of a referent) in comparison to, for example, nominal demonstratives *zhe/na* ‘this (one)/that (one)’ and locative demonstratives *zheli/nali* ‘here/there.’ As a neglected area of study, *zheyang/nayang* used as a marked tracking anaphor in the subject position will be investigated in terms of their special indexicality and pragmatical function(s).

Anaphoric *zheyang* and *nayang* have high frequency of occurrences in conversation. *Zheyang* in particular has been found as one of the highest frequency words, triggering its phonetic

contraction from two to one syllable, as *jiang* (Tseng, 2008) and phonetically contracted writing 降/醬子 *jiangzi* (Chang & Lin, 2009). In addition to its nominal use, *zheyang* and *nayang* are often used conventionally to organize discourse, including marking elaboration of a sub-topic, the end of conversation/topic, marking the digression or the resumption of an old topic (Lin, 1972; Huang, 1999; Tao, 1999; Liu, 2002; Wiedenhof, 2015; Lü, 2016; 孙, 2017). In this case, *zheyang* and *nayang* are used as anaphora or cataphora replacing a referred situation or action (罗, 1989). Table 12 shows these examples.

Table 12. Anaphoric Use of *Zheyang/Nayang* in Phrases

Cataphoric tracking use: (Sub-)Topic continuation	這 / 那樣 Zhè/Nàyàng 'like this'	Followed by same-turn continuation of the same topic (Huang, 1999)
Anaphoric tracking use: End of conversation	(就是)這/那樣 (Jiùshì) Zhè/Nà yàng 'That's it; That's the story.'	Created a transition relevant place
Anaphoric tracking use: Resumption of an old topic	(如果)(是)這/那樣(的話) (Rúguǒ shì) Zhè/Nàyàng (dehuà) 'If so; If that's the case'	Followed by assumed consequence based on the previously mentioned situation

4.2.3 Discourse deictic use of manner demonstratives

Discourse deictic use, or termed as propositional anaphoric use in Koenig and Umbach (2018), refers propositions or events given in discourse/text (Webber, 1991; Himmelmann, 1996).

Nominal demonstratives such as 'this' and 'that' are often used as discourse deixes. For example, the distal demonstrative *that* in the sentence *That's what I wanted to say* is used as a discourse deixis indicating the proposition in the previous discourse. Discourse deixes can also link two discourse segments. In Tuscaror, a native American language, for example, *kyè:ní:kã:* 'this' introduces new information or focus, while *hè:ní:kã:* 'that' specifies the continuation of the same

referent (Mithun, 1987). This is especially common in a language like Tuscaror where there are no definite articles. That is, the use of nominal demonstratives can concern either spatial or discourse needs.

Different from deictic demonstratives which direct addressee's attention on non-linguistic entities, discourse deictic demonstratives point out the aspects of meaning in a clause, sentence, paragraph, or entire story. Discourse deixis in Chinese is different from English in that the third person pronoun is not competing with manner demonstratives (Himmelmann, 1996). Although the third person pronoun *ta* in Chinese can indicate an object or event in discourse, it is exclusively anaphoric (Chao, 1979). Second, demonstratives *zhe/na* and *zheyang/nayang* are generally preferred as discourse deixis (Lü, 2002 [1998]). As this dissertation focuses on the uses of demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang*, nominal demonstratives *zhe* and *na* used as discourse deixis will not be discussed further. Finally, zero anaphor is considered as the default for of discourse deixis (Li, 1997).

When used as discourse deixis, manner demonstratives indicate the proposition or the meaning of a preceding discourse antecedent (Jiang, 2016; Koenig & Umbach, 2018). Koenig and Umbach (2018) state that English discourse deictic use of manner demonstrative *so* usually co-occurs with verbs of propositional attitude (think, guess, suppose, imagine etc.) or other discourse-related verbs (say, express, regret). Manner demonstratives in Chinese also have this tendency of use. Earlier Chinese linguistics studies categorize discourse reference as a way of doing actions such as thinking, speaking or writing. This may concern the fact that, in Chinese, discourse referencing requires a demonstratives adverb *zheyang* or *nayang* modifying a verb of

speaking, listening, writing, reading and thinking (Lü, 2002 [1985]; 罗, 1989). Figure 1 below shows examples of discourse deictic uses of manner demonstratives in Chinese.

Figure 1. Demonstratives *Zheyang/Nayang* as Discourse Deixes in NCCU Corpus

Demonstratives	Discourse-related Verbs	Meanings
這樣 / 那樣 Zhèyàng/nàyàng	講 <i>jiǎng</i> ‘to speak/say’	‘to say this/that; to speak in this way’
這樣 / 那樣 Zhèyàng/nàyàng	聽起來 <i>tīng qǐlái</i> ‘to hear/listen’	‘it sounds (like)’
這樣 / 那樣 Zhèyàng/nàyàng	問 <i>wèn</i> ‘to ask’	‘to ask this/that/it; to ask in this way’
這樣 / 那樣 Zhèyàng/nàyàng	想 <i>xiǎng</i> ‘to think’	‘to think this/that/so’
這樣 / 那樣 Zhèyàng/nàyàng	寫 <i>xiě</i> ‘to write’	‘to write this/that/it; to write in this way’
這樣 / 那樣 Zhèyàng/nàyàng	期待 <i>qídài</i> ‘to expect’	‘to expect this/that/it’

As shown in Figure 1, discourse deictic *zheyang/nayang* requires the combination of adverbial demonstratives and verbs relating to speaking and thinking. In English, it is mostly done by nominal demonstratives *this* and *that*, or the third person pronoun *it*, although adverbial demonstrative *so* can also be used as discourse deixis (Koenig & Umbach, 2018).

4.2.4 Recognitional uses of demonstratives

Recognitional use occurs when the intended referent is assumed to be known by the addressee rather than through referencing any entity in the speech situation or discourse context (Himmelmann, 1996). The feature of this use is that the speaker understands the uncertainty of this assumed shared knowledge and thus sometimes provides a knowledge check question like a tag question to confirm the addressee's understanding (Himmelmann, 1996; Tao, 1999). To

indicate an entity as non-specific in Chinese, it is mainly indexed by the nominal demonstratives *nazhong* (Biq, 2007). As shown in the example below, *nazhong* ‘that kind’ indicates a kind of conference and critics that the speaker Sean assumes known by the addressee Lynn.

(24) Demonstrative *nazhong* for non-specific reference [M004 Conference: 0008-0009]

- 86 Sean: -> ..他們 那種 研討會 (.) 就是 (.) 主要 就是
 Tāmen nàzhǒng yántǎohuì (.) jiùshì (.) zhǔyào jiùshì
 87 ..一定 要
 .. Yīdìng yào
 88 -> ..下面 要 有 那種 (0.8) 評論人
 .. Xiàmiàn yào yǒu nàzhǒng(0.8) pínglùn rén
- ‘Their /that kind of conference(.)just(.)mainly is, must have, must have /that kind of...(0.8) critics.’

However, there has been no findings on *zheyang* or *nayang* in recognitional use in the corpus used in this dissertation or in other studies.

4.2.5 Zero anaphora in Chinese

Anaphoric use of demonstratives in Mandarin poses an interesting phenomenon due to a salient feature in the language – that noun phrases that are understood from the context do not need to be specified (Li & Thompson, 1989). Null Subject, or subject omission, has long been one of the most focused topics in Chinese linguistics. Traditional syntactic research states that the referent of a null subject in Mandarin, with a lack of grammatical agreement marking system, is indexed by either an overt noun phrase in the superordinate clause or a salient but null topic in the discourse (Huang, 1984). However, the syntactic explanations on null subject can rarely account for their use when other nominal forms are also available to use as the subject in conversation.

Functional linguistic research on zero anaphora including null subjects, on the other hand, focuses on their function in signally referential continuity in discourse (Li & Thompson, 1989, Givon, 1983). Li (1997), based on Late Archaic Chinese, found that a zero subject (i.e. a subject that is not specified) is the default form in a Chinese clause. Li states that there is no grammatical requirement to specify a referent once it has been established in the immediate discourse context. That is, a null referent is viewed as the implicit form of a referent. This applies to two nominal expressions in a clause, the subject and the object, as illustrated in the example below:

(25) Pronoun omissions in Mandarin discourse (from Li & Thompson, 1989:658)

A: 那 場 電影_j 你_i 覺得 怎麼樣 ?
 Nà chǎng diànyǐng nǐ juéde zěnmeyàng?
 that Cl. movie you feel how manner

B: Ø_i 一點 都 不 喜歡 Ø_i.
 Yīdiǎn dōu bù xǐhuān.
 a.little even not like

A: 'The movie what do you think?'

B: '(I) do not like (it) even a little bit.'

In this example, the noun phrases, the subject 'you' (marked by 'I') and the object 'the movie' (marked by 'j'), are the focal referents in the question. In B's response, both referents are omitted (indicated by the null signs Ø_i and Ø_i, respectively) as the referents are now shared knowledge in the context.

On the other hand, when an optional referent such as a pronoun is specified, it is used to express contrast, emphasis, or highlighting (including introducing a new topic) of a pre-established referent. This is termed as an explicit form of a referent (Li, 1997). In Mandarin, a referent can be realized as a pronoun, a demonstrative expression or a full noun or noun phrase based on their antecedent or the current reference. The manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang*, then, are one of the options of such explicit referents.

In a multi-clausal discourse including narrative or conversation, a noun is often replaced by a pronoun or an indexical expression to maintain the same referent in focus (Xiang, 2019). When continuing the same conversation topic, a null subject is the unmarked, default form in Mandarin. When an explicit subject occurs, it is then a marked use with textual or interactional significance. The choice of using a particular type of a demonstrative, for example, *zhe* versus *zheyang*, can indicate the same referent as a different type of referent. As shown in the example below, Paige and Holly are both volunteers for the same church. Prior to line 0488, Holly was complaining that her daughter cannot focus on practicing the piano at home. Paige then comes up with the idea that Holly should sit with her daughter for piano practice from line 0488-0490. She then refers to this idea by *zhe* ‘this’ in line 0491 in stating that it is a good idea. The same idea, after Holly’s dismissal, is again described as a good idea in line 0495, in which the same idea is now referred to by *zheyang*.

(26) Uses of *zhe* and *zheyang* as the subjects [M006 Church volunteer duties]

0488	Paige:	..她 練 琴 的 時候, .. Tā liàn qín deshíhòu, She practice piano when
0489		..妳 就 坐 在 她 旁 邊, .. Nǐ jiù zuò zài tā pángbiān, You then sit at her side
0490		..陪 她 半 個 小 時 啊? ..Péi tā bàn gè xiǎoshí ah? Accompany her half hour PART.
0491		→ ...(1.3)這 是 一 個 好 方 法. ...(1.3) Zhè shì yīgè hǎo fāngfǎ. This is a good method
0492	Holly:	...(0.6) 那 是 剛 學 琴 的 時 候 有 這 樣. ...(0.6) Nà shì gāng xué qín deshíhòu yǒu zhèyàng. That is just learn piano when have this.way
0493		...(0.6) 剛 學 琴 的 時 候 會 這 樣. ...(0.6) Gāng xué qín deshíhòu huì zhèyàng. Just learn piano when would this.way
0494		...現在 (.) 不 用 了. ... Xiànzài (.) bu yòng le

- Now not necessary F.P.
- 0495 Paige: ➤ ..可是 這樣 是 一個 好 方法.
 .. Kěshi zhèyàng shì yīgè hǎo fāngfǎ.
 But this.way is a good method
- Paige: ‘When she is practicing the piano, you can then sit next to her, for like half an hour? (1.3) This is a good way (to keep her focused).’
- Holly: ‘(Doing) that I had when (she) just started to learn playing the piano. (0.6) When (she) she just started to learn the piano (I) would *zheyang* (➤ do that). Now (it is) not necessary.’
- Paige: ‘But *zheyang* (➤ doing this) is a good way.’

This example then triggers the question that what motivates the use of *zheyang* or *nayang* as explicit subjects when other candidates are available. As a tracking anaphor in the subject position, *zhe* is viewed the default demonstrative to index the immediately preceding discourse. (In English, the default tracking anaphor is *that*, as in *I didn't say that*.) Pragmatic and interactional motivations for this use will be the focus in the chapter. When referring to a person or an object in Mandarin, the use of pronoun creates discourse cohesion (Halliday and Hasan, 1976).

Zero anaphora in Chinese is the default anaphor for tracking a nominal expression when the current discourse continues the same topic from the preceding discourse (Li, 1997; Wu, 2004). When other tracking anaphors such as personal pronouns are used instead of the null anaphor, they often indicate a change of the subject or change of topic. While past studies, however, seem not to consider manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* as tracking anaphors, although their use as anaphors is not uncommon. When used as a nominal anaphor, *zheyang/nayang* occupies the subject for tracking. I will show in this chapter that the manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* in the subject position are used as explicit subjects, marking that the current turn of talking continues to focus on the same referent but shifts the referential

focus to personal-related aspects - the manner, degree, quality of the person's action, or the situation related to the person. This is achieved with the help of the compositional meaning in *zheyang/nayang* 'this/that manner, shape, kind, figure and situation.' The person-related indexicality of *zheyang* and *nayang* then is different from nominal demonstratives *zhe* and *na* 'this' and 'that' which refer to a chunk of discourse.

4.3 Manner Demonstratives as Overt Subjects

The discussion on *zheyang/nayang* as overt subjects here refers to when the manner demonstratives occupy the subject position alone as pro-forms, or nominal manner demonstratives. This excludes their use as adverbs in the subject position. Grammatically, when its antecedent is certain action or certain aspect of an action, the presence of *zheyang/nayang* is obligatory in the subject position, as in (27) below. The speakers Jane and Ruby are discussing the latest rank of the high school where they both teach. Prior to line 3365, Jane said that their principle described the school as the top three. *Zheyang* here is a manner demonstrative adverb modifying the verb 講, referring to the way of talking or what has been said':

(27) Discourse deictic use in the subject position [M001: After school]

3365 Ruby: ..@這樣 講 真的 不一樣。
..@Zhèyàng jiǎng zhēnde bù yīyàng.
this.way talk really not same

'@Talking *zheyang* (→ 'in this way') really (sounds) different.'

The sentence would be ungrammatical and loses its subject when *zheyang* is deleted:

*講 真的 不一樣。
 jiǎng zhēnde bù yīyàng.
 ‘Talk is really different.’

Use of an overt subject can be pragmatically/interactionally motivated. When a zero anaphor is replaced by another referential expression such as a pronoun or a demonstrative in Late Archaic Chinese, it expresses contrast, emphasis, or highlighting of the pre-established referent (Li, 1997). When the nominal demonstrative *zhe* is used as a discourse anaphor, it refers to something that has been mentioned in the previous discourse (Wang, 1944). Similarly, *zheyang* and *nayang* are often used as tracking anaphors. Lü (1999 [1980]: 522) states that *zheyang* can be used to indicate certain action/behavior or situation mentioned in a preceding discourse, as in 1(a) and 1(b) below.

	Manner demonstrative		Nominal demonstrative	
1 (a)	這樣不好。 <i>Zheyang</i> buhao.	2 (a)	這不好。 <i>Zhe</i> buhao.	‘This is not good.’
1 (b)	這樣是不對的。 <i>Zheyang</i> shi duide.	2 (b)	這是不對的。 <i>Zhe</i> shi buduide	‘This is incorrect.’

There is little, if any, discussion about differences between a nominal demonstrative and a manner demonstrative in the subject position. For example, if replacing the subject with the nominal demonstrative *zhe*, the sentences can be interpreted the same way, as in 2(a) and 2(b). This chapter therefore focuses on the use of *zheyang* and *nayang* as tracking anaphors in the subject position. In the following, I will show that *zheyang* and *nayang* as the subjects refer to the abovementioned person-related aspects as their antecedents after a topic has been established in the preceding discourse. In conversation, they often serve as the subject in a clause of assessment.

4.4 Analysis

4.4.1 Zheyang/nayang as tracking anaphors with a special focus

In NCCU corpus, there are 49 tokens of *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* and 3 tokens of *nayang* located in the subject position. Most of the tokens are used alone as a manner demonstrative pronoun to continue the same conversational topic. As shown in the examples below, in (28), *zheyang* in line 1537 refers to the situation where a coach taught Shelly how to swim. In (29), *nayang* in line 116 is a response to Gail's suggestion that the Mary could consider making fake viewing rate for her own blog. In both examples, *zheyang* and *nayang* are used as explicit subject while continuing the same topic from the last turn.

(28) *Zheyang* as the subject [M016-2: Script]

- 1535 Shelly: 他在岸邊教我游泳。
Tā zài àn biān jiào wǒ yóuyǒng.
he at bay side teach me swim
- 1536 ((laugh))
- 1537 Eva: → 這樣不錯。
Zhèyàng bùcuò.
This.way not.bad
- 1538 至少你到高中來有用啊。
Zhìshǎo nǐ dào gāozhōng lái yǒuyòng a.
At.least you to high.school come useful PART.
- Shelly: 'He taught me how to swim by the beach. ((laugh))'
- Eva: '*Zheyang* (This/It → 'having learned swimming') is great. At least you (learning it) will make it useful in high school.'

In this example, Shelly in line 1535 has established a topic on her having a coach teaching her how to swim for free when she happened to swim alone one time. After line 1535, Shelly continues the turn with several syllables of laughter in line 1536. The turn of laughter is not

accompanied by other new information, indicating that the speaker has completed her turn of talking. In line 1537, Eva comments on this experience with a positive assessment ‘this is great’ in which the subject is *zheyang*, referring to the situation or event of Shelly’s stated in the previous turn.

In the next example, Gail and Mary were talking about maintaining a personal blog. Prior to line 113, Gail begins to provide possible ways to make Mary’s blog look popular by increasing the viewing rate. In line 113, Gail suggests not to use Mary’s own account to click her blog articles. Mary then in line 114 registers the receipt of this suggestion as new information (Heritage & Raymond, 2005) without agreeing or disagreeing with the suggestion. This prompts Gail to continue to provide more information about how to do so in line 115, although this turn is then interrupted by Mary. In line 116, she disagrees with the suggestion by saying ‘no’ and then provides an account for the disagreement – that ‘Doing so would be so meaningless.’ Here, *nayang* ‘doing so’ refers to the idea proposed in line 113.

(29) *Nayang* as the subject [M003: Blogs]

- 0113 Gail: ..你 就 不 要 用 自 己 的 那 個 登 入 啊.
 .. Nǐ jiù bù yào yòng zìjǐde nàgè dēngrù a.
 You then not want use self that log.in PART.
- 0114 Mary: ..喔.
 .. Ō.
 PART.
- 0115 Gail: ..[就 用-]
 ..[Jiù yòng-]
 Then use
- 0116 Mary: -> ..[不要.] 那 樣 好 空 虛 喔.
 Bùyào. Nàyàng hǎo kōngxū ō.
- 0117 Gail: ..XX 自 己 在 那 邊 點
 Zìjǐ zài nàbiān diǎn
 Self be there click
- Gail: ‘You just don’t use your own (account) to log in.’

- Mary: 'I see.'
 Gail: '[Just use-]'
 Mary: '[No.] That (*Nayang* -> Doing so) would be so meaningless.'
 Gail: 'Clicking (the blog) by myself.'

Among 42 tokens, there are 5 tokens of *zheyang/nayang* used with a personal pronoun, indicating a referred behavior, situation, or the manner of the referred action related to the person (e.g. 他這樣 *ta zheyang* 'he (doing so)'). The example below shows how such a pronoun-demonstrative compound is used as a subject. In line 2397, 他媽媽那樣 'his mother doing so' is used as the subject of the clause, commenting on someone's mother's behavior as hysterical. Here, *nyang* is used to indicate that it is the behavior but not the person being hysterical.

(30) Pronoun + *nyang* as the subject [M024: Beehive]

- 2392 Elle: (0)你 不 覺得 那個 (.)某人的 媽媽爸爸 有,
 (0) Nǐ bù juéde nàgè (.) mǒurénde māmābàba yǒu,
 You not think that someone's parents have
 2393 ...尤其是 媽媽 有 嗎?
 Yóuqíshì māmā yǒu ma?
 Especially mother has Q.PART.
 2394 Tina: ...有.((nodding))
 Yǒu.
 have
 2395 Elle: ...(0.9)對 不對 ?
 Duì bùduì ?
 Right not-right
 2396 Tina: ...(0.8)有.((nodding))
 Yǒu.
 have
 2397 Elle: -> ..他 媽媽 那樣 不 神經質 嗎 ?
 Tā māmā nà yàng bù shénjīngzhì ma?
 His mother that.way not hysterical Q.PART.
 2398 Tina: ...超 (.)[超 誇張的 啊!]
 Chāo(.) [Chāo kuāzhāngde a!]
 Super super dramatic PART.
 2399 Elle: [超 誇張的 啊].
 [Chāo kuāzhāngde a]
 super dramatic PART.

2340

偷聽 人家 電話 .
Tōutīng rénjiā diànhuà.
Eavsdrop others phone

- Elle: ‘Don’t you think the...someone’s parents have...especially the mother are (a bit of hysterical)?’
Tina: ‘Yes. ((nodding))’
Elle: ‘Right?’
Tina: ‘Yes. ((nodding))’
Elle: ‘Isn’t his mother doing that *nayang* (-> ‘doing that’) hysterical?’
Tina: ‘[So dramatic!]’
Elle: ‘[So dramatic.] Eavesdropping on other people talking on the phone.’

The examples above show that manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* function as tracking anaphors to refer backwardly to indicate an event or an action. Compared to nominal demonstrative *zhe* or *na*, the referents of *zheyang* and *nayang* have more specific categories. As in (26), when indicating the same referent 'sitting next to the daughter when she is practicing the piano', *zhe* 'this' in line 491 indicates the general concept given in the turn, *zheyang* in line 495 indicates the idea as a way of doing something. That is, *zheyang* gives an emphatic referencing by upgrading the specification of the indexicality.

In addition to indexicality, *zheyang* and *nayang* in the NCCU corpus have the tendency of introducing predicates of assessments. Assessments here can be seen in each clause which contains a predicate giving an evaluation from the speaker’s point of view (Du Bois 2007). For example, *bucuo* ‘not bad’ in (28), *hao kongxu* ‘so meaningless’ in (29), and ‘hysterical’ in (30), are all evaluative predicates led by *zheyang* or *nayang*. This tendency leads to my next discussion on assessments.

4.4.2 Zheyang/nayang as a transformed focus in assessments

Manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* in my data have a tendency of introducing an evaluative predicate and thus forming a clause/turn of assessment. Assessments in conversation have been studied widely from the aspects of pragmatics and conversation analysis. Among which, Pomerantz (1984) observes that assessments are produced as products of participation. When both speakers have access to the referent being assessed, a speaker claims knowledge of what he or she is assessing by giving an assessment. Heritage and Raymond (2005) investigate assessment practice in conversation in terms of the action of claiming epistemic status in relation to their first or second position in turn sequences. In English, regardless their position, an assessment can be composed of a personal pronoun, a pronoun *it* or a demonstrative *this/that* as the subject followed by the predicate giving evaluative meaning. For example, after Lottie's description of her own experience of seeing a house, Emma, uses the inanimate pronoun *it* in the subject position to co-refer to *the house* in her response.

(31) [NB:IV:10:2]

1 Lot: [h h]Jeeziz Chris' you sh'd see that house E(h)m^a yih'av
2 ↓no idea.h[hmh
3 Emm: [I bet it's a drea:m.

Mandarin has multiple tracking anaphors to establish such a co-referentiality. As shown in (30) earlier, the same referent can be indexed by different anaphoric expressions. This is especially true when there is a rich inventory for demonstrative expressions in Mandarin. With the use of *zheyang/nayang* as a response to the preceding turn, the speaker produces a turn of assessment focusing on the situation, the action, or aspects (indicated by the compositional meaning of *yang* as discussed earlier) related to a co-referred person in discussion. With its

meanings entailed in the expression, the use of *zheyang/nayang* can shift the focus of an assessment from “on the referent” to “related to the referent.” In a first assessment commenting on the speaker's own idea, as in (26) earlier, *zheyang* simply shifts its indexing focus by narrowing down to the idea as a right way of doing something (in line 491).

However, this focus-shifting effect has a more powerful effect: By shifting the referential focus, a first assessment led by *zheyang/nayang* is no longer a locus for claiming the speaker’s primary knowledge. In (28) (repeated (32) below), after Shelly’s description of her own experience in line 1535, Eva provides a first assessment ‘*zheyang*/this (experience) is great’ in which *zheyang* refers to Shelly’s experience. Although it is generally true that a speaker who does not have adequate access to an assessed referent tends to modify their assessment to avoid falsely claiming their knowledge (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), *zheyang* here transforms an assessable referent to Shelly’s experience, which Eva just had access after being told the story.

(32) *Zheyang* as the subject [M016-2: Script]

1535 Shelly: 他在岸邊教我游泳。
Tā zài àn biān jiào wǒ yóuyǒng.
he at bay side teach me swim

1536 ((laugh))

1537 Eva: -> 這樣不錯。
Zhèyàng bùcuò.
This.way not.bad

1538 至少你到高中來有用啊。
Zhìshǎo nǐ dào gāozhōng lái yǒuyòng a.
At.least you to high.school come useful PART.

Shelly: ‘He taught me how to swim by the beach. ((laugh))’

Eva: ‘This/It (*zheyang* -> ‘having learned swimming’) is great. At least you (learning it) will make it useful in high school’

If the subject in line 1537 is changed to *ta* ‘he’ (referring to the coach) or *ni* ‘you’ (referring to Shelly), the assessment would have been problematic as Eva does not have knowledge about who the coach was or how Shelly was when swimming.

The next example also shows the same use of *zheyang* in a first assessment in response to the previous turn. In the example, Gail was describing her current job is an easy job as she just fools around all day but still gets paid 800 TWD a day (approximately 27 USD). Mary, who did not know anything about Gail’s job, first shows her surprise by repeating how much Gail gets paid in line 3251, and then respond to Gail’s turn with a first assessment ‘*zheyang*/it’s so good’ in line 3252. Here, *zheyang* refers to Gail’s situation that was just given to Gail.

(33) Assessment with *zheyang* as the shifted referent [M003: Blogs]

- 3248 Gail: ..然後 就在 算 啊,
 ..Ránhòu jiù zài suàn a,
 And just PROG. count PART.
- 3249 ..其實 我 每天 就 混 哪,
 ..Qíshí wǒ měitiān jiù hùn na,
 actually I every day just fool around PART.
- 3250 ... (0.1) 就 混掉 八百多 八百多 八百多 八百多.
 ... (0.1) Jiù hùndiào bābǎi duō bābǎi duō bābǎi duō bābǎi duō.
 Just fool around 800 more 800 more 800 more 800 more
- 3251 Mary: (0)<@八百多@>
 (0)<@ Bābǎi duō @>
 800 more
- 3252 -> ...這樣 好好 喔.
 ...Zhèyàng hǎo hǎo ō.
zheyang so good PART.
- 3253 ..時薪 是 八百耶
 .. Shíxīn shì bābǎi ye.
 hourly salary is 800 PART..
- Gail: ‘And (I) was counting. Actually I just fool around every day, (I) fooling around and (get paid) more than 800 800 800 (dollars).’
- Mary: ‘More than 800 (dollars). This (*zheyang* -> this situation) sounds so good. The hourly salary is 800 (dollars).’

In the next section, I will discuss uses of different forms of manner demonstratives used as subjects.

4.4.3 Proximal manner demonstratives preferred over distal manner demonstratives

Forms of proximal manner demonstratives include *zheyang*, *zheyangzi* and *zhege yangzi*; forms of distal manner demonstratives include *nayang*, *nayangzi* and *nage yangzi*. In my data, only *zheyang*, *zheyangzi* and *nayang* are used in as a subject in a clause. However, there is no difference between *zheyangzi* and *zheyang* as a subject. This may be due to the fact that the two forms have the same compositional meanings. As in the example below, *zheyang* is used as the subject in line 1171, referring to the situation described by Shelly in lines 1705-1709. Here, either the literal meaning or pragmatic function would be different if *zheyang* is used instead of *zheyangzi*.

(34) *Zheyangzi* as the subject [M016-2: Script]

- 1705 Shelly: ..我們 就 換 濾心,
..Wǒmen jiù huàn lǜxīn,
We then change filter
- 1706 .. 然後,
.. Ránhòu,
And then
- 1707 ..好像 我們班 就 決議 說 那個,
.. Hǎoxiàng wǒmenbān jiù juéyì shuō nàge,
Seem our.class then vote say that
- 1708 ..留下來 給 那個,
.. Liúxiàláí gěi nàgè,
Stay for that
- 1709 ..現在 這個 班級 的 學生.
.. Xiànzài zhège bānjí de xuéshēng.
Now this class POSS. students
- 1710 June: ...eh.
PART.
- 1711 -> ..這樣子 很好.
..Zhèyàngzi hěnhǎo.
this.way good
- 1712 Eva: (0)[有 福利 喔.]

- (0)[Yǒu fúli ǒ.]
Have benefits PART.
- 1713 Shelly: [我們 老師 之後] 還 要 繼續 教 啊。
[Wǒmen lǎoshī zhīhòu] hái yào jìxù jiào a.
Our teacher afterward still will continue teach PART.
- Shelly: ‘We then changed the filter. And, our class seemed voted that (the water dispenser will be) kept (in the same classroom) for the, the students who are not in that classroom.’
- June: -> ‘Eh/I see, *zheyangzi* (-> ‘this (situation)’) is good.’
- Eva: ‘(They) got benefits.’
- Shelly: ‘(Because) our teacher afterwards is still continuing teaching (students in the same classroom).’

In addition, both *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* occur in both positive and negative assessments. Based on the contextual interpretation of the assessments, there are a total of 26 positive assessments and 23 negative assessments in which *zheyang* is the subject. Examples below show positive assessments in (a) with *zheyang*, (b) with *zheyangzi*, as well as negative assessments in (c) with *zheyang* and (d) with *zheyangzi*.

(35) Assessments led by *zheyang* in the subject position

- (a) [M021: Friends job]
這樣..這樣很貼心嘛。
‘*zheyang*..*zheyang* (this -> ‘this behavior’) was very sweet/warm-hearted.’
- (b) [M016-2: Script]
..這樣子 很好。
‘*zheyangzi* (this -> ‘this situation’) is good.’
- (c) [M016-2: Script]
[[可是]]這樣很醜
‘But *zheyang* (this -> ‘having such make-up’) is ugly.’
- (d) [M002: Photo discussion]
這樣子很可憐。
‘*zheyangzi* (this -> ‘he taking only bad pictures’) is sad.’

However, the distribution between the proximal and distal manner demonstratives suggests that the use of *nayang* is marked. In my data, there are only three subject uses of *nayang*, which all in negative assessments. Tao (1999) suggests that uses of the distal

demonstrative expression such as *nayang* concerns the speaker's attitude toward the referent being talked about. While the use of the proximal demonstratives expresses the speaker's neutral attitude, the use of the distal counterparts expresses that the speaker has a negative attitude toward the referent. That is, the distal indexicality has been extended from the physical to social distance (Tao, 1999). The only three *nayang* uses as the subject perfectly support this statement. (36) below shows the three uses of *nayang*. *Nayang* in (a) indicates its referent, making fake click counts (to indicate viewing rate), as meaningless. In (b), *tamama nayang* 'his mother doing that' is a personal pronoun and demonstrative compound noun occupying the subject position. The clause is a strong negative assessment composed of a negative predicate *shenjingzhi* 'hysterical' and the rhetorical interrogative *bu....ma* 'isn't the case' with the assumption that 'his mother's behavior is hysterical' (McEnery & Xiao, 2010). In (c), *tanayang* 'he doing so/his behavior' is also a personal pronoun and demonstrative compound located in the subject position of an assessment clause. The assessment states that the student's referred behavior in class had disturbed other students. All of the *nayang* tokens in (36) express the speaker's negative attitude toward the referents.

(36) Negative assessments led by *nayang* in the subject position

- (a) [M003: Blogs]
不要. 那樣好空虛喔.
'No/I don't want to. *Nayang* (-> 'Making fake viewing rate for one's own blog') would be so fake.'
- (b) [M024: Beehive]
他媽媽那樣不神經質嗎?
'Isn't his mother *nayang* (-> 'reacting so') hysterical?'
- (c) [M002: Photo discussion]
可他那樣也會影響到別人啊?
'But he/the student *nayang* (-> 'acting so') would still disturb other people (wouldn't he)?'

I have shown above that the manner demonstratives *zheyang*, *nayang* and their morphological variations can be used as tracking anaphors as other widely recognized anaphors such as the null anaphor, personal pronouns and nominal demonstratives. I have also shown that the manner demonstratives are used as a marked subject in a clause to form an assessment. Due to their special referentiality, *zheyang/nayang* has the effect of shifting the referent from ‘a person’ to ‘the situation, behavior, or the manner, degree, appearance of a person’ while continuing the same topic. As *zheyang/nayang* in the subject position are often used to form assessments, it allows the speaker to provide an assessment on the situation or event in the story but not on persons that they do not have knowledge to assess. In the next section, I will discuss pragmatic motivations of using *zheyang* and *nayang* in assessments.

4.5 Discussion

By giving a first assessment, the speaker claims to have access to the knowledge needed to make assessments (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). When an assessment is given in response to the first assessment, the speaker shows their participation in the social activity by showing their knowledge and judgement toward the same referent and also giving agreement or disagreement toward the first assessment (Pomerantz, 1984). In my data, Chinese speakers use *zheyang/nayang* to introduce a first assessment as a response to the previous turn of storytelling or simply informing without claiming knowledge of the referents; they instead assess the information they were just given. That is, the manner demonstratives in the subject position can be seen as a stance-coding token in Mandarin (c.f. Iwasaki & Yap (2015) for a survey of other stance-coding phrases in Asian languages).

The focus-shifting referentiality by the manner demonstratives cannot be achieved by other tracking anaphors which co-refer to the exact same referent as the previous discourse, although for the null anaphor, the referent can be ambiguous. The example below demonstrates the difference in referentiality between the null anaphor and *zheyang*. In (37), Ella and Sara are in the midst of describing a classmate they both know who wore certain kind of exaggerated eye makeup to the third speaker Linda. Ella (from line 832 to 837) goes into the details about what the eye makeup looks like. In line 839, Sara continues this ‘other-initiated’ topic (Tao, 2001) with more details about the makeup, forming a collaborative multiple-turn unit of storytelling (Lerner, 1996), which is then followed by a laugh particle (Glen, 2003). Recognizing the laughable quality in the story (Glen, 2003), Ella in lines 840 and 841 provides the second laugh particle, followed by a first-position assessment ‘(It’s) funny’ in which the subject is the null anaphor. In the next turn, Sara produces a second assessment ‘but *zheyang* (is) quite creative I think.’

(37) Demonstrative *zheyang* in the subject position [M002: Photo discussion]

- 0834 Ella: ..而且她眼睛,
 ..Érqiě tā yǎnjīng,
 and her eye
- 0835 ..又是那種,
 .. Yòu shì nà zhǒng,
 also be that kind
- 0836 ..單眼皮,
 .. Dān yǎnpí,
 single eyelid
- 0837 ..完全單眼皮.
 .. Wánquán dānyǎnpí.
 completely single eyelid
- 0838 ..然後 這邊 ((eye sockets)) 很拋 的那 一 種.
 .. Ránhòu zhèbiān hěnpāo de nà yī zhǒng.
 and here lifted DE that one kind
- 0839 Sara: ..就 很多 地方 可以 畫. [[[laugh]]]
 .. Jiù hěnduō dìfāng kěyǐ huà. [[[laugh]]]
 just many place can draw

0840 Ella: [((laugh))]
0841 ...很 好笑.
...Hěn hǎoxiào.
very funny
0842 Sara: -> 可是 這樣 蠻 有創意的 我 覺得.
Kěshì zhèyàng mán yǒuchuàngyide wǒ juéde.
But this.way quite creative I think
0843 Linda: ...(1.0)對啊.
...(1.0) Duì a.
Right PART.
0844 Sara: ..可是 那個 只 適合 在 舞台 上.
.. Kěshì nàgè zhǐ shìhé zài wǔtái shàng.
But that only suit in stage on

Ella: ‘And her eyes, also are, single eyelid, completely single eyelid, and here ((pointing to the eye sockets)) is like that kind of lifted (sockets). There is a lot room to draw (eyelines).’
Sara: [((laugh))]
Ella: ‘(It’s) very funny.’
Sara: -> ‘But *zheyang* (-> ‘doing so/the makeup’) was quite creative, I think.’
Linda: ‘(That’s) right.’
Sara: ‘..But that (makeup is) only appropriate on stage.’

In line 841, Ella provides the first assessment on the person’s exaggerated makeup after her storytelling is joined by Sara. In this assessment, the subject is not pronounced and hence is a null subject. Due to the null subject, it can be ambiguous in terms of what is really referred to as ‘funny’ by Ella. As the assessment is a topic continuation of the preceding turn, the referent can be the person who wears the makeup or the makeup. This assessment then is responded by the second assessment from Sara in line 842, in which *zheyang* is used as an explicit subject which excludes referring to the person wearing the makeup. The second assessment, interpretable as ‘the behavior of wearing the makeup, or how the makeup is done’ does not agree with the “funny” quality stated in the first assessment. It instead focuses on the behavior related to the person and assesses it as ‘being quite creative.’ The disagreement is mitigated by the post-positioned *wo juede* ‘I think’ (Lim, 2011). The use of *zheyang* here can also be considered as a

way to avoid a direct disagreement with Ella's comment. If the second assessment also begins with a null subject, it is by default continues the same referent in Ella's turn and would have directly disagrees with the 'funny' quality. The delicacy in placing an agreement with an unambiguous subject can also be seen in the next turn. In line 844, Sara provides another assessment 'but that is only suitable on stage' in which *nage* is used as the subject, indicating 'that kind of makeup' without ambiguity. This is then a downgraded assessment from her own earlier assessment, but it is a downgraded assessment that agrees with Ella's first assessment.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the anaphoric use of manner demonstratives as overt subjects. In a pro-drop language such as Chinese, overt subjects are a way to show the speaker's emphasis on the referents. *Zheyang* and *nayang* thus are used to (i) show an emphatic indication on the referent that has been mentioned earlier to make a point, and (ii) introduce a non-knowledge-claiming first-position assessment. For the emphatic use, it is often seen the same referent being referred to first by other anaphors (such as a zero anaphor or a nominal demonstrative *zhe*) and later referred again by *zheyang*. Comparing to *zhe* and other anaphors, *zheyang* indexes a higher granularity of references (i.e. from indicating the referent as an object/entity to a manner/degree/quality/action). For introducing first-position assessments, such granularity in *zheyang* can transform the assessable person/entity into an action or event. By so doing, the assessments are indicated as based on the speaker's knowledge about the actions/events that have just been given to the speaker in the previous discourse, and thus does not claim a priority of knowledge against the previous speaker/storyteller/informer. The low frequency of occurrences

in the distal manner demonstratives also shows that their uses are marked in that they express the speaker's negative assessments and/or mental distance from the assessed object/entity.

Chapter 5 Discourse/Interactional Uses of Manner

Demonstratives

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the discourse/interactional uses of *zheyang* and *nayang*, including (i) inferential connectives and (ii) discourse boundary markers. The two uses of *zheyang* and *nayang* are all grammatically optional, hence they fall into what Schiffrin (1992)'s category of "discourse markers." According to Schiffrin, discourse markers are a set of linguistic expressions that exist not to satisfy grammatical obligatoriness but to contribute "in cognitive, expressive, social, and textual domains" (p.54). These uses of *zheyang* and *nayang* have been observed in several studies in traditional functional studies and in discourse analysis, but it is still unclear what have motivated their uses in conversation. My analysis shows that the inferential connective use involves the speaker's subjectivity. Used as an inferential connective, *zheyang/nayang* imposes the speaker's belief on possible consequences that would be led by the event stated in the previous utterance. That is, *zheyang/nayang* in this case explicitly establishes a causal relationship between an event A and an event B. On the other hand, *zheyang/nayang* can also be used as a discourse boundary marker. This is similar to the boundary-marking function that is marked by intonation at the end of a direct reported speech (Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999). However, *zheyang/nayang* marks a discourse boundary not only just for direct reported speech, but also for discourse that is developed to provide details of information in conversation. There is a small amount of manner demonstrative uses as neutral receipt tokens that will be discussed later in the chapter.

5.2 Literature Review

5.2.1 Manner demonstratives as adverbial connectives

Manner demonstratives *zheyang/nayang* (and their variations) can connect discourse units independently or in a connecting phrase, sometimes indicating discourse relations beyond their compositional meanings. Wiedenhof (2015) notes that *zheyang de hua* often occurs at the turn-initial position, signaling the speaker's reconsideration toward the last turn of speech by the previous speaker. 孙 (2017) observes that *zheyangzi* at the sentence-initial or sentence-final positions are used as discourse markers to show a sense of discourse causality. The study fails to observe the different nature of *zheyang* at the sentence-initial and sentence-final position. Also, it does not elaborate the discourse connecting function of *zheyang*, that is, does it is not clear whether there is a pragmatic difference when a clause is marked a connective *zheyang*. As shown in (39) below, the connective *zheyang* seems to indicate not just the discourse connection between line 5 and its previous discourse. Here, Sara and Linda are discussing a guy Sara recently met. Prior to line 0005, Sara proposes to take a picture of him so that Linda can see what he looks like. Linda then interrupts in line 0005 with the statement that it may misled the guy thinking Sara is pursuing him. *Zheyang* below is a connective linking the following clause to the previous discourse.

(39) Demonstrative *nayang* as a clausal connective [M001: After school: 314-315]

0005 Linda: ➡ 這樣 他會 覺得 你 在 倒追 他 啦。
Zhèyàng tā huì juéde nǐ zài dào zhuī tā la.
this.way he would think you are pursue he PART.

'*Zheyang* (➡ 'If doing so') he would think you are pursuing him.'

I will propose that the adverbial *zheyang* and *nayang* (and its variations) are inferential connectives that mark the clauses they lead as inferred consequences based on the situation addressed in the immediately preceding turn. This inferred causality distinguishes *zheyang* and *nayang* from other general causal connectives such as 所以 *suoyi* ‘so’ or 因此 *yinci* ‘therefore’ that indicate objective and/or logical causal relationship without the involvement of speakers’ subjectivity.

5.2.2 Manner demonstratives as markers of affirmation

Koenig and Umbach (2018) also observe that there is a tendency for manner demonstratives to develop into markers of affirmation. Markers of affirmation is a standalone response providing the speaker’s affirmation, such as English *yes* (originated from *gēa* ‘yes, so’ and *sī(e)* ‘may it be’), Italian and Spanish *si*, and Finnish *niiin* ‘that way, yes.’ Chinese manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* have not shown any sign of taking this direction. At this point, for example, *zheyang* or *nayang* cannot be used as a response to a yes/no question. Instead, the proximal *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* have developed into a standalone receipt token (or a backchannel token) to informing sequences, which is what I will discuss in the next section.

5.2.3 Manner demonstratives as discourse boundary markers

Language studies adopting discourse-oriented approaches on Chinese language have also provided new perspectives on traditionally defined function words, including interaction-motivated uses of demonstratives *zhe* and *na* (Huang, 1999; Tao, 1999), connectives (Biq, 1990;

Biq, 2007), nominalizer *de* (Foong, Deng & Caboara, 2017) to name a few. Biq (1990) observes uses of non-obligatory uses of demonstrative *name* ‘this way’ as a discourse connective. She found that connective *name* is used to preface a consequent clause and indicate a “warranted continuation relation” between the preceding discourse antecedent and the prefaced consequent as the elaboration or comment. Lü (2002 [1985]) states that Chinese demonstratives can be used to express the speaker’s epistemic stance or subjectivity. Tao (1999) elaborates the interactional use of demonstratives and shows proximal and distal demonstratives concerns not only simply physical distance but also complicated factors related to discourse organization and the speaker's subjectivity. Later, Biq (2007) found that locative demonstrative expressions *na* ‘there’, and *zai naban* ‘over there’, and adverbial demonstrative *nazhong* ‘that kind (of)’ have developed discourse and subjective uses.

Recent studies on demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* also observe their uses beyond grammatical functions in natural conversation (Liu, 2006; 朱, 2009; 孙, 2017). Huang (1999) first observes that *zheyangzi* often occurs at the end of turn of talk and may function as a discourse boundary marker in Taiwan Mandarin. This particular use has been viewed “new” to mainland Chinese speakers until recently (Sun, 2017). In the excerpt below, Speakers A and B are talking about a type of songs B likes. Prior to Line 27, A asks why B likes the type of songs. B’s response in lines 27-30 addresses that he feels that the songs make one sounds young. *Zheyangzi* located at the end of this explanation in line 30 is used as a discourse boundary marker and has no indexicality.

(40) Manner demonstrative *zheyang* as a discourse boundary marker (from Huang, 1999:87)*

27 B: 其實 我 也 不 曉 得 啊。
Qíshí wǒ yě bù xiǎodé a.

28 actually I also not understand PART.
 我就覺得,
 Wǒ jiù juéde,
 I just think
 29 感覺很好.
 Gǎnjué hěn hǎo.
 feel very good
 30 -> 聽起來 很 青春 這樣子.
 Tīngqǐlái hěn qīngchūn zhèyàngzi.
 sound very young this.way

‘Actually I dont know either. I just feel good about it. It sounds young and innocent *zheyangzi* (-> ‘thats all’).’

* The Chinese text here was translated according to the Romanized pinyin script in Huang (1999).

Investigating *zheyangzi* in Taiwan Mandarin, Liu (2002) elaborates this boundary marking function. She states that *zheyangzi* tends to mark three particular types of discourse boundaries: Elaboration, co-constructed clause and reported speech. Investigating *de yangzi* and *zheyangzi* in Taiwan Mandarin and Putonghua, 孙 (2017) notes that utterance-final *zheyangzi* marks a given statement as speaker's subjective belief. On the other hand, Lu (2016) observes that *zheyang* is frequently used as a discourse completion marker that signals the next speakership is open for the next speaker.

The studies mentioned above have suggested that *zheyangzi* marks discourse boundaries and at the same time expresses the speaker's subjectivity. It is still unclear, however, in responding to the following questions. First, what exactly is the subjectivity expressed by *zheyangzi*? Is this a special function only expressed by *zheyangzi* but not its other variations *zheyang* and *zhege yangzi*? Second, what has motivated the use of discourse boundary marker when its occurrence is optional? The studies also fail to address whether the distal demonstratives *nayang* and its variations can be used as discourse boundary markers. I will argue

that the so-called discourse boundary markers here by *zheyangzi* should be considered as a type of discourse completion marker, which marks the speaker's emphasis on the finality or completion of the given discourse. In Old Chinese, *eryi yi* is found to have similar functions (Yap, Wang & Lam, 2010). I will show that, first, the discourse completion marking function can be achieved by either the proximal *zheyang*, distal *nayang* or their variations. Also, the use of such an explicit completion marker is motivated by interactional needs for change of discourse type of immediate speakership change.

5.2.4 Manner demonstratives as a receipt token

Receipt tokens here refer to tokens that register the current speaker has received a piece of information. Liu (2002) observes first that *zheyangzi* can be used as a marker to indicate the receipt of information, which tend to be followed by utterance-final particles *ou* and *a*. She also marks the phrases *zheyangzi ou* and *zheyangzi* have the tendency of forming conventionalized word sequences, or lexicalized prefabs in Thompson et al (2015)'s term.

Following Liu's observations, Hsieh (2012) indicates that *zheyang* as a responsive token is a useful device for the current speaker to negotiate the boundary of informing, such as elicited responses and advices. Recognizing its different interactive functions, Hsieh (2017) examines the sequence organizational functions of *zheyangzi* as a response token to various kinds of informing. She found that response token *zheyangzi* function as three types of discourse markers: (i) Continuer, which shows the speaker's attention and understanding to the current primary speaker's turn; (ii) change-of-topic/activity marker, which functions as a 'sequence-closing third' that proposes the end of a sequence (Schegloff, 2007), and (iii) repair initiator, when given as a

dispreferred response, it often elicits repair in the next turn. For example, Hsieh proposes that, as a change-of-topic/activity marker, *zheyangzi* closes an ongoing question-response sequence at the third position, as shown in the sequence structure below:

Figure 2. *Zheyang(zi)* as a Sequence-closing Third

A: Question	Position 1
B: Response	Position 2
A: <i>Zheyang(zi)</i>	Position 3
B: Confirmation token	
A: Change of topic/activity	

However, this analysis is not without problems. First, the three functions listed above seem to point to the same nature of *zheyangzi*'s function: as an information receipt token which does not express the speaker's positive or negative response. Second, based on Hsieh's examples, *zheyangzi* often occurs when the speaker does not have things to contribute. In a conversation in which one speaker does not continue a turn of talk, the speakership is up in the air for the next volunteering speaker (turn-taking original paper). Therefore, the following turn may lead to many possibilities, including change of topic, repair or topic continuation. Third, in some examples, Hsieh fails to recognize the larger sequential organization of adjacency pairs, in which the next turn does not necessarily satisfy the first pair part. This can be seen in (14) below, which depicts the change-of-topic use of *zheyangzi* in Hsieh (2017:105). The conversation is between Speaker M and G, who are discussing buffet restaurants in Taipei. In line 1, M proposes a restaurant X (name deleted) and supports this proposal by a positive review by a direct reported speech *bucuo* 'not bad', whose directness may be marked by the tone of speech (marked by MRC). Hsieh states that *zheyang* in line 6 indicates G's receipt of information and then shift to accepting M's proposal.

(40) *Zheyangzi* as a response token (from Hsieh, 2017:105)

- | | | | |
|---|-------|--|---|
| 1 | M: | ...上次 我 說 是 說,-
shangci wo shuo shi shuo,-
last.time I say be say | |
| 2 | | ...要不要 去 吃吃 X 的 那個 什麼 <E buffet C> 啊.\ | [Proposal] |
| | | ...yaobuyao qu chichi X de nage sheme <Eng buffet Eng> a.\ | |
| | | want-not-want go eat X ASSC that what buffet PRT | |
| 3 | G: | (0) 嗯 嗯.
(0) uN huN.\ | [Acknowledgement] |
| | | PRT PRT | |
| 4 | M: | ...他們 說,-,
...tamen shuo,-,
they say | [Pursuit of the proposal] |
| 5 | | ...有人 說 <MRC 不錯 MRC>.\ | |
| | | ...youren shuo <MRC bucuo MRC>.\ | |
| | | some say not.bad | |
| 6 | G: -> | ...這樣子.\ | [Receipt token] |
| | | ...zheyangzi.\ | |
| | | zheyangzi | |
| 7 | | ...那 好 啊.\ | [Acceptance of the proposal] |
| | | ...na hao a.\ | |
| | | then good PRT | |
| 8 | | ...可以 啊.\ | |
| | | ...keyi a.\ | |
| | | can PRT | |
| | M: | ‘Last time, I was proposing, maybe we could try the buffet at restaurant X someday.’ | [Proposal] |
| | G: | ‘Un hun’ | [Acknowledgement] |
| | M: | ‘They say-, some say that it is not bad.’ | [Pursuit of the proposal] |
| | G: -> | <i>Zheyangzi</i> /I see.
Okay. Let’s try it. | [Receipt token]
[Acceptance of the proposal] |

Opposite to Hsieh’s analysis, *zheyangzi* in line 6 actually expresses G’s receipt of her reported speech about the restaurant review. After registering the information receipt, G moves back to accepting the proposal in line 2, which was not responded until now. At least in this

example, I believe that *zheyangzi* does not change the conversation topic as stated by Hsieh. However, it is important to note that this is subject to each researcher's own judgement. As mentioned in Hsieh, receipt tokens in Chinese have not received enough attention. With the help of Interactional Linguistics, I will examine the receipt token use in my data for comparison.

5.2.5 Other uses of manner demonstratives

Demonstratives *this* and *that* in English, and their equivalent expressions in other languages have been found to have affective, intensifying and discourse organizational functions (Strauss, 2002; Potts & Schwarz, 2010; Diessel, 2012). Demonstrative adverb *so* in English and their equivalents in other languages are also found to function beyond linguistic indexicality (Bolden, 2009; Koenig, 2015). Adverb *then* in English, for example, is a temporal deixis indicating a shifting or continuing reference time also has an epistemic use justifying the speaker's belief or commitment to an assertion (Schiffrin, 1992). Other demonstrative expressions have also extended their use to discourse and interpersonal level. In particular, Koenig and Umbach (2018) extends his typological study on demonstratives of manner, quality and degree to "further uses", which are widely observed in many languages. Their widespread uses may suggest a tendency of semantic change and grammaticalization in manner demonstratives. Among the three further uses observed in Koenig and Umbach's study, the use of propositional anaphors and adverbial connectives, and markers of affirmation have been discussed in the last section. The last further use, equative comparatives, is discussed here.

5.2.5.1 Equative comparative

Equative comparative use occurs when a manner demonstrative is used in a construction indicating the equal manner, quality or degree feature between two objects, as *so* in the German example (a) and *as ... as* in the English example. In Chinese, however, this is expressed by *yiyang* 'the same' (Huang & Shi, 2016):

(42) Equative comparatives

a. Karl ist so groß wie Peter. (German) (Koenig & Umbach, 2018)

b. Charles is as tall as Peter. (English) (Koenig & Umbach, 2018)

c. 查理和彼特一樣高。(Mandarin)

Chárlǐ hé Bítè yīyàng gāo.

'Charlie is as tall as Peter.'

It is worth noting that in the equative comparative constructions *xiang ... yiyang*, *yiyang* can be replaced by demonstrative *zheyang* or *nayang* (Huang & Shi, 2016), as in the example below:

(43) Equative comparative use of *zheyangzi* [M014: Colleague]

388 Jenny: -> ..而且我發現很多台北人都還不像我這樣子耶
Érqiě wǒ fāxiàn hěnduō táiběi rén dōu hái bù xiàng wǒ zhèyàngzi ye.
and I find many Taipei people all still not like I this.way PART.

'..And I found most of the Taipei people are not like me.'

In (17), the construction *A xiang B zheyangzi* 'A (is) like B *zheyangzi*' expresses the equative comparison that A, which is Taipei people, are not the same as B, the speaker (indicated by *wo*).

In the equative comparative construction, the parameter in comparison is something gradable, as the degree of heights shown here.

5.3 Analysis for Manner Demonstratives as Inferential Causal Connectives

Causal sequences refer to a discourse that involves clauses expressing a causal relationship between events (Biq, 1995), such as English *if, because, so* or Chinese *yinwei....suoyi, jiu, yaoshi* (Chao, 1979; Lü, 2002 [1985]; Biq, 1995; Song & Tao, 2009). Same as some English connectives such as *and* or *so*, discourse connectives are discourse makers that do not contribute to the compositionality of a discourse; without the discourse connectives, the relationship between two clauses can still be well interpreted given felicitous contexts (Mann & Thompson, 1986; Schiffrin, 1987; Biq, 1990). Biq (1995) notes that there have been observations in other research that Chinese speakers tend to provide causes, reasons, or justifications prior to state their argument with the causal connective pair *yinwei...suoyi...* (c.f. Kirkpatrick, 1993). Biq (1995) shows that it is typical in conversation that a result clause is provided prior to its causal clause led by *yinwei*. However, the studies point out three types of clausal sequencing in Chinese: (i) causal-result clauses having zero linking elements in both parts, (ii) causal-result clauses linked by either a causal marker or a result marker, and (iii) causal-result clauses marked by both a causal marker and a result marker. The connectives *zheyang* and *nayang* thus fall into the second type that only marks the result or consequence clause.

When used as an inferential connective, *zheyang/nayang* ‘If so; if this/that is the case’ marks the interclausal relationship between two adjacent clauses based on the speaker’s (subjective) inference that the second event is or would be caused by the first event. This subjective causal relation is termed as volitional causality in Pander and Degand (2001):

[V]olitional causality (in the real world) involves decision making by some protagonist, in this case an actor; and decision making implies reasoning... In other words, in reporting a volitional causal relation, the speaker implicitly becomes involved in the construal of the causal relation (p.218).

The connective *zheyang/nayang* constructs a volitional causal relationship between two events: *zheyang/nayang* ('If so') is a volitional causal connective with anaphoric indexicality referring to the prior discourse as Event A, a given event. The event given in the subsequent utterance led by *zheyang/nayang* is Event B, an inferred consequence. Different from other causal connectives, *zheyang/nayang* allows a speaker to claim his or her subjective reasoning of the causal relationship between two events regardless of their factual relationship. An event indexed by *zheyang/nayang* can be any kind of occurrences of actions, mental states, or situations. It is worth noticing that the *zheyang/nayang* still has its anaphoric indexicality whose referent should be understood by context. In natural conversation, the use of the *zheyang/nayang* allows a speaker to impose his or her subjective reasoning of two events: An event B, introduced by *zheyang/nayang*, should happen only when event A, indexed by *zheyang/nayang*, happens, regardless of their factual relation.

5.3.1 Pragmatic functions of manner demonstratives as inferential connectives

In my data, there are 43 uses (out of 552 tokens) of inferential connective uses, including 30 tokens of *zheyang*, 9 tokens of *zheyangzi*, 3 tokens of *nayang*, and one token of *nayangzi*. The alternative forms, *zhege yangzi* and *nage yangzi* are not observed here.

Table 13. Frequency of Occurrences of Connectives *Zheyang(zi)* and *Nayang(zi)*

	<i>zheyang</i>	<i>zheyangzi</i>	<i>nayang</i>	<i>nayangzi</i>	Total
Token	30	9	3	1	43

The following example depicts this inferential connective use. (44) below is the conversation prior to (39). Sara is talking with two friends, Linda and Ella, about a foreign guy she recently met. In line 3, Sara promised to take a picture of him so that they can see what he looks like. In line 5, Linda interrupts Sara's turn by stating that the guy would think Sara is pursuing him. Here *zheyang* introduces the upcoming clause as an event that can be caused after Sara takes a picture of the guy based on Linda's personal belief.

(44) *Zheyang* introducing an inferred consequence [M001 After school]

- 0001 Sara: 對 啊.
Dui a.
correct PART.
- 0002 好.
Hǎo.
good
- 0003 我 再 拍 照 片 給 你 們 看.
Wǒ zài pāi zhàopiàn gěi nǐmen kàn.
I later take photo for you.PL. see
- 0004 看 是-
Kàn shì
see be
- 0005 Linda: -> 這 樣 他 會 覺 得 你 在 倒 追 他 啦.
Zhèyàng tā huì juéde nǐ zài dào zhuī tā la.
this.way he would think you are pursue he PART.
- Sara: 'Right. Okay. I will take (his) photo later for you to see. See if-'
Linda: -> '*Zheyang* (-> 'If (doing) so') he would think you are pursuing him.'

[Event A] *zheyang* [Inferred Event B]

(Takes a picture of the foreigner) (-> If so; By so doing) (The foreigner thinks Sara likes him.)

The connective *zheyang* here introduces the event stated in line 637 *he would think you are pursuing him la* (*la* is an utterance final particle enforcing the truth of a statement) as the inferred consequence of the previous discourse at line 635 *I will take (his) photo and show you*. Here, the speaker Linda, with the use of *zheyang*, establishes the causal relationship between the two events based on her subjective opinion.

As a connective, *zheyang/nayang* anaphorically refers to an unmarked previous discourse as an event that would lead to some effect or consequence based on the speaker's belief. The introduction of an inferred effect or consequence, then, is what distinguishes connectives *zheyang* and *nayang* from other connectives, such as *suoyi* 'therefore; so' or *na(me)* 'then', which simply introduce effects or consequences that can or have occurred without the involvement of explicit subjectivity. One of the typical expressions introducing causal relationships between two events in Mandarin is *yinwei...suoyi* 'Because..., therefore/so....', a connective pair that is equivalent to English *Because.../...so*. In spoken Mandarin, the paired expression is often used separately for different pragmatic functions. Hsieh (2003) identifies six pragmatic uses of *suoyi* as a causal connective in Mandarin, in which *suoyi* can introduce a consequence, a conclusion, or further explanation of the previous discourse unit. As shown in the example below, *suoyi* in line 6302 marks the consequence and a conclusion of the statement in line 6301.

(45) Connective *suoyi* [M009 Motherhood center]

- 6301 Erin: ..啊 白天 就是 媽媽 顧
 .. A báitiān jiùshì māmā gù
 PART. daytime then mother take.care.of
- 6302 -> ..所以 她 白天 整天 都 在睡覺
 .. Suǒyǐ tā báitiān zhěngtiān dū zàishuǐjiào
 so she daytime whole.day all be.sleeping

‘During the day her mother takes care of (her baby), *suoyi* (→) ‘so) she sleeps through the day.’

As a causal connective, *suoyi* here introduces the consequence (and also the conclusion) that has occurred due to the first event ‘Her mother takes care of her baby during the day.’ Besides expressing the causal relationship, *suoyi* also maintains the continuous discourse coherence on both the semantic and pragmatic levels (Hsieh, 2003). On the semantic level, *suoyi* establishes that the first event logically leads to the second event as the result or the conclusion. Pragmatically, *suoyi* establishes that the second clause is a continuation of the first clause in the conversation. Different from the subjective inference marked by *zheyang*, *suoyi* expresses the second event as a logical result.

The other common causal connective is *na(me)* ‘If so; If that’s the case.’ Biq (1990) investigates *na(me)* ‘so, (given)... then (...)’ as a non-obligatory discourse connective in planned discourse (e.g. expository essays) and unplanned discourse (e.g. conversation). She has found that *na(me)* marks three types of interclausal relationship: conditional relation, topic succession, and topic change. She found that while the latter two types of *na(me)* occur much more frequently in spontaneous conversation, the conditional marking *na(me)* is found in both discourses. Biq (1988) and Miracle (1991) both suggested that *na(me)* establishes the connection and the relevance between two adjacent units of discourse. Biq (1990) further states that the conditional marking *na(me)* functions at the ideational/textual dimension.

(46) Conditional *na(me)* (Adopted from Biq, 1990:189) [MSB: 331]

(F says that acupuncture was looked down upon in the past when the Chinese medical community was only interested in expensive projects.)

- 1 F: ➡ 對這種 你 一根針 能 治好 那 沒人 看得起 你。
Dù zhè zhǒng nǐ yīgē zhēn néng zhì hǎo nà méi rén kàndéqǐ nǐ.
to this kind you one needle can cure well then Neg. person respect you

As for this kind (of practitioner, that is,) that you can cure diseases with a single needle *na* (➡ ‘then’) nobody would think highly of you.

In this example, *na(me)* marks the causal relationship between the first part of the clause ‘this kind (of practitioner, that is,) that you can cure diseases with a single needle’ and the second part of the clause ‘nobody would think highly of you’ (Biq, 1990). In particular, *na(me)* introduces the second clause as a hypothetical and inferred consequence based on the condition of the first part of the clause. This conditional *na(me)* is similar to *zheyang* in that they both introduce an inferred consequence or result based on the speaker’s subjective reason. Based on the native speaker’s intuition, it would not change the semantic or pragmatic meaning if *na* here is replaced by *zheyang*, but there is still some difference between the two conditional uses. This difference lies in the level of focus indicated by their demonstratives. While *na(me)* is led by the distal demonstrative *na* ‘that’, *zheyang* is led by the proximal demonstrative *zhe* ‘this.’ This can be explained in terms of immediacy in textuality of demonstratives. Textual use of demonstratives refers to "propositions or events as a whole" as the referent (Tao, 1999). Connective *zheyang* still contains a certain level of textual anaphoric indexicality, which refers to the first event given in the previous clause. When referring to the previous discourse in Chinese, the proximal demonstrative *zhe* is the default anaphor (Lü, 2002 [1985]). This is consistent with Tao (1999)'s finding that, *zhe* occurs most of the time (93%) than *na* (7%) in its textual use.

The sense of immediacy in *zheyang* can also be seen in the example below. In (47), Speakers June, Shelly and Eva are high school students. The example begins in the midst of their discussion about the new student enrollment of a high school, Guohua, which only admits

students who are residents in the same district. June says in line 1754 that she heard that a sister of her friend could not be admitted to Guohua High School even when she lives in Beicheng, a district next to where Guohua High School is. Not aware of the enrollment policy, Shelly in line 1756 is surprised by the story and asks the reason why the sister was not admitted. Eva in line 1757 at the same time asks where the sister then go to school now. Here, both *na* and *zheyang* are used to introduce this follow-up question.

(47) Connective *Na* + *zheyang* [M016 II Script part 2]

- 1754 June: .. 然後 她 住 北成 旁邊 喔,
 .. Ránhòu tā zhù Běichéng pángbiān ō,
 and she live Beicheng next.to PART.
- 1755 .. 居然 還 進 不了 國華 .
 .. Jūrán hái jìn bùliǎo Guóhuá.
 surprisingly still enter not.able.to Guohua
- 1756 Shelly: .. 為[什麼]?
 .. Wèi [shénme]?
 Why
- 1757 Eva: -> [那 這樣] 她 去 讀 哪裡
 [nà zhèyàng] tā qù dú nǎlǐ?
 then this.way she go study where
- June: ‘And she lives next to Beicheng (city), (but) surprisingly could not get into Guohua (High School).’
- Shelly: ‘Why?’
- Eva: ‘Then *zheyang* (-> If so) where did she go to school?’

In line 1757, the clause is prefaced by both *na*, which functions as a connective, and *zheyang*, which functions as an inferential connective. As *zheyang* here already indicates that the question is following up with June’s statement in lines 1754-1755, *na* here functions as what Biq (1990) describes as topic continuation marker. The use of *zheyang* expresses explicitly what then happened since the sister could not be admitted into the high school. Although it would be possible to ask the same follow-up question without *zheyang* or *na zheyang* here, the absence of

the connectives then would fail to register the background information contributed by June, and that the sister was forced to go to a different school.

When used as an inferential connective, the distal *nayang* ‘if so, if that is the case’ also marks the following clause as an inferred consequence or result based on the speaker’s belief. In my data, there are only 4 tokens of connective *nayang* (9%). Different from the proximal *zheyang*, connective *nayang* introduces an inferred consequence or result that is highly hypothetical or distant to the speaker. In all of the 4 uses of *nayang*, 3 uses introduce inferred consequences or results to a third party who is not directly related to the speaker or the addressee in the conversation. (48) below shows exactly such a use. Prior to the excerpt, Speaker Lynn was discussing with her classmate, Sean, about how to make a small profit by taking other classmates with them to the same conference for a small charge. Lynn in lines 0084-0086 states that in the same car they can charge other classmates 100 NTD (approximately 3.30 USD) per person for the transportation. By so doing, Lynn believes that the classmates could still save some money comparing to paying for a shuttle bus fare. This inferred result is then prefaced by *nayang*.

(48) *Nayang* as an inferential connective [M004 Conference: 0084-0087]

0084 Lynn: 我們 可以,
Wōmen kěyǐ,
we can
0085 就是 給 他 收 一 個 人,
Jiùshì gěi tā shōu yīgèrén,
simply give he charge per person
0086 就是 車馬費 一 百。
Jiùshì chēmǎfèi yībǎi.
Simply transportation fee one hundred
0087 -> 那樣 他們 還 有 賺。
Nàyàng tāmen hái yǒu zhuàn.
Then they still have gain

Lynn: -> ‘We could, charge each person, transportation fee a hundred. *Nayang* (-> ‘If so, by doing so’) they’d still gain (money).’

Connective *nayang* here is used to mark that the inferred result is in some way distant to both speakers in the conversation. The sense of distance can also be seen in the next example. Prior to line 6601, Carrie was explaining her husband’s attitude toward marriage to Erin, who is Carrie’s sister in law. From lines 6602-6603, Carries is describing that her husband would usually take a while to think about what would be the best for both of them although he might not like it at the beginning. In line 6603, *nayangzi* is used as a connective referring to ‘if that’s the case.’

(49) Connective *nayang* indicates distant sense [M009 Motherhood center]

6584 Carrie: ..對 對 對 對.
 ..Dùi dùi dùi dùi.
 right right right right
 6585 ..想想 之後 他會 覺得 說,
 ..Xiǎngxiǎng zhīhòu tā huì juéde shuō,
 think after he would think say
 6586 -> ..其實 那樣子 也 可以.
 ..Qíshí nà yàngzi yě kěyǐ.
 actually if.so also can

‘RIGHT. After thinking for a bit he would think that, actually *nayang* (-> ‘if so’) (it would) also work.’

[Event A] *nayangzi* [Inferred Event B]

(A dispreferred way of handling something) (-> If so, if that’s the case) (it’s also okay.)

In this example, the distal connective *nayangzi* indicates the situation that is hypothetical to the speaker’s husband, who is not in the current conversation. While most uses of connective

zheyang expresses a sense of immediacy of or focus on the inferred consequences or results, connective *nayang* expresses a more hypothetical and distant sense on the inferred consequences or results to both the speaker and the addressee.

I have shown in several examples above how inferential connectives *zheyang* and *nayang* mark an event as an inferred consequence or result according to the speaker's belief.

Interactionally, an inferred event marked by *zheyang/nayang* can be given in the same turn, by the same speaker, where the first event is located, or given in the next turn by the same or a different speaker who produces the first event. This is especially the case for inferential connectives *zheyang* and *nayang*. Since they are used to establish the causal relationship between two events according to the speaker's belief, the imposed causality also leaves room for negotiation.

5.3.2 Interactional functions of manner demonstratives as inferential connectives

A clause led by an inferential connective *zheyang/nayang* is the clause that is marked as Event B. An event B is perceived, by the current speaker, an inferred consequence or result of Event A, which is stated in the clause prior to *zheyang/nayang*. In conversation, a *zheyang/nayang*-led-Event B clause can occur in the same turn as Event A (given by the same speaker prior to a speakership change). Such a same-turn-Event B often serves as the second part of the current speaker's argument and is designed to support the argument by stating its inferred consequence or result. On the other hand, a discourse can be perceived as a possible cause (thus becomes Event A) for Event B. This occurs in the turn-initial position of the next turn in which *zheyang/nayang* anaphorically marks the last clause as Event A causing the Event B. Such a

next-turn Event B in my data demonstrates three interactional functions: (a) As a request turn for the last speaker to continue an ongoing storytelling or planning, (b) as a response turn to the last turn by offering the current speaker’s thoughts, and (c) to give disagreement by offering the current speaker’s assumed consequences or results. Lastly, there are also instances in which the speaker provides a *zheyang/nayang*-led Event B clause after an Event A is given and responded to by the other speaker.

Among the 43 uses of *zheyang/nayang* as inferential connectives, there are 15 uses of same-turn Event B clauses, 16 uses of next-turn Event B clauses, and 9 uses of next-turn-same-speaker Event B clauses. Four uses are excluded here as the Event B clauses are incomplete.

Table 14. Turn Positions of Connectives *Zheyang* and *Nayang*

Inferential connective	Same-turn-same-speaker Event B	Next-turn- other speaker Event B	Next-turn-same-speaker Event B	Total
<i>Zheyang(zi)</i>	13	16	8	37
<i>Nayang</i>	2	0	0	2

The distribution of the inferential connectives *zheyang* and *nyang* shows that *zheyang(zi)* (95%, 37 out of 39) is used much more frequently as an inferential connective than *nyang* (5%, 2 out of 39). There are also more uses of in the next turn *zheyang* (65%, 24 out of 37), after the turn in which an Event A is given, than a *zheyang*-marked Event B given in the same turn as an Event A (35%, 13 out of 37).

The Same-turn-Same-speaker Event B refers to when the inferred consequence or result led by *zheyang/nayang* is given right after an Event A is given in the same turn (by the same speaker). Interactionally, the Event B is initiated by the same speaker and is designed as a part of

the statement in Event A. The turn structure of the same-turn-Same-speaker Event B is shown below:

(i) Same-turn-Same-speaker Event B

First turn [Event A] [*zheyang/nayang* + Event B]

In the example below, the speaker Shelly is chatting with two other classmates after agreeing to have the conversation recorded for research purposes. Being aware of the recording, she started to tell a story about a girl she knows in line 1073 but states that she cannot give her name as the girl might be exposed, meaning that other people who will review this conversation would know who the girl is. In line 1076, *zheyang* indicates this inferred consequence.

(50) Same turn *zheyang*-led event B [M016 I Script part 1]

1073 Shelly: [九 班 九 班]有 一 個 我 認 識 的 女 生,
 [Jiǔ bān jiǔ bān] yǒu yīgè wǒ rènshíde nǚshēng,
 Nine class nine class have one I know girl
 1074 ..不 能 講 名 字.
 .. Bù néng jiǎng míngzì.
 Not can tell name
 1075 要 不 然,
 yào bùrán,
 Otherwise
 1076 -> 這 樣 就 會 曝 光.
 zhèyàng jiù huì pùguāng.
 This.way then will expose

Shelly: ‘In Class 9 there is a girl I know, (I) cannot say the name. Otherwise, *zheyang* (-> ‘if doing so) (she) would be exposed.’

[Event A]	<i>zheyang</i>	[Inferred Event B]
(Cannot say the girl’s name during the recording)	(If so, if doing so)	(The girl will be exposed)

Therefore, *zheyang* here is to justify why she cannot give out the name when she is telling a story to two of her classmates. As stated earlier, *zheyang* is grammatically optional here. Without *zheyang*, the Event B can still be perceived as an inferred consequence if Shelly reveals the name. The presence of *zheyang*, however, indicates discourse immediacy and the discourse focus on Event B.

On the other hand, the Next-turn-other-speaker Event B refers to when the inferred consequence or result (Event B) led by *zheyang/nayang* is given by the next speaker as a response to a given Event A in the last turn by the last speaker. The turn structure of a next-turn-other-speaker Event B is shown below:

(ii) Next turn- other -speaker Event B

First turn [Event A]

Next turn [*zheyang/nayang* + Event B]

Schegloff (1992) points out that it is interactionally meaningful when a clause occurs in the first position or the second position in a sequence. One of the functions observed in my data is when the Event B function as a follow-up turn requesting the last speaker to continue his or her turn, which, for example, may be in the middle of storytelling or planning. This can be seen in (47), as repeated here. June in this example is telling a story about her friend's sister who did not receive admission for the high school (i.e. *Guohua* here) next to where the family lives. In lines 1755 and 1756, the addressees of the story, Shelly and Eva, respond to the story. In line 1756, Eva responds by requesting for the next part of the story, that is, where the sister is now.

Here, *zheyang* indicates anaphorically to June’s last two lines and expresses ‘if so, if this is the case.’

(47) Connective *Na* + *zheyang* [M016 II Script part 2]

- 1754 June: .. 然後 她 住 北成 旁邊 喔,
 .. Ránhòu tā zhù Běichéng pángbiān ō,
 and she live Beicheng next.to PART.
 1755 .. 居然 還 進 不了 國華 .
 .. Jūrán hái jìn bùliǎo Guóhuá.
 surprisingly still enter not.able.to Guohua
 1756 Shelly: .. 為[什麼]?
 .. Wèi [shénme]?
 Why
 1757 Eva: -> [那 這樣] 她 去 讀 哪裡
 [nà zhèyàng] tā qù dú nǎlǐ?
 then this.way she go study where

June: ‘And she lives next to Beicheng (city), (but) surprisingly could not get into Guohua (High School).’

Shelly: ‘Why?’

Eva: ‘Then *zheyang* (-> If so) where did she go to school?’

The second function of a next-turn-other-speaker Event B is to offer the current speaker’s thoughts toward the Event A given in the last turn. This use can be seen in the example below. In (51), Paige and Holly are both volunteers for a neighborhood church. Prior to the excerpt, Holly was talking about her daughter, who is not interested in studying but doing technical things. Holly in lines 413-415 states that she saw the other day that her daughter was burning the CDs for their church very seriously. Paige in line 416 states that it is because the daughter gets to have fun with the computer. She also follows up the statement with a quote from her daughter in line 417 that ‘She said *zheyangzi* (-> ‘if doing so’) (her) mother then would have no reason to scold at her (for using computer).’ *Zheyang* here then marks the inferred result based on Holly’s daughter’s belief.

(51) Next turn *zheyang*-led event B [M006 Church volunteer duties]

- 0413 Holly: ..燒錄 那個,
Shāolù nàgè,
burn that
- 0414 ..那個<L2 CD L2>啊,
Nàgè CD a,
that CD PART.
- 0415 ...啊 她 就 很 認 真 的 去 做.
Ah tā jiù hěn rènzhēnde qù zuò.
PART. she then very serious go do
- 0416 Paige: (0)因為 那 順 便 可 以 玩 (.) 玩 電 腦 啊.
yīnwèi nà shùnbìan kěyǐ wán.. wán diànnǎo a.
because that mean.time can play play computer PART.
- 0417 -> ..她 說 這 樣 子 媽 媽 就 沒 有 理 由 罵 她.
Tā shuō zhèyàngzi māmā jiù méiyǒu lǐyóu mà tā.
she say this.way mother then not have reason scold her
- 0418 Holly: ..她 也 (.) 也 她 (.) 不 知 道,
Tā yě (.) yě tā (.) bù zhīdào,
she then then she not know
- 0419 ..她,
Tā,
- 0420 Paige: ..她 本 來 不 就 對 那 個 很 有 興 趣 ?
Tā běnlái bu jiù duì nàgè hěn yǒu xìngqù ?
she originally not then to that very have interest
- Paige: ‘She was then very willing (to do the favor).’
- Holly: ‘(Helping to) burn the (.) the CDs, she then did it seriously.’
- Paige: ‘(It is) because then (she) can at the same time use the computer for fun. She said *zheyangzi* (-> ‘if doing so’) (her) mother then would have no reason to scold at her (for using computer).’
- Holly: ‘She wouldn’t (.) she would not know,’
- Paige: ‘Hasn’t she been very interested in that (computer)?’

By giving a next-turn-other-speaker Event B, the current speaker shows that he or she has more knowledge about Event A than the last speaker who produces Event A in the last turn.

Wiedenhof (2015) states that *zheyang* used at the beginning of a speaking turn shows the speaker’s reconsideration of the preceding utterance. The so-called reconsideration can actually be that the next speaker is revising or challenging the preceding turn. In this example, Holly

describes her own observation of her daughter's behavior (i.e. being more seriously in burning CDs than in studying) in lines 413-415. After the description, Paige does not register the description as new knowledge. She instead provides an explanation for the daughter's behavior ('the mother would have no reason to scold at her for using the computer'). Comparing to other possible responses to an informing turn, such as acknowledgement (e.g. *hm, okay*), agreement or disagreement (e.g. *right, yes, well*), the *zheyang*-led Event B clause provides additional knowledge about the Event A and thus asserts that the current speaker has higher knowledge access to the Event A than the last speaker. This knowledge claiming action is also clear from the fact that Paige, as Holly's friend, claims to know more than Holly about the reason that Holly's daughter is more serious in helping the church burning CDs than studying.

The last function observed in my data is using a *zheyang*-led Event B clause to express disagreement. In (44) discussed earlier, Sara has promised to take photos of the foreign guys she knows for other speakers in the conversation to see. In line 5 in (52) below (continuation of (44)), Linda proposes an inferred consequence if Sara really does so. Not simply as a follow-up turn, the proposed consequence led by *zheyang* is an indirect disagreement given with an undesirable inferred consequence, that is, the guy would think Sara is pursuing him, which is not a desirable quality in a woman.

(52) *Zheyang* introducing an inferred consequence [M001 After school: 314-315]

- 0003 Sara: 我再拍照片給你們看。
Wǒ zài pāi zhàopiàn gěi nǐmen kàn.
I l later take photo for you.PL. see
- 0004 看是-
Kàn shì
see be
- 0005 Linda: -> 這樣他會覺得你在倒追他啦。
Zhèyàng tā huì juéde nǐ zài dào zhuī tā la.
this.way he would think you are pursue he PART.

0006 Sara: 真的 嗎 ?
zhēnde ma ?
really Q.PART.

0007 應該 [不 會 吧 .]
Yīnggāi [bù huì ba .]
should not would PART.

Sara: 'Right. Okay. I will take (his) photo later for you to see. See if-'
Linda: -> 'Zheyang (-> 'If (doing) so') he would think you are pursuing him.'
Sara: 'Really? (He) wouldn't think so ,(I think).'

As the causal relationship established by *zheyang/nayang* is based on the speaker's belief, it is interactionally negotiable or even subject to disagreement by other speakers. In lines 0006 and 0007, Sara responds to Linda's turn first with tag question 'Really?' and a declarative statement question '(He) wouldn't think so ,(I think).'

While the tag question simply expresses Sara's surprise toward Linda's turn, the declarative statement question expresses Sara's disbelief in Linda's inference. This example shows that, while *zheyang* is useful in introducing subjective inferences, such subjectivity is also subject to negotiation by other speakers.

The last situation of *zheyang* distribution is when it is initiated by the other speaker's response to an Event A. Sequentially, the Event B clause led by *zheyang* (is given by the same speaker who produces an Event A) is motivated by the turn after an Event A is given. This situation is different from the same-turn-same-speaker Event B clause in that the *zheyang*-clause is not designed as a part of the first turn. The turn structure of a next-turn-same-speaker Event B is shown below:

(iii) Next-turn-same-speaker Event B

First turn [Event A]

Second turn (Response to Event A)

Third turn [zheyang/nayang + Event B]

5.3.3 Interim summary

In this section, I have shown that *zheyang* and *nayang*, when used as inferential connectives, introduce inferred consequences or results based on the speaker's subjective reasoning. Such a subjective inference has different interactional effects based on their turn sequencing. In the next section, I will discuss the second interactional use of *zheyang* and *nayang* – their uses as discourse completion markers.

5.4 Manner Demonstratives as Discourse Completion Markers

5.4.1 Previous studies on manner demonstratives as discourse completion markers

In Chinese, the completion of a clause or sentence can be marked by intonation, a pause, or a sentence final particle (such as *ah*, *o*). The final particle, in particular, has been seen the rightmost grammatical position that can only be occupied by a particle expressing the tone of voice (Chao, 1979). However, in the Mandarin spoken in Taiwan, manner demonstratives have been found to occupy the final position. Huang (1999) points out this emerging use of *zheyang* is to close up a turn; but he does not provide further explanation on this phenomenon. Later, Liu (2002) found the discourse-final *zheyang(zi)* marks (i) the end of a reported speech, sometimes with *shuo* 'say' as the beginning marker, (ii) the boundary of an inserted clause to the previous turn, (iii) a confirmation-seeking question, and (iv) the boundary between a sub-topic and a main topic. Liu argues that *zheyang(zi)* may signal an upcoming possible transition relevant place; in

his data, 44.2% of *zheyang(zi)* leads to a speaker change. However, he argues that such turn-ending signal is influenced by the fact that *zheyang(zi)* tends to occur at the end of a turn, but not vice versa. That is, Liu argues that the manner demonstrative is used to close up the discourse that is considered digression from the main topic, such as from a reported speech back to the main story, and from an elaboration or a sub-topic back to the main topic.

The manner demonstratives *zheyang(zi)* and *nayang(zi)* are not the only demonstratives that are used to organize information in conversation. In Jarawara, two locative adverbial demonstratives are used as discourse markers for organizing information in conversation (Dixon, 2003). Dixon (2003) observes that Jarawara *fahi* 'here/there, not visible' is used to mark the climax of a discourse. The locative demonstrative *ahi* 'here, visible' on the other hand marks "lead up" clauses that are followed by a "climax" clause marked by *fahi*. Observing all conversational data, I have found that the functions mentioned above are not exclusively in the use of *zheyang* and *zheyangzi*. Among 553 tokens of manner demonstratives, there are 126 uses of *zheyang* and 8 uses of *nayang* as completion markers.

I hold an integrated view that the discourse final *zheyang* and *nayang*, although grouped under different pragmatic functions in Liu (2002), can be considered as doing discourse organization in conversation by actively signaling the boundary shifting from one discourse unit to another, or signaling the end of a discourse unit (Schiffrin, 1987). While Liu considers *zheyang(zi)* is used to close up discourse digression from the main conversation, I argue that it is possibly triggered in conversation. For example, in Huang's example (repeated below), Speaker B has already responded to Speaker A's question about why B likes a type of songs in lines 27-29. As B's turn has reached both the grammatical and pragmatic completion, or the Complex

Transition Relevance Places (Clancy et al., 1996). A complex transition relevance place is found useful for many languages including English, Chinese and Japanese as a locus where the next speaker who was in the listener's role offers a **reactive** token while recognizing the primary speaker is still continuing the turn (Clancy et al., 1996). However, the potential next speaker did not provide any response after line 29, which may have triggered B to continue the current turn voluntarily (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). That is, the *zheyangzi* in line 30 is used as an explicit marker to exit the current discourse unit. In this case, it is B's turn that responds to A's question. Given that the first completion of his response turn was not registered by A's taking up of the speaker role, B continues to elaborate and marks a second completion of his turn. However, it is noticeable that A still passes this signal until 1.5 second in line 31 where there is a long pause in conversation signaling that the current turn is up for talking.

(15) Manner demonstrative *zheyang* as a discourse boundary marker (from Huang, 1999:87)*

- 27 B: 其實 我 也 不 曉 得 啊。
 Qíshí wǒ yě bù xiǎodé a.
 actually I also not understand PART.
- 28 我就覺得,
 Wǒ jiù juéde,
 I just think
- 29 -> 感覺很好。
 Gǎnjué hěn hǎo.
 feel very good
- 30 -> 聽起來 很 青春 這 樣 子。
 Tīngqǐlái hěn qīngchūn zhèyàngzi.
 sound very young this.way
- 31 A: ...(1.5)還 有 合 聲。
 ...(1.5) hai you hesheng.
 Still have duet

- B: 'Actually I dont know either. I just feel good about it. It sounds young and innocent
 -> *zheyangzi* (-> 'thats all').'
- A: '...(1.5) And also the duet.'

* The Chinese text here was translated according to the Romanized pinyin script in Huang (1999).

In the following, I will show that *zheyang* and *nayang* are simply used as discourse completion markers(5.4.2). Discourse completion markers here refer to their function to signal explicitly the completion of the current discourse unit, which can be a short clause or a multiple-unit turn. In addition, *nayang(zi)* as a discourse completion marker is a marked use in particular to show the speaker's subject distant from the story. Being grammatically optional, the discourse completion marker is often triggered by either the speaker's judgement that a completion marker should be placed explicitly within the same turn of talking (same clause, same turn), or it can be triggered by the lack of the next speaker's response (next clause, same turn), as shown in (58) (5.4.3). Within this same turn, some tokens are given in their full expression *jiu(shi) zheyang/nayang* 'this/that is it.' The completion marking *zheyang* and *nayang* can also mark the current clause as a part of the last clause in the same turn or the previous turn, as in (61) (5.4.4). When used as such, completion marking *zheyang/nayang* has the function of packing the information together as one discourse, although they locate in a different clause or in a different turn by different speakers.

5.4.2 Analysis on manner demonstratives as a discourse completion marker

5.4.2.1 Forms and distributions

In my data, forms of the discourse marking *zheyang* and *nayang* include *zheyang*, *zheyangzi*, *nayang* and *nayangzi*. Table 16 below shows the distribution of *zheyang* and *nayang* in this use. Among all 124 tokens, 94.35% (N=117) are the proximal manner demonstratives. Among which, *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* have similar distributions (52.42% and 41.94%, respectively). On the

other hand, there are only 5.65 % (N= 7) of the distal manner demonstratives. There is no *zhege yangzi* or *nage yangzi* in this use.

Table 15. Distributions of Proximal and Distal Manner Demonstratives

Proximal	Token	%	Distal	Token	%
<i>zheyang</i>	65	52.42%	<i>Nayang</i>	5	4.03%
<i>zheyangzi</i>	52	41.94%	<i>Nayangzi</i>	2	1.61%
<i>zhegeyangzi</i>	0	0.00%	<i>Nage yangzi</i>	0	0.00%
Total	117	94.35%	Total	7	5.65%
Grand total	124	100.00%			

The distribution shows that *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* are the default completion markers among all six possible expressions. Among which, 7 demonstratives are in the phrasal form *jiushi zheyang(zhi)*. *Jiushi*, literally meaning ‘precisely’, has the function of downtoning or uptoning (or emphasizing or minimizing) its modifying expression (Biq, 2001). When used with the completion marking *zheyang(zhi)*, it can be considered to have the effect of uptoning the completing tone of voice. When used in a phrase, *zheyang(zhi)* functions as a discourse anaphor, indicating that the given discourse is exactly as it is just said, thus yielding the meaning of ‘that’s it/ that’s all.’ (55) below illustrates this use. In (55) Winter and Susie, two good friends, are chatting in a bedroom. Prior to line 331, Susie notes that she had not realized that Winter has a pair of big eyes. (Having big eyes is culturally a compliment for someone’s appearance here.) Susie also went on to compliment on Winter’s eyes for having great features to look pretty, which she had not noticed before. Being a bit embarrassed to accept the compliment, Winter in lines 331 to 332 turns to jokingly accusing Susie having too large eyes (which prevented her

from noticing Winter’s large eyes). Intending to close the accusation on Susie for a win, Winter in line 333 states that ‘this is all’, an explicit phrasal marker indicating that the current discourse has been completed and that there should be no more following discourse from either speaker. Knowing the accusation is a joke and a compliment, Susie the in lines 334 to 335 first asks for confirmation and then repeats what Winter said as an acceptance to the compliment that her eyes are even bigger than Winter’s.

(55) Completion marker *zheyangzi* in a phrasal expression [M026: Decayed tooth]

- 0331 Winter: (0)是 你 眼皮 太 大。
(0) Shì nǐ yǎnpí tài dà.
Be your eyelid too big
- 0332 ..是 你 眼睛 太 大。
.. Shì nǐ yǎnjīng tài dà.
Be your eye too big
- 0333 -> ..[[就是 這樣子 .]]
..[[Jiùshì zhèyàngzi.]]
Exactly this.way
- 0334 Susie: [[就 眼皮 太]]大 的 意思 嗎 ?
[[Jiù yǎnpí tài]] dà de yìsi ma ?
Exactly eyelid too big DE meaning Q.PART.
- 0335 ..眼睛 太 大@
..Yǎnjīng tài dà@
Eye too big
- Winter: ‘It is (because) your eyelids are too big. It is (because) your eyes are too big.
-> [[Jiùshì zhèyàngzi (-> ‘That’s all’).]]
- Susie: ‘[[Exactly (because) (my) eyelids are too]] big, you mean? (My) eyes are too big @.

Before going into the next section, it is important to note that standalone discourse completion markers *zheyang* and *nayang* are optional markers. Grammatically, the location where the completion marker occupies is even ungrammatical as it exceeds where a sentence final particle can occur. However, the completion marks have the highest frequency of

occurrences among all other pragmatic functions of *zheyang* and *nayang*. That is, their use is pervasive in everyday language.

5.4.2.2 Distal manner demonstratives *nayang(zi)* as completion markers showing speaker's negative stance

As shown earlier, the distal manner demonstratives only occur less than 6% among all the uses of discourse completion markers. This indicates that their use is a marked use. Observing the 7 uses, it is not hard to find that all of the completion marking *nayang(zi)s* are situated in the discourse that in some way perceived as distant or negative by the speaker. (56) below illustrates this use. In (56), Peggy was talking about her bad experience of hair salons in Tokyo, where her colleagues and her stayed for a period of time. Knowing Peggy's complaints, Luke then asks in line 1237 how they then got used to staying the place. Peggy at first had a hard time coming up with an explanation, but then in lines 1240-1241 states that 'Maybe because (it is) close (to home), and (it is) also convenient *nayang*.' Here, the second clause is marked by the completion marker *nayang* as the end of her explanation.

(56) Discourse completion marker *nayangzi* showing a distant attitude [M023: Blogger]

- 1237 Luke: ...那 你們 最後 怎麼 都 習慣 在 東京 ?
...Nà nǐmen zuìhòu zěnmē dōu xíguàn zài dōngjīng?
Then you finally how both get.use.to in Tokyo
- 1238 Peggy: ...不 知道 啊?
...Bù zhīdào a?
Not know PART.
- 1239 Luke: ...(2.0)喔.
...(2.0) Ō.
oh
- 1240 Peggy: -> ...(1.3) 因為 近 吧,
...(1.3) Yīnwèi jìn ba,
Because close PART.
- 1241 .. 然後 又 方便 那樣.
.. Ránhòu yòu fāngbiàn nà yàng.

And also convenient that way

- Luke: 'Then how you guys got used to living in Tokyo?'
Peggy: 'No idea.'
Luke: 'Oh/I see.'
Peggy: 'Maybe because (it is) close (to home), and (it is) also convenient *nayang* (-> completion marker).'

Nayang in line 1241 then not only marks that the current clause has reached its completion but also that what she was stating is in the past (i.e. her life in Tokyo).

(57) illustrates the use of *nayang* showing the speaker's negative attitude toward the clause it is in. In (57) Fay is describing herself to Frank, her good friend, that she has a more mature mind than her classmates in general. She then goes on to say how a classmate of hers could not understand why she liked the movie. In line 1288, she finishes this description with *nayang*, which marks not only the completion of the clause but also her negative attitude toward the event.

(57) Discourse completion marker *nayangzi* showing the speaker's negative stance [M012: Cram school]

- 1285 Fay: ...他很無 m-他就他就,
... Tā hěn wú m-tā jiù tā jiù
He very bore- b- he then he hen
1286 ...((tsk))
1287 ..我 不 知 道 耶 ?
.. Wǒ bù zhīdào ye ?
I not know PART.
1288 -> ...就 好像 沒 有 理 解 我 那 樣 .
... Jiù hǎoxiàng méiyǒu lǐjiě wǒ nà yàng .
Just seemingly not have understand me that way

-> 'He (was) just very bore- b- he then he then, ((tsk)) I don't know? (He) just seemingly not understanding me *nayang* (-> completion marker).'

It would be an overstatement to say that only *nayang(zi)* marks the speaker's negative attitude toward the event stated in its clause, as *zheyang(zi)* also occurs in negative statements. However, marking a clause as subjectively distant from the speaker by *nayang(zi)* can be considered an emphasis on the speaker's subjectivity, which the speaker decides to make clear in conversation. As *nayang(zi)* only occurs in a small portion of the uses, in the following I will use *zheyang(zi)* to illustrate both of their discourse completing functions. It is the author's belief that *nayang(zi)* is only different from *zheyang(zi)* in marking a clause as being distant or negative from the speaker.

5.4.3 Manner demonstratives as explicit discourse completion markers

Generally speaking, *zheyang(zi)* is a universal discourse completion marker. That is, it is used to make an explicit marker based on the speaker's judgement. While the completion marker is ungrammatical according to traditional syntax, it is interactionally necessary when other completion cues are used by a next speaker. Other completion cues refer to the completion marked by a grammatical completion of a sentence or a clause, falling intonation, and/or a pragmatic completion when the meaning of a clause has been fully expressed.

In (58) below, June is in a conversation with two other classmates, Shelly and Eva. Prior to line 992, Shelly was stating that there are many items piled up in her family's house that no one cannot figure out where things are. Following up with the statement, June intends to provide a relevant story about her family. In line 992, she starts her story, a contrasting situation from Shelly's, that everything has been emptied out in their home. As there is no uptake after the statement, June follows up the statement with a first laugh in line 993 and then goes on to

comment on her own earlier statement with ‘so pitiful *zheyang*’ in line 994. Here, *zheyang* functions as a completion marker, indicating that the statement is completed even though it is a short clause.

(58) Discourse completion marker *zheyang*[M016-1: Script]

- 0992 June: -> [[我們 家 都 已經]] 搬 光 了。
 [[Wǒmen jiā dōu yǐjīng]] bān guāng le.
 Our home all already move empty PERF.
- 0993 -> ((laugh))
- 0994 -> 很 可憐 這樣 。
 Hěn kělián zhèyàng.
 Very poor this.way
- 0995 ...[我家] 還 蠻 空的 eh.
 ...[Wǒ jiā] hái mán kōngde eh.
 My home still quite empty PART.
- 0996 Shelly: [什麼?]
 [Shénme?]
 What
- 0997 Eva: ..為 [[什麼?]]
 .. Wèi[[shénme?]]
 Why
- June: -> ‘Our house has already all been emptied out. ((laugh)) Very pitiful *zheyang* (-> completion marker). [My house] is still quite empty.’
- Shelly: [What?]
- Eva: [Why?]

Figure 3. First Laugh after Completion-marking *Zheyang*

(First Laugh in Line 993-994, June: ‘((laugh)) Very pitiful *zheyang*.’)



This use can be seen as a turn exit device (Jefferson, 1984). Jefferson (1984) on “trouble-telling exit devices” suggests that *so* and *and* can serve as exit devices which restart a conversation and preface the following talk even if it is topically disjunctive. Here, June’s turn contains three completion markers, each invites other speakers to take the next turn and respond to her first part of the story. The first completion is a grammatical completion at the end of her first statement that on everything in her house has been moved out. Having no uptakes, June offers a first laugh in line 993 to her own statement, showing to the others that she takes the previous statement as laughable and non-serious (Glenn 2013). The laugh token is a standalone turn, which also marks a turn completion for a next speaker. However, the laughter is not joined by Eva and Shelly (Figure 3). This also means there is no speakership change. June then continues the turn by commenting on her own situation as being ‘pitiful *zheyang*’, in which *zheyang* indicates explicitly that the current turn has reached its completion. Immediately

following this turn, both Eva and Shelly take up the speakership with overlapping questions about June's statement in line 996 and 997.

The next situation where a discourse completion *zheyang(zi)* occurs is when the speaker actively organizes information in the discourse. In my data, *zheyang(zi)* often marks the completion of a discourse unit (which can be composed of a single clause or multiple clauses) when the upcoming discourse is perceived as different based on the speaker's judgement. The first environment is when a speaker is moving out of a reported speech. This is especially the case when a reported speech is a part of a question, as shown in (59) below. In (59), Shelly and Eva are both junior high school students. Prior to line 1186, Shelly was talking about how she did well on geometry questions but badly on simple questions in a math question they both had. Shelly then goes on in line 1186 that she was scolded at by their math teacher. Eva in lines 1187 to 1188 goes on to add to Shelly's story by guess what the math teacher said to Shelly. Here, Eva places an assumed reported speech as a part of the clause '(how come you) got the more difficult geometry (questions) right, but (got) easier (questions) wrong.' The reported speech is marked both by a reporting verb 'say' and also *zheyangzi* at the end of the reported speech, which is then followed by a yes-no question particle *ma* to complete the question in interrogative grammar.

(59) Discourse completion marker *zheyangzi* [M016-2: Script]

- 1186 Shelly: ..我 就 被 我們 數學 老師 罵。
Wǒ jiù bèi wǒmen shùxué lǎoshī mà.
I then get our math teacher scold
- 1187 Eva: ..(1.0) 他 說 幾何 比較 難 還 對,
Tā shuō jǐhé bǐjiào nán hái duì,
he say geometry more difficult still right
- 1188 -> ..然後 簡單的 還 錯 這樣子 嗎?
Ránhòu jiǎndānde hái cuò zhèyàngzi ma?
And simple still wrong this.way Q.PART.
- Shelly: 'I afterwards got scolded at by our math teacher.'

Eva: ‘(Did) he say (how come you) got the more difficult geometry (questions) right,
 -> but (got) easier (questions) wrong *zheyangzi* (-> completion marker) *ma*?’

In line 1188, *zheyangzi* is an optional completion marker that moves the preceding discourse out of the reporting frame. Its insertion before the question particle *ma* makes the reported speech as a clear reported speech.

A similar use of *zheyang(zi)* is when the speaker is marking the completion of a reported speech and ready to get back to the main storyline. In (60), Jane is in the middle of telling a story about how she told two of her high school students who are dating that she could be a resource for them. In lines 2482 to 2483, she quotes her own previous speech, which begins with a reporting verb ‘say’ and ends with *zheyang*. It can be seen here the next line, in lines 2484 to 2486, the speaker has shifted to report her thoughts at the time, which was not said to the students.

(60) Discourse completion marker *zheyang* for reported speech [M001: After school teaching, 308-309]

2482	Jane:	我就說, Wǒ jiù shuō, I then say
2483	->	反正就是有什麼事就可以來跟我說這樣。 Fǎnzhèng jiùshì yǒu shéme shì jiù keyǐ lái gēn wǒ shuō zhèyàng. anyways then have whatever matter then can come to me say this.way
2484		..因為我, Yīnwèi wǒ, because I
2485		..我就想說反正, Wǒ jiù xiǎng shuō fǎnzhèng, I then think say anyways
2486		..那兩個人在一起其實也沒有什麼嘛。 Nà liǎngge rén zàiyìqǐ qíshí yě méiyǒu shéme ma. the two people be.together actually also not.have anything PART.
	Ruby:	..um.

Jane: -> 'I then say, anyways if anything (happens) just come talk to me *zheyang* (-> completion marker). Because I, I then think, whatever, the two people being together is not a big deal.'

Ruby: 'Um ((Agreement)).'

In this section, I have shown that *zheyang(zi)* occurs when there is a need to explicitly mark the completion of a clause in order to introduce the next clause with different information. Speakers in my data have been observed as using *zheyang(zi)* to shift from a reported speech to a non-reported speech clause. That is, *zheyang(zi)* is used by the speaker to actively organize different units of discourse. In the next section, I will show that *zheyang(zi)* can also package clauses given in different turns (by different speakers) as one complete unit of discourse. This is done by marking a follow-up clause with *zheyang(zi)*, attaching it to a previous clause without *zheyang* marker.

5.4.4 Manner demonstratives as explicit discourse completion marker for packing information

Completion marker *zheyang(zi)* can be used in a follow-up clause, marking it as a part of the last clause. This includes what 翟(2002) states as the boundary marking function for a clause (i) seeking clarification, (ii) elaborating for the last clause, or (iii) constructing a collaborative turn.

Based on my data, these functions can be seen as sharing one feature: packaging the current clause as a part of the last clause. In (61), Elle is explaining to Tina about how her teammates usually share venue rental fees in order to play badminton together. Tina is not familiar with how the charges work, so in line 6069 and 6071, she produces short clauses as

confirmation-seeking questions to Elle. In line 6069, ‘Just (count) per person’ is a question asking if the venue charges each person playing in the court. In line 607, the question is even shorter than the previous one – ‘each time *zheyang*.’ Here, *zheyang* marks that the ‘each time’ should be considered as a part of her earlier question, thus it can be interpreted as ‘Meaning that (the venue) charges by each person each time.’

(61) Completion marker *zheyang* for packaging information [M024: BEE HIVE]

- 6068 Elle: 就是 計 次 沒有 在 [算 小時.]
 Jiùshì jì cì méi yǒu zài [suàn xiǎoshí.]
 Exactly count number of times not have be count hours
- 6069 Tina: [嗯] 就是[[一個人.]]
 [En] jiùshì [[yīgèrén.]]
 Hm exactly one person
- 6070 Elle: [[對.]]
 [[Dui.]]
 right
- 6071 Tina: -> 一 次 這樣.
 Yī cì zhèyàng.
 Each number of time this.way
- Elle: (0)因為 等於 說 你 就 這些 人 要 分攤 場地 費.
 (0) Yīnwèi děngyú shuō nǐ jiù zhèxiē rén yào fēntān chángdì fèi.
 Because equal speaking you only these people will share venue fee
- Elle: ‘(They) just count the number of times (you are there) but not count the hours.
 Tina: ‘Hm. Meaning that (they) just (count) per person.’
 Elle: ‘Right.’
 Tina: -> ‘Each time *zheyang* (-> completion marker).’
 Elle: (0) Because it’s like you only have these people to share the fee for (renting) the venue.’

As mentioned earlier, the absence of *zheyang* as in line 6071 would not necessarily change the meaning of the clause here. However, having it does make it clear that the current turn has reached its completion. In line 6071, Elle immediately takes the speakership in the conversation.

The second environment when *zheyang*(*zi*) is used to package information is when a clause adds more information for the last clause given by a different speaker. This has a similar effect as the non-restrictive relative clause led by *which*. Tao and McCarthy (2001) concludes that the use of a *which*-clause in conversation provides three broad functional contributions: expansion, evaluation and affirmation. The use of *zheyang* also has the effect of attaching an assessment to a previous one. In (62), Sara, Linda and Ella are all looking at pictures of a male student who Sara taught in her high school. After showing the photos to Linda and Ella, Sara produces a follow-up comment with a question tag *hon*, which is a question particle, adopted from Taiwanese Southern Min, inviting listening to join meaning negotiation (Wu, 2004; Su, 2018). In the next two lines, both Linda and Ella provide their response ‘he looks quite thin’, stating their agreement to Sara’s assessment. In line 100, Sara then adds to the assessment by saying ‘And even a bit tall *zheyang*’, in which *zheyang* specifies a post-position completion of Linda and Ella’s assessments.

(62) Completion marker *zheyang* for packaging information [M002: Photo discussion]

- 0096 Sara: -> ...(2.3)而且 他這樣 算 sh-
 ...(2.3) Érqǐě tā zhèyàng suàn sh-
 And also he this.way count sh-
 0097 ..瘦的 hon.
 .. Shòude hon.
 Thin PART.
 0098 Linda: ..[感覺 還 滿 瘦的.]
 ..[Gǎnjué hái mǎn shòude.]
 Feel still quite thin
 0099 Ella: ..[感覺 還 滿 瘦的.]
 ..[Gǎnjué hái mǎn shòude.]
 Feel still quite thin
 0100 Sara: -> (0)而且 高高的 這樣.
 (0) Érqǐě gāogāode zhèyàng.
 And.also tall.a.bit this.way
 0101 Ella: (0)hm ((a nod)).

- Sara: ‘...(2.3) and he *zheyang* (-> looking like this) can be considered th- thin right?’
 Linda: ‘[(He) feels/looks quite thin.]’
 Ella: ‘[(He) feels/looks quite thin.]’
 Sara: (0) And even a bit tall *zheyang* (-> completion marker).’

The last environment observed in my data is when *zheyang(zi)* marks the completion of one discourse unit in order to shift back to the main storyline. This use occurs frequently in a multiple-unit turn such as storytelling. In (63) below, Jane is telling two other speakers Ruby and Cindy about two of her students who she had believed were a good match for each other. In line 2408, she starts to explain how she met both of them at school. In line 2414, instead of continuing the story, Jane goes to providing an explanation on *xiàojí gàn bù* ‘school student cadre’, which is again followed by another explanation on they do in line 2418. Both lines received Ruby’s nodding as a response to the elaboration.

(63) Completion marker *zheyang* for packaging information [M001: After school teaching]

- 2407 Jane: ..我覺得他們兩個很配。
 Wǒ juéde tāmen liǎngge hěn pèi.
 I think they two very match
 2408 ..他們 就是,
 Tāmen jiùshì
 They exactly
 2409 ..因為 我 都 待 學務處 嘛,
 Yīnwèi wǒ dū dài xuéwùchù ma,
 Because I all stay Student affairs office PART.
 2410 ..然後,
 Ránhòu
 and (then)
 2411 ...他們 就是,
 Tāmen jiùshì
 They exactly
 2412 ..一個 是 校級 幹部,
 Yīgè shì xiàojí gàn bù
 One be school student cadres
 2413 ..就是 說,
 Jiùshì shuō
 Exacly say

2414 ..er 早上 的時候 他-
zǎoshang deshíhòu tā
morning the moment he

2415 -> ..有點 像 糾察隊 這樣。
Yǒudiǎn xiàng jiūcháduì zhèyàng
a.bit like school patrol this.way

2416 Ruby: [((nodding))]

2417 Jane: [我們] 學校 叫做 校級 幹部。
Wǒmen xuéxiào jiàozuò xiàojí gàn bù
Our school call school student cadre

2418 -> ..就是 他會 在門 口 登記 誰 遲到 這樣。
Jiùshì tā huì zài mén kǒu dēngjì shéi chí dào zhèyàng
Exactly he would at gate entrance register who be.late this.way

2419 Ruby: [((nodding))]

2420 Jane: [..然後,]
Ránhòu
And

2421 ..另外 一個 是 那個 是 那個,
Lìngwài yīgè shì nàgè shì nàgè
Another one be that be that

2422 ...音 控 .
Yīn kòng
sound control

Jane: ‘I think they are a good match. They are, because I’m always in the Student Affairs Office.. and, they are, one is the school student cadres. That means, er...In the morning he (works) sort of like the school patrol *zheyang* (-> completion marker).

Ruby: [((nodding))]

Jane: In our school we call them the school student cadres, which means that he would stand at the school entrance and take down the student names when they come late *zheyang* (-> completion marker).

Ruby: [((nodding))]

Jane: And (then), the other one is (that) is (that) sound control.

Figure 4. Nodding after the Production of a Completion-marking *Zheyang*

(Ruby nods to Jane after a completion marking *zheyang* is given to the elaboration in line 2415)



Both uses of the completion marking *zheyang* does not signal an upcoming speakership change. They instead signal that the information preceding *zheyang* should be considered one unit and that the upcoming discourse is the beginning of a new unit. The first *zheyang* in line 2415 shifts the explanation out of a lexical alternation from ‘school student cadres’ to ‘school patrols.’ The second *zheyang* in line 2418 shifts from the further elaboration on what a so-called school patrol does in the morning back to the main storyline. In the next line, Jane goes on to state that the other student was in charge of sound control at school. From this example, there is no sign that the elaboration clauses were triggered by other speakers. However, Ruby’s nodding in both lines shows that she recognizes the *zheyang*-marking clauses are explanation for listeners to follow the story. This example also supports the idea that completion marking *zheyang* and *nayang*, while marking an explicit discourse boundary, does not lead to a chance for speaker change.

5.5 Discussion

The uses of manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang* as inferential connectives and discourse completion marker have shown that their occurrences are interactionally motivated in

conversation. While the discussion of the origins of these functions is beyond the scope of this dissertation, the maintenance of these functions in Chinese, especially in the Mandarin used in Taiwan, supports Givon (1979)'s statement that language patterns repeated with communicative functions can become automated and conventionalized as part of grammar.

5.6.1 Pragmatic strengthening: From clauses to lexicalized particles

The inferential connective use *zheyang* and *nayang* may be related to a subordinate clause 如果是這樣的話 'If *zheyang* ('this way') is the case. Among the 43 connective uses of *zheyang* and *nayang*, two uses are embedded in the inferential clause (如果是)這樣子的話 '(if) it (is) (the case)', which might be the original clause of connective *zheyang*.

Functional linguists believe that language use shapes language structure as language tends to conventionalize frequently used structures (The Five Graces Group, 2009). It is not impossible that in the process of conventionalization or pragmaticalization of this clause, the discourse connecting function is absorbed by the contrastive expression *zheyang* while its clausal location remains at the beginning of the main clause. The phrase can be seen in (61) below.

(61) Connective phrase *zheyang dehua* (MO10 Foreigners' Taiwan impression)

- 1726 John: ..她 就 回來 問 我.
 ..Tā jiù huílái wèn wǒ.
 she just come.back ask me
- 1727 ..(0.1)然後 我 就 說,
 ..(0.1) Ránhòu wǒ jiù shuō,
 and I then say
- 1728 ..我 根本 就 沒有 跟 人家 講 過 啊.
 ..Wǒ gēnběn jiù méiyǒu gēn rénjiā jiǎng guò a.
 I at.all just not.have with person say past PART.
- 1729 Kyle: -> ..那 這樣 的話 小黃 有 跟 你 交惡 嗎?

- 1730 John: .. Nà *zhèyàng* dehuà xiǎohuáng yǒu gēn nǐ jiāoè ma?
 then this.way if Xiaohuang have with you grow.hatred Q.PART.
 ..沒有 啊.
 .. Méiyǒu a.
 not.have PART.
- John: ‘She then came back to ask me. And I said, I never had said that to him.’
- Kyle: -> ‘Then (If) *zheyangzi* (is) the case (-> ‘If so’), did Xiaohuang end the
 friendship with you?’
- John: ‘No.’

5.6.2 Remaining issue: Manner demonstratives *zheyang(zi)* used as neutral receipt tokens

Another use of *zheyang(zi)* also functions on the discourse organization level. Among 552 tokens of manner demonstratives, there are only 7 uses of *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* as receipt tokens. No distal manner demonstratives are found in this use as well. This suggests that *zheyangzi* may be conventionalized as a standalone receipt token ‘I see.’, but not the other two forms of proximal manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *zhege yangzi*. While in English the distal *that* is often used to do immediate referencing to the discourse mentioned in the last turn, in Mandarin, the immediacy is indicated with proximity (Lü, 2002 [1985]). Thus, the proximal *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* are used here to point to the preceding discourse as the way to say ‘is it so.’ Here are some of my tentative observations of their uses based on the 5 examples.

A receipt token is a discourse marker that registers the speaker’s receipt of information and is given when the speaker recognizes that a turn is a complete chunk of information which is likely completed (Heritage, 1984; Hsieh, 2017). In English, *oh* is also a receipt token (Heritage, 1984). When *zheyang(zi)* is used as a receipt token, it is used to respond to the previous turn of talking, in particular informing, with a neutral stance (Li, 2006). (64) here illustrates the use of *zheyangzi* as a receipt token. Here, Gail is talking to Mary about her boss who insists on her

having a coworker to do some work for her when she is absent. In line 1231, Mary responds to the storytelling with *um*, a backchannel response recognizing that Gail's multiple-unit turn is still ongoing. As Gail provides nothing else but laugh tokens in line 1232, it becomes obvious that Gail has finished her story. Thus, in line 1234, Mary provides a verbal response, *zheyangzi ah* 'Is it so', registering her recognition that a complete chunk of information has been given.

(64) *Zheyangzi* as a receipt token [M003: Blogs]

- 1229 Gail: ..然後 我們 老闆 就 說 ,
 ..Ránhòu wǒmen lǎobǎn jiù shuō,
 And our boss then say
- 1230 ..(0.4) 至少 叫 他 九 點 來 開 門 幫 你 接 電 話。
 ..(0.4) Zhìshǎo jiào tā jiǔ diǎn lái kāi mén bāng nǐ jiē diànhuà.
 at.least call he 9 o'clock come open door help you pick.up phone
- 1231 Mary: ..um.
- 1232 Gail: .. ((laugh)) [((laugh))]
- 1233 Mary: -> [um um um] um,
- 1234 這 樣 子 啊?
 zhèyàngzi a?
 this.way PART.
- 1235 Gail: ..跟 你 講 我 同 事 連,
 ..Gēn nǐ jiǎng wǒ tóngshì lián,
 With you say my coworker even
- 1236 .. 九 點 上 班,
 .. Jiǔ diǎn shàngbān,
 9 o'clock go.to.work
- 1237 .. 這 個 都 做 不 到 好 不 好。
 .. Zhège dōu zuòbùdào hǎobù hǎo.
 This even not.doable good-not-good
- Gail: 'And then our boss says, (0.4) at least ask him/the coworker to open the door (of the office) and answer the phone for you.'
- Mary: 'Um.'
- Gail: .. ((laugh)) [((laugh))]
- Mary: [Um um um] um. *Zheyangzi* (-> 'Is it so')?
- Gail: 'I'm telling you, my coworker cannot even get to work (on time) at 9 really.'

As *zheyangzi* only registers the receipt of information, it is a neutral marker in which the speaker does not show his or her stance toward the newly received information. Thus, a speaker sometimes recognizes the lack of alignment toward the storyteller and follows up *zheyangzi* with an agreement. In (65), Erin was describing the situation when the nurse complains about them disturbing the new mother who they were visiting prior to line 107. In line 107, Erin explains that the complaint is because there were three visitors in the small room where the new mother is supposed to rest quietly. Speaker Carrie, after listening to Erin's storytelling about their visit in a new mother center, uses *zheyangzi* (in line 109) to register her receipt of the story.

(65) *Zheyangzi* as a receipt token [M009: Motherhood center]

- 0107 Erin: ..因為 我們 三個人 嘛。
 Yīnwèi wǒmen sāngè rén ma.
 because we three person PART.
- 0108 Carrie: ... <L3 ha L3>?
- 0109 -> ..这样子 喔?
 .. Zhèyàngzi ō?
 this.way PART.
- 0110 ...還 有 限 人數 喔?
 ...Hái yǒu xiàn rénshù ō?
 Also have limit amount of person Q.PART.
- 0111 Erin: ... 因為,
 ... Yīnwèi,
 because
- 0112 ..通常 可能,
 ..Tōngcháng kěnéng,
 usually probably
- Erin: 'Because (there are) three of us,'
- Carrie: -> 'Ha [What]? *Zheyangzi* (-> 'Is it so')? Is there a limit on the amount of people (visitors)?'
- Erin: 'Because, maybe usually,'

Carrie's response to Erin's telling includes three parts, in which each part provides more and more specific clues for her agreement aligning with Erin's stance. In line 108, Carrie first

produces a nonverbal response *ha* ‘what did you just say?’, expressing that the speaker has heard something pending the last speaker’s confirmation (Chao, 1979; Wu, 2004; Su, 2018). The surprise token *ha* is then followed by *zheyangzi oh*, pointing out that she now knew what the story was. Up to this point, Carrie has shown that she is surprised by the story but has not shown her alignment with the storyteller Erin. The third part of the turn, the question ‘Is there a limit on the amount of people (visitors)?’ then communicates this alignment that Carrie is as surprised as Erin when the latter was surprised the other day. That is, *zheyang(z)* is used to as neutral receipt tokens, it passes on the chance when the current speaker should express their agreement or disagreement to the previous telling. In (64), *zheyangzi o* ‘is it so?’ forms a rhetorical question registering that the speaker has receive news but does not have enough to provide her agreement or disagreement. This prompts the last speaker – the informer – to continue the telling. In (65), the same rhetorical question is also given but the current speaker continues her turn with some level of alignment to the last speaker by showing that she is also surprise by the fact that there is a limit for visitors.

It would not be accurate to state the function of *zheyang(z)* here, based on the 5 tokens (out of 552 manner demonstratives), that the manner demonstratives here are used to show the speaker expressing the receipt of information while withholding their stance (agreement or disagreement). However, this information registering function is not unique to Chinese. In Hanks (1992:49-50), he found that the expression *b'ee* 'thus, so, like (that)' in Maya, which can be viewed as manner demonstratives, is commonly used like a 'backchannel response by listeners to signal attentiveness and comprehension, but "not necessarily agreement." Therefore, it is worth further investigation on how manner demonstratives are used in one language, as well as typologically.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined interactional use of manner demonstratives *zheyang* and *nayang*. When the manner demonstratives are used as inferential connectives, they establish an inferred causal relationship based on the speaker's subjective belief. Their turn locations also show different interactional functions. When used in by the same speaker in the same turn, the connectives are used to support the speaker's arguments that are just given. When used in a next turn by a different speaker, the connectives are used to claim the current speaker's knowledge about the consequence/result of the event given in the last turn by the previous speaker. As the connectives introduce inferred consequences, the inferences are subject for negotiation in the following turns.

When the manner demonstratives function as discourse completion markers, they explicitly signal that the current turn is approaching to the completion and the next speakership is open. The use of completion markers is interactionally triggered when the speaker shows some hesitation in continuing his or her turn, or when an expected response from other speakers is overdue. The second use of completion markers is to mark the end of a reported speech or repetition from the last conversational turn. This can be viewed that the indexicality of the manner demonstratives packages the reported speech or repetition into a discourse unit by marking its ending bracket. This use also extends to elaborations in a multiple-unit turn such as storytelling.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This dissertation focuses on indexicality and discourse functions of manner demonstratives in conversation. Using natural conversational data, this study examines how the Chinese manner demonstratives *zheyang*, *nayang* and their variations are used to establish physical and discourse indexicality as well as express discourse and interactional functions.

6.1 Summary of The Study

Adopting usage-based approaches, this study treats manner demonstratives as resources to include physical entities into verbal expressions and to negotiate and/or organize social interaction. Forms of demonstratives investigated include the proximal manner demonstratives *zheyang*, *zheyangzi* and *zhege yangzi* ‘this way’ and the distal manner demonstratives *nayang*, *nayangzi* and *nage yangzi*. Uses of demonstratives examined include (i) deictic use (as a type of situation use), (ii) anaphoric use as an overt subject (as a type of tracking anaphor), as well as three discourse/interactional uses including (iii) inferential connective use, (iv) discourse completion markers, and (v) neutral receipt tokens.

As manner demonstratives in Chinese are rarely examined independent from other demonstratives, this study begins, in Chapter 2, an investigation on their forms used and their frequency of occurrences in the NCCU corpus. The results show that, regarding forms used, the proximal *zheyang* occurs the most frequently (N=340/552) and *zheyangzi* the second (153/552), while other forms only occur much less frequently (N=59/552). Second, uses of the manner demonstratives show that *zheyang* and *zheyangzi* can be used almost in all the discourse and

interactional functions, while other forms are restricted in certain uses, such as being anaphors, discourse completion markers, and, occasionally, connectives and deixes.

In Chapter 3, I show that deictic use of manner demonstratives is mostly expressed by the proximal *zheyang* and *zheyangzi*. Upon examining the nonverbal expressions (i.e., hand gestures, body demonstrations, eye gaze and visible display) used together with the demonstratives, the results show (i) the range of their references is equivalent to the lexical meaning of the suffix *-yang*, which includes movements, situations/events, and the manner, quality and/or degree of a referent; and (ii) most of the “co-speech” nonverbal expressions are produced prior or at the same time when manner demonstratives are verbally pronounced, meaning that the nonverbal expressions are treated as a part of the verbal conversation that the speakers had planned to produce as the verbal expressions. My analyses on the references of deictic manner demonstratives show the following. First, their references require the consideration of the situated context, including verbal expressions/language structures, the nonverbal expressions, and topics of conversation. Second, when the use of a nonverbal expression may not be understood, speakers tend to follow up with commentary to specify or elaborate the meanings gestured. Finally, deictic manner demonstratives, due to the complex meanings contained, can be accompanied by multiple gestures or types of nonverbal expressions, which are used together to demonstrate the referents. For example, an onomatopoeic expression together with a moving palm together demonstrate the reference of the way an old motorbike operates. Other types include what Goodwin (2003) termed as complex pointing.

Chapter 4 investigates the anaphoric use of manner demonstratives in the subject position. This use has not received adequate attention in past literature, as it is often considered

simply a type of anaphoric use for tracking conversational topics. I have found that, when locating in the subject position, the manner demonstratives function as overt subjects that are used to (i) express an emphasis or contrast on the co-referent, or (ii) introduce speakers' assessments. When used for emphasis, a manner demonstrative co-refers the same noun or noun phrase that has occurred in the previous discourse with a refined granularity by indicating the referent as a motion, way/method or event, instead of an individual entity. When used for assessments, a manner demonstrative serves as a demonstrative anaphoric pronoun referring to a co-referent as an event on which the speaker is just given knowledge access for the follow-up comments. Although they are structurally first-position assessments (c.f. Heritage & Raymond, 2005), the speakers do not claim priority or authority to the assessed.

Chapter 5 examines interactional use of manner demonstratives, including their use as inferential connectives, explicit discourse completion markers and neutral receipt tokens. First, when used as inferential causal connectives, the manner demonstratives are used for speakers to claim the causal relationship between two events based on their subjective inferences. This contrasts to other objective causal connectives such as *yinwei...suoyi* 'because...therefore' and *na* 'then.' With the claimed subjective reasoning, the causal relationship built by the manner demonstratives thus is subject for negotiation in next-turn-other-speaker situation. When used by the same speaker, however, they are used to support the speaker's claimed inference. When used as discourse completion markers, the manner demonstratives are used to explicitly mark the end of a turn or a clause. Different from previous studies, I found both the proximal and the distal manner demonstratives can be used as completion markers. The completion marking use occurs when speakers (i) declare unilaterally a turn as the end of a topical discussion, and (ii) await responses from other potential next speakers. The distal manner demonstratives are marked

completion markers used for discourse that are perceived as temporally or mentally distant from the speakers. When intra-turn, the manner demonstratives mark explicit ends of discourse units that are different from their following units. This can be seen in their uses to mark the end of reported speech or elaborations in multiple-unit turns. For example, after a completion marker, the following turn tends to shift back to the main storyline. The last use observed is the manner demonstratives marking the current turns as collaborative finishes for previous turns. Although there is not enough uses collected to analyze their use as neutral receipt tokens, my observation shows that the manner demonstratives are given to express the current speakers' receipt of information but withhold their agreement (or disagreement).

6.2 Implications for Future Research

This dissertation has its own limitations. First, the topic on the indexicality between proximal and distal manner demonstratives can be further examined. In my data, there is a great difference in the occurrences of two: The proximal manner demonstrative forms occur almost 10 times more than the distal ones. This is actually the opposite of other demonstratives. In the same set of conversational data, other proximal demonstratives and demonstrative expressions occur less frequently than the distal one (see table below). The total of demonstratives observed in my data is 3230 tokens, including 976 tokens of all proximal demonstratives (30.2%) and 2254 tokens of distal demonstratives (69.8%). That is, the default forms, as pointed out in other studies (such as Wang, 1943; Lü, 2002 [1985]) in Chinese are the distal demonstratives. When observing other demonstratives with similar or the same meanings as *zheyang/nayang*, that is, *zheme/name*

‘this/that way’ and *zhezong/nazhong* ‘this/that kind’, their occurrences also show preferences toward the distal forms.

Table 16. Frequency of Occurrences of Demonstratives in Chinese

Demonstrative token	Meaning	token	%	Demonstrative token		token	%
<i>zhe(ge)yang(zi)</i>	‘this way’	499	15.4%	<i>na(ge)yang(zi)</i>	‘that way’	53	1.6%
<i>zhe</i>	‘this’	91	2.8%	<i>na</i>	‘that’	480	14.9%
<i>zheme</i>	‘this way’	56	1.7%	<i>name</i>	‘that way’	113	3.5%
<i>zhezong</i>	‘this kind’	45	1.4%	<i>nazhong</i>	‘that kind’	178	5.5%
<i>zhe + X</i>	‘this’ + X	285	8.8%	<i>na + X</i>	‘that’ + X	1430	44.3%
Total		976	30.2%			2254	69.8%
Grand Total						3230	100.0%

It is then worth future examination on the possible grammaticalization or pragmaticalization of the proximal manner demonstratives *zhe(ge)yang(zi)*.

The study of the grammaticalization or pragmaticalization can also be considered together with pragmatic borrowing, especially when it comes to the use as discourse completion marker. Pragmatic borrowing the notion that the pragmatic and discourse features of a source language is incorporated into a recipient language (Andersen, 2014). The use of Chinese *zheyang* and *nayang* as discourse completion markers have been considered academically and reportedly as a feature of “Taiwan Mandarin”, which is featured by many transferred features from the dominant language, Taiwan Southern Min, to the Mandarin spoken by the people living in Taiwan (Cheng 1985). Chang (2002)’s study on *anne*, an equivalent expression to *zheyang(zi)* ‘this way’ in the Southern Min spoken in Taiwan, reveals that *anne* often occurs at the border of a unit of talk to (i) wrap up a preceding part of talk, or (ii) to introduce a unit of talk. It also functions as connectors and reactive tokens as backchannels. Such great similarity in the diverse

functions between *anne* and *zhe(ge)yang(zi)* simply cannot be ignored. It would be thus interesting to conduct a full-scale diachronically research on this phenomenon with an extended list of potential expressions in the context of language contact.

References

- Andersen, G. (2014). Pragmatic borrowing. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 67, 17-33.
- Biq, Y. O. (1988). From objectivity to subjectivity: The text-building function of *you* in Chinese. *Studies in Language*, 12(1), 99-122.
- Biq, Y. O. (1990). Conversation, continuation, and connectives. *Text*, 10(3), 187-208.
- Biq, Y. O. (1995). Chinese causal sequencing and *yinwei* in conversation and press reportage. In *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 21(2), 47-60.
- Biq, Y. O. (2007). Lexicalization of phrases involving the distal demonstrative *na* in spoken Mandarin. In *Proceedings of the 18th Annual Meeting of the North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL 18)* (pp. 24-41). NACCL website.
https://naccl.osu.edu/proceedings/naccl-22_iaccl-18
- Bolden, G. B. (2009). Implementing incipient actions: The discourse marker 'so' in English conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(5), 974-998.
- Brysbaert, M., Mandera, P., & Keuleers, E. (2017). Corpus linguistics. In A. M. B. de Groot & P. Hagoort (Eds.), *Research Methods in Psycholinguistics and the Neurobiology of Language: A Practical Guide* (pp. 230–246). Wiley Blackwell.
- Chang, M. H. (2002). Discourse functions of *anne* in Taiwanese Southern Min. *Concentric*, 28(2), 85-115.
- Chang, M. H., & Lin, S. Y. (2009). Response tokens in MSN conversations. *Concentric*, 35(1), 111-139.

- Chao, Y. R. (1968). *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. University of California Press.
- Cheng, R. L. (1985). A comparison of Taiwanese, Taiwan Mandarin, and Peking Mandarin. *Language*, 61(2), 352-377.
- Chui, K. (2013). Gesture and embodiment in Chinese discourse. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 41(1), 52-64.
- Chui, K., & Lai, H. L. (2008). The NCCU corpus of spoken Chinese: Mandarin, Hakka, and Southern Min. *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics*, 6(2), 119-142.
- Clancy, P. M., Thompson, S. A., Suzuki, R., & Tao, H. (1996). The conversational use of reactive tokens in English, Japanese, and Mandarin. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26(3), 355-387.
- Clark, H. H., Schreuder, R., & Buttrick, S. (1983). Common ground at the understanding of demonstrative reference. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 22(2), 245-258.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E., & Selting, M. (2001). Introducing interactional linguistics. In M. Selting & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.) *Studies in Interactional Linguistics* (pp. 1-22). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E., & Selting, M. (2018). *Interactional Linguistics: Studying Language in Social Interaction*. Cambridge University Press.
- Diessel, H. (1999). *Demonstratives: Form, Function and Grammaticalization*. John Benjamins Publishing.

- Diessel, H. (2006). Demonstratives, joint attention, and the emergence of grammar. *Cognitive linguistics*, 17(4), 463-489.
- Diessel, H. (2012). Deixis and demonstratives. *An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*, 3, 2407-2431.
- Dixon, R. M. (2003). Demonstratives: A cross-linguistic typology. *Studies in Language*, 27(1), 61-112.
- Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction* (pp. 139-182). John Benjamins Publishing..
- Enfield, N. J. (2009). *The Anatomy of Meaning: Speech, Gesture, and Composite Utterances*. Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. J., Kita, S., & de Ruiter, J. P. (2007). Primary and secondary pragmatic functions of pointing gestures. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(10), 1722-1741.
- Fang, Q. (2014). Comparative analysis of the demonstrative markers in the Taiwanese variant and Mainland variant of Mandarin Chinese based on the spoken Chinese corpus. *Linguistic Sciences*, 2, 131-139.
- Givón, T. (1979). From discourse to syntax: grammar as a processing strategy. In: T. Givón (Ed.), *Discourse and Syntax* (pp. 81-112). Brill Press.
- Givón, T. (1983). Topic continuity in discourse: the functional domain of switch reference. In J. Haiman & P. Munro (Eds), *Switch-Reference and Universal Grammar* (pp. 51-82). John Benjamins Publishing.

- Glenn, P. (2003). *Laughter in Interaction*. Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, C. (1979). The interactive construction of a sentence in natural conversation. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology* (pp. 97-121). Irvington Publishers
- Goodwin, C. (2003). Pointing as situated practice. In S. Kita (ed.), *Pointing: Where Language, Culture, and Cognition Meet* (pp. 225-250). Psychology Press.
- Goodwin, C., & Heritage, J. (1990). Conversation analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19(1), 283-307.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. (2014). *Cohesion in English*. Routledge.
- Hanks, W. F. (1990). *Referential Practice: Language and Lived Space among the Maya*. University of Chicago Press.
- Hanks, W. F. (1992). The indexical ground of deictic reference. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking Context* (pp. 43-77). Cambridge University Press. [Reprinted from *Papers from the Parasession on Language in Context*. Chicago Linguistic Society, 1989].
- Hanks, W. F. (1993). Metalanguage and pragmatics of deixis. *Reflexive Language: Reported Speech and Metapragmatics*, 127-57.
- Hayashi, M., & Yoon, K. E. (2006). A cross-linguistic exploration of demonstratives in interaction: With particular reference to the context of word-formulation trouble. *Studies in Language*, 30(3), 485-540.

- Heritage, J. (1984). A change-of-state token and aspects of its sequential placement. *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis* (pp. 299-345). Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage, J., & Clayman, S. (2011). *Talk in Action: Interactions, Identities, and Institutions*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Heritage, J., & Raymond, G. (2005). The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68(1), 15-38.
- Himmelmann, N. P. (1996). Demonstratives in narrative discourse: A taxonomy of universal uses. In B. Fox (Ed.), *Studies in Anaphora* (pp. 203-253). John Benjamins Publishing
- Hsieh, C. (2012). *Interactional Functions of Chinese Shell-noun Expressions: A Study on Wentishi, Shishishang, Zheyang(zi) and Shemeyisi*. [Unpublished master thesis]. National Taiwan University.
- Hsieh, C. Y. C. (2017). From Receipt of Information to Management of Interaction: The Use of *Zheyangzi* as a Response Token in Chinese Conversation. *Concentric*, 43(2), 87-118.
- Huang, C. R., & Shi, D. (Eds.). (2016). *A Reference Grammar of Chinese*. Cambridge University Press.
- Huang, C. T. J. (1984). On the distribution and reference of empty pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 15(4), 531-574.
- Huang, S. (1999). The emergence of a grammatical category definite article in spoken Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31(1), 77-94.

- Huang, S. (2013) *Chinese Grammar at Work*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Iwasaki, S. (2015). A multiple-grammar model of speakers' linguistic knowledge. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 26(2), 161-210.
- Iwasaki, S., & Horie, P. I. (2000). Creating speech register in Thai conversation. *Language in Society*, 29(4), 519-554.
- Iwasaki, S., & Yap, F. H. (2015). Stance-marking and stance-taking in Asian languages. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 83(1), 1-9.
- Jefferson, G. (1984). On stepwise transition from talk about a trouble to inappropriately next-positioned matters. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis* (pp. 191–222). Cambridge University Press.
- Jiang, Y. (2016). Deixis and Anaphora. In S. Huang & D. Shi (Eds.), *A Reference Grammar of Chinese* (pp. 484-517). Cambridge University Press.
- Kaplan, D. (1979). On the logic of demonstratives. *Journal of Philosophical Logic*, 8(1), 81-98.
- Kendon, A. (1980). Gesticulation and speech: Two aspects of *the*. In M. R. Key, *The Relationship of Verbal and Nonverbal Communication* (pp. 207-227). Walter de Gruyter.
- Kirkpatrick, A. (1993). Information sequencing in Modern Standard Chinese in a genre of extended spoken discourse. *Text*, 13(3), 423-454.
- Klewitz, G., & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (1999). Quote–unquote? The role of prosody in the contextualization of reported speech sequences. *Pragmatics*, 9(4), 459-485.

- Köenig, E. (2015). Manner deixis as source of grammatical markers in Indo-European languages. In C. Viti (Ed.), *Perspectives on Historical Syntax* (pp. 33-60). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Köenig, E., & Umbach, C. (2018). Demonstratives of manner, of quality and of degree: A neglected subclass. In M. Coniglio, A. Murphy, E. Schlachter & T. Veenstra (Eds.), *Atypical Demonstratives: Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics* (pp. 285-328). De Gruyter.
- Laury, R. (1996). Conversational use and basic meaning of Finnish demonstratives. In A. Goldberg (Ed.), *Conceptual Structure, Discourse and Language* (pp. 303-319). Center for the Study of Language and Information.
- Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, S. C. (2004). Deixis. In L. R. Horn & G. L. Ward (Eds.), *The Handbook of Pragmatics* (pp. 97-121). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Li, A. (2002). Chinese prosody and prosodic labeling of spontaneous speech. In *Proceedings of the ISCA International Conference on Speech Prosody* (pp. 39-46).
- Li, C. N. (1997). On zero anaphora. In J. L. Bybee, J. Haiman, & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Essays on Language Function and Language Type: Dedicated to T. Givón* (pp. 275-300). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Li, C. N., & Thompson, S. A. (1989). *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*. University of California Press.

- Lim, N. E. (2011). From subjectivity to intersubjectivity: Epistemic marker *wo jue de* in Chinese. In Y. Xiao, L. Tao & H. L. Soh (Eds.), *Current Issues in Chinese Linguistics* (pp. 265-300). Cambridge Scholar Press.
- Lin, Y. (1972). *Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage*. The Chinese University Press.
- Liu, F. (2002). 國語 [這樣 (子)] 的言談功能與語法化研究 [*Zheyang(zi)* in Taiwan Mandarin: Discourse Functions and Grammaticalization]. [Unpublished master thesis]. National Taiwan Normal University.
- Liu, X. (2006). 金瓶梅指示代詞這樣、那樣用法分析 [Analysis on the uses of demonstrative pronouns *zheyang* and *nayang* in *The Plum in the Golden Vase* or *The Golden Lotus*]. 文教資料 [Data of Culture and Education], 21, 104-105.
- Liu, Y., Pan, W., & Gu, W. (1983). *实用现代汉语语法* [A Functional Grammar of Modern Chinese]. 外语教育研究出版社 [Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press].
- Lu, S. (1980). *现代汉语八百词* [Eight Hundred Modern Chinese Words]. The Commercial Press.
- Lü, S. (2002 [1985]). *吕叔相全集 (=The Complete Works of Lu Shuxiang): Vol. 3, 汉语语法论文集 (=The complete works of Chinese Grammar)*. 辽宁教育出版社 [Liaoning Education Press].
- Lü, S. (2002 [1985]). *吕叔相全集 [The Complete Works of Lu Shuxiang]: Vol. 4: 语法修辞讲话 [On Grammar and Rhetoric]*. 辽宁教育出版社 [Liaoning Education Press].

- Lu, X. (2016). On the Case of *Zheyangzi* in Mandarin Words of Taiwan and Mainland China. In *Workshop on Chinese Lexical Semantics* (pp. 650-659). Springer.
- Lyons, J. (1977). *Semantics*. Cambridge University Press
1. Mann, W. C., & Thompson, S. A. (1986). Relational propositions in discourse. *Discourse Processes*, 9(1), 57-90.
- McEnery, T., & Xiao, R. (2010). *Corpus-based Contrastive Studies of English and Chinese*. Routledge.
- McNeill, D. (2006). Gesture and communication. In: K. Brown (Editor-in-Chief), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* (2nd ed., pp. 58-66). Elsevier.
- Miracle, W. C. (1991). *Discourse markers in Mandarin Chinese* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. The Ohio State University.
- Mithun, M. (1987). The grammatical nature and discourse power of demonstratives. *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 13, 184-194.
- Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shaped. In: J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage. (Eds.), *Structures of Social Action* (pp. 57-101). Cambridge University Press.
- Potts, C., & Schwarz, F. (2010). Affective 'this'. *Linguistic Issues in Language Technology*, 3(5), 1-30.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Longman.

- Raymond, G. (2003). Grammar and social organization: Yes/no interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American Sociological Review*, 68(6), 939–967.
- Rizzolatti, G., & Arbib, M. A. (1998). Language within our grasp. *Trends in Neurosciences*, 21(5), 188-194.
- Sacks, H. (1995). *Lectures on Conversation (Vol. I & II)*. Blackwell.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, 50(4), 696-735.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1992). On talk and its institutional occasions. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds), *Talk at Work* (pp. 101–34). Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence Organization in Interaction: A Primer in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffrin, D. (1981). Tense variation in narrative. *Language*, 57(1), 45-62., 1981
- Schiffrin, D. (1987). *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffrin, D. (1992). Anaphoric then : Aspectual, textual and epistemic meaning. *Linguistics*, 30, 753-92.
- Song, Z., & Tao, H. (2009). A unified account of causal clause sequences in Mandarin Chinese and its implications. *Studies in Language*, 33(1), 69-102.
- Strauss, S. (2002). This, that, and it in spoken American English: A demonstrative system of gradient focus. *Language Sciences*, 24(2), 131-152.

- Su, H. (2018). The Indigenization and Enregisterment of Taiwan Mandarin. *Monumenta Taiwanica*, 17, 1-35.
- Tao, H. (1999). The grammar of demonstratives in Mandarin conversational discourse: A case study. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 27: 69-103.
- Tao, H. (2003). Toward an emergent view of lexical semantics. *Language and Linguistics*, 4(4), 837-856.
- Tao, H., & McCarthy, M. J. (2001). Understanding non-restrictive which-clauses in spoken English, which is not an easy thing. *Language Sciences*, 23(6), 651-677.
- Teng, S. (1981). Deixis, anaphora, and demonstratives in Chinese. *Cahiers de Linguistique-Asie Orientale*, 10(1), 5-18.
- The Five Graces Group (Beckner, C., Blythe, R., Bybee, J., Christiansen, M.H., Croft, W., Ellis, N.C., Holland, J., Ke, J., Larsen-Freeman, D., & Schoenemann, T.). (2009). Language is a complex adaptive system: Position paper. *Language Learning*, 59, 1–26.
- Thompson, S. A. (1992). Functional grammar. *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (pp. 37-40). Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, S. A., Fox, B. A., & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2015). *Grammar in Everyday Talk: Building Responsive Actions*. *Grammar in Everyday Talk*. Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, E. C. (1982). From propositional to textual and expressive meanings: Some semantic-pragmatic aspects of grammaticalization. In: W. P. Lehmann, & Y. Malkiel (Eds.), *Perspectives on Historical Linguistics* (pp. 245-271). John Benjamins Publishing.

- Tseng, S. C. (2001). Highlighting utterances in Chinese spoken discourse. In *Proceedings of the 15th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation* (pp. 163-174).
- Tseng, S. C. (2008). Spoken corpora and analysis of natural speech. *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics*, 6(2).
- Wagner, P., Malisz, Z., & Kopp, S. (2014). Gesture and speech in interaction: An overview. *Speech Communication*, 57, 209-232.
- Wang, L. (1943). *王力文集 [Collected works of Wang Li]: Vol. 2, 中國現代語法 [Modern Chinese Grammar]*. 山东教育出版社 [Shandong Education Publishing].
- Webber, B. L. (1991). Structure and ostension in the interpretation of discourse deixis. *Language and Cognitive Processes*, 6(2), 107-135.
- Wiedenhof, J. (2015). *A Grammar of Mandarin*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Wu, H., & Tao, H. (2018). Expressing (inter) subjectivity with universal quantification: A pragmatic account of Plural NP + *dou* expressions in Mandarin Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 128, 1-21.
- Wu, Y. A. (1997). *Spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese*. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Cambridge.
- Xiang, X. (2019). Personal pronouns in Chinese discourse. In C. Shei (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Discourse Analysis* (pp. 147-159). Routledge.

- Yang, H., Chen, H., & Pan, I. (2015). Analyzing the features of the high-frequency words on Chinese spoken corpus and offering the word-recruiting suggestion to TOCFL wordlist. *Journal of Chinese Language Teaching*, 12(1):1-44.
- Yap, F. H., Deng, Y., & Caboara, M. (2017). Attitudinal nominalizer (s) in Chinese: Evidence of recursive grammaticalization and pragmaticization. *Lingua*, 200, 1-21.
- Yap, F. H., Wang, J., & Lam, C. T. K. (2010). Clausal integration and the emergence of mitigative and adhortative sentence-final particles in Chinese. *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics*, 8(2). 63–86
- Zhao, Y. J. (2007). Children's acquisition of demonstrative pronouns in Mandarin Chinese. In *Proceedings of the 21st Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation* (pp. 532-541). Korean Society for Language and Information.
- 孙利萍. (2017). 两岸华语后置标记“样子”的语用差异及其成因 [Usage differences and causes of the final utterance marker *yangzi* in Chinese used in mainland Chinese and Taiwan]. *中国语文* [Studies of the Chinese Language], 4, 403-411.
- 朱青. (2009). 指示代词“这样”及其组配形式的多角度研究 [Multi-angle Study on Demonstrative Pronoun *Zheyang* and Its Phrases]. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Shanghai Normal University.
- 罗竹风. (1989). *汉语大词典* [Chinese Language Dictionary] Vol. 4. 汉语大词典出版社 [Chinese Dictionary Publishing].

陳婷婷. (2019). 華語語詞 [這樣] 之語法及語用功能探討: 以母語者語料庫和教材語料為例

[A Study of Grammar and Pragmatic Function Analysis "zhèyàng" in Mandarin

Chinese: A Case Study of Mandarin Corpus-based and Textbook Corpus]. [Unpublished

doctoral dissertation]. National Taichung Normal University.