FOCAL POINT IN CONVERSATION: DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE *HE* IN TAIWANESE SOUTHERN MIN[*]

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the discourse-pragmatic functions of the distal demonstrative *HE* 'that' and its functional equivalents in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) conversation. The analysis shows that an overwhelming proportion of *HE* tokens are used to denote a referent that is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable based on community knowledge, shared background knowledge, inference, or evoked information. Such uses are argued to emerge from the negotiation of the meaning of the referent via the interactional contexts (cf. Tao 1999; Huang 2013). They signify the speaker's belief toward the hearer regarding the identifiability of the referent in the process of information exchanging and negotiating. The marking of a referent with *HE* brings the NP at issue to an activated state which then serves as the focal point of interest in the succeeding exchange of talk. Meanwhile, the speaker might convey an emotional tone or viewpoint distancing from the referent. The major uses of *HE* mark NPs that are otherwise conceptually distant from the interlocutors' consciousness.

Key words: distal demonstrative, Taiwanese Southern Min, conversation, focal point

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1. MOTIVATION AND GOALS

Distal demonstratives are a type of deictic expressions associated with various linguistic forms for a speaker to refer to objects, persons, entities, or events that are distant from a speaker in the spatial-temporal context, in a text, or in a co-text (Lyons 1977:668-9). Traditional approaches to distal demonstratives emphasize their semantic meanings and syntactic properties, and the studies are restricted to interpretations of their deictic and anaphoric functions (e.g., Bühler 1934; Quirk et al. 1972). More recent studies investigate distal demonstratives on the discourse level and explore their pragmatic and interactional functions (e.g., Levinson 1983; Cheshire 1996; Himmelmann 1996; Diessel 1999). Among these studies, Cheshire (1996) adopts a corpus-based approach and shows that *that* involves speaker-addressee cooperation in managing "the cognitive and social constraints on their joint creation of discourse...where a shared perspective is assumed to exist" (p.369). Demonstratives in Chinese have also been extensively investigated both using the traditional approach (e.g., Chao 1968; Cheng 1989), and from a pragmatic perspective (e.g., Biq 1990, 2007; Huang 1999, Tao 1999). Drawing on data from spontaneous discourse, Huang (1999) argues that the Mandarin distal demonstrative *na(ge)* is emerging as a definite article in discourse. Tao (1999) compares the indexical ground involved in the use of proximal and distal demonstratives in Mandarin conversation. In the light of Huang's (1999) finding, Biq (2007) examines the *na*-phrases (*nazhong* and *zai nabian*) and notes that they express meanings of vagueness and indicates the speaker's stance. Lee (1999), in her study of demonstratives *TSE* (proximal) 'this' and *HE* (distal) 'that' in Taiwanese Southern Min (hereafter TSM) conversation also finds that these demonstratives have both referential and non-referential uses, with *TSE* used for speaker involvement and *HE* as an attention-getter to indicate addressee involvement. While these studies point out the importance of distal demonstratives in natural conversation, most of them focus on English or Mandarin discourse. Only Lee discusses the functions of the distal demonstrative *HE* in TSM natural conversation. Compared to Lee's findings, our observation shows that apart from functioning as an attention getter, *HE* is employed to manage referent information under a

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certain conversational topic and to express the speakers' stance and attitude.[1] In this paper, we attempt to provide a unitary account for how speakers employ the distal demonstrative *HE* to highlight a given entity or idea that is otherwise not in speakers' current focus of attention or something that is in their more remote memory. In particular, we will show that the use of a distal demonstrative portrays the subjective and affective aspects of speaker meaning with regard to the current topic of talk. We will also compare utterances with and without *HE* to see how *HE* contributes to the evaluative dimension of meaning.

The organization of this study is as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the distal demonstrative system in TSM. Section 3 reviews previous research on distal demonstratives in terms of their canonical and non-canonical uses. In Section 4, we address the issue of ambiguity and vagueness in the classification of *HE* in TSM. Section 5 describes the data used for the study. Section 6 discusses the functions of distal demonstrative *HE* in our TSM conversation corpus. Section 7 is a conclusion.

2. DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE SYSTEM IN TSM

There are five different types of distal demonstratives in TSM utilized to refer to entities or ideas that are situationally or textually distant from the speakers: *hiah/hiah-ni* 'so; that' (遐(爾)), *hia* 'there' (遐), *hia-ê* 'those' (遐个), *hit* 'that' (彼), and *he* 'that; those' (彼), in contrast to the proximal counterparts *tsia* 'here' (遮), *tsiah/tsiah-ni* 'so' (遮爾), *tsia* 'these' (遮), *tsia-ê* 'these' (遮个), *tsit* 'this', and *tse* 'this'. Among them, *hiah/hiah-ni* 'so, that' is a bound adverb used to modify a degree adjective (Cheng 1989:10). *Hia* 'there' is a nominal deixis used for spatial reference. *Hia* combined with the general classifier *ê* forms a

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[1] In this paper, the capitalized form *HE* 'that' is used throughout to refer to the distal demonstrative and its variants in TSM. The functional and syntactic equivalents of variants of *HE*, i.e., *hit e/hit lo/hit le,* will be included in the discussion, e.g., 我是講你有看 e 你共我買，買***彼 le*** 粉光. 'If you see the American ginsen, please buy some for me', where *hitle* can be replaced by *he* or *hit lo* without changing the meaning (See Section 2 for a detailed discussion of distal demonstrative system in TSM).

plural deixis, *hia-ê* 'those'. Examples of *hiȧh/hiȧh-ni, hia, hia-ê* are given in (1a-c).[2]

Also a bound morpheme, *hit* 'that' occurs pre-nominally as a determiner for distal reference. Several characteristics can be observed of the use of *hit*. First, the nouns that can follow *hit* form a closed set, including numerals, the general classifier *ê* (个), specific classifiers, such as *tè* 'piece' (塊) and *hō* 'sort' (號) (*hō* usually pronounced as *lō*, Li 1998: 355), *pún* (本), *khuán* 'type' (款), and units of time such as *jit/kang* 'day' (日/工) and *nî* 'year' (年), to denote the quality or type of an NP or a past or future period of time. Second, the non-temporal *hit*-N phrase can be further followed by an NP, e.g., *hit king tshù* 'that house' 彼間厝. Third, a non-referential generic noun such as *lâng* 'person' (人) and *ting* 'lamp' (燈) cannot directly follow *hit*. Fourth, while most of the *hit*-N compounds can stand alone without a succeeding noun, *hit hō* (*hit lō)* is a bound form and requires a modified noun for its meaning to be complete (cf. Cheng 1989:10, 144-145; Yang 1991; Chen 1990; Li 1998; Douglas 1873: 134). (1d-h) illustrate the different uses of *hit*:

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[2] The tonal marks used in this study follow those adopted by the Ministry of Education's dictionaries (TSM: *Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan;* Mandarin: MOE'S online transfer system, http://crptransfer.moe.gov.tw/). There are seven different tones in TSM: 1st tone (high level)--*he* 'that', 2nd tone (high fall)--*bé* 'to buy', 3rd tone (low fall)--*tè* 'piece', 4th tone (low entering tone, with a stop sound at the end of the morpheme)--*hit* 'that'; 5th tone (rising)--*ê* (classifier); 7th tone (mid level)--*tsē* 'to sit', 8th tone (high entering tone)--*tsiȧh* 'eat'. The 6th tone is merged with the 2nd tone. There are four tones in Mandarin: 1st tone (high level)--*mā* 'mother', 2nd tone (rising)--*má* 'hemp', 3rd tone: (fall rise)--*mǎ* 'horse', 4th tone (high fall): *mà* 'scold', and the neutral tone--*ma* (particle). The neutral tones in TSM and Mandarin are not indicated with any tonal marks. They are used in some functional words. The tones indicated in the examples cited here refer to the citation tone of each morpheme.

(1) a. Degree adverb: *hiȧh-ni tn̂g* 'that/so long' (遐爾長)

b. Spatial deixis: *hia* 'there' (遐), e.g., *ī tī hia khuànn tsheh* 'He is reading a book there' (伊佇遐看冊)

c. Plural deixis: *hia-ê lâng* 'those people' (遐个人)

d. General classifier: *hit ê (lang)* 'that (person)' (彼个(人))[3]

e. Specific classifier: *hit pún (tsheh)* 'that (book)' (彼本(冊)); *hit khuán (tāitsì)* 'that kind (of thing)' (彼款(代誌))

f. Temporal unit: *hit tsūn* 'that time' (彼陣), *hit kang* 'that day' (彼工); *hit nî* 'that year' (彼年); *hit guȧh* (?) 'that month' (?) (彼月?)

g. Numerals: *hit nn̄g lâng* 'those two people' (彼兩人)

h. *hit hō lâng (hit lō lâng)* 'that person' (彼號人)

The distal demonstrative *HE* can be used pronominally or pre-nominally. Phonologically, *HE* seems to be a fused form of *hit* and *ê* with the reduction of the final stop in *hit* and the merging of the vowel *i* and *ê*. Functionally, it is similar to *hit-ê* when used pronominally or pre-nominally (See Section 6.1 for details). The pronominal *HE* refers to a conceptually distant entity, event, concept, situation, or reason, and it can be a subject, an object, or a complement in the sentence, e.g., *He m̄ sī lí ê* 'That-not-be-yours' 'That is not yours' (彼 m 是你个) (Cheng 1989; Yang 1991; Chen 1990). The pre-nominal *HE* also marks an NP that is conceptually distant from the speaker (and from the addressee), e.g., *He lângkhè bȧh lâi ā* (That-guest-be.going.to-come-UFP) 'That guest is coming' (彼 人 客 欲 來 啊). It slightly differs from the determiner-classifier sequence *hit-ê* in that *hit-ê*, when preceding *lângkhè*, refers to a specific guest whereas *HE* may refer to both a specific guest or a guest that can only be vaguely identified (See Section 6.1 for details).[4] Since the phonological change requires an in-depth

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[3]*Abbreviations*:

1S, first person singular; 1P, first person plural; 2S, second person singular; 2P, second person plural; 3S, third person singular; 3P, third person plural; AC, associative morpheme; ASP, aspect marker; CL, classifier; COM, complementizer; COP, copula; CRS, currently relevant state; EX, exclamation; KA: the morpheme *ka*; NEG, negative morpheme; NOM, nominalizer; PAR, utterance-initial particle; PN, proper name; PRG, progressive; RT, reactive token; TSM: Taiwanese Southern Min; UFP, utterance final particle.

[4] We thank one of the reviewers for pointing this out.

investigation of the historical development of the morphemes in question (Yang 1991:218), we will not delve into this issue here.

One important characteristic of *hit-ê* (sometimes pronounced as *hit lê*) and *hit hō* (usually pronounced as *hit-lō, hit-lō* hereafter) is their pause-marking or filler function.[5] However, most previous studies in TSM have focused on introspective data and have largely ignored such an interactional function. Examination of our TSM conversation corpus shows that *hit-ê* and *hit-lō* are frequently used to hold the modified NP in suspension when the speaker is introducing a referent into the discourse while encountering difficulty in finding an appropriate expression for the referent. The excerpts of (2) and (3) illustrate the use of *hit-ê* and *hit-lō* as a filler to bridge the interactional gap. Note that *hit-ê* and *hit-lō* are usually interchangeable with *HE* in the disfluent segments in (2) and (3) (see also Douglas 1873: 121), all of which occur pre-nominally before an exact expression is available to the speaker. As for *hiàh/hiàh-ni* 'so; that' (遐(爾)), *hia* 'there' (遐), *hit* 'that' before non-*ê* classifier (e.g., *hit-khuán* 'that kind' (彼款)), and *hia-ê* 'those' (遐个), according to their uses in the database, they function respectively as a degree modifier, as a place adverb, as a bound morpheme before a classifier, and to refer to a specific plural entity. Due to the scope of this paper, these specific demonstratives, as well as the proximal demonstratives, will be excluded from our analysis.

(2) *彼e 彼e 彼e* 色　會　去　透　著　就　著　啦.
   hitê hitê hitê siak ē khì tòo tiȯh tō tiȯh la
   that that that color will go taint reach then right UFP
   'Anyway, (it will be) stained by **the** color.'

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[5] Because of the flapping of the final stop /t/ of *hit* in *hit-ê*, it is difficult to distinguish *hit-e* and *hit-le* in actual pronunciation. Therefore, *hit-le* and *hit-e* are treated as the same use. The form *hit-e* will be used throughout the discussion except in the examples cited and when the variant with the lexical tone *ê* is referred to. The exact distinction between the two variants requires a prosodic and acoustic analysis, which is beyond the scope of the current paper.

(3) A: 買　一百　　　　塊　　个　　*彼 lo,_*
　　　bé　tsitpah　　　khoo　ê　　***hitlō***
　　　buy one.hundred　CL　　CL　　***that***

　A: *彼*　　啥?\
　　he　sánn
　　　that　what

　B: 海瓜子.\
　　háikuetsí
　　short.necked clam

　A: I bought **the**, what do you call it, er, for 100 dollars.
　B: Short-necked clams.

A further point emerging from the above analysis concerns the usage type attributed to a given demonstrative. That is, *hit-e* and *hit-lo* display the speaker's uncertainty (cf. Tao 1999:76 on *na*) about the identifiability of the referent, which is characteristic of a recognitional demonstrative, a demonstrative that involves a referent based on remotely shared knowledge (cf. Section 6.4). The uncertainty meaning also gives rise to the problem of distinguishing a pause-marking demonstrative and a recognitional one. We will turn to this issue in Section 4.

3. PREVIOUS STUDIES

Studies on the functional types of distal demonstratives have classified these expressions with regard to the type of entity or event referred to by the demonstratives. Based on the typicality of the referring functions, they can be distinguished into two major categories: the canonical and the non-canonical uses. The canonical uses include the situational and the anaphoric uses which are typical of deixis. Demonstratives in the non-canonical group are interactionally motivated, which include the discourse deictic, recognitional, connective and filler uses. The discourse deictic use relies on an earlier co-text for identification of the reference; the recognitional use involves knowledge shared by members of the same community, and the connective and filler

uses are related to connection of preceding and succeeding discourse. The discussion below focuses on studies in Mandarin and TSM.

3.1 Canonical Uses

The most canonical function of a distal demonstrative is the situational use, also called the gestural use, which refers to the use of deictic expressions to index an entity that is distant from a speaker in the immediate situational context. A moment by moment monitoring of some physical aspects is necessary for the interpretation of the expression (e.g., Lyons 1977; Quirk et al. 1972; Chao 1968; Teng 1981; Huang 1999; Tao 1999; Lee 1999). In (4), for example, *na*, in Mandarin, can be used by a speaker to refer to an entity which is in the here-and-now situation but which is far from the speaker. As for (5), the TSM *HE* is used by the speaker to refer to a vegetable that the speaker sees in the kitchen but that is distant from her:

(4) *那* 是 誰的 大氅? (Mandarin) (Chao 1968:650)
   nà shì shéide dà.chǎng
   that COP whose big.overcoat
   'Whose overcoat is **that**?'

(5) 恁 *彼* 愛 閣 炒 hio? (TSM) (Lee 1999:47)[6]
   lín *he* ài koh tshà̤h hiò
   2P *that* have.to have.to stir.fry UFP
   'You want to fry **that** (fish), don't you?'

Additionally, the referents denoted can be ambiguous between here-and-now and past situations:

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[6] Lee (1999) uses slightly different Chinese characters and Romanized characters to transcribe her TSM data. In the examples cited from Lee, modifications are made to be consistent with the Chinese characters and Romanization used in this paper.

(6) 他　坐　在　*那裏*. (adapted from Tao 1999:77)
　　tā　zuò zài　*nàlǐ*
　　3S　sit　at　*there*
　　'He sat **there**.'

　　In (6), the place denoted by *nàlǐ* can refer to a here-and-now location in the speech context. However, *nàlǐ* can also refer to a situation in a past event reported by the speaker.

　　Another canonical use of the distal demonstrative is the anaphoric/endophoric use, sometimes referred to as the tracking use (Himmelmann 1996; Tao 1999). In Mandarin, while the proximal demonstrative *zhè(i)* can be either anaphoric or cataphoric, the distal demonstrative can only be used anaphorically (Teng 1981; Huang 1999). TSM also has a similar constraint. However, a cataphoric reference in TSM is denoted by the proximal deixis, *anne*, instead of the proximal demonstrative *tsit-ê* (cf. Cheng 1989:266). In cataphoric cases in Mandarin and TSM, replacing *zhè(i)* and *anne* respectively with *na* and *HE* would yield ungrammatical sentences. Example (7a)-(7d) illustrate the anaphoric and cataphoric uses:

(7)　a. Anaphoric (Distal/Proximal demonstrative in Mandarin)
　　(*zhe* added here) (Liu et al. 1996:44)
　　"不要　再　跟　他　來往" 蘭蘭　聽　了　立刻　回答　說:
　　búyào zài gēn tā láiwǎng lánlán tīng le lìkè huídá shuō
　　never again with 3S date　PN hear CRS at.once respond say
　　"*那/這* 辦　不　到!"
　　nà/zhè bàn bú dào
　　that　do NEG reach
　　"Do not date him anymore." After hearing this, *lanlan* immediately responded, "**That**'s impossible!"
　　b. Anaphoric (TSM Distal/Proximal demonstrative, with *HE* added here.)
　　 (Cheng 1989:264)
　　先　栽　苗　才　沃水, *這/彼*　也　會使.
　　sian tsai biâu　tsiah aktsuí *tse/he*　iā　ē sái
　　first plant seedling then　water *this/that* also work
　　'Plant the seedling before you water it. **This/that** is workable, too.'

c. Cataphoric (Proximal in Mandarin) (Liu et al. 1996:46)

咱們　　就　***這麼/*那麼***　　著　吧,　先　到　小王　家　集合,
zánmen jiù ***zhème/name*** zhe　ba　xiān dào xiǎowáng jiā jíhé
1P　　then ***this.way***　　ASP UFP first go　PN　house gather

然後　　一起　　　出發.
ránhòu yìqǐ　　　chūfā
then　together set.out

'How about **this**: let's gather at Wang's house and then set off together.'

d. Cataphoric (*Anne* in TSM) (Example constructed by the authors)

按呢/*彼 啦,　咱　先　來　王仔　恁　兜　集合,　才　鬥陣　出發.
anne/he là　lán xian lâi ôngê in tou tsiphảp tsiah tàutīn tshuthuat
this.way UFP 1P first come PN 3P house gather then together set.off

'How about **this**: let's gather at Wang's house first and set off together.'

As shown in (7a-b), the proximal demonstratives refer to the proposition stated in the previous sentence, i.e., "not dating him" and "planting the seedling before watering it", respectively. In each case, the proximal and distal demonstratives can be replaced by each other while still referring to a previous proposition. In (7c-d), however, only a proximal demonstrative is legitimate, referring to the proposition "gathering at Wang's house first before setting off".

Apart from performing a typical referential function, *HE* also coordinates the speaker's and the addressee's attention to the conversation topic and their personal orientation. In other words, *HE* is used to "involve" the addressee in the conversation. This is different from the proximal demonstrative which is mainly used for "speaker involvement" (Lee 1999:93).

3.2 Non-canonical Uses

The non-canonical uses include the recognitional, the discourse deictic, connective, and the filler uses; the connective and the filler demonstratives do not designate any entity or idea in the discourse but they display discourse coherent functions. As noted in Section 3, non-canonical demonstratives differ from the canonical group in that their functions are interactionally motivated and rely on shared

knowledge and assumption for referent identification. In addition, one needs to examine the sequential role of a demonstrative for a fuller understanding of its meaning.

The Recognitional Use

A recognitional demonstrative refers to something that is identifiable through "specific, 'personalized' knowledge that is assumed to be shared by the communicating parties due to a common interactional history of supposedly shared experiences" (Himmelmann 1996:233, see also Gundel et al. 1993; Chen 1990). Tao (1999:76) further notes that such "referents are introduced with a demonstrative to show some degrees of uncertainty". In other words, the intended referent is believed by the speaker to be stored in the hearer's memory but may be inactivated information to the hearer (Chafe 1987; 1994). Due to the diversity of experience/knowledge that is required for the identification of the referent, the recognitional use is used in a wider variety of contexts and can be further divided into several subgroups. Huang (1999), for example, distinguishes three categories of *na* 'that' in Mandarin: the "unavailable" use, the "identifying" use, and the "referent-introducing" use. The "unavailable use" establishes a referent which would otherwise be "unavailable" to the addressee if without an accompanying relative clause or noun complement (Huang 1999:81, see also Cheng 1989:144, and Lee 1999:72, where such a referent is termed "non-canonical" and "new and identifiable"). The "identifying use" tracks a referent whose identifiability relies on "mutual knowledge based on community membership" (Huang 1999:84). The "referent-introducing" use introduces "a familiar but new object, usually of topic significance into the discourse", through *nage*. In Teng's term (1981:12), such a reference is a "virtual" one. Although Huang only notes that the "identifying" use is equal to Himmelmann's (1996) recognitional use, according to the definition above, the other two functions in Huang can actually be subsumed under the "recognitional" type. Examples of these various uses are given below:

(8)　a. new and identifiable (TSM) (Lee 1999:72)

啊　講　去共牽　*彼*　啥嗎　湯,
ah　kóng　khì ka khan ***he***　siánmah　thng
PAR COM go KA do　***that***　what　soup,

啊　按呢　有夠　好吃　e.
ah　ánne　ūkàu　hótsiảh　e
PAR how　very　delicious AC

'Then I did **what** soup? That soup really tasted very good.'

　b. Unavailable use (Mandarin) (Huang 1999:81)

好像　捏著　鼻子 *那種*　聲音.
hǎoxiàng niēzhe　bízi　***nàzhǒng***　shēngyīn
seem　pinch　nose　***that.kind***　sound

'It seems like **the** sounds you make when you pinch your nose.'

　c. Noun complement modifier (Mandarin) (Cheng 1989:144)

印刷廠　　那　位　同事　還　沒　來.
yìnshuāchǎng　nà　wèi　tóngshì　hái　méi　lái
printing.firm　that CL　colleague still NEG come

'**The** colleague at the printing firm has not come yet.'

　d. Identifying use (Mandarin) (Huang 1999:84)

那個 領班 (first mention of the head of a touring troupe)
nàge lǐngbān
that boss

'**the** head (of the troupe)'

　e. Referent-introducing use (Mandarin) (Huang 1999:82)

像　講到　*那個* 溪頭 *那個* 經營　　好了.
xiàng jiǎngdào ***nàge*** xītóu ***nàge*** jīngyíng　hǎole
like speak.of ***that*** PN ***that*** management ok

'Take, for example, **the** management of Xitou Forest.'

According to Lee (1999:73), the speaker in (8a) attempts to "keep the addressee's attention" to the soup under discussion. However, it can also be seen that *HE* in such utterances displays the speaker's intention to manage the information in the preceding and ongoing discourse. This will be the focus of discussion of the current study. As for (8b), *na* depicts a type of sound similar to that produced by a phonograph. Since it is unavailable to the addressee, a relative clause serves as the modifier

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for the hearer to identify the quality of sound expressed by the speaker. Comparatively, though modified by a noun complement, the referent in (8c) is more accessible to the addressee based on shared understanding about the printing house. A different kind of knowledge is involved for the identification of the referent in (8d), i.e., the community-shared knowledge, that a touring troupe always has a leader. As for (8e), the management of the Xitou Forest Recreational Area, a famous tourist attraction known to all Taiwanese, is introduced to the conversation via "evoked frames" (Hunag 1999:84; Prince 1981) shared among the speech participants. In all these examples, the familiarity is constructed because the referent was discussed before or because the interlocutors knew it from common knowledge, a previous encounter(s), or personal experience.

Given the three types of recognitional uses exemplified in (8b, d, e) because of the types of referring expressions they involve, Huang (1999) argues that *na(ge)* is evolving into a definite article. However, this claim does not seem to capture the interactional function intended by the speaker because a definite article does not give an NP a focal value. We will return to this issue in Section 6.

The Discourse Deictic Use

A discourse deictic use is also called a textual use (Tao 1999), which refers to a clause, a proposition (Webber 1991; Hemmelmann 1996; Tao 1999), or an event (Tao 1999) in the surrounding discourse.[7] The segment introduced by the demonstrative may be a single clause, a whole story, or "a vague complex of ideas" (Lee 1999:74).

(9) A: Hey, management has reconsidered its position. They've promoted
       Fred to second vice president.
    B: (a) ***That'***s false.
       (b) ***That'***s a lie.   (Diessel 1999:146)

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[7] Lee (1999:74) does not give a specific term to this function in TSM but classifies it as a "non-canonical" demonstrative.

(10) B: 啊　像　　咱　遮　講　enn 在　　補　　英語　　�,
     ah　tshiūnn lán　tsia kóng ēnn teh　póo　inggí　honn
     PAR like　1P　here say　PAR ASP　cram　English UFP
     啊　去　美國　遐　美國　是　在　補　中文.
     ah　khí　bíkok　hia　bíkok　sī　teh póo　tiongbûn
     PAR go　U.S.　there U.S.　COP ASP cram　Chinese
     'For example, we here are crammed with English. If you go to
     U.S., America (people) is crammed with Chinese.'
  A: 補　　*彼*　生成　　　e,
     póo　*he*　sengsîng　e
     cram　*that*　in.nature　AC
  B: 美國　*彼*　攏　補　　中文. (Lee 1999:74)
     bíkok　*he*　lóng　póo　tiongbûn
     U.S.　*that*　all　cram　Chinese
     'Cram, **that** is natural. America (people?) are all crammed with
     Chinese.'

The use of *that* in (9) refers to the proposition conveyed by the second sentence in A's talk. As for (10), quoting Cheshire's account on English *that* (1996:380), Lee (1999:74) argues that *HE* in (10) is used "to communicate a common understanding and a shared perspective on the topic of conversation". In other words, *HE* does not refer to a specific entity but the speaker wishes to involve the addressee in the discussion about language learning.

One noteworthy point in the discourse deictic use is that the proposition denoted by the distal demonstrative can be too vague for one to pick out the exact concept in the preceding discourse. This is in fact the context where *HE* is better interpreted as a connective or a filler, as we discuss in the following.

The Connective Use

As a connective, the distal demonstrative links the proposition in the preceding and the following discourse (Huang 1999; Lee 1999; Tao 1999; Biq 1990; Yang 1992). It is also believed to be an extension of the discourse deictic (Lee 1999:29). An earlier insight of this semantic link

is provided by Hopper and Traugott (1993). In their discussion of *gunu* 'that' in Gunwingu, the authors treat the connective as an "extension of deictic reference from entities referred to in the non-linguistic world to anaphors and cataphors of NPs and then to anaphors and cataphors or propositions (clauses)...to achieve overt linking of clauses" (p.178). The clause linkage markers enable speakers to be clear and informative, giving direction to hearers for the interpretation of clauses. As argued by Lee (1999:103-107), a connective *HE* can signal local coherence to connect adjacent propositional units or global coherence to connect two higher units of discourse. Similar functions are also found in Mandarin (Biq 1990). The demonstrative *na* 'that' in (11a) connects two adjacent clauses, whereas *HE* in (11b) connects two IUs before *HE* and two that follow it:

(11) Mandarin (Biq 1990:189) (local)

a. 如果 每個人 都 讀 心臟, ***那*** 感冒 誰 治 呢?
   rúguǒ měigerén dōu dú xīnzàng ***nà*** gǎnmào shéi zhì ne
   if everybody all study cardiology ***then*** cold who cure UFP
   'If everybody studies heart, **then** who is going to cure colds?'

b. 啊 你 看 這 个 面, 哎唷 圓圓 偌 古錐 leh,
   ah lí khuànn tsit ê bīn áiio înnînn guā kótui leh
   PAR 2S look this CL face EX round how pretty UFP

   彼 若 袂曉 講 愛 你 个 查埔 駒,
   he nā bēhiáu kóng ài lí ê tsapoo honn
   that if NEG.know COM love 2S AC man UFP

   真正 目睭 脫窗. (Lee 1999:106-7)
   tsintsiànn bàktsiu thuatthang
   really eye out.of.eye.socket

   '(You see), how pretty this (your) face is. **Those** who don't like you are really stupid.'

Pause Filler

A non-referential distal demonstrative can also be used to fill a pause when the speaker is incapable of thinking of an appropriate expression to describe the intended referent (Himmelmann 1996:234; Huang 1999:88).

Both Mandarin and TSM distal demonstratives have this expletive use. Example (12) is from our corpus.[8]

(12) Filler
704 M:恁　姊夫　餓　佮　十一二=點 轉來　才　吃　暗時 e.\
　　　lín tséhuiau　kah　tsåpitjītiám tnglâi tsiåh tsiåh àmsîe
　　　2P　brother.in.law starve till 11.to.12pm　return then eat dinner
705 T:*彼*%--
　　　he
　　　that
706 T: 伊　彼　傷　　離譜　　　啦.\
　　　ī　he　siunn lîphóo　　la
　　　3S that too　　outrageous UFP
704 M: Your brother-in-law (usually) starves himself to midnight before he eats his dinner.
705-706 T: **That,** that is such a bad habit.

The above discussion has presented a brief overview of the usage types of distal demonstratives, especially in Mandarin and TSM. Drawing on these arguments, we will provide a unitary account of the TSM distal demonstrative *HE*. The study differs from previous studies in the following respects. First, the current study is among the few attempts, except Lee (1999), that explore the use of distal demonstratives in natural conversation in TSM. Second, we will show that the distal demonstrative *HE* is different from a definite article (Huang 1999) in that the latter does not give the following NP a focal status. Third, although Lee (1999) claims that *HE* in TSM is used for addressee involvement, she does not clearly discuss the interactional contingencies and dynamics of the use of the distal demonstrative in TSM. Nor does she provide a unitary account of the relation between *HE* and its surrounding discourse. In the current study, we will show *HE* acts as a linguistic resource for speakers to establish a new reference or idea which is not in the addressee's focal consciousness. It serves to make assessment or evaluation about a newly introduced referent or idea. In particular, the absence of *HE* in the same context would fail to imply

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[8] Lee (1999) does not have this category in her study.

such communicative effect. Before we discuss the functions of *HE* in our TSM corpus, it is necessary to tackle the issue of ambiguity which arises in the classification of *HE* and the criteria we adopt in our classification. We turn to this in Section 4.

4. CLASSIFICATION OF *HE*: AMBIGUITY AND VAGUENESS

We have mentioned briefly at the end of Section 2 about the vague boundary among different functional types of *HE* (see also Biq 2007 about the vagueness of *na* in Mandarin). Consider (11b) and (12) again. When we analyze one example without considering the other, it seems easy to assign a connective use and a filler use *HE* in (11b) and (12) respectively. However, when we examine *HE* in line 705 and 706 in (12) again and compare them with that in (11b), the distinction among the connective, filler, and discourse deictic category becomes blurred. On the one hand, the glottal stop in line 705 suggests that *HE* is used to hold the floor before the exact NP is uttered, hence a pause marker/filler. However, it can be also treated as a false start of *HE* in 706, which refers to the propositional idea that the brother-in-law has an unhealthy late dinner habit, hence a discourse deictic. On the other hand, we can say that *HE* in 705 is used to connect M's talk and T's succeeding utterance so as to introduce T's comment about the bad eating habit, hence a connective. A further example is given in (13), which illustrates the dual function of the demonstratives—a pause marker and a recognitional—as well as the interchangeability of *hit-lō* and *HE*. Specifically, *hit-lō* and *HE* are pause fillers used to hold the floor before a real referent is available to the speaker, hence its pause marking function. However, they are also used to introduce the type of airplanes used in Grand Canyon air tours, which is known to the addressee (the neighbor) because the addressee shares the knowledge about helicopter service at this tourist spot. The exact referent, "the helicopter for 10 or so people served at Grand Canyon", however, is not accessed until line 131, after a long pause. In view of such referential intent, we can say that *HE* in line 129 is the recognitional use because it prefaces the NP "the helicopter at Grand Canyon". Despite such ambiguity between categories, we code

hit-lō and *HE* as pause fillers because of the hesitation and disfluency shown by lengthening of *HE* (symbol "=") and truncation ("--").

(13) (The speaker is talking to his neighbor about airline service. The neighbor is also familiar with the air tours at Grand Canyon.)

128 欲= 美國 *彼*,_
    beh bíkok *he*
    if   U.S. *that*

129 *彼lo* 个 *彼*= *彼*=--
    hitlō ê *he* *he*
    that   CL *that* *that*

130 根本   就 沒 服務 哦.\
    kinpún   tō bô hȯkbū o
    fundamentally then NEG service UFP

131 大峽谷   *彼*= 十偌 座 个 就 沒 服務 e.\
    tāikiapkok *he* tsȧpguā tsē ê tō bô hȯkbū e
    Grand.Canyon *that* 10.or.so seat NOM then NEG service NOM

128-131: As for **the** American, uh, uh, the helicopter for 10 or so
      passengers at Grand Canyon does not have service at all.

With the difficulty of providing a precise definition of a given type of distal demonstrative and since the purpose of this paper is to provide a unitary account of *HE* across different functional types, we will not delve into the classification issue further in this paper. Instead, in the following discussion, where a given functional type is attributed to a given *HE*, no claim is made about its exclusive referring function but the classification only indicates the main usage type of the token of *HE* (and its variants) under discussion.

5. DATA AND METHOD

The data used for analysis has a total length of four hours comprising 29 episodes of natural conversation contributed by 45 different speakers (29 females and 16 males), aged between 15-70 years old. The TSM dialects included TSM sub-dialects in northern, middle and southern

Taiwan. These conversations were recorded by the authors and two research assistants with audio cassettes (1995-1997; 2005-2007) or digital recorders (2009-2012). About 2.5 hours of the data were collected during 1995-1997, 15 minutes of them were acquired during 2005-2007, and the remaining conversations were obtained between 2009-2012. The conversations took place in the researchers' or their friends' homes. The topics of the talk include family life, health problems, household chores, daily routines, entertainment and business matters. All the data was transcribed into intonation units (henceforth IUs) by the authors and the research assistants using the notations proposed by Du Bois et al. (1993). Where necessary, the transcribers would consult the speech participants of a given episode for clarification of the content. The Romanization of TSM follows the system that is adopted by the ROC Ministry of Education's *Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*.[9] The total number of occurrence of *HE* is 1,133 tokens in the 4-hour database, i.e., each minute contains an average of 4.7 tokens of *HE*, showing that it is a frequently used expression in TSM conversation.

6. INTERACTIONAL FUNCTIONS OF *HE* AND ITS VARIANTS

This section discusses the various interactional functions of the distal demonstratives *HE, hit-e* and *hit-lo* in TSM. Section 6.1 presents the token and functional distribution in terms of the type of referential relation associated with these demonstratives. Sections 6.2-6.7 discuss each of their discourse-pragmatic functions. Section 6.7 is a summary. Note that the discussion is based on results from a data-driven analysis. Therefore, no claim is made about the exhaustiveness of the functions and tones of the demonstratives in question, especially because the tones do not exhibit consistent behaviors that conform to the tone sandhi rules in TSM (cf. Cheng and Cheng 1977). The details are presented in Section 6.1.

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[9] http://twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict_new/index.html.

6.1 Distribution of Distal Demonstratives in the TSM Corpus

As we have found in the conversations in our database, *HE, hit-ê,* and *hit-lō* are pronounced in various tones. The demonstrative *HE* always takes a high level tone, which is different from the lexical tone of the classifier *ê*. *Hit-ê* (*hit-lê)* has *hit* always taking the high entering tone and *ê* taking the fifth (i.e., lexical) tone (*ê*), the seventh (i.e., sandhi) tone *ē*, or the high-level tone. As for *hitlō*, interestingly, it only takes the lexical tone, the seventh tone. In Table 1, we present the token and function distribution of these three demonstratives with their tonal values indicated.

Table 1. Distribution of *HE/Hit-e/Hit-lo* in the database[10]

Category			he	%	hit-le/ hit-e	%	hit-lō	%	Total	%
Canonicality & Referentiality		Situational	25	2.6	0	0	0	0	25	2.2
		Anaphoric	137	14.1	15	11.5	0	0	152	13.4
Non- Can.	Ref	Dis. deictic	166	17.0	2	1.	1	3.6	169	14.9
		Recognitional	622	63.8	82	63.1	20	71.4	724	63.9
	Non- Ref.	Filler	4	0.4	31	23.8	7	25	42	3.7
		Connective	21	2.2	0	0	0	0	21	1.9
Total			975	100	130	100	28	100	1133	100

Several interesting facts about the use of *HE, hit-ê*, and *hit-lō* are revealed in Table 1. Regarding the token distribution, *HE* is the most frequent demonstrative (86.1%, 975/1133) among all. Second, and surprisingly, *hit-ê* (彼个) 'that one', e.g., 彼个是我个 '*That one* is mine', the prototypical demonstrative-classifier NP use where the classifier carries the lexical tone used to refer to a specific entity or concept either anaphorically or situationally, is not found in the database. Instead, whenever *hit-e* is used, *e* always carries the sandhi tone (mid-level tone) or the high level tone. Among the three demonstratives, *hit-lō*, where the classifier always takes the 7th, lexical tone, is used least frequently.

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[10] *hit-ê* and *hit-lò*: zero occurrence in the database.

With regard to the functional distribution, it can be seen that the recognitional use accounts for the majority of all the uses, followed by discourse deictic, anaphoric, filler, situational and connective. This result agrees with previous finding (e.g., Huang 1999, Tao 1999 and Lee 1999) that spatial distinction is not the only factor that determines the use of demonstratives.[11] As for the functions of the three variants in Table 1, the filler use is mainly performed by *hit-e* and *hit-lō*. The connective use, by contrast, is only found in the use of *HE*. Overall, however, *HE* is the most frequent and general form of NP-referring distal demonstrative with the most diverse use.

In terms of the interchangeability of *HE, hit-e* and *hit-lō*, a detailed analysis reveals that first, a majority of the uses of *HE*, when occurring before an NP as a modifier, are interchangeable with *hit-ē* (*e* pronounced in a sandhi tone), whereas when with the other functions, most of the uses of *HE* can be replaced by *hit-e* (*e* pronounced in a high level tone); the pronominal *hit-e* has both morphemes taking a tonal feature close to that of a high level tone, which is neither the lexical or sandhi tone of the classifier *ê* (个). Second, all occurrences *hit-lo* can be replaced by *HE* without changing the meaning. For example, in (14a), the prenominal *hit-ē* is a free variant of *HE*; in (14b), the pronominal *HE* can be substituted by *hit-e* without changing the meaning (and vice versa); similarly, *hit-lō* has *HE* as its variant (and vice versa), as in (14c):

(14) a. 你一工伮暗　　　直直看　　*彼/彼-ē* 尪仔冊　　　敢　　著?
　　　　lí tsit.kang.kah.àm tittit khuànn **he/hit-e** angátsheh kám tiòh
　　　　2S day.to.night constantly read ***that*** artoon.books dare right
　　　　'Is it appropriate for you to read cartoon books like **those** all day long?'

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[11] The discourse deictic use can also be extended to the indication of a verbal predication, e.g., 伊就愈沒愛和人*彼 lue*. '(The more she refrains from going out), the less she is willing (to interact with people)', where *hitlue* implies the action of interacting with people. Since there is only a small percentage of the verbal use of *HE* (19 tokens), they are excluded from the anaysis.

b. A: 恁 翁　个　　***彼/彼-e*** 啊.
　　lín hip　ê　　***he/hit-e*** a
　　2P shoot NOM ***that***　UFP
　　'**The** (photo) that you took.'

c. 買 一 包　***彼 lo/彼*** 八十五　　塊　　欲　來 泡.
　　bé tsit pa o ***hitlo/HE*** petsàpgōo kho bèh lâi pào
　　buy one pack ***hit-lo/HE*** eighty-five dollar want come soak
　　'(I) bought an 85-dollar pack (of rice powder) to make a drink.'

A smaller percentage of the use of *HE* (19.1%) and *hit-e* (29.4%), however, are not interchangeable with each other. Analysis of the referential value of the NP referred to yields the following findings:

(i) *Hit-e* is not interchangeable with *HE* when it functions as filler. In all the other uses of *hit-e*, replacing *hit-e* with *HE* does not change the meaning.

(ii) *Except* in the following semantic or structural environments, most of the uses of *HE* can be replaced by *hit-ē* or *hit-lō*:
　a. before a question word, e.g., *sànn* (啥) 'what'.
　b. before a general or type-referring noun, e.g., *tsuâ* (蛇) 'snake'.
　c. before a proper name or a unique person, e.g., *kootiūnn* (姑丈) 'uncle'
　d. as a discourse deictic, without specific reference
　e. as a connective

One general tendency is revealed by the results presented above regarding the referring type of *HE*. That is, the uninterchangeable cases of *HE* seem to concentrate on occurrences when (i) the modified NPs have either vague/unspecific reference, or (ii) when it is semantically void, i.e., the connective use. In fact, as indicated in Table 1, *HE* is the exclusive form for a connective function. On the other hand, *hit-e* and *hit-lo* are almost exclusively employed for the recognitional or filler function (cf. Table 1). The wider variety of functions of *HE* and the more limited uses of *hit-e* and *hit-lo* seem to be an important factor for the high incidence of *HE* and the much lower frequency of *hit-e* and *hit-lō*.

Due to the scope of this paper, we focus mainly on the functions of *HE* since it is the most frequent demonstrative in the database. The discussion of *hit-e* and *hit-lo* will be primarily on the filler function. Their tonal variations, which cannot be easily captured by the sandhi rule of TSM, will not be further discussed but we leave this issue to future investigations.

6.2 The Situational Use

In TSM, a situational *HE* can be used as a determiner or as a pronoun. It constitutes only a small part in the database (25, 2.2%). Observe example (15).

(15) (A and B are mother and son. A just came back from work. B is lying on the couch reading comic books he borrowed from the library.)

→ 108 A:啊　你　一工佮暗　　　直直　看　　***彼***　尪仔冊
　　　　　ah　í　tsit.kang.kah.àm tittit　khuànn ***he*** angátsheh
　　　　　PAR 2S day.to.night　　　constantly read ***that*** cartoon.books
　　　　敢　著?\
　　　　kám　tiȯh
　　　　dare　right

109 B:...(.8)　哪　　有.\
　　　　　　ná　　ū.\
　　　　　　where exist

110 B: (0) 彼　是=,_
　　　　　he　sī=,_
　　　　　that　is

111 B:... 借　　幾　　　本　爾= 啦.\
　　　　tsioh　kuí　　pún niâ= lah.
　　　　borrow several　CL　only UFP

108 A: Is it appropriate for you to read cartoon books like **those** all day
　　　long?
109-111 B: I didn't. I just borrowed a few (cartoon books).

Before the conversation shown in (15), the son reported that he went to the library and borrowed some books. Seeing the son reading a

cartoon book, the mother throws a rhetorical question to remind him not to read them so often. Here the demonstrative refers exophorically to the cartoon book situated in the immediate environment. Although *HE* is omissible and the sentence remains grammatical, without *HE,* the utterance would sound like a general criticism about the son's indulgence:

(15a) Without *HE*

啊你一工佮暗常常看尪仔冊敢著？

'Is it appropriate for you to read cartoon books all day long?'

In contrast, by referring to the book that the son is reading with *HE*, the event is actualized and instantiated, which in turn yields a stronger critical effect of the mother's opposition against the son's bad habit.

6.3 The Anaphoric Use

The anaphoric use helps the hearer keep track of a participant in the preceding discourse. In TSM, the distal demonstrative *HE* also serves this function. For example,

(16) (Three neighbors are talking about how to cook fish head soup.)
16 C: 魚　頭　　煮　　湯,_
　　　　hî　thâu　tsú　　thng
　　　　fish head　　cook　soup
17 C: 你　就　彼　豆腐　共　買　一下　就　好　　啊.\
　　　　lí　tō　he　tāuhū ka　bé　tsitē　tō　hóo　a.
　　　　you then that tofu　KA buy　once　then good　UFP
18 A: 啊　薑　　啊=._
　　　　ah　kiunn　a
　　　　PAR ginger　UFP
19 B: 你　若　欲　煮　misoo　湯　是　毋　　免._
　　　　lí　nā behꞏ tsú　misoo　thng　sī　m̄　　bián.
　　　　you if　want cook miso　　soup　is　NEG　NEG

20 B: 免　　　薑.＿
　　　bián　　kiunn.＿
　　　no.need ginger

21 B: misoo 湯　摻　　豆腐　　按呢 [較　有　　額].\
　　　misoo thng tsham tāuhū ánne khah ū   giah
　　　miso soup add   bean.curd thus more have amount

22 C: [豆腐　　按呢]　就　好.\
　　　tāuhū　　ánne　　tō　hóo
　　　bean.curd this.way then good

23 A: 阮　　兜　　e　misoo 食　真　　真　　久,＿
　　　guán　tau　e　misoo tsiah tsin　tsin　kú
　　　1P　home AC miso eat   really really long

→24 A: *彼*　毋　知　　會　食　抑　袂.＿
　　　he　mī　tsai　ē　tsiah iah bē
　　　that NEG know able eat   or   NEG

16-17 C: To cook soup with fish head, you just need to buy some bean curd.
18 A: And ginger.
19-21 B: If you cook miso soup, then (ginger) is not necessary. Add some bean curd, and you have plenty (to eat in the soup).
22 C: Just bean curd is enough.
23 A: The miso paste in my house has been kept for a long time.
24 A: (I'm) not sure if that is still edible.

The topic of (16) is how to cook soup with fish head and what type of soup tastes better, miso fish soup or Chinese fish broth. While speakers B and C are interested in the addition of bean curd in the soup, A is more concerned about whether the box of miso paste at her house is still fresh enough to be eaten, probably because she wants to try cooking this soup herself. In this case, the anaphoric demonstrative and the antecedent are within a single turn. Although TSM allows zero anaphora, namely, *HE* can be omitted in line 24, the addition of *HE* enhances A's worry about whether the miso paste she bought has passed its shelf life or not.

Extract (17) demonstrates another case of an anaphoric *HE*, used to refer to an entity whose name the speaker A cannot recall at the moment of speech. It takes two occurrences of *HE* before the exact name is uttered (Jumbo Wave) with B's collaboration.

(17) (A is B's niece. B has a young daughter, named Akuai. A is talking about a thrilling on-water roller coaster ride which Akuai took. She knew about Akuai's experience because of an earlier conversation with her and because of a photo which showed Akuai standing by the roller coaster.)

```
552 A:我    感覺    阿乖 足    大膽    e    咧._
       guá  kámkak  akuai tsiȯk  tuātánn  e    le
       1S   feel    PN    very   brave    AC   UFP
553 A:(0) 伊 真    細漢 就    敢    坐= 彼   啥,\
          ī   tsin  sèhàn tō   kánn  tsē  he   sánn
          3S  very  small then dare  sit  that what
554 A: ...(1.0) 彼==,
                he
                that
555 A:...(1.8)<M 雲霄飛車 M>._
                 yúnxiāofēichē
                 roller.coaster
556 A:e= <M 那個 那個 什麼 M>?
       e      nàge  nàge  shénme
       PAR    that  that  what
→557 A:位 頂頭    按呢衝      落來 噴  真 濟 水    彼   無.\
       uí  tíngtâu  ánne tshiong lȯhlâi phùn tsin tsē tsuí  he   bô
       from top thus  dash  down   spray very plenty water that NEG
558 B:<M 轟浪 M>    喔?\
       hōnglàng    o
       Jumbo.Wave UFP
```
(Four lines are omitted here.)
```
→563 A:伊 彼 工    我 共 問   <Q 你 有   坐 彼   無 Q>.\
       ī  hit kang guá ka mn̄g     lí ū    tsē he   bô
       3S that day 1S KA ask    2S ASP sit that NEG
```
(38 IUs are omitted here, in which A and B continued the topic.)

602 A: <E Debbie E> 就　講　遮　有　一　張　相片.\
　　　　debbie　tō　kóng　tsia　ū　tsit　tiunn　siàngphìnn
　　　　PN　　then　say　here　have　one　CL　photo

603 A: 有　　喔?\
　　　ū　　o
　　　exist　UFP

→604 A: 恁　翁　个　*彼*　啊._
　　　lín　hip　ê　***he***　a
　　　2P　shoot　NOM　***that***　UFP

605 B: 而且　　伊　佇　遐　徛　咧=　看.\
　　　jītshiánn　ī　tī　hia　uá　tih　khuànn
　　　and　　　3S　stay　there　lean　ASP　watch

552-553 A: I feel that Akuai is very brave, (because) when she was very small, she dared to take **the** kind of ride, er, what do you call it?

554-556 A: The roller coaster-like thing, or something.

557 A: Isn't there **a (kind of ride)** with which you slide down (a water channel) from a very high place.

558 B: (You mean) Jumbo Wave?

563 A: That day, I asked her, "Did you take **that** (water slide)?",

602-603 A: Debbie said that there was a photo, right?

604-605 A: **The** (photo) that you took. She (=Akuai) was standing by the Jumbo Wave looking at it.

In (17), A is telling her aunt (B) that B's 5-year-old daughter (Akuai) told A that she had taken a water roller coaster ride in an amusement park. At first, speaker A did not believe this until she saw a photo of Akuai standing by the roller coaster. Since the photo is important evidence for A to be convinced about the ride, after the first mention of the photo in line 602, an anaphoric link is then established between *HE* in line 604 and its first mention. From the exchange of talk, we see that speaker A is eager to praise Akuai for daring to try such an exciting game. The event is heightened by the use of *HE* to refer to the roller coaster (line 563) and the photo taken that day (line 604). These referents are not in the hearer's current focal consciousness. With *HE*, the referents are brought forward from the hearer's remote memory and

become the current conversation topic since the roller coaster and the photo are the crucial entities that make this ride memorable and worth mentioning.

A more intriguing point about (17), however, is that in addition to the anaphoric use, *HE* is actually recurring in different IUs in this excerpt, with *HE* in lines 553, 554, 557, 563 referring to the roller-coaster-like thing (i.e., the Jumbo Wave), and in line 604 to the photo with Akuai standing by the roller coaster. These different usages of *HE* fall into different types in terms of their referential status. However, they share the common function of marking important entities involved in the main topic of talk of (17)—the water roller coaster and the photo which shows that Akuai did take the ride. Furthermore, they involve both first-mentioned (e.g., line 553) and second-mentioned entities (e.g., line 557). Therefore, what concerns us here is not the source of identity of the distal demonstrative but the central interactional function it performs in spontaneous discourse, i.e., the participants or entities with which the conversational topic is most related.

To further appreciate the significance of the occurrence of *HE*, we can make two comparisons: (a) the use of *HE* and its absence in the same context; (b) its distinction from the proximal demonstrative *TSE* 'this' in the same context. First, if *HE* was omitted, then lines 557, 563 and 604 would have slightly different readings:

a. <M 那個 那個什麼 M>?位頂頭按呢衝落來噴真濟水_無. (cf. line 557)
   'What is that? Isn't there **something** which slides down (a water channel) from a very high place?'
b. 伊彼工我共問<Q 你有坐_無 Q>. (cf. line 563)
   'That day, I asked her, "Did you take **any** ride?"'
c. 恁翕个_啊. (cf. line 604)
   '(The photo) was taken by you.'

That is, the roller coaster would not be clearly expressed and the speaker would sound like s/he is asking about the existence of any water coaster facility. Second, if *HE* was replaced by *TSE* 'this', lines 557, 563 and 604 would yield different readings as well:

   d. 位頂頭 按呢衝落來噴真濟水 ***TSE*** 無. (from line 557)
      'Isn't **this** (the ride) which slides down (a water channel) from a very high place?'

   e. 伊彼工我共問<Q 你有坐 ***TSE*** 無 Q>. (from line 563)
      'That day, I asked her, "Did you take **this** ride?'

   f. 恁翁个 ***TSE*** 啊. (from line 604)
      '(I mean) **this** (photo), which was taken by you.'

Here, if put in line 557 and in 563, *TSE* would sound like a situational deixis with which A is checking with B whether the facility referred to is the roller coaster. At the same time, it would require the presence of an on-site coaster, e.g., one shown on a TV program or on a photo the speakers are reviewing at the time of the talk. A similar interpretation holds with the substitution of *TSE* for *HE* in line 604, namely, there needs to be a photo at the immediate situation for *TSE* to be a legitimate use. In short, the above comparison shows that *HE* and *TSE* have different pragmatic purposes in conversation.

6.4 The Recognitional Use

    A recognitional demonstrative indexes an NP that is identifiable based on some specific knowledge shared by the interlocutors. This means that the speaker presumes that the hearer is familiar with the referent since the referent has been stored in the hearer's memory owing to certain community knowledge or a shared personal experience. A main context where a recognitional demonstrative emerges is when the speaker anticipates that the hearer might have problem identifying the intended referent with respect to the information given (Himmelmann 1996:230-231). In TSM, a recognitional distal demonstrative can be placed pre-nominally or pronominally. As indicated in Table 1, the recognitional use is the most frequent usage of *HE* in TSM (63.9%). Observe example (18), where *HE* takes a pre-nominal position:

(18) (G is telling her granddaughter B about a snake bite when G was a child and the hospitalization because of the accident.)

138 G:
一 改 毋才 去 予 咬 著.\
tsit kái m̄tsiàh khì hōo kā tiȯh
one time therefore go give bite reach

139 B: 咬 著._
ka tiȯh
bite reach

(Eight IUs are omitted here, in which the story continued.)

148 G:
毒 蛇 就 見 咬 著 攏 腫 起來.\
tȯk tsuâ tō kìnn kā tiȯh lóng tsíng khílâi
poisonous snake then see bite reach all swollen up

149 G: (0)
轉來 到 稻 埕 遐,_
tńglâi kàu tiū tiânn hia
return arrive rice drying.field there

→150 G:
我 講 <Q 阿爸 我 去 予 *彼* 蛇 咬 著 Q>.\
guá kóng apah guá khí hōo ***he*** tsuâ kā tiȯh
1S say dad 1S go give ***that*** snake bite reach

151 G:
<Q 龜殼花 彼 啥 Q>.\
kukhakhue he sánn
Chinese.habu that what

152 G: (0)
<Q 你 這 個 查某囝仔 講 嘐潲 龜殼花 咬 Q> !\
lí tsit ê tsabóogína kóng hâusiâu kukhakhue kā
2S this CL girl say lie Chinese.habu bite

153 G:
我 講 <Q 真正 e 啦 Q>.\
guá kóng tsintsiànn e la.
1S say real AC UFP

138 G: (I) was once bitten by a snake.

139 B: Bitten (by a snake)?

148 G: Whenever (you) are bitten by a poisonous snake, (you) get a swelling.

149-151 G: When I returned to the rice drying field, I said, "Dad, I was bitten by **a** snake, something like a Chinese habu."

152 G: "Bitten by a snake? You are lying, little girl!"

153 G: I said, "It's true!"

The excerpt (18) is about a grandmother's childhood experience. First, the grandmother tells B about a snake-bite accident that led to her hospitalization. The story reaches the climax when G told her father that

she had been bitten by a snake. The intended referent (the snake) is a first mention at the moment when G mentioned the bite, which is marked by *HE* (line 150 and line 151). It is known to almost all Chinese people, including the father, that a snakebite could be lethal. Therefore, the snake, marked by *HE*, plus the predication about this animal, is sufficient to bring its associated event to the father's focal consciousness and highlight the seriousness of the event, which in fact led to G's 10-day hospitalization.

The extract in (19) is another case of a recognitional *HE* with a first-mentioned NP:

(19) (M is telling F about a field trip with his kindergarten-aged children to a grassland called Qingtiangang.)

229 M: 啊<M 幼稚園 M>咱　去<M 擎天崗 M> 攏去<M 草原 M>._
　　　ah　yòuzhìyuán　lán khì qíngtiāngāng lóng khì cǎoyuán
　　　PAR kindergarten 1P　go PN　　　　all　go grassland

230 F: 哼　　哼　　[哼]._
　　　hng　hng　　hng
　　　RT　RT　　RT

231 M: [啊　我] 就　放　伊　去　遐　耍　啊,\
　　　ah　guá tō　pàng ī　khì hia　sńg ā
　　　PAR 1S　then let 3S　go　there play UFP
(Three IUs are omitted here, in which the narrative continued.)

235 M:　<F 一下仔久　　　爾　講　　人　　他 F>--
　　　tsitēakú　　　niâ kóng　lâng　īn
　　　a.short.while only say　people 3P

→236M：<F 捎　*彼*　<M 飛盤 M> 踮 遐 射　來 射　去 F>.\
　　　sa　*he*　fēipán　tiàm hia siā lâi siā khì
　　　fetch *that* Frisbee stay there shoot come shoot go

237 M: <F 我　講　　奇怪 F>,_
　　　guá kóng kîkuài
　　　1S　say　strange

238 M: 阮　　就　　無　　紮=--
　　　guán tō　bô　　tsah
　　　1P　　then NEG bring

109

(Seven IUs are omitted here, where F continued the Frisbee topic.)

→ 247 M:(0)啊 *彼*<M 飛盤 M> 齁,\
        ah ***he*** fēipán honn
        PAR ***that*** Frisbee UFP

(Two IUs omitted here.)

→250 M: *彼* <M 色彩 M>攏 足 <M ^鮮豔 M> e [著 毋 著]?\
        he sekcai lóng tsiok xianyàn e tióh m̄ tióh
        that color all very bright AC right NEG
  right

251 F:[<@ 嘿 嘿 @>]._
        hennh hennh
        RT RT

→ 252 M:(0) 伊 *彼* 毋 ^是._
        ī ***he*** m̄ sī
        3S ***that*** NEG be

→ 253 M: 伊 *彼* ^是%,_
        ī ***he*** sī
        3S ***that*** be

254 M: ...真正 是<M 土黃色 M> e.\
        tsintsiànn sī tǔhuángsè e
        truly BE brownish.yellow AC

(13 IUs omitted here, about M's kids inviting him to join their game.)

267 M:<@ m 是 <M 飛盤 M> 啦,\
        m̄ sī fēipán la
        NEG be Frisbee UFP

268 M: 是 牛 屎 啦 @>!\
        sī gû sái la
        be cattle manure UFP

229 M: As the kids are in their kindergarten years, whenever we go to Qingtiangang, we always play on the grassland there.

230 F: Hm hm.

231 M: And I just let them play there.

235-236 M: It turned out that they took **a** Frisbee and started to play (with it).

237-238 M: I felt strange, because we didn't bring (a Frisbee) with us.

247-250 M: And Frisbees are usually in bright colors, right?
251 F: Huh huh.
252 M: **The one** (that they were playing with) did not (have fresh colors.)
253-254 M: (But) **it** was in brownish yellow.
267-268 M: (It turned out that) **it** was not a Frisbee. **It** was a (piece of) cattle manure!

In (19), speaker M narrates an anecdote about his children playing with a flying disc on a grassland during an excursion. It turned out that the Frisbee-like object was a piece of dried cattle manure that the kids picked up from the ground. The recognitional demonstrative *HE* in line 236 marks the entity Frisbee, which is known to be a plate-shaped object that can be played with in games. Hence, identifiability of the referent can be achieved with the background knowledge or general lexical knowledge shared by the interlocutors. The exchange that follows elaborates on further details accompanied by more occurrences of *HE* (lines 247, 250, 252 and 253) to maintain the current conversation topic of the funny fact about a Frisbee-shaped substance. With the preface of *HE*, the general nominal status of the Frisbee is promoted to a particularized status because it is made of cattle manure, which is an unexpected, funny entity, and the narration is thus led to a climactic point. We argue that *HE,* instead of always signaling topic shift (cf. Huang 1999; Lee 1999), marks the saliency of a referent which the speaker considers interesting and worthy of the hearer's note. Without *HE*, the conversation would contain only simple statements about kids playing with a makeshift Frisbee. With *HE*, however, the manure disc is rendered a focal status in the narrative.

The occurrence of a recognitional *HE* along with various occurrences of *HE* which center around a focal topic of talk to show the speaker's stance can be further manifested through the following conversation between two sisters:

(20) (F is telling her sister S about another sister's (Bihun) weight loss because of Bihun's radical diet control after being diagnosed with breast cancer. Bihun has also suffered from depression mainly because the doctor said her disease is a serious one.)

124 F: 喔!\
    ooh
    EX

125 F: 美雲　瘦　　　偌　濟　你　知　　無?\
    bíhûn　sán　　　guā　tsē　lí　tsai　bo
    PN　lose.weight　very　much　2S　know　UFP

126 S: 按呢　　喔?\
    ánne　　ooh
    this.way　UFP

127 F: 瘦　　　九　公斤.\
    sán　　　káu　kongkin
    lose.weight　nine　kg

(41 IUs are omitted here, during which the same topic continued.)

169 F: 喔=!\
    ooh
    EX

→170 F: *彼*　遐　肉　毋　知　消去　叨位　去　齁?\
    he　hia　bah　m̄　tsai　siaukhì　touī　khì　honn
    that　there　flesh　NEG　know　shrink　where　go　UFP

171 S: 啊　你　共　看　伊　就　足　瘦　e　就　著　啦.\
    ah　lī　ka　khuànn　ī　tō　tsiok　sán　e　tō　tiȯh　la.\
    PAR　2S　KA　watch　3S　then　very　thin　AC　then　right　UFP

172 F: 啊　就　瘦　　　八　九　公斤.\
    ah　tō　sán　　　peh　káu　kongkin
    PAR　then　lose.weight　eight　nine　kg

→173 F: *彼*　就　是　是　按怎,_
    he　tō　sī　sī　ántsuánn
    that　then　be　be　how

174 F: 醫生　　齁,_
    ising　　honn
    doctor　UFP

175 S: 嘿.\
　　henn
　　RT

176 F: 沒　　醫德　a.\
　　bô　　itiak　　a
　　NEG　ethics　UFP

(148 IUs are omitted here)

325 F: 講　　一下　傷　　嚴重,_
　　kóng　tsitē　siunn　giâmtiōng
　　say　once　too　serious

(413 IUs are omitted here, during which F blamed the doctor for giving a grim diagnosis and led to Bihun's depression.)

739 F: 講　伊　遐　e　衫　　攏　袂　穿　　去.\
　　kóng　ī　hia　e　sann　lóng　bē　tsīng　khì
　　say　3S　there　AC　clothes　all　NEG　wear　go

740 SF: ((signing))

741 S: 實在　　有影.\
　　sittsāi　ūiánn
　　really　true

742 S: 齁,\
　　honn
　　UFP

→ 743 S: 啊　*彼*　八　　九　公斤　佮　　濟　　a　lio.\
　　　ah　***he***　peh　káu　kongkin　guā　tsē　a　liò
　　　PAR　***that***　eight　nine　kg　　very　much　UFP　UFP

(76 lines are omitted here. The topic continued.)

→820 F: 有影　*彼*　八　　九　公斤　　*彼*　真正.\
　　ūiánn　***he***　peh　káu　kongkin　***he***　tsintsiànn
　　true　***that***　eight　nine　kg　　***that***　really

→821 F: *彼*　加　足　瘦　e　　呢.\
　　he　ke　tsiȯk　sán　e　　ne
　　that　add　very　thin　AC　UFP

822 F: 啊,_
　　ah
　　PAR

(189 IUs are omitted here, during which F and S talked about Bihun's son's ignorance of his mother's weight loss.)

1012 F: 喔!\
　　　　oh
　　　　EX

→1013 F:*彼*　瘦　　　　八　　九　　公斤,_
　　　　　he　sán　　　peh　káu　kongkin
　　　　　that lose.weight　eight nine kg

(Six IUs omitted here.)

1020 F: 加　得　　　一　个　　<M 憂鬱症 M>　　啦 Q>.\
　　　　ke　tit　　　tsit ê　　yōuyùzhèng　　la
　　　　add contract one CL　depression　　UFP

124-125 F: Alas! Do you know that Bihun has lost a lot of weight?
126 S: Is that so?
127 F: (She) has lost eight to nine kg.
169-170 F: Alas! I wonder where **that** muscle tissue (originally in her body) has gone!
171 S: You just need to see her to know what I mean. She is so skinny.
172 F: She has lost eight to nine kg, (I know).
173 F: You know why **it** is so?
175 S: Yeah.
174, 176 F: The doctor was unethical (because he told Bihun that her cancer was very serious, which led to her depression).
325 F:(The doctor) said that her (cancer) was very serious.
739 F: (She) said that none of her clothes fit her now.
740-743 S: It is indeed excruciating (to see her suffer). Alas! **(The body part which weighs)** eight to nine kg is a lot of weight!
820-822 F: **That** drastic weight change makes her look much skinnier.
1012-1013 F: Alas! **She** has lost eight to nine kilograms.
1020 F: And she has also suffered from depression.

As shown in (20), F and S's main concern is their sister Bihun's health and her psychological problem. In fact, before their talk, F and S have known very well that Bihun has breast cancer and that she has undergone chemotherapy although the word "cancer" is not mentioned in

their talk. In the excerpt above, F starts with her report to S about the rapid weight loss. As F and S love their sister very much, they have an extended discussion about the weight loss (8-9 kilograms) and the depression the sister has developed because of the doctor's warning during her chemotherapy (line 325), which in turn leads to her withdrawal from the public. The first use of *HE* in (20) (line 170) illustrates a recognitional use, referring to Bihun's muscle tissue, which was not mentioned in the previous discourse but inferable because of F and S's shared knowledge about their sister's health. In line 173, *HE* is a discourse deictic which refers to the general idea of Bihun's weight loss and can be inferred from the preceding context (lines 124-127). Afterwards, F continues with the same topic. In fact, in the above exchange of conversation, which extends over 1000 IUs, the grave concern about the weight loss issue is brought up at least six times (lines 127, 172, 743, 820, 821 and 1013). These utterances exhibit F's intense worry about Bihun and the occurrences of *HE* reinforce F's vexation and distress about her sister's condition. Without *HE*, these utterances would sound more like general story telling without much emotion imbued in it.

The use of *HE* in TSM with a first-mentioned NP differs from the English indefinite article *a*, the definite article *the*, or the distal demonstrative *that*. For example, in English, the snake in line 150 of (18) would be marked by an indefinite article (*I was bitten by "a" snake*) since it is a first-mentioned general noun. However, "*a* snake" only serves to introduce a referent but does not in itself entail a focal status of the referent. On the other hand, *I was bitten by the/that snake* is anomalous as *that* would suggest a specific snake which the father could identify. Likewise, the English version of line 236 in (19) *It turned out that they took **a** Frisbee and started to play (with it) there* fails to signal the prominent status of the Frisbee indicated by *HE*. These uses clearly demonstrate the functional difference between TSM *HE* and *a*, *the*, or *that* in English, in that the purpose of TSM *HE* is to signify the topical status of the referent. Such functional nuances cannot be captured simply by the argument that the distal demonstrative is evolving into a definite article (Huang 1999).[12] Put differently, although both a definite article

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[12] Huang (1999: 90) argues that the "unavailable use', the "identifying use", and the "topic introducing use" of Mandarin *nage*, which are all subtypes of the recognitional use

and a distal demonstrative track a referent identifiable via community shared knowledge or shared personal experience, a definite article simply tracks an identifiable referent without displaying any stance, whereas the referent marked by *HE* acquires a topical status.

6.5 The Discourse Deictic Use

A discourse deictic *HE* makes reference to a proposition(s) or an event(s) in the previous discourse. As shown in Table 1, this usage type ranks second of all the uses of *HE* (169, 14.9%). The observed TSM data shows that the associated proposition is usually composed of various IUs, and *HE* is not always adjacent to them. This "detached" phenomenon seems contrary to Himmelmann's (1996: 224) argument that the segment pointed at is always adjacent. Observe (21):

(21) (M and her daughter T are talking about how T does her laundry.)

```
115 T :...(1.7)^ 我    攏    無    咧    鑢,\
                 guá   lóng  bô    teh   lù,
                 1S    all   NEG   PRG   scrub
116 T:...攏   共^   擲    落    去    洗衫機._
        lóng  ka    tàn   loh   khì   sésannki.
        all   KA    throw down  go    washing.machine
117 T:...(2.1) 攏    無    咧    看.\
               lóng  bô    teh   khuànn.
               all   NEG   ASP   look
118 M:.. 今    學    了          貧惰    毋._
         tann  oh    liáu        pîntuānn  m̄
         now   learn complete    lazy     NEG
119 T:...<MRC 哪    有    許    閒= MRC>._
             ná    ū     hiah  îng
             how   have  that  free
```

(see discussion in Section 3.2), are evidence of the development of *nage* into a definite article because a definite article also tracks entities which are identifiable via community shared knowledge or personal experience shared by the speakers.

→120 T:<MRC *彼　毋　是　貧惰　　無　貧惰　e　問題　la* MRC>.\
        he mī sī pîntuānn bô pîntuānn e būntê la
        that NEG be lazy NEG lazy AC problem UFP

(Three IUs are omitted here.)

124 T:...(1.6) 沒　　需[要　洗　　彼 1],_
           bô   suyào sé   he
           NEG need   wash that

(Two IUs are omitted here.)

127 T:...甘願 1]—
       kamguān
       willing

128 T:　提　彼　時間—
       thẻh he sîkan
       take that time

(Six IUs are omitted here, where T contended that of course she knew how to do hand-washing but that it was a waste of time to do it.)

135 T:<F<L 我　提　　彼　時間　來　　睏　沒　卡　好 F>L>?\
         guá thẻh he sîkan lâi   khùn bô   khảh hó
         1S   take   that time come sleep NEG more good

115-117 T: I never used scrubs. (I) always just threw the laundry into the washing machine. '(I) never took a look.'

118 M: You have become so lazy.

119-120 T: How can (I) have free time? **It** is not a question of whether I am lazy or not!

124 T: (I) don't need to wash that.

127-128 T: (I) would rather take the time (to sleep).

135 T: Isn't it more sensible for me to use that time to sleep?

The discourse deictic *HE* in line 120 of (21) refers back to the proposition expressed by lines 115-117, that the daughter T has all of her laundry done by the washing machine rather than by hand. Here, *HE* is used by T to reactivate and refer back to the proposition of the mother's blame and refute it. Then, after establishing the thematic status of how T deals with her laundry, T continues with this topic and reasserts her uncompromising stance that doing hand washing is a waste of time.

After line 120, T continues to refute her mother's accusation with several other uses of *HE*, by referring to T's dirty laundry (line 124), or a better use of the time saved (lines 128 and 135). These different uses of *HE* convey T's strong reaction and oppositional stance against her mother's reproach.

The scope of the propositions indicated by a discourse deictic *HE* can be even greater, spanning across various turns. Consider (22).

(22) (M is talking about her daughter T's friend's improper diet.)
482 M:..^ 食　愛　　控制,\
　　　　 tsiảh ài　　khòngtsè.
　　　　 eat　need　control
483 M:... *毋好*　　合意 食　就　直直　　　食._
　　　　 mīhó　　　 kahì　tsiảh tō　tittit　　　 tsiảh
　　　　 should.not like　eat　 then continuously eat
484 T:(0)嘿　[^ 我　有　共^　講　啊].
　　　　 hennh　 guá ū　　ka　　kóng ā
　　　　 yes　　 1S ASP KA　　say　 UFP
485 M:[啊　 無　^合意 就　 無　 愛　 食.\
　　　　 ah　bô　 kahì　tō　 bô　 ài　 tsiảh
　　　　 PAR NEG like　then NEG love eat
(Nine IUs are omitted here, with M continuing her comment about diet control.)
→495 M: 按呢　　 *彼* 會　 影響　　　 胃　　　 啊.\
　　　　 ánne　　 *he* ē　 ínghióng　 uī　　　 ā
　　　　 this.way *that* will influence　stomach UFP

482-483, 485 M: (He) has to control (his) diet and he cannot just eat
　　　things (he) loves without any limit or be picky about food.
484 T: Yes, I also told him so.
495 M: (With) such (a bad habit), **it** will affect his stomach.

The distal demonstrative *HE* in line 495 refers back to the proposition containing the reasons for T's friend's stomachache. The segments pointed at are distributed in several turns including lines such as 483 and 485, which are farther away from the demonstrative than in

118

(22). The use of *HE* in line 495 recapitulates all the related propositions in the earlier discourse and presents M's reproof of T's friend's incorrigible dietary habits, functioning as a conclusive remark of her comment about the bad habit.

6.6 Connective and Filler Use

In addition to the above functions, when the speaker only has a vague concept in mind and cannot think of an exact identity, *HE* is used to fill the speaker's silence before an exact referent is uttered. When *HE* occurs in the initial position, it functions like a connective to link the previous talk with the following utterance, whereas when it occurs in the other positions in the sentence, it functions like a filler. As discussed in Section 3, connective *HE* can be regarded as an extension of the recognitional or the discourse deictic use, each of which involves a vague referential status of an intended concept or entity. Therefore, these two functions are discussed together in this section. (23) and (24) illustrate the connective use and the filler use respectively.

(23) (A is asking her son what his sister bought for him on their way home.)
198 A:.. (1.3) 姐姐　　 敢　　有　　買　 什　　予　你.\
　　　　　 tsétsé　　kám　 ū　 bé　 sànn　hōo　lí
　　　　　 older.sister　dare　 ASP　buy　 what　give　2S
199 B: …(1.4) hmm._
　　　　　 hmm
　　　　　 RT
200 B: 本來　　　欲　　買　 <M 小籠包 M>.\
　　　 púnlâi　　bėh　 bé　　　 xiǎolóngbāo
　　　 originally　want　buy　　　 little.steamed.bun
201 B: 啊　但是　彼　賣　 了.\
　　　 ah　 tānsī　he　 bē　 liáu
　　　 PAR　but　 that　sell　finish
(Six IUs are omitted here, in which A and B continued the topic.)
→208 B:　*彼,_*
　　　　　 he
　　　　　 that

209 B:..看　　著　　人　　真　少　就　去　買.\
　　　khuànn　tiȯh　lâng　tsin　tsió　tō　khì　bé
　　　see　　reach　people　very　few　then　go　buy
210 B:原來　　是　賣　了　　啊.\
　　guânlâi　sī　bē　liáu　a
　　originally　be　sell　finish　UFP
211 B:…(1.5)共　　人　　騙.\
　　　　　ka　　lâng　　phiàn
　　　　　KA　people　fool
(Three IUs are omitted here, where B showed his anger.)
215 B:…真　　受氣　　啦.\
　　　tsin　siūkhì　la
　　　very　angry　UFP

197-198 A: Did your sister buy you anything on your way home?
199-201 B: Hmm. Originally, we wanted to buy little steamed buns. But
　　　they were sold out.
208-211 B: **Since** we saw that there were few people standing in line, we
　　　went inside. But it turned out that (they) were sold out. (I) was
　　　fooled.
215 B: (I) was really annoyed!

From the situational and textual context shown in (23), it seems only
possible to identify a vague referent, if any, of *HE* (line 208). If the
demonstrative *HE* referred to the store, it would be the subject of the
predicate *khuànn tioh* 'saw', which is, however, semantically anomalous.
Assigning the steamed buns as the referent yields an equally
semantically undesirable sentence, i.e., the buns being the experiencer of
the verb of seeing in line 209. Rather than performing referring tasks,
therefore, *HE* can be said to mark the following utterance as the
culminating point of the information exchange, that B was fooled by the
small line at the bun store. While the omission of the distal
demonstrative does not affect the original meaning, it is odd to replace
HE with other connectives such as the global connective *a* (啊) (Li et al.
1998) to still retain the close topical link between the current utterance

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and the previous one.[13] On the other hand, while Lee (1999) contends that the demonstrative connective makes the conversation more coherent and organized, she does not explain why the distal demonstrative is especially enlisted to achieve proposition linking. Here, we argue that the demonstrative is both retrospective and prospective in that it brings the hearer's attention (Kirsner 1979; Tao 1999) and marks the following utterance as the focus of the proposition that the speaker wishes to express. Meanwhile, it accentuates the speaker's exasperation about the futile attempt to get the food he loved.

The talk in (24) contains a succession of *HE*/*HITLE* functioning as a filler to give time for the speaker to hold the floor while searching in his/her memory for the name of a pharmacy:

(24) (C and R are dealers of vitamins sold to pharmacies. They are discussing the prices of their products. In the talk below, C asks R whether he has investigated the price of similar products in other pharmacies.)

→216 C: (0) 啊　　*彼 le　彼 le*=,_
　　　　　　　ah　*hitle　hitle*
　　　　　　　PAR　*that　that*

217 C: (H)

→218 C: *彼 le*　啥?\
　　　　hitle　sánn
　　　　that　what

→219 C: [*彼 le*]—
　　　　　hitle
　　　　　that

220 R:[hm]?/
　　　hm
　　　RT

221 C: 彼 le　　　新竹　　彼 le　啊.\
　　　hitle　　sintiak　hitle　a
　　　that　　PN　　　that　　UFP

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222 C:..彼 le　啥?\
　　　hitle　sánn
　　　that　what
(One IU omitted here.)
224 R:　日興　　哦?\
　　　jithing　o
　　　PN　　　UFP
225 C:　嘿,\
　　　henn
　　　RT

216-219 C : And **that, that, that** what?
220 R: What?
221-222 C: **The** (pharmacy) at Sintiak.
224 R: (You mean) Jithing?
225 C: Yes.

　　　The demonstrative *hitle* in lines 216, 218 and 219 mark C's attempt to retrieve the name of the pharmacy. They function as a filler and floor holder to give the speaker time to think of the name before R collaborates and spells it out. The store is brought forward as a focal point of talk because C is eager to know whether R has investigated the price of a similar product sold in that pharmacy.

　　　In the above two occurrences of *hit-le*, the demonstrative does not have a typical determiner or pronoun usage; rather it serves as a prelude for the speaker to prepare the ground for an important message C wishes to deliver. It also displays C's eagerness to know more about the price issue. In other words, the pharmacy acquires a focal status in the conversation, which in fact is also the topic of the conversation that follows.

6.7 Summary

　　　The above analysis shows one core function of *HE* that predominates in its occurrences, when it is used to track a referential item, to track a proposition, as a vague referent marker, or even as a semantically

bleached connective or filler. That is, *HE* is used to spotlight a piece of information that the current speaker believes is central to the point the speaker wishes to make, or to the development of a story. It may also mark the climax of a narrative or a conversational topic. The entity or idea marked is one that is identifiable but is currently not in the speaker's focus of attention. The employment of *HE* enables the speaker to bring an otherwise distant referent or ideational content to the hearer's focal consciousness. The usage differs from a pronoun used for referring to an existing entity, from an indefinite article used for a first-mentioned, non-specific entity, or from a definite article used for second mention or for an entity inferable from community knowledge. Therefore, we argue that the most important function of *HE* is not whether it refers to an entity, a proposition, or a discourse unit, or whether it functions as a connective or a filler. Rather, the demonstrative is used to convey the speaker's stance and boost the visibility or to highlight the noteworthiness of the message which the speaker is stressing (cf. García 1975, Kirsner 1979, Hanks 1989 and Tao 1999) or which will be elaborated in the succeeding talk. With *HE*, the exchange and negotiation of ideas is rendered more effective.

7. CONCLUSION

This study discusses the interactional functions of the distal demonstrative *HE* 'that' in TSM spontaneous conversation. The results show that interactional factors influence the use of the distal demonstrative in TSM. The use of the distal demonstrative serves to highlight a given entity or a piece of information which is conceptually distant from the speaker's current state of mind but which the speaker believes is worth noting. This study is significant in that it provides a unitary account of *HE* in spite of its varying referring functions. Due to the limit of scope, there are several topics that could be of interest to researchers. First, the speech material used in this study is restricted to synchronic data; historical data is required for one to understand the diachronic development of demonstratives and what bearing they have on the interactional functions of *HE*. Second, we have not delved into the

tonal variations of *HE, hit-ê* and *hit-lō*, which cannot be directly accounted for by the TSM tone sandhi rules. Third, we have limited our discussion to the distal demonstrative *HE* and its functional equivalents in TSM. The spatial demonstrative *hia,* the use of *hit* with non-*ê* classifier, the degree modifier *hiàh/hiàh-ni* 'so, that' and other types of demonstratives such as plural demonstratives are yet to be explored. Fourth, we do not discuss the differences between pre-nominal and pronominal demonstratives. All these issues await future study.

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION NOTATIONS

--	truncated intonation unit
:	speaker identity
[(N)]	speech overlap
..	short pause (<0.3 sec.)
…	medium pause (0.3-0.6 sec.)
…(N)	long pause (≥0.7 sec.)
.	final
,	Continuing
?	Appeal
!	Exclamation
_	level terminal pitch
/	rising terminal pitch
\	falling terminal pitch
^	primary accent
=	Lengthening
@	Laughter
<E E>	code-switching to English
<F F>	fast tempo
<L L>	Loudness
<M M>	code-switching to Mandarin
<Q Q>	quotation quality
<MRC MRC>	each word distinct and emphasized
(0)	Latching
%	glottal stop
(H)	Inhalation

對話中的焦點訊息:
台灣閩南話遠指詞《彼》的篇章語用功能

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本文討論台灣閩南話遠指詞《彼》及其近似詞在自然對話中的篇章語用功能。研究顯示，談話者大多可透過推論、社群知識或談話者所共有的背景知識等方式辨識而出《彼》所指涉的事物。這些用法乃是由互動中，透過說話者的語意協商浮現而出。《彼》表達了說話者對所指涉事物可辨識程度的看法。通常《彼》被使用在指涉一個說話者想要強調的焦點訊息，藉由此指示詞，引出並活化了原存在於談話者的較久遠記憶內的事物，成為談話焦點。同時，《彼》亦可表達談話者對談話主題的觀點、情緒、立場或態度。

關鍵字：遠指詞、台灣閩南話、對話、焦點訊息