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RESEARCH ARTICLES

FOREWORD

With this volume, Acta Linguistica Asiatica is entering its 3rd year. After the second half of last year, focusing on research in "Lexicography of Japanese as a Second/Foreign Language" we begin this year with selection of papers covering various perspectives and languages, from South Asian Languages, via Indian subcontinent and China all the way to Japan.

The first paper, by **Pritha CHANDRA** and **Anindita SAHOO**, entitled *Passives in South Asian Languages*, discusses continuum of passive constructions, spreading over three language families , Indo-Aryan (Oriya), Dravidian (Malayalam) and Austro-Asiatic (Kharia), and forming a kind of *sprachbund,* based on a generalized notion of passive. This approach also shows that Tibeto-Burman languages such as Meitei and Ao also can be said to have passives.

The second paper, by **Kalyanamalini SAHOO**, entitled *Politeness Strategies in Odia*, discusses the conceptual basis for politnesess strategies in Odia (spelled also Oriya as in the first paper), pointing out inadequacy of Brown and Levinson's model of politness, and proposing a new, "community of practice" based model of politeness for Odia.

The next two papers deal with neologisms in Chinese language. **LIN Ming-chang** in his paper *A New Perspective on the Creation of Neologisms* focuses on the language user's psychological requirements for devising neologisms, and therefore proposes a new research perspective towards the reasons for devising neologisms. **Mateja PETROVČIČ** in her paper *The Fifth Milestone in the Development of Chinese Language* investigates the structure and features of neologisms in the last century. The author suggests that the widening gap between rich and poor should be considered as the fifth milestone for changes in Chinese language.

In the fifth paper, *We Have It too: A Strategy Which Helps to Grasp the Japanese Writing System for Students from Outside of the Chinese Character Cultural Zone*, the author, **Andrej BEKEŠ**, argues for employment of analogy transfer strategies to help beginner learners of Japanese to overcome cognitive and affecctive blocade when facing the complexities of Japanese writing system.

Andrej Bekeš

RESEARCH ARTICLES

PASSIVES IN SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGES

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Abstract

Haspelmath (2010) debates whether universal (descriptive) categories of the types that generativists (cf. Newmeyer, 2007) envisage are real and needed for cross-linguistic studies. Instead every language has its own unique set of categories. We raise doubt on this "categorial particularism" position by drawing on underlying similarities of passive constructions of three South Asian languages - Oriya (Indo-Aryan), Malayalam (Dravidian) and Kharia (Austro-Asiatic). Unlike English-type passives, they retain subject properties for their logical subjects and object properties for their logical objects, suggesting commonalities that a "categorial particularism" approach would not allow us to posit. Our further contention is that like English passives, they too satisfy Shibatani's (1985) minimal condition for passives – the underscoring or the optionality of agents. Passive voice must therefore be a universal found in all languages primarily resulting in the optionality of agents. We also show how adopting this approach helps us re-analyse Meitei and Ao (Tibeto-Burman) as languages involving passives.

Keywords: active-passives; universals; comparative concepts; descriptive categories; South Asian languages

Izvleček

Haspelmath (2010) se v svoji razpravi sprašuje, ali so univerzalne kategorije, ki jih obravnavajo generativisti (prim. Newmeyer, 2007), resnične in potrebne za medjezikovne raziskave. Namesto tega naj bi imel vsak jezik svoje lastne kategorije. Članek se ne strinja s konceptom "specifičnih kategorij", kar prikaže na primeru podobnih pasivnih konstukcij v treh jezikih Južne Azije: v indoarijskem jeziku orija, dravidskem jeziku malajalam in avstroazijskem jeziku karija. Z razliko od pasivov, ki so značilni za angleščino, pasivi v teh jezikih ohranjajo značilnosti osebka za logične osebke in značilnosti predmeta za logične predmete. V okviru koncepta "specifičnih kategorij" to ne bi smelo biti mogoče. Sledi utemeljitev, da enako kot v angleščini tudi tu omenjene oblike pasiva ustrezajo mininalnim pogojem za pasiv, kot jih določa Shibatani (1985), t.j. poudarek na neobveznem vršilcu dejanja. Pasiv torej mora biti univerzalna značilnost vseh jezikov, ki se sprva kaže skozi neobvezni vršilec dejanja. Članek nazadnje pokaže, kako lahko s tem pristopom ponovno analiziramo tibetansko-burmanska jezika Meitei in Ao, kot jezika v pasivom.

Ključne besede: aktivni pasiv; univerzalije; koncepti primerjave; opisne kategorije; jeziki Južne Azije

1. Introduction

Generative linguistics is defined by its assumption of universals, the idea that there is a substantial set of categories such as adjectives, passive voice, accusative case etc. available cross-linguistically (Newmeyer, 2007). The "categorial universalist" approach allows linguists to compare languages at the level of categories and is widely accepted amongst generative typologists (Payne, 1997; Corbett, 2000; Van Valin, 2005; Dixon 2010). There are two perspectives with regard to universals. The first is that languages make their own selections from a universal set of features, constructing categories that may not be available cross-linguistically. However, if they have some category (say adjectives), this category will exist in the same sense as it is present in all other languages (cf. Newmeyer). A second and a more radical approach to universals, assumes that particular categories are universal not only in the sense of being universally available, but also of being universally instantiated (Baker, 2003; Dixon, 2004). As illustration, the "verb-object" constraint that combines the verb with its object to form a linguistic unit without the subject is assumed a true linguistic universal (Baker, 2009), but confirmed by different languages in varied ways.

A diametrically opposite view to universalism held by some typologists is that there are no universal "descriptive categories" common across languages; each language has its own unique set of categories that are in principle, non-comparable across languages (cf. Haspelmath, 2007, 2010). Grammatical categories are not cross-linguistic entities (either universally available or universally instantiated). To undertake comparative studies therefore, typologists construct "comparative concepts" (e.g. passive voice, subject etc.) that are usually based on some semantic content. These concepts are thus theoretical constructs, not real objects in the world's languages.

In this paper, we place a typological study of passives of South Asian languages/SALs against the universalism/particularism debate.[1] It has been noticed by Mahajan (1994) that Hindi passives are different in that they neither demote their subjects nor promote their objects as subjects. Here, we show that these properties are also true for many other South Asian languages. The absence of English-type passives in Hindi, and other SALs could be taken to indicate that there is no universal passive-voice category to be compared across languages. This together with the observation (Shibatani, 1985) that many Sino-Tibetan languages (especially Phillipine-type languages) lack prototypical passives would argue strongly against positing a universal linguistic category for passive.

However, we claim, based on similarities between languages of three different families (Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan) that passive voice is available to even those languages that fail to host English-type passives. The passive head helps underscoring the agents – the minimal condition for passives (Shibatani, 1985) – in SAL passives, just like it does in English. We also discuss data from SALs like Meitei and Ao (Tibeto-Burman) that are generally assumed to lack passives, presenting novel evidence with underscored agents in some otherwise active looking constructions.

The paper is organized as follows. We start section two with some widely accepted properties of passives. This is followed by section three where we illustrate

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[1] We restrict ourselves to regular passives with transitive verbs in this paper.

how SAL passives differ from their English counterparts. In the next section, Meitei and Ao are shown to host passives. The final section concludes the paper with some observations on the universalist and particularist debate.

2.   Canonical Passives

It is generally agreed that a passive has the following properties (Givon, 1979; Siewierska, 2005; Shibatani, 2006; Comrie, 1989):

i)   It contrasts with another construction, the active.
ii)   The subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overtly expressed (but only implied).
iii) The subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active.
iv)   The construction displays some special morphological marking of the verb.
v)   The construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active.

A typical example of a regular passive vis-à-vis its active counterpart is given in (1)-(2).

(1)   John saw Mary.

(2)   Mary was seen (by John).

There are two noticeable differences between the active and the passive forms: in the passive, (i) the agent is underscored and (ii) the theme is highlighted, exactly opposite of what we find in the active. While the active agent cannot be deleted and is the canonical subject, the passive agent is optional and introduced by a "by-phrase". According to Shibatani (1985), agent underscoring (or its optionality) is a minimal condition for passives; all passives must meet at least this formal condition. A second property for passives is that the object, which is the theme of the active, occupies the subject position in the passive and becomes the most prominent argument of the construction. In semantic terms, this leads to the formation of a consequent result or inchoative state depicting a topicalized object (see Gehrke & Grillo, 2009). In short, the theme-rheme relation of the active is distorted in the passive (Granger, 1983).

Most scholars take both properties – subject demotion and object topicalization (or its promotion to subject position) – as the two canonical properties defining passives cross-linguistically. Generative syntax treats passivization as an operation on argument structure involving the promotion of the internal argument to the subject position and demotion of the external argument to an adjunct position. Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989) in their pioneering study, suggest that these changes are brought about by the *en*-morpheme introducing a third argument in the structure. This extra argument gets the external theta-role originally due to the agent and the accusative case value of the verb, otherwise assigned to the internal argument. The former is therefore forced to surface as an (optional) adjunct and the latter as the subject of the sentence, receiving a nominative case. Schematically (3):

(3)   [Obj$_j$ [V-en (+ext.θ,+acc.case) t$_i$ t$_j$] by-Subj$_i$]

Passives in several languages attest to both these properties. Some relevant examples are provided below for illustration.

(4)   Der   lower   wurde   von   ihm   getotet
       the-nom.   lion-nom. became   by   him   killed-p.part.
       "The lion was killed was him."
       (German, Siewierska 1984)

(5)   Billettene   fas   av   publikum   i   luken
       tickets-the get-s by   audience-the in window-the
       "The tickets are got by the audience in the window."
       (Norwegian, Afarli 1992)

(6)   C'a   domashn'a robota   bula   napysana   neju
       This-nom. home.nom. work.nom. be.pst.   write.part.nom by her
       "This homework was done by her."
       (Ukranian, Slavutych, 1973)

3.   Non-Canonical Properties of Passives

Unlike English and other languages, passives in some South Asian languages are not distinguished by both agent underscoring and object to subject promotion. Mahajan (1994) was the first to point out that though Hindi agents surface as by-phrases in passives, they retain all prototypical subject properties. Passive objects on the other hand are not derived subjects; they display all prototypical properties of active objects (also see Bhatt, 2003; Richa, 2011).

To illustrate:

(7)   raavan yuddh   mein (raam dwaaraa) maaraa   gayaa
       Ravan battle in   (Ram by)   kill-PFV go-PFV
       "Ravan was killed in the battle by Ram."

This sentence is a Hindi passive, where the internal argument of a transitive verb *maar* ("kill") seemingly surfaces as the subject of the sentence, while the agent becomes an optional adjunct, marked by *dwaaraa*. The verb is in its agreeing perfective participial form *aa*, followed by the auxiliary verb *yaa* ("go").

Mahajan claims that despite appearances (7) is only passive-like in that it differs in important respects from English-type passives. He terms it and similar others as Active Passives, observing their commonalities with their active counterparts. Active passives, like their active counterparts have logical subjects/agents (*dwaaraa*-DPs) with subject-hood properties and logical objects with object-hood properties. There is however a difference in the verbal morphology, just as we would expect of passives and the agents become optional.

Mahajan uses diagnostics like anaphor binding, pronominal co-reference and control (drawing on works by Keenan (1976) among others) to substantiate his claim on passive subjects. Consider:

(8)   a.   salmaa$_i$ apne$_i$ ghar kaa niriksan   karegi
           Salma   self's home GEN examination do-FUT-FEM
           "Salma will examine self's house."

      b.   salmaa$_i$ dwaaraa apne$_i$ ghar kaa niriksan   kiyaa   gayaa
           Salma   by   self's home GEN examination do-PFV go-PFV[2]
           "Salma will examine self's house."

Possessive reflexive binding is a subject property in Hindi. In the active (8a), the possessive reflexive *apne* is bound by the matrix subject *salmaa*. The situation remains exactly the same in the passive (8b); the agentive by-phrase of the passive *salmaa dwaaraa* also binds the possessive reflexive. Similarly, agentive by-phrases also fail to co-refer to pronominal DPs in the structure, a condition known as "anti-subject orientation". Both active and passive logical subjects pattern alike in this regard, as illustrated below in (9a)-(9b).

(9)   a.   salmaa$_i$ uske$_{*i}$ ghar   kaa   niriksan   karegi
           Salma   her   home   GEN examine do-FUT-FEM
           "Salma will examine her house."

      b.   salmaa$_i$ dwaaraa uske$_{*i}$ ghar   kaa   niriksan kiyaa   gayaa
           Salma   by   her   home   GEN examine do-PFV go-PFV
           "Her house will be examined by Salma."

Yet another subject property of Hindi is that its subjects can control into complement clauses (10a). Agentive by-phrases in passives have the same ability (10b).

(10) a.   salmaa$_i$ [PRO$_i$ ghar   jaanaa] chaahti   thi
           Salma   home go-INF want-IMP-FEM be-PST-FEM
           "Salma wanted to go home."

      b.   salmaa$_i$ dwaaraa [PRO$_i$ ghar   jaanaa] chaahaa   gayaa
           alma   by   home go-INF want-IMP   go-PFV
           "Salma wanted to go home."

Moreover, both active and passive subjects may also control into conjunctive participle adverbial clauses in the language (11a)-(11b).

(11) a.   salmaa$_i$ [PRO$_i$ ghar jaa kar] mohan ko   daategi
           Salma   home go ConjPrt Mohan ACC scold-FUT-FEM
           "Salma will scold Mohan after going home."

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[2] Richa (2011) uses "PFV" to gloss the past form of the passive morphemes in Hindi; we follow her here.

b. salmaa_i dwaaraa [PRO_i ghar jaa kar] mohan ko   daataa   gayaa
Salma by   home go ConjPrt Mohan ACC scold-PFV go-PFV
"Mohan was scolded by Salma after she went home."

Agentive by-phrases in Hindi passives bind possessive reflexives, show anti-subject orientation, control into complement and adverbial clauses, thereby depicting all prototypical subject properties of the language.

Furthermore, Mahajan provides evidence to show that the object in the Active Passive behaves just as it does in an active construction. Consider (12a)-(12c).

(12) a. raajaa ne   saare shero   ko   maar diyaa
king   ERG. all tiger-PL ACC kill give
"The king killed all the tigers."

b. raajaa dwaaraa saare shero   ko   maar   diyaa   gayaa
king   by   all   tiger-PL ACC kill-PFV give-PFV go-PFV
"All the tigers were killed by the king."

c. sitaa_i dwaaraa salmaa_j ko   uske_{*i/j}[3] ghar   bhej diyaa   gayaa
Sita by   Salma ACC   her   home send give-PFV go-PFV
"Salma was sent to her home by Sita"

d. raam dwaaraa mohan_i ko [PRO_i ghar jaane   ke   liye] kaahaa   gayaa
Ram by   Mohan ACC   home go-INF GEN for   tell-PFV go-PFV
"Mohan was told by Ram to go home."

In the passive construction (12b), the logical object *saare shero* retains the accusative *ko* of the active object (12a). Apart from that, the pronoun in the passive construction (12c) can co-refer with the object. This suggests that the passive object is also the grammatical object because had it been in a subject position, it would have shown anti-subject orientation. Interestingly, the passive object can control into the complement clause, indicating that it has moved to a position high enough to c-command the embedded subject (12d). However, that position is not the subject position of the Active Passive.

Contrary to Mahajan, Bhatt (2003) claims that non-case marked objects (minus *ko*) are promoted in passives, which are attested by the nominative case on them; compare (13a) and (13b).

(13) a. mujh   ko   fouran   pehchaan liyaa   jaayegaa
me-OBL-ACC immediately recognize take-PFV go-PFV-FUT
"I will be recognized immediately."

b. me fouran   pehchaan li   jaaungi
I   immediately recognize take-PFV go-PFV-FUT.F
"I will be recognized immediately."

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[3] The pronominal can also refer to any arbitrary person.

But Bhatt's claims for object movement to subject position are not well-substantiated. Richa (2011) presents evidence from control indicating quite the contrary. As shown in (14a)-(14b), both objects, with or without *ko* case, fail to control into the conjunctive participial clauses, a fiat only possible for real subjects.

(14) a. sitaa$_i$ [PRO$_{*i/*imp\,arg}$ ro kar] ghar se   bheji   gayi
          Sita   cry ConjPrt home from   send-PFV.F go-PFV.F
          "Having cried, Sita was sent home."

      b. sitaa$_i$ ko [PRO$_{*i/*imp\,arg}$ ro kar] ghar se bhejaa   gayaa
          Sita ACC   cry ConjPrt home from send-PFV.M go-PFV.M
          "Having cried, Sita was sent home."

But these two differently marked objects clearly have different landing sites. This difference is witnessed by the ability of only overtly case-marked objects to bind pronominals (15a) versus (15b), suggesting that only these DPs are placed high enough to A-bind other DPs.

(15) a. chuhe$_j$ ko   uske$_{j/k}$ beg me rakhaa   gayaa
          rat   ACC his   bag in   keep-PFV go-PFV
          "The rat was kept in his bag."

      b. chuhe$_j$ uske$_{*j/k}$ beg me rakhaa   gayaa
          rat   his   bag in   keep-PFV go-PFV
          "The rat was kept in his bag."

To summarize, Hindi regular passives have two salient properties. The first is that the external argument which is an agentive phrase retains subject properties though it surfaces as a PP. The second property is that the *ko* marked object is in a higher position than the unmarked one, though neither occupies the subject position of the clause.

3.1 Oriya Active Passives

As with Hindi, Oriya regular passives don't differ much from English-type passives, at least going by the surface structure. The internal argument of a transitive verb appears as the subject of the sentence with the logical subject appearing as an adjunct introduced by a preposition *dwaaraa* ("by"). The verb is in its agreeing perfective participial form, followed by the light verb *galaa,* ("go"). A typical passive construction from Oriya is provided below (16b) with its active counterpart (16a).

(16) a. Mili raam ku   juddh re maari   delaa
          Mili ram ACC battle in kill-PFV give-PFV
          "Mili killed Ram in the battle."

      b. (mili dwaaraa) raam juddh re maraa   galaa
          Mili by   ram battle in kill-PFV go-PFV
          "Ram was killed in the battle (by Mili)."

However the picture changes drastically once we start probing deeper into the structures. The first diagnostic - anaphor binding – shows that the agentive by-phrases are capable of A-binding reflexives, a property very reminiscent of active subjects. This similarity is illustrated between the active (17a) and the passive (17b).

(17) a. salmaa$_i$ taa–nija$_i$ ghara nirikshyana kalaa
Salma self   home examine   do-PFV
"Salma examined her house."

    b. salmaa$_i$ dwaaraa taa–nija$_i$ ghara   nirikshyana karaa   galaa
Salma by   self   home examine   do-PFV go-PFV
"Self's house was examined by Salma."

Moreover, like active subjects (18a), agentive by-phrases in passives also show anti-subject orientation (18b).

(18) a. salmaa$_i$ taa$_{*i}$ ghara nirikshyana kalaa
Salma her home examine   do-PFV
"Salma examined her house."

    b. salmaa$_i$ dwaaraa taa$_{*I}$ ghara nirikshyana karaa   galaa
Salma by   her home examine   do-PFV go-PFV
"Self's house was examined by Salma."

While agentive by-phrases behave as subjects, passive objects retain the object properties of the language, as illustrated below.

(19) a. raajaa dwaaraa sabu baaghanku   maari   diaa   galaa
king   by   all   tiger-PL-ACC kill-PFV give-PFV go-PFV
"All the tigers were killed by the king."

    b. sitaa dwaaraa salmaa$_i$ ko   taa$_i$ ghar   ku pathei diaa   galaa
Sita by   Salma ACC   her home to send give-PFV   go-PFV
"Salma was sent to her home by Sita."

In (19a) the passive object retains the *ku* accusative case marker. Sentence (19b) illustrates that a pronominal in a passive can co-refer with the object, which is quite different from what we witness with subjects. Case-marking on the object is however optional (20a)-(20b), similar to what we observe for Hindi.

(20) a. mote   atishighra chihni   diaa   jiba
me-OBL-ACC immediately recognize give-PFV go-PFV-FUT
"I will be recognized immediately."

    b. mu atishighra   chihnaa   padi   jibi
I   immediately recognize fall-PFV   go-PFV-FUT
"I will be recognized immediately."

In Oriya too, we find clear syntactic differences between the marked and the unmarked ones, with only the former co-referring to possessive pronominals in the

structure (21a)-(21b). This indicates that marked objects are placed higher than the unmarked ones.

(21) a. sitaa$_i$ taa$_{*i/j}$ ghar   paakhare dekhaa   galaa
          Sita   her-OBL-GEN home   near   see-PFV   go-PFV
          "Sita$_i$ was seen near her home."

     b. sitaa$_i$ ku   taa$_{i/j}$ ghar paakhare dekhaa   galaa
          Sita   ACC   her   home near   see-PFV   go-PFV
          "Sita was seen near her home."

The marked ones can also control into adjunct clauses (22a)-(22b).

(22) a. sitaa$_i$ [PRO$_{*i/imp\,arg}$ kaandu kaandu] gharu   bidaa karaagalaa
          Sita   crying   crying   home   send   do-PFV
          "Sita was sent from home while she was crying."

     b. sitaa$_i$ ku   [PRO$_{i/imp\,arg}$ kaandu kaandu] gharu bidaa karaagalaa
          sita   ACC   crying   crying   home   send   do-PFV
          "Sita was sent from home while she was/people who sent her were crying."

However, these facts cannot be taken to claim that the marked object has moved as high as the subject. Evidence for a non-subject position for the raised object comes from control effects into conjunctive participles marked by the suffix *kari* on a bare verb stem. This conjunctive participle is the root of the verb *karibaa* and it obligatorily requires an overt controller in subject position (23).

(23)   ciku$_i$ monu$_j$ ku   [PRO$_{i/*j}$ hasikari   ]   maarilaa
          Chiku Monu   ACC   laugh-ConjPrt hit-PERF
          "Chiku hit Monu while he was laughing."

When conjunctive participles are placed in passives, objects – promoted/not promoted – are however unable to control their PRO subjects. Consider:

(24) a. ?sitaa$_i$[PRO$_{*i/*imp\,arg}$ kaandikari   ]   gharu   bidaa karaagalaa
          Sita   crying-ConjPrt   home   send   do-PFV
          "Having cried, Sita was sent from home."

     b. sitaa$_i$ ku   [PRO$_{*i/imp\,arg}$ kaandikari   ]   gharu   bidaa karaagalaa
          Sita   ACC   crying-ConjPrt   home   send   do-PFV
          "Having cried, Sita was sent from home."

As (24a)-(24b) show, *Sitaa*, with or without the overt accusative case marker fails to control into the *kari* marked adjunct; the controller must instead be a subject. The conjunctive participle control test therefore suggests that the direct object is never in a subject position, though it could land up in a higher position.

3.2 Malayalam Active Passives

Like the other Indian languages discussed above, Malayalam also has passives whose surface morphology suggests that the logical object has become the derived subject and the logical subject, with an instrumental marker, an adjunct. Compare the active with the passive in the following sentences.

(25) a. Jo:n̪   raaman-e   adicc-u
        John   Ram-ACC   beat-PST
        "John beat Ram."

     b. raaman   jo:n̪-in-aal   aɖikka-ppett-u
        Ram   John-INSTR   beat-PASS-PST
        "Ram was beaten by John."

As with the other languages, anaphor binding is a good subject-hood diagnostic in this language.[4] Here too, we find that the agentive by-phrase retains the subject-hood properties of the active subject. As illustrated in (26a)-(26b), both active and passive subjects A-bind reflexive DPs.

(26) a. salmaa$_i$ swandam$_i$ vi:tt-il   tira-(y)um
        Salma   self-GEN   house-LOC   search-FUT
        "Salma will search self's house."

     b. salmaa-(y)aal$_i$ swandam$_i$ vi:tt-il   tiraya-pped-um
        Salma-INSTR   self-GEN   house-LOC   search-PASS-FUT
        "Self's house will be searched by Salma."

Another diagnostic that can identify subjects in Malayalam is control. As we see below, both active subjects and agentive by-phrases in passives can control into complement clauses (27a)-(27b).

(27) a. salmaa$_i$ [PRO$_i$ vitt-il   po:kan]   aagrahicc-u
        Salma   house-LOC   go-INF   wish-PST
        "Salma wished to go home."

     b. salmaa-(y)aal$_i$ [PRO$_i$ vi:tt-il   po:kan]   aagrahikka-ppett-u
        Salma-INSTR   house-LOC   go-INF   wish-PASS-PST
        "By Salma was wished to go home."

What is unique about Malayalam passives is that their objects can never be marked overtly like their active objects (28a)-(28b).

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[4] Anti-subject orientation is not a subject property in Malayalam.

(28) a. ɲaan   kaduva-(y)e   konn-u
        I   tiger-ACC   kill-PST
        "I killed the tiger."

   b. kaduva enn-aal   kolla-ppett-u
      tiger   1P.SG-INSTR   kill-PASS-PST
      "The tiger was killed by me."

Lack of overt case-marking may suggest that these objects are placed structurally lower, similar to what we observe for Hindi and Oriya. However, control facts suggest otherwise. Passive objects control into complement clauses in Malayalam as they do in the active counterparts, suggesting that they raise high enough to c-command other arguments. This is illustrated below in (29a)-(29b).

(29) a. raaman$_i$ mohan$_j$-odə [PRO $_{*i/j}$ vittil   pokan]   paranju
        Raman   Mohan-GEN   house-LOC   go-INF   say-PST
        "Raman asked Mohan to go home."

   b. raaman-aal$_i$ mohan$_j$-odə [PRO $_{*i/j}$ vittil   pokan] pəRə (y)ə-ppett-u
      Raman   Mohan-GEN   house-LOC go-INF say-   NomPrt-PASS-PST
      "By Raman, Mohan was asked to go home."

3.3 Kharia Active Passives

Kharia too falls nicely in line with Hindi, Oriya and Malayalam when it comes to passives; i.e. its passives have typical SAL properties. Consider the data set given below (30a)-(30b), where an active and a passive are compared. The passive object is displaced to a sentence initial position, and the agent becomes optional.

(30) a. mili-ko   raam te   mahaa koley hinte taaro
        Mili-ERG   Ram-ACC   big   fight   in   kill-PST
        "Milli killed Ram in the battle."

   b. raam mahaa koley hinte   ter-dom-ki
      Ram   big   fight   in   kill-PASS-PST
      "Ram was killed in the battle."

When realized, the agent is marked by the instrumental marker *bung*, as illustrated below.

(31)   mili yaa   bung raam mahaa koley hinte ter-dom-ki
        Milli-ERG by   Ram   big   fight   in   kill-PASS-PST
        "By Milli, Ram was killed in the battle."

The *bung* marked agent in Kharia behaves like active agents in different tests like anaphor binding, pronominal co-reference and control. Some relevant examples are given below.

(32) a. salmaa$_i$ aadiyaa$_i$ ohoh-yaa yonaa-kangnaa karaaye
   Salma self house examine did
   "Salma examined her own house."

   b. salmaa$_i$-yaa bung aadiyaa$_i$ ohoh-yaa yonaa-kangnaa karaay- dom-ki
   Salma-ERG by self house-GEN examine did- PASS-PST
   "Self's house was examined by Salma."

Possessive reflexive binding is a subject property in Kharia as illustrated in (32a). The structure in (32b), which is a passive construction, similarly has the agentive phrase *salmaa bung* bind the possessive reflexive. Anti-subject orientation is another subject characteristic in Kharia. Once again, both active and passive agents obey this constraint, as (33a-33b) show.

(33) a. salmaa$_i$ hokadaa$_{*i/j}$ ohoh-yaa yonaa-kongnaa karaay
   Salma her house-GEN examine did
   "Salma examined her house."

   b. salmaa-yaa$_i$ bung hokadaa$_{*i/j}$ ohoh-yaa yonaa-kongnaa karaay-dom-naa
   Salma-ERG by her house-GEN examine did- PASS-PST
   "Her house was examined by Salma."

Kharia subjects can also control into complement clauses (34a). The agentive phrase in passives also behaves similarly in subject control construction (34b).

(34) a. salmaa$_i$ [PRO$_i$ ohoh chonaa] laamnaa laa-kho
   Salma house go want be-PST
   "Salma wanted to go home."

   b. salmaa-yaa$_i$ bung [PRO$_i$ ohoh chonaa] laam-dom-ki
   Salma-ERG by house go want-PASS-PST
   "By Salma was wanted to go home."

Apart from that, Kharia subjects can control into conjunctive participle adverbial clauses in Kharia (35a), a behavior mimicked by agentive phrases in passives (35b).

(35) a. salmaa$_i$ [PRO$_i$ ohoh chol-kon] mohan-te lene-ye
   Salma house go-ConjPrt Mohan-ACC scold-FUT
   "Salma will scold Mohan after going home."

   b. salmaa$_i$-yaa bung [PRO$_i$ ohoh chol-kon] mohan te lene- dom-ki
   Salma-GEN by house go-ConjPrt Mohan-ACC scold-PASS-PST
   "Mohan will be scolded by Salma."

Passive objects also show object-like properties in the language. Firstly, accusative case-marking is obligatory for objects in passives. Non-case-marked objects yield ungrammaticality, as illustrated in the contrast between (36a)-(36b).

(36) a. ing-te   truth   kong-dom-go-naa
          I-ACC   immediately   identify-PASS-FUT
          "I will be identified immediately."

      b. *ing   truth   kong-dom-go-naa-ing
          I-NOM   immediately   identify-PASS-FUT
          "I will be identified immediately."

These case-marked DPs are placed high enough to c-command and control PRO in embedded clauses (37).

(37) raam-yaa bung mohan-te$_i$ [PRO$_i$ ohoh chonaa thong] gam-dom-ki
      Ram-ERG   by   Mohan-ACC   house go   for   said- PASS-PST
      "Mohan was asked to go home by Ram."

But the promoted object is not placed high enough as the subject, as is confirmed by the fact that it obviates the anti-subject constraint (38).

(38) sitaa-yaa bung salmaa$_i$-te   hokadaa$_i$ ohoh daang-dom-ki
      Sita-ERG   by   Salma-ACC   her   house send-PASS-PST
      "Salama was sent to her house by Sita."

3.4 Summing up: The Spectrum of Passives

SAL passives and their English counterparts are different as we have discussed above, yet they share one crucial feature: the underscoring of the agent. This underscoring or optionality, we suggest, is a crucial property of the passive voice, which has the unique ability of introducing an argument with a preposition. Preposition marking is what makes the argument appear like an optional adjunct. However, it is also interesting to note that though phonetically optional (in the sense of not getting overtly manifested obligatorily), passive agents are present in the structure as implicit arguments, an observation originally due to Bhatt and Pancheva (2006). Consider the following examples in this regard.

(39) The boat was sunk to collect the insurance.

(40) The boat was sunk deliberately.

As illustrated above, the PRO of the embedded clause (39) needs a controller, which is the implicit agent. Similarly in (40), an agent-oriented adverbial is allowed because of the presence of an implicit agent. SALs display similar behavior (41)-(42).

(41) nauke-ko   bimaa   lene   ke liye duboyaa gayaa
      boat-ACC insurance collect for   sink   go-PFV
      "The boat was sunk to collect the insurance"

(42) nauke-ko   jaanbhujkar duboyaa   gayaa
      boat-ACC deliberately sink   go-PFV
      "The boat was sunk deliberately."

That indicates that the optionality of the agent is a matter of phonetics, not syntax. Passive agents are just like any other argument of the structure; they are obligatory hosted in the syntax. Whether they appear ultimately to the subject position or not differ from one language to the other, a difference possibly determined by other systemic concerns.

Secondly, if we are right, there is an entire spectrum of passive constructions, some of which obey only the minimal condition for passives – the underscoring of agents, and others which have additional features of object topicalization/promotion and/or verbal morphology alternations. English is a language that has all three properties, whereas SALs discussed here have only two of them – agent underscoring and change in verbal morphology. Tibeto-Burman languages may have passives that have agent underscoring and object topicalization, but no verbal morphology alternations. We detail on passives from this family of languages in the next section.

4.   The Tibeto-Burman Passive

Whether Tibeto-Burman languages like Ao and Manipuri host passives is a contentious issue since there is no separate passive verbal morphology nor are agents marked with prepositions like "by" or "with". Actives do have some counterparts with dropped agents and topicalized objects quite reminiscent of passives, but additional evidence is called for before we can confidently make any such claim. Take some sentences below for illustration.

(43) a. john-i kaari kaa   aali   (Ao)
          John   car   one   buy-PFT
          "John bought a car."

      b. kaari   kaa   (john-i)   aali
          car   one   John   buy-PFT-PASS
          "A car was bought by John."

(44) a. police.tu.naa naŋ   phugani   (Manipuri)
          police-DEF   you   beat-FUT
          "The policeman will hit you."

      b. (police.tu.naa) naŋ.bu   phugani
          police-DEF   you-DEF   beat-FUT
          "You will be hit by the policeman."

In both Ao and Manipuri, agent underscoring is possible in some constructions, such as (43b) and (44b); compare these with the (a) sentences where agents are a must. The objects in the optional agent-constructions are also highlighted by either their sentence-initial positions or by a definiteness marker respectively. Ao also has objects marked distinctly with the definiteness particle ji or yaa with the agents suppressed. This is illustrated in (45)-(46).

(45) a. parnoki tanur yaashi   aangu
      They   child yesterday see/find-PFV
      "They saw/found the child yesterday."

    b. Tanur-ji   yaashi   tesusaa aangu
      child-def. yesterday last   see/find-PFV
      "The child was last seen yesterday."

(46) a. window-yaa nisung aa-i   aaksaa
      window-def. person someone broke
      "The window was broken by someone."

Similarly, Manipuri (see the contrast in (47a) and (47b)) can use the sentence-initial position to highlight the object.

(47) a. joan-naa   meri-bu   phure
      Joan-DEF Mary-DEF hit-PFV
      "Joan hit Mary."

    b. meri-bu   joan-naa   phukhre/phure
      Mary-DEF Joan-DEF hit-PFV
      "Mary was hit by Joan."

In short, we find these languages using either the sentence-initial position or a special morpheme to mark the most prominent, non-subject argument. In contrast, actives with ergative subjects occupy the sentence-initial position, but there is no special marking for them. Special marking seems restricted for non-subject arguments. This is the initial indication that these are not true actives. Moreover, the topicalized objects are placed high enough to control into complement clauses (see (48b) and (49b); contrast them with the active sentences with subject control in the (a) sentences.

(48) a. na-yaa   (sepaai)   azuktsa insurance bentba   yong   (Ao)
      you-def. policeman hit   insurance collection for
      "You will be hit by the policeman to collect the insurance."

    b. sepaai-naa na   azuktsa insurance bentsu aatemaa
      policeman you hit   insurance collect purpose
      "The policeman will hit you to collect the insurance."

(49) a. insurance khomnaabaa naangbu phugani   (Manipuri)
      insurance collect   you   hit.will
      "You will be hit to collect the insurance."

    b. pulisnaa naangbu phuragaa insurance khomgani
      police   you   hit   insurance collect
      "The police will hit you to collect the insurance."

Interestingly, both languages can use agent-oriented adverbials with these optional agent-sentences. Consider:

(50) a. sepaai   teloktem aashaa-tang mitsi-tok   (Ao)
         policeman protestor deliberately kick-PFV
         "The policeman kicked the protestor deliberately."

     b. teloktem-ji (sepaai)   aashaa-tang mitsi-tho
        protestor-def. policeman deliberately kick
        "The protestor was kicked deliberately (by the policeman)."

(51) a. pulisnaa   protestardo thauojna   kawkhi   (Manipuri)
        policeman protestor   deliberately kick
        "The policeman kicked the protestor deliberately."

     b. protestardo thauojna   kawkhi
        protestor   deliberately kicked
        "The protestor was deliberately kicked."

Such sentences with agent-oriented adverbials suggest that like passives in other languages, the agents in Ao and Manipuri, even when they are phonetically absent or removed from their canonical sentence-prominent positions, are syntactically active. They are implicit arguments when not phonetically represented.

Moreover, like other passives (English (52)), Ao and Manipuri prevent these constructions from hosting "from" agentive phrases (53)-(54) respectively.

(52) *The man was killed from the car.

(53) *tanur-ji   sepaai-e   mitsi-tok
      Child-def.   policeman-from kicked
      "The child was kicked from the police."

(54) *angando kawkhi pulistagi
      Child   kicked police-from
      "The child was kicked from the police."

A final piece of evidence to show that these optional agent-less constructions are actually passives is their semantics with negation. It is observed that with Ao sentences like (55), the presence of a negation imparts it a non-stative reading. The sentence is interpreted as the beans not having put to boil at all by an agent; there is no reference to a state of the beans being half-boiled. On the other hand, a stative interpretation is possible for (56).

(55) Beans-yaa ano me-molaa
      Beans-def still not-boiled
      "The beans have not been put to boil"

(56) Beans-yaa chonga me-molaa
      Bean-def. well   not-boiled
      "The beans are not well-cooked"

The interesting difference between the two is that only in the former – with the non-stative meaning, can one have an optional agentive by-phrase phonetically

represented, whereas the one with the stative meaning completely rejects the presence of an agent. This suggests that the former is a passive and the latter a stative.[5]

Manipuri on the other hand prefers a stative meaning with such constructions (57). As expected, agentive phrases are ruled out here.

(57) Hawaaido   munde
     Beans   not-cooked
     "The beans are not well-cooked"

We thus have some substantial piece of evidence for suggesting that active looking constructions in Ao and Manipuri with optionally dropped agents and topicalized objects are indeed passives. Lack of separate passive verbal morphology suggest otherwise, but we have illustrated here that the properties of actives – like projecting agents as most prominent arguments or subjects as well as controlling into complement clauses – are not found in these agentless constructions. Moreover, the latter allow agent-oriented adverbs while disallowing from-agentive phrases, two properties that we also observe with English passives. Similarly, only passives with non-stative readings allow optional agents, whereas statives don't. Suppression of agents therefore seems to be a property unique to passives in these languages as well.

5.   Conclusion: A way out for Universalism

Our study shows that cross-linguistically passives manifest different surface properties. English passives are recognized by optional agent suppression, object to subject movement and separate verbal morphology, whereas languages like Hindi, Oriya, Kharia and Malayalam have passives with optional agent suppression and separate verbal morphology, but no object movement to subject position. Finally, Ao and Manipuri passives optionally suppress their agents and have object movement, but do not host separate verbal morphology. There is then one crucial property that all passives in the languages under study share and that is the suppression or underscoring of the agent. They therefore obey Shibatani's minimal condition for passives. We can therefore safely conclude that there is a universal passive voice – with its ability to underscore the agent – underlying every language. This paper is therefore a defense of "categorical universalism" over Haspelmath's proposed "categorical particularism".

Haspelmath through his emphasis on categorical particularism proposes a radical disconnect between grammatical analyses of particular-languages and cross-linguistic

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[5] Dubinsky and Simango (1996) find a similar semantic distinction between passives and statives in Chichewa illustrated through the following examples. Passives in this language, unlike Ao and Manipuri however have a distinct passive morphology.

(i) Nyemba   si-zi-na-phik-idwe
     Beans   neg-agr-past-cook-pass
     "The beans were not cooked (at all)."

(ii) Nyemba   si-zi-na-phik-ike
     Beans   neg-agr-past-cook-stat
     "The beans were not cooked (well)."

typological studies. "Each language has its own categories, …[which] are often similar across languages, but the similarities and differences between languages cannot be captured by equating categories across languages" (Haspelmath, 2007, p. 663). Typology is therefore considered beyond the reach of language-particular theoretical researches.

We suspect otherwise, given what we observe in the paper. One crucial property that we find for every passive in well-studied languages such as English is agent suppression. This property is then isolated and investigated on novel data from a set of chosen languages. It is observed in all these constructions, which force us to contend that they are indeed all of the same type even though some of them may manifest extra features and surface morphology. Our search therefore leads us from language-particular properties to significant typological generalizations, indicating that the disconnect Haspelmath tries to build between these two strands of research is faulty to start with. Language particular theoretical analyses and typology go hand in hand to a large extent; they feed into each other.

We therefore find it appropriate to end our paper with an observation due to Newmeyer (2010, p. 688), "universal comparative concepts and language-particular descriptive categories are each highly problematic in and of themselves. It is only by means of working out the interplay between the language-particular and the language-independent that we can hope to understand either".

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POLITENESS STRATEGIES IN ODIA

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Abstract

This study discusses how various politeness strategies are implemented linguistically and how linguistic usage is related to social and contextual factors in the Indic language Odia[1]. The study extends the validity of politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1978) with reference to Odia speech-patterns and shows that Odia usage of politeness would be more differentiated according to the social relationship and gender than the content of the message. In Brown and Levinson's model, individual speech acts are considered to be inherently polite or impolite. However, in Odia, it is found that communities of practice, rather than individuals, determine whether speech acts are considered polite or impolite. Thus, politeness should be considered as a set of strategies or practices set by particular groups or communities of practice as a socially constructed norm for themselves.

Keywords: gender; politeness strategies; pronouns; address forms; Odia language

Izvleček

Razprava predstavi, kako se različne strategije vljudnosti izražajo skozi jezik in kako je izbira jezikovnih sredstev povezana z družbenimi in kontekstualnimi dejavniki v indijskem jeziku orija. Študija pokaže, da teorija vljudnosti (Brown & Levinson, 1978) velja tudi za govorne vzorce v oriji, saj so razlike v izražanju vljudnosti tesneje povezane s spolom in družbenimi razlikami, kot pa s samo vsebino sporočila. V okviru Brownovega in Levinsonovega modela so posamezna govorna dejanja inherentno ljudna ali nevljudna. Na primeru odije se je izkazalo, da je dojemanje govornega dejanja kot vljudnega ali nevljudnega, v večji meri odvisno od jezikovne skupnosti, in ne toliko od posameznega govorca. Na podlagi tega bi morali vljudnost obravnavati kot nabor strategij in dejanj, ki jih zase določijo posamezne skupine ali skupnosti kot dužbena pravila.

Ključne besede: spol; strategije vljudnosti; zaimki; oblike nazivov; orija

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[1] Odia, formerly known as Oriya, is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Odisha, a state in the eastern part of India.

1. Introduction

Politeness is defined by the concern for the feelings of others. For Holmes (1995), politeness refers to "behaviour which actively expresses positive concern for others, as well as non-imposing distancing behaviour". It is "a battery of social skills whose goal is to ensure everyone feels affirmed in a social interaction" (Mills, 2003). In terms of Brown and Levinson (1978), politeness strategies are developed in order to save the hearers' "face", whereas "face" refers to the respect that an individual has for him-/her-self, and maintaining that "self-esteem" in public or in private situations. This refers to the situation, where the addresser usually tries to avoid making the addressee feel uncomfortable. Hence, politeness means some manners or etiquette which is grafted on to individual speech acts in order to facilitate interaction between speaker and hearer. Such etiquette emerges over stretches of talk and across communities of speakers and hearers. Brown and Levinson assume the speaker's volitional use of language, which allows the speaker's creative use of face-maintaining strategies towards the addressee. In Japanese, however, as (Matsumoto, 1988; Ide, 1989) claim politeness is achieved not so much on the basis of volition as on discernment (*wakimae* "finding one's place"), or prescribed social norms. It adheres to formality norms appropriate to the particular situation. This study investigates how politeness strategies are followed in Odia and what types of politeness strategies are transmitted through linguistic channels.

Odia is an Indian language, belonging to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family. It is one of the official languages of India, and is mainly spoken in the Indian state Odisha. According to the census data 2001 (censusindia.gov.in), the language is spoken by over 33 million people in India; and globally over 45 million speak Odia. In Odisha, good manners are most highly esteemed, and the children are taught that it is very essential for them to show respect to their superiors and elders, to be friendly with the peers, and to be always kind and courteous to their inferiors. The custom of greetings and salutations, of visiting, of eating, of giving gifts, of introductions, writing letters, and the like, are all strictly defined[2], and they are like the code of laws which binds society together, and no one is allowed to transgress them so easily. It is a fundamental part of civilization and also a very essential characteristic of religion.

Since the social status of each individual is not equal in Odia society, one person typically has a higher/lower position than his/her peers, and such position is determined by a variety of factors including profession, age, caste, gender, family relationship or even a particular situation or psychological state (Sahoo, 2003). The person in the lower position in a particular situation, usually, uses a polite form of speech with a person in the higher position, for example, a person asking for a favour tends to do so politely. Strangers usually speak to each other politely. Except for a few situations, children usually use less-polite speech until their teens. Educated people use more polite forms than the uneducated people, women use more polite forms than men. Females have a long tradition of addressing their husband and other members of the in-law's family with reverence. Also, in many other situations, females usually use more polite forms than men.

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[2] The rules vary for both the sexes, though.

The use of honorifics is a common feature in Odia. Some of the common honorifics are: *āgyān* "yes sir/madam", *bābu* "Mr.", and some honorific titles borrowed from English like Professor. Dr., Mr., Miss, Mrs, sir/madam, etc. *āgyān* "yes sir/madam" is perhaps the only honorific term that can be used for nearly all kinds of persons irrespective of their caste, sex and occupation. *bābu*[3] can be used with either the first name or the last name of the person. However, "sir/madam" is not confined to vocative contexts only, but is freely used in nominative & objective cases as well; eg, *sir/madam mote kahile je...* ("sir/madam told me that…"), *mũ sir-nku kahibi...* ("I will ask sir…").

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 discusses variants of the second person singular pronoun and different levels of politeness found in Odia society. Section 3 considers politeness strategies like choice of lexical words, use of indirectness, indirect speech and sophisticated vocabulary, avoidance of negative questions, etc. Section 4 focuses on linguistic sub-strategies implemented for making requests, commands, suggestion, prohibition and seeking permission. Section 5 concludes with a summary of the discussion.

For the data in this paper, I have consulted the EMILLE/CIIL corpus.[4] Also, being a native speaker of the language, some of the examples are provided by me.[5]

2.   Levels of Politeness

2.1 Positive vs. Negative Politeness

Brown and Levinson's (1978) model analyses politeness in two broad groups: positive politeness and negative politeness. Positive politeness "anoints the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S[peaker] wants H[earer]'s wants (e.g. by treating him/her as a member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked)". On the other hand, Negative politeness which is "essentially avoidance-based and consist(s)…in assurances that the speaker…will not interfere with the addressee's freedom of action." Thus, Positive politeness is concerned with demonstrating closeness and affiliation, whereas Negative politeness is concerned with distance and formality. On the other hand, for Holmes (1995), "polite people" are those who "avoid obvious face-threatening acts ... they generally attempt to reduce the threat of unavoidable face threatening acts such as requests or warnings by softening them, or expressing them indirectly; and they use polite utterances such as greetings and compliments where possible."

Brown and Levinson (1978) proposed that communicator's choice of super-strategies (such as, bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness, off the record, and no communication) depends on power, distance, and level of the imposition. Specifically, as power, distance, and imposition increase, individuals will

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[3] A term like *bābuāNi* "Mrs" also exists, but that is used to refer to the wife of a *bābu* rather.

[4] The use of EMILLE/CIIL corpus is gratefully acknowledged.

[5] In a non-systematic enquiry, I have verified all the data with some 11 native speakers of the language.

use higher level super-strategies. In other words, politeness theory suggests that negative strategies are more "polite" than positive strategies and individuals will use more negative strategies than positive strategies when speaking with a powerful person.

In Odia, categories that capture positive politeness strategies include being affiliative, attentive, concerned, approving, encouraging, supportive, positive, seeking agreement, and even giving gifts to the target. These categories correspond to Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies of noticing or attending to the target, showing interest, approval, and sympathy for the target, seeking agreement, asserting common ground, joking, asserting knowledge of the target's wants and concerns, being optimistic, and asserting reciprocity. On the other hand, categories that capture negative politeness include being indirect, not being open, being apologetic, being avoidant, being uncertain, and being professional. These categories correspond to Brown and Levinson's strategies of being indirect, hedging, being pessimistic, minimizing the imposition, being deferential, and being apologetic.

2.2 Pronouns as Markers of Politeness

In Odia, personal pronouns are marked for politeness. 2nd person pronoun is marked for politeness conveying three morphological variants of the form denoting three layers of honorificity. 3rd person singular pronoun *se* (s/he) is marked for politeness through plural agreement with the verb (Sahoo, 2011)[6], as shown in example (1). (1b) marked with plural agreement is more polite than the counterpart (1a) with singular agreement.

(1)   a.   se   ās-u-chh-i
            s/he   come-PROG-Aux-3sg$_{[-Hon]}$
            "S/he is coming."

      b.   se   ās-u-chh-anti
            s/he   come-PROG-Aux-3pl./3sg$_{[+Hon]}$
            "S/he$_{[+Hon]}$ is coming."

3rd person genitive pronoun like *tā(ra)* (his/her) vs *tānka(ra)* (his/her$_{[+Hon]/PL}$) shows that *tānka(ra)* is marked for politeness as it is used in the plural form.

The second person singular pronoun "you" in Odia has three lexical realizations: *tu*, *tume* and *āpaNa*. These lexical variants of the second person singular pronoun, as far as their usage is concerned, differ in their semantics and are used under specific social circumstances, with a distinctive social distribution (Sahoo, 2003):

- *tu* is an intimate pronoun which is used for close friends, relatives, female family members or younger people. Due to its lack of honorific content, it is used with servants, socially low class people, etc.

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[6] 1st person singular pronoun is also used in plural form to mark politeness. However, it is restricted to literary use only.

- *tume* occupies an intermediate position between *tu* and *āpaNa* both in terms of intimacy and respect or honorification. It is therefore employed in a wide range of contexts, e.g. in addressing one's spouse, in-laws, male family members, colleagues, strangers (of the same age-group), neighbours, all the elders, etc.

- *āpaNa* is a honorific form and is used for teachers, officials, senior colleagues, people of high social status, etc.

In terms of politeness, we can refer to them as the plain form, the simple polite form and the advanced polite form, respectively. The distribution of the three variants of the pronoun is thus determined by the dimensions of honour, intimacy and social status with respect to the societal role-relationship. For example, one uses the *tu* variant of "you" for his/her elder brother and sister as well, but uses *tume* [+honorific] for his/her sister-in-law (brother's wife), and the brother-in-law (sister's husband). This is because of the difference in the degree of intimacy between brothers and sisters and the in-laws. Thus, a polite form is used for the in-laws. Parents use the *tu* form for their children. Intimate friends can use *tu* and little less intimate friends can use *tume* for each other, whereas colleagues in an office can choose *tume* or *āpaNa* for each other. Students use *āpaNa* for a teacher, while the teacher can use either *tu* (in primary school) or *tume* (in secondary or high school, university, etc.). Thus, the degree of politeness can be determined from the usage of the variants of the second person pronoun.

Based on the variants of the second person singular pronoun, there are at least three levels of politeness in Odia: the plain form, the simple polite form and the advanced polite form.

(i) The plain form is casual speech, which is used among children, close friends, kins, family members (either very intimate or younger to the addresser), friends of the same age-group. Due to its lack of honorific content, this is also used for servants, socially low class people, etc.

(ii) The simple polite form occupies an intermediate position between casual and honorific, both in terms of intimacy and respect or honorificity. It is therefore employed in a wide range of contexts, e.g. among family members, colleagues, strangers (of the same age-group), neighbours, in-laws, elders, while praying gods, etc.

(iii) The advanced polite form is a honorific form which is used with teachers, officials, people of high social status, etc.

In addition, there is the rude form, which is not in use in a normal conversation. It is either rough language or blunt speech that consists of talking down to the listener, or it is very colloquial and appropriate only in a very familiar group.

3. Politeness Strategies

Politeness theory posits that, as the social distance between the speaker and the listener increases, politeness increases (Brown & Levinson, 1978; Holmes, 1995). This is true for Odia. In Odia, power, social distance and contextual factors affect different

politeness strategies. Individuals simply tend to use more strategies as power and distance increase. Some strategies are more sensitive to distance differences and some are more sensitive to power differences. One tends to be more polite to someone who is socially more distant (e.g. a stranger) than to someone who is socially more close (e.g. a family member). Moreover, age and sex also play important roles in it (Sahoo & Babu, 2012). As distance is greater with superiors and subordinates than with peers, thus, one would expect more politeness with superiors and subordinates than with peers. Peers are likely to have more or less similar experiences, they tend to be more familiar with one another, and interact more informally with one another.

Politeness depends not only on the semantic content of the utterance but also on the accompanying kinesics such as body movements, gestures and facial expressions-- that contextualize the utterance. However, in this paper we will focus on linguistic means only.

3.1 Distance Differences

Let's consider a situation of distance differences. In a socially intimate or zero distance situation, while making a request, a child might use a sentence like (3) for his/her mother, instead of (2) (with the use of light verb *die* "give"/particles *Tike* and *ma* /past tense to mark politeness), which is more appropriate for a request with people of distant differences.

(2) a. mili, mo frock-Tā **Tike** silei kari-**die ma**
Mili, my frock-CL PRT stitch do-give 2sg PRT
"Mili, will you stitch my frock, please?"

b. mili, mo frock-Tā **Tike** silei kari-**delu**
Mili, my frock-CL PRT stitch do-give-PAST
"Mili, could you please stitch my frock?"

(3) mā, mo frockTā silei kare/kari-die
mother, my frock stitch do-IMP/do-give-IMP
"Mom, stitch my frock."

In (3), imperative constructions are quite compatible in a mother-son/daughter relationship, while in (2), distance in social relationship demands an appropriate politeness strategy while making requests.

3.2 Choice of Lexical and Structural Means

Choice of lexical words as well as the structure of the sentence contributes towards politeness. E.g. (4b) is a more polite construction than (4a), although both the sentences mean the same. In fact, (4a) is considered to be a rude speech.

(4) a. rādhuā-Tā   chanDāLa-Te
         Radhua-CL   mean-CL
         "Radhua is so mean / such a nuissance!"

     b. rādhuāTā   bhala   pilā   nuhan
         Radhua-CL   good   child   not
         "Radhua is not a good boy."

3.3 Indirectness

Another aspect of Odia politeness is its indirectness. The real art of Odia communication is steering the conversation without being obvious about it, so that the addressee feels comfortable. Especially, requests are often made indirectly, by keeping oneself from the potential to be imposing. For example, for using the phone of somebody, instead of directly asking him/her as in (4a), it is more polite to say a softer sentence such as (4b), and just leave it hanging.

(5) a. mũ Tike tama phone-ru   kathābārtā karibi-ki
         I   little your phone-from   talk   will do QUE
         "Can I use your phone, please?"

     b. mũ Tike phone karibi   boli   bhābuthili je…
         I   little phone will do COMP   thinking   COMP…
         "I was thinking of making a call, but..."

Then the other person responds by inviting you to use the phone. Similarly, asking for a company to go out one would express as in (6):

(6) mũ bāhāraku jibāku bhābuthili   je,   kintu ekuTiā jibāku mana heuni
     I   outside go-INF was thinking COMP,   but   alone go-INF mind be-NEG
     "I was thinking of going out, but don't feel like going alone."

 Then the other person may offer to accompany him/her for going out or may arrange somebody/somethingelse to get the work done.

3.4 Avoidance of Negative Questions

Positive questions are considered to be more polite than negative questions. So in a situation where one just enquires if the addressee has a pen, one avoids to ask a negative question like (7a):

(7) a. tama pākhare   kalama nāhin ki?
         your near   pen   not   QUE
         "Don't you have a pen?"

 Instead, one asks a positive question like (7b):

(7) b. tama pākhare kalama achhi ki?
    your near   pen   is   QUE
    "Do you have a pen?"

This is so, because, although both (7a) and (7b) denote that the addresser is enquiring if the addressee carries a pen with him/her at that particular momement or for that particular occasion; (7a) connotes that the addressee should have carried a pen with him/her at that particular momement or for that particular occasion; and in case s/he does not have a pen at that moment, then s/he is below the social norms. So, using such a construction might be impolite and face-threatening. Hence, the addresser uses a polite construction like (7b).

3.5 Nominalization

In Odia, as the verb agrees with the subject noun for honorificity, use of nominalized form of the verb is more prevalent with strangers, when the addresser does not know which level of politeness needs to be used for the addressee. As second person singular pronoun is marked for honorificity and three variants of this pronoun are available, and the language allows pro(noun)-drop (Pattanaik, 1987; Sahoo, 2010), nominalization of the verb is used to show politeness without using the pronouns. For example, instead of using a construction like (8a), where the verb is marked for honorificity, one uses a construction like (8b), that is, by nominalizing the verb and dropping the subject pronoun:

(8) a. kuāDe   jāucha/jāuchu/jāuchanti
    where   going$_{[\pm Hon]/[-Hon]/[+Hon]}$
    "Where are you going?"

    b. kuāDe   jibāra achhi?
    where   go-NOM   is
    "Where do you have to/ need to go?"

3.6 Sophisticated Vocabulary

As sophistication denotes educated, cultured and well-mannered, people attribute positive traits to sophistication. A little sophisticated vocabulary also makes the construction sound more polite as politeness demands sophistication. So, a sophisticated construction like (10) would be more polite than a casual construction like (9):

(9) busre   gale   bus rāstāsārā   pakāi pakāi neba
    by bus   go-COND bus road-throughout drop   drop   take-FUT-3sg
    "If we go by bus, it's no good, as the bus will be slow by making stops on the way."

(10) mũ bhābhuchi, busre   gale   āme ete shighra pahanchi pāribā nāhin,
     I   thinking, by bus go-COND we that fast   reach   can   not,

kāhinki nā bus rāstāre sabu sTapre Tikie Tikie rahi rahi jiba.
because   bus road-on all stop-in little little stay stay go-FUT-3sg.

"I think if we take the bus, we will not be able to reach there in time as the bus tends to arrive late by making frequent stops."

(10) justifies the statement by providing a reason for it, hence, it is sophisticated and more polite than (9), which is just a statement. Similarly, a casual talk would be like (11), while a more polite one would be like (12), giving all the rights to the addressee to do the work as s/he likes:

(11) chāla dekhibā tame kaNa/kemiti karipārucha
     let   see   you what/how   do-can 2sg.
     "Let's see what you can do/ how you can do it."

(12) tume jemiti   kariba/jāhā   kariba chaLiba, mora kichhi asubidhā nāhin
     you however do-FUT/whatwever do-FUT ok,   mine any   objection not
     "Whatever/ however you do is fine (with me), I don't have any objection in this regard."

While confirming something, a softened interrogative construction is used to sound more tentative, so that it can have a polite effect on the interlocutor. For example, in a situation, where the addresser does not find his/her pen and asks the addressee if s/he has left the pen with him/her, s/he would use a construction like (13b), instead of asking a direct question like (13a).

(13) a. mo kalama-Tā kāin   tuma/āpaNanka pākhare achhi ki?
        my pen   CL where your   near   be   QUE
        "Is my pen with you?"

     b. mo kalama-Tā kāin   tuma/āpaNanka pākhare rahi jāini ta?[7]
        my pen   CL where your   near   be   PRT
        "Is it by mistake I left my pen with you?"

4. Linguistic Sub-strategies

Certain linguistic sub-strategies are also used to communicate in a polite manner. In certain cases, syntactic means are used/preferred over lexical means. Requests are made by asking for a favour, commands are made by demanding to do the work by using direct or indirect strategies, proposals are made by asking for agreement by the hearer etc. There are polite forms for giving suggestions, permission, and prohibition of actions. Like commands, these have the potential to sound too abrupt, and so they are treated carefully. However, intonation also plays a major role for polite forms.

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[7] An example like (13) also can be used when the speaker doubts that the hearer has taken/even stolen the item from him.

4.1 Performative Utterances

For explicit performative utterances (Austin, 1962) like "thank you" or "sorry", Odia rarely uses lexical means for politeness, but it uses certain morpho-syntactic structures to sound polite in the entire utterances or the whole dialogue. Instead of using formulaic expressions like "thank you" and "sorry" one uses constructions like (14) and (15), by expressing the consequences in a positive and negative tone, respectively:

(14) o,   bhāri bhala helā,   tume eiTā karidela
      oh, very good happened, you this   did
      "Oh, it is very good that you did it (for me)"

(15) oho! bodhe   bhul   hoigalā,   mū jāNi pārili   nāhin
      oh! probably mistake happened, I know could   not
      "Oh! probably, it is a mistake, I could not understand"

4.2 Requests

Requesting somebody to do a work is made more polite by first asking the person to do a favour, and then mentioining about the work. This way the addressee gets an opportunity for a preparatory phase before agreeing/ disagreeing to do the work. E.g. while asking somebody to repair your watch in a shop, you would ask the person in a way as it is in (16):

(16) e,   mo pāin goTe kāma karidebu ki?   mo ghanTā-Tā-ku dokāna-re
      hello, me for a   work will do   QUE? my watch-Cl-ACC shop-in

      Tike marāmati kari āNibu?
      little repair   do bring-FUT-2sg.

      "Hello, will you do me a favour? Can you you please get my watch repaired
       in a shop?"

Request forms are made by using light verbs, particles, quantifier, past tense form of the verb, interrogatives, etc. In (17), while requesting somebody for a bucket of water, the addresser uses particles like *ma/lo*[8]; in (18), while asking for some rice, one uses the past tense form of the verb. In (19), there is a formulaic quantifier[9], a light verb and a question marker; and in (20), a light verb and a question marker have been used for making a request.

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[8] The particle *lo* is used as a fondling term for females only (especially, children and young females), while the emphatic particle *ma* can be used for both male and female.

[9] The formulaic quantifier *Tikie* "little" connotes the meaning "please", and is very often used in making requests, asking for permission, etc.

(17) e   jhia,   mote goTe bālTi   pāNi   die   **ma/lo**
     oh,   daughter me   a   bucket water give   PRT
     "Oh daughter, could you please give me a bucket of water?"

(18) mote ganDe/muThe bhāta   **delu**
     me   CL/QUAN   rice   give-PAST 2sg
     "Give me some rice, please."

(19) mote **Tikie**   gāDi-re bas-āi   **de-b-a-ki**?
     me   little   bus-in   sit-CAUS   give-FUT-2sg.-QUE
     "Could/will you please make me sit in the bus?"

(20) mo   pāin khanDe/goTe lugā   kiNi**debu**?
     me   for   CL/QUAN   saree   buy-give-FUT 2sg.
     "Will you please buy a saree for me?"

Note that constructions like (17)-(18) are usually used among family members, while (19)-(20) are with familiar people.

A request can also be made polite by passivizing the construction and omitting the by-phrase. Such types of constructions are usually used among less-familiar people or strangers. In the following example, the addresser expresses that s/he would feel happy if the work is done by the addressee.

(21) ei   kāmaTā hoigalā māne   bhāri khusi lāgiba
     this work-CL is done means very   happy will be felt
     "I/(you) will feel happy once this work is done."

The intended meaning here would be "I will feel happy once this work is done by you."

An assurance to the request is also made in a similar way as in (22), (23) by using a passive voice. Here, the addressee assures that he would do the work and would feel restless until the work is done completely, as in (22); or he would try his best to do the work, as in (23).

(22) ei   kāmaTā na-saribā paryanta munDa-ru   chintā jibani
     this work-CL not done   until   head-from worry   go-FUT-NEG
     "Worries will not go out of my head until this work is completed."
     [I will feel worried until this work is done.]

(23) dekhibā,   kaNa   karā-jāipāriba
     see-FUT-PL   what   do-PASS
     "Let's see what can be done."

The intended meaning would be "Let's see if I can do something for you."

4.3 Proposals

In a social interaction, proposals are usually made by asking the adressee's consent first, and then only progress is made. So, in a situation where a person wants to apply

for a joint project with another, s/he seeks the consent of the other person in the following way, as in the example (24). It characterizes one's desire not to be imposed upon the other.

(24) āme duijaNa mishi   goTe project pāin apply karibā ki?
     we both   combined a   project for   apply do-fut QUE
     "Shall we both apply for a project?"

4.4 Polite Commands

Command forms are difficult to handle as they denote the superiority of the commander. Commands are usually dealt with carefully, demanding the work by making the hearer feel comfortable and assured. Note that as there is subject verb agreement, the use of the imperative verbal form depends on the honorific variant of the second person singular pronoun. So, the commander has the choice to pick a particular variant of the imperative form depending on the situation and the social status of the addressee.

Depending on the levels of honorificity (as discussed in section 2), there are four types of command forms available in Odia. Let's look at the verb *kar* (to do). By using the imperative form of this verb, various command forms can be listed as follows:

Impolite, true command form:

There is a true command form, which is used with inferiors, children, servants, etc. For example, *kar* /do-IMP/, *kar(e) kar(e)* /do-IMP do-IMP/ [repetition of the verb is done to quicken the process of doing], *tu kare* /you[-Hon] do/. The addressee also can be obliged to do the work, as in (25).

(25) tote   eiTā kar-ibāku   paD-iba/he-ba
     you[-Hon]-DAT this do-INF   fall-FUT 3sg. /be-FUT 3sg.
     "You[-Hon] have to do it."

Casual command form:

The casual polite form is appropriate for children, close-friends, younger family members, etc. This is the same as the true command form (as mentioned above) but is made polite simply by changing the intonation only. For example, *kare* /do-IMP/, and sometimes by using an interrogative negative marker *karu-nu* /do-IMP-NEG$_{INT}$/ "Why don't you do it?".

(26) tu ei kāmaTā kare,   se seiTā karu
     you this work do-IMP, he that do-IMP
     "You do this work and let him do that."

Polite command form:

There is a normal-polite form which can serve as the command form for friends or equals, family members, colleagues, among the people of the same age group. This form can be used for strangers too. E.g. *kara* /do-IMP/, *kara nā* /do-IMP tag que/, *tame*

kara /you $_{[\pm Hon]}$ do/. The command can be stiff but polite too. For example, while giving dead-line to complete some work in a particular duration of time, the command can be given as the following:

(27) ei   kāmaTā āji   ārambha kari dui dina bhitare sāri-dele
     this work   today start   do   two day within complete-give-COND

     bhala   heba
     good   be-FUT 3sg.

     "It will be good if you start this work today and complete it within two days."

Honorific command form:

Then, there is the honorific command form, which is very polite, as in (28); in addition, with a negative marker and exclamation, as in (29); with a negative marker, question marker and an emphatic particle, as in (30). It is used while giving commands to a superior[10] by reducing one's self-importance (which makes the hearer sound like polite requests or suggestions). For example, while asking a senior colleague to complete some work to submit it to the higher authority, a junior colleague can use as it is in (28)-(30).

(28) āpaNa   karantu / karantu   nā
     you$_{[+Hon]}$ do-IMP / do-IMP   tag que
     "You$_{[+Hon]}$ do it."

(29) āpaNa   kar-u-nā-hā-nti!
     you$_{[+Hon]}$ do-PROG-NEG 2sg.$_{[+Hon]}$
     "Why don't you do it!"

(30) ārambha karunāhānti   kāhinki ma?
     start   do-PROG-NEG why   PRT
     "Why don't you start, ya?"

Note that there is a negative marker used in this construction, and certain change in the intonation makes the meaning that "You are privileged to do the work."

Conditionals also can be used for this purpose, to soften the command by clarifying the situation. For example,

(31) āpaNa   āsile   bhāri bhala huantā, mũ se   bisayare Tike
     you$_{[+Hon]}$ come-COND very good will be, I   that about   little

     kathābārtā   karibāpāin   chāhunchi
     talk   do-INF   want

     "It would be good if you come, I would like to talk (a little) about that."

Note that in the above examples (25)-(31), the agreement markers on the verb are very different depending on how polite one wants to be. The appropriate choice of

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[10] Here, "superior" means not superior in official authority, but may be superior in age, colleagues in the profession, etc.

honorifics is based on complex rules evaluating addressee, referent, and entities or activities associated with.

4.5 Suggestion

Suggestions are offered among the familiar folks only, guiding the subject in thought, feelings or behaviour. It is handled carefully to minimize any threat to the hearer's positive face. Suggestions are expressed by using conditionals and double negatives. E.g. while suggesting somebody to go to a particular place, or to give something to somebody, the interlocutor may use constructions like (32) and (33), respectively.

(32) tu   seThāku   na-ga-le   bhala   he-b-a-ni
     you   there   NEG-go-COND   good   be-FUT-3sg.NEG
     "It won't be good if you don't go there."

(33) āme   tānku   kicchi   nadele   bhala   hebani
     we   him   something   NEG-give-COND   good   be-FUT-3sg.NEG
     "It won't be good unless we give him something."

Other imperatives also can be expressed with a conditional and double negatives:

(34) na-khā-ile   he-ba-ni
     NEG-eat-COND   be-FUT 3sg.-NEG
     "It won't do unless you eat."

The intended meaning is "You have to eat."

In the above types of constructions, "it won't be good" / "it won't do" denotes that the world will end if that particular action (i.e. "giving", "eating") is not performed. So, the addressee feels more comfortable about doing it — after all, by doing that action, the s/he is not only obeying the addresser's wish, but also is saving the world.

4.6 Prohibition

Prohibition is expressed with the same phrase as above (for suggestion), but by using only a single negative. So, instead of expressing it in negative command form as in (35a), one could rephrase it politely as it is in (35b), that is, by using a conditional and giving reasons or constraints:

(35) a. basani
         sit-2sg.-NEG
         "Don't sit."

     b. bas-ile   he-ba-ni,   kāma   karibāku   paDiba
         sit-COND   be-FUT 3sg.-NEG,   work   to be   done
         "It won't be (good) if you sit, one needs to work."
         ["You must not/ are not allowed to sit."]

Also, one can politely prohibit somebody not do something by giving some reason or by showing the consequences that will happen if the action is done. For example, while prohibiting somebody to sit on the baby-bed, one might use a construction as in (36).

(36) nāhin, sethire basa-ni, baDaloka   chhoTapilā   sejare   bas-ile
     No,   in that sit-not   grown-ups   baby   bed-in   sit-COND

     pilāra   deha kasTa   heba
     baby's   body-ache   happen-FUT 3sg.

     "Please don't sit in that (baby bed). If grown-ups sit on baby's bed,
     then the baby will suffer from body-ache."

In (36), as elaborate precaution is given while prohibiting to do the act, the expression looks more polite, as it is more reasonable not to do that particular work.

4.7 Permission

Permission is requested (or granted) by asking whether (or stating that) the action is good or acceptable. E.g. If one wants to sit down, in formal situations, one may seek permission directly like (37)[11]. However, in informal situations, for the sake of formality & social etiquette, one asks politely by using a conditional, as in (38).

(37) mũ eiThi basibi   (ki)?
     I   here   sit-FUT 1sg. (QUE)
     "May I sit here?"

(38) eiThi bas-ile   chaLibanā?
     here   sit-COND   ok
     "Is it ok to sit here?"

Then the request is granted by using expressions like (39) or like (40), as the addressee confirms that the action is most welcome:

(39) han, basa basa, sei jāgāTā hin basibā pāin hoichi
     Yes, sit sit   that place EMP sitting for   is
     "Yes, please sit down, that place is meant/allotted for sitting."

(40) basa basa, basile   shighra kāma ārambha karibā
     sit sit,   sit-COND, soon   work begin   do-FUT 1pl.
     "Yes, please sit down, after sitting, we will start the work."

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[11] Constructions like (37) are rather formal, and are used in situations like interviews, etc. where English language plays an important role. The norm looks like to have been borrowed from English.

5. Conclusion

Exploring different forms of pronouns employed in a wide range of contexts in Odia society, this study assumes that the choice of the appropriate variant of the second person pronoun by the interlocutors indicates the correlation of the structure of language and the structure of society including a differential treatment of women and men. Use of plural agreement with the 3rd person singular pronoun, variants of the second person singular pronoun, non-reciprocal usage of address forms, etc. indicate the types of politeness strategies practiced in the society. A further observation is that politeness is not only a set of linguistic strategies used by individuals in particular interactions, it is also a judgment made about an individual's linguistic habits; thus it is a general way of behaving as well as an assessment about an individual in a particular interaction. However, the assessment of an act as polite or impolite depends on the judgement whether the act is appropriate according to the norms in the particular community of practice, although there will be a lot of flexibility in these norms depending on the participants on the (speech)-act.

Abbreviations

AUX   auxiliary
CAUS   causative
CL   classifier
COMP   complementizer
COND   conditional
DAT   dative
EMP   emphatic
FUT   future
IMP   imperative
INF   infinitival
NEG   negation
PASS   passive
PAST   past
PL   plural
PROG   progressive
PRT   particle
QUAN   quantifier
QUE   question
SG   singular
TAG QUE   tag question

Acknowledgement

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A New Perspective on the Creation of Neologisms

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Abstract

This article proposes a new research perspective towards the reasons for devising neologisms. Instead of reflecting upon this topic from the perspective of "a word", the language user's psychological requirements for devising neologisms are being used. This methodology introduces us to some distinct observations, especially regarding the user's inner motivations for devising and using neologisms. Although "functional" and/or "denotative" descriptions of neologisms are mentioned, much regard is paid to distinct psychological needs of the ones devising neologisms.

In sum it can be said that some neologisms are not devised for the purpose of describing new objects, but are set up in accordance to user's descriptive tastes and his sense of language.

Keywords: Chinese; neologisms; emotions and interests; psychological factors

Izvleček

Članek predlaga drugačen pogled na razloge za nastanek neologizmov, pri čemer se oddalji od razumevanja neologizmov kot novih "besed". V središče diskusije je tako postavljen uporabnik jezika s svojimi psihološkimi potrebami. Ta pristop vodi do opažanj, ki se razlikujejo od dosedanjih, posebej v povezavi z notranjimi motivi za tvorjenje in rabo neologizmov. Čeprav "funkcionalne" in/ali "opisne" razsežnosti neologizmov ne gre zanemariti, članek posveča več pozornosti internim potrebam posameznika po novih izrazih.

Raziskava pokaže, da določen segment neologizmov ne nastane zaradi potrebe po poimenovanju novih objektov, temveč odraža nagnjenja uporabnikov jezika, njihovega okusa in njihov čut za jezik.

Ključne besede: kitajščina; neologizmi; čustva in motivi; psihološki dejavniki

1.   Definition of neologisms

Since the end of the 19th century, a large amount of new words and expressions have emerged in the Chinese language. The origins of these *neologisms* are quite heteronomous, they differ in syntax as well as in structure and function. However, these neologisms have one common characteristic: they have become a reformative symbol of the modern Chinese culture.

Neologisms appearing in the time of late-Qing and early Republican era have not only become the core virtues of Chinese modernization, but have been also incorporated into the system of Chinese language. Between The Hundred Days' Reform in 1898 and the May Fourth Movement in 1919 the quantity of neologisms expanded at a rapid rate and has not slowed down since then. Thus we can all agree with Wang Li's assertion that "there have never been as many newly created Modern Chinese neologisms" and "by looking from the aspect of vocabulary, the evolving pace of Chinese language in the last 50 years far exceeded that of the past millenia." (Wang, 1958, p. 516)

Since Lü Shuxiang's first addressing of the problem of neologistic research among the linguists in 1984, a vast majority of new vocabulary dictionaries have emerged. (Lü, 1984) That enabled sinologists to gradually pay more importance to the sociological and culturological meanings of neologisms. However, these dictionaries and research institutes merely emphasized Chinese neologism's forms, structures, etymologies and representative objects.

What follows in my research article is an attempt to adopt the *language user's*[1] point of view to rethink the linguistic phenomena that manifests in neologisms.

Broadly speaking, modern Chinese neologisms are words or expressions, which signify new notions that had been yet non-existent in late-Qing, as well as the ones that might have held a different meaning back then. (Jiang, 2004, p. 497) We can thus employ Jiang Yinghao's four factors: the first is the relationship of Chinese neologisms with "new concepts", the second takes the late-Qing circumstances into the picture, the third looks at non-existent Chinese neologisms of that era, and the last observes neologisms that may have existed before but have adopted totally different meanings throughout their history.

We could categorize vocabulary into the general and the main vocabulary. The latter presents a core part of the vocabulary, and although lesser in degree than the former, it has existed for a longer period of time and could be characterized as stabilized, regularly used, standardized and generative. (Wang, 1997, p. 125)

However, we could also categorize general vocabulary into "common vocabulary", "archaisms", "loanwords", "dialectal vocabulary", "specialized vocabulary, etc. Furthermore, we could also use the neologistic terms of "new common", "new loanword", "new dialectal" and "new specialized" vocabulary. The main vocabulary can transform into the general vocabulary, and vice-versa, which means the main and general vocabulary are mutually interchangeable. This indicates

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[1] By the term language user I simply refer to the active subject, who may be writing or speaking the language.

that general vocabulary's old and new vocabulary are both interchangeable. (Liu, 2010, p. 8)

Using the aforementioned definitions and setting a certain point in time, we can normally estimate the type of a word in the vocabulary system. This way of thinking about the relations between the Chinese language system and the new and old vocabulary is called synchronic.

However, a thoroughly different method is used if we look at this problem from the diachronical viewpoint, either by portraying a word or an expression from the time of its emergence to abolition, or through the process of its reception into the class of general word. As Liu Shuxin said:

> A word or expression may be regarded as new not only if it appears from nothingness into existence, but also if it receives the general approval by the users, extensive use and has already been set up in the language vocabulary. When this kind of word has already existed in the language for a fixed amount of time, let's say for fifteen to twenty years, then the people use it with ease and the freshness has been abolished. It starts to leave the scope of a neologism as it transforms into a commonly used word. (Liu, 1990, p. 283)

This way of defining enables us to observe the time and process of the development of neologisms. It is especially important to take the factors of approval and usage into perspective, so we can observe the time of neologism's unknown identity of "not receiving general approval and not being extensively used." Apart from that, this line of thought can raise some other questions. Is it possible for a neologism to spread only in "smaller groups" or "smaller geographical regions"? In this case, can a new word really exist for a period as long as ten to twenty years? Can it turn into a common word? Is there a possibility that its usage will not be discontinued in 2–3 years? If it is used only by a minority of the populace and disappears in 2-3 years, can it still be called a neologism?

Among the definitions of neologisms, notions of a "new concept" or a "new meaning" are also frequently mentioned when discussing the vocabulary content. Wang Tiekun says:

> Neologisms denote words that are either newly created or borrowed from other languages, dialects of mother languages, ancient languages or professions, or even denote a newly generated word meaning or new usage of the original word. (Wang, 1991, p. 11)

Aside from the limits of vocabulary's origins, he also brings up "meaning" and "usage".

What follows is an even more minute discussion of the definitions for vocabulary's characteristics, which emphasize three characteristics of a neologism, the "form", "meaning", and "usage", which are all encompassed by the most important focal point of "newness". From this perspective, neologisms roughly denote newly emerging words and phrases, which include words and phrases with both new forms and meanings, or with both new usages and meanings, or only with new forms. (Duan & Zeng, 2010, p. 137)

Again, if we put these definitions in the perspective of a relationship between the vocabulary and its denoting objects, we can say that "neologisms, simply said, are produced for denoting or annotating new things and concepts." (Fang, 2010, p. 13) Denoting and annotating are the functions of a neologism, whereas new things and concepts are objects of neologism's denotation.

From aforementioned definitions, we can observe neologisms in three definitional spheres:

1. The neologism *per se*: its structural shape (morphological structure); function; time of generation and the developmental process,

2. relationship between neologisms, the language system and a comparison with the original Chinese vocabulary,

3. the denoted object of a neologism: new words indicative of new concepts and things.

2.   Reasons for devising neologisms

Regarding the reasons for devising a neologism, former scholars assumed that only by having a new concept we could say a word is a neologism. (Wang, 1958, p. 519) This illustrates a denotative standpoint for the reasons of devising neologisms. However, I claim the denoted object of a neologism not only represents a new concept.

Chen Yuan put forward a relevant comment regarding this topic:

The elements of social or any other kind of change, such as changes in societal structure, economic base, superstructure and folkways, as well as the new discoveries, inventions, technologies and breakthroughs of the scientific process, such as new concepts, new ideas, new opinions, new perceptions, are all inevitably influenced and produced by the communicating system of a language, which can be well observed through the medium of speech. Herein lies the main cause for devising neologisms. (Chen, 1998, p. 409)

Here, Chen uses a sequence of novelties, corresponding to objects denoted by the new vocabulary: new discoveries, new inventions, new technologies, new breakthroughs, new concepts, new ideas, new opinions and new perceptions.

Simply put, these novelties can be inductively summed up into two categories: that of concrete "new things" and of abstract "new matters and notions". Neologisms from the late-Qing and the early Republican era, which were collected in the 1912's Collection of new words (新名詞訓纂 *Xinmingci Xunzuan*), edited by Zhejiang native Zhou Qiyu (周起予), are presented using the following four categorizations:

1. The class of government (regarding aspects of political neologisms) includes 216 neologisms, such as republic, civilization, education, institutions, rights, elections, economy, law, etc.

2. The class of academics (regarding aspects of academic neologisms) includes 97 neologisms, such as research, progress, observation, geography, astrology, ethics, physics, morals, thought, etc.

3. The class of language (regarding non-political and non-academic abstract neologisms) includes 247 neologisms, such as freedom, movement, progress, scope, stress, institution, opinion, reputation, etc.

4. The class of things (regarding neologisms of physical matter) includes 55 neologisms, such as materials, train, car, bronze statue, petroleum, annual ring, wallpaper, sea-tangle, gas, vegetation, etc.

Zhou's categorization criteria does not seem to be as clear and definite, and his ability of induction is also a bit unrefined, nevertheless it seems that he mainly thinks in two categories, namely "concerning the material" and "abstract", where the latter is a supercategory of the aforementioned political, academic and other neologisms. At that time these words represented the core ideas of "modernization", symbolized opening of China towards the world and attempts at striving for synchronicity with the world. China wanted to communicate with every country or at least keep up the pace with them, sought joint advancement, wanted to learn of their politics, academics, languages and physical matter and of the most importantly devoted its studies to learn of correspondent words and expressions. It could understand new politics, academics, languages and physical matter only by going through new vocabularies.

Zhou's compilation motives were to stress the inherency of these neologisms in the Chinese language itself, so he did not regard them as new inventions. Tang Yongchang wrote in the preface of his book that "all origins of neologisms in the classical Chinese books can be distinctively analyzed and deserve recognition." (Tang, 1912) Notwithstanding Zhou's futile effort, his book opposes the primary idea of neologism's usage and meaning being related to ancient meanings in Chinese. As an example he takes the word "democracy" from *The book of History* (尚書 *Shangshu*), which states "...the sovereign cannot achieve..." (民主罔與成厥功 *Minzhu wang yu cheng jue gong*), where the first two characters which nowadays mean "democracy" (民主 *minzhu*) actually meant "people's sovereign" or "the leader of the people". These characters have nothing in common with democracy and it could even be said the two terms are nearly opposite in meaning. In one hundred years the Chinese characters for *minzhu* have lost the old meaning of "people's sovereign" and have been substituted with the meaning of "democracy".

The appearance of these neologisms properly explains an attempt of contemporary people to express new concepts, feelings and physical matter by borrowing words from already existing ancient vocabulary. One reason for this is because it is hard to devise a completely new word, the other reason is because the greater part of neologisms came from Japan.

As Yang Hua said:

The most basic reason for devising neologisms is the appearance of new matters and concepts in civil life. However, the question of what kind of language forms are used to mark and reflect upon those new matters and concepts, is to a large extent

determined by the social concepts and the psychology of language. (Yang, 2010, p. 210)

Contemporary people desired to communicate in Western standards, and when they wanted to keep up with the world, they expressed a lot of doubt in the ability of Chinese language to represent the Chinese culture. The people's social concepts and psychology of language affected the way language was used, which, in effect influenced the use of neologisms. That is why shedding light on "new matters and new concepts" cannot thoroughly explain the language user's state of mind.

Thus we should note that language users have a bit larger requirements than only using language as a tool for expressing and marking. They also pay much importance to the style and taste of expression. The function of language is not only in the indicative ability of denoting some information, but it more-so needs to meet the interests of expressive taste. This means that if we used the original vocabulary or alter and expand usages of original vocabulary, we would still create a neologism. New feelings and new interests of the language user can only be shown by using a novel feeling of a neologism.

From this we can also understand why Yan Fu (嚴復) and similar people strived to create translated vocabularies that corresponded with the Chinese tradition, but were in no need of obtaining a commonly used word.

Take the word "logic" for example, which entered Chinese in Ming Dynasty when Li Zhizao (李之藻) translated it as *mingli tan* (名理探). All until the end of Qing dynasty, it had been continuously retranslated into traditional Chinese local vocabularies by the names of *bianxue* (辯學), *mingxue* (名學), *lizexue* (理則學) and many others. The terms *mingxue* (名學) and *luoji* (邏輯) were also both used by Yan Fu (Chen, 2011, p. 4). Another commonly used term had been the Japanese translation, namely *lunlixue* (論理學) (Wang, 1958, p. 525), and Sun Yat-sen's later translation *lizexue* (理則學). Nowadays these traditional Chinese local words are not used anymore, and are instead transliterated as *luoji*.

The reason for non-usage of those traditional Chinese local words is not in inelegance of Yan Fu's translations; on the contrary, contemporary intellectuals commonly wanted to communicate with the world and transform the old Chinese culture by following the standards of Western civilization. If something resembled classical Chinese cultural expression, it appeared "laggard", thus contemporary intellectuals wanted to keep distance with the Chinese tradition, avoiding its influences. We can thus say that neologisms sometimes represent a new culture or new concepts in language.

3.   Neologisms devising new concepts

A common psychological state of language users is searching for uniqueness, variety, new styles and new characteristics in language. People like unique and lively language forms as well as colorful and rich language styles. (Yang, 2012, p. 211) It is not necessary for neologisms to be devised by the influence of emerging new matters,

things, concepts; on the contrary, it is possible for neologisms to bring new concepts or a new syntax into light. Thus seeking new states of mind and the freshness of language is frequently a major propulsion of inventing new words. (Jin, 2007, p. 46)

An especially good example is Lin Yutang's (林語堂) devisement of the neologism *youmo* (幽默), created in 1924 while trying to translate the English word "humor". A totally new translating invention of this word was obviously not needed, because he could use an old existing Chinese word with a similar meaning. However, Lin Yutang disfavoured literal translaton and assumed humor cannot be translated using the existing Chinese expressions for "joking" (笑話 *xiaohua*), "comicality" (詼諧 *huixie*), or even "clownery" (滑稽 *guji*), neither can it be translated using the words which closely retain the essential meaning of this word, such as "wit" (風趣 *fengqu*), "harmonious wit" (諧趣 *xiequ*), or "humourous style" (詼諧風格 *huixiefengge*). Regardless of the straightforwardness of the transliteration, it could always be misinterpreted by other people. (Lin, 1924)

In accordance to the distinct meaning of humor, Lin Yutang first approved of words which retain some of the original meaning of humor. When he first started using a purely transliterative neologism *youmo* (幽默), he had not yet decided whether he wanted to use the phonetically and semantically similar word *huimo* (詼摹) instead. No later than a month after, he decided to use the former, as it corresponded to his intentons. The meaning of the two Chinese characters *you* (幽) and *mo* (默) does not correspond to the English word humor in any way and the two terms even hold a bit of a contradiction. The two chinese characters of *you* and *mo* could easily be misinterpreted as *jingmo* (靜默) or *youjing* (幽靜), meaning to be secluded and silent, respectively. (Lu, 1927) Lin Yutang, however, intentionally abandoned translations that employed semantic and phonetic resemblance, so he deliberately chose non-correspondant Chinese characters, thus devising a neologism.

Of course, this was not made solely for the purpose of avoiding misunderstandings. An even more important reason is that by devising a new concept, he got rid of the unneeded disturbances and shackles of the old Chinese tradition. Despite having to do a lot of explaining, he was able to become a proponent of a new literary style, lifestyle and writing strategy. That is why transliteration is naturally in accordance with requirements of his contemporaries. (Lin, 2006)

In addition, Lin Yutang's devising of the neologism *youmo* was not made solely for the purpose of translating an English word, but was a part of his wish to promote a new "kind of a style in authorship or artwork", (Lin, 1924) called a "familiar essay" (小品文 *xiaopinwen*). He asserted that *youmo* is a distinguishing feature of the "familiar essay" and that the contemporary meaning of *youmo* slightly differs from the English word humor. Especially when he was interpreting familiar essays of Ming dynasty, the characteristic of *youmo* helped him retain distinctions from the English notion of humor.

Using Lin Yutang's explanations, *youmo* includes meanings, such as penetrating through life's wisdom, a joy of heart, lightness of brushstrokes, non-obstructiveness, not using clichés, not immitating the faceless daoistic scholars, not seeking scholarly

joys and reputation, not aiming for a natural humour of mediocre ordinary people. (Lin, 1934)

He also quoted upon "sincerity", "broadness" and "sympathy" as the three prerequisite conditions of *youmo*, (Lin, 2006) which enabled this neologism to become "a kind of [his] philosophy of Buddhist compassion." (Lin, 1924) When he devised *youmo*, he forever contributed to the usage and meaning of this neologism, which not only received the acceptance by his contemporaries, but more-so became a very popular modern expression. For this reason Lin Yutang also recieved the title "Master of *youmo*", which was the driving force of the Chinese *youmo* literature campaign. Nowadays *youmo* is already a commonly used word in Chinese and has a couple of distinct usages and language feelings.

Summing up the experience of Lin Yutang's devising of a neologism *youmo*, we can observe these important notes:

1. He abandoned the traditional Chinese words that closely resembled literal transcription and phonetic translation.

2. He intentionally selected the words which did not corresponded to the original word in any way, and even used a contradictive vocabulary,

3. The ever changing and ever increasing meaning and usage of neologisms has also been enabled by surpassing the established (English) word meanings and usages.

In the slow proces of its devisement, *youmo* started off as a neologism and adopted the status of a word of the general vocabulary. At that time it could be regarded as a minor peculiarity, but nowadays in the age of fast moving information, creation processes of neologisms similar to our example, are becoming a very normal phenomenon. In the age of networking there is no doubt that following the ever changing world's technological and societal advancements, new matter and concepts are constantly emerging. Neologisms that denote new matters, things, concepts have no other option but to quickly increase in quantity. But even more importantly, the state of language users seeking novelty adds even more to the exuberant glow of neologisms. Their purpose of language usage is not restricted only to simple expression or denotation, but also to the wish of convenient exhibition of their "narrative tastes and styles" in the mass media and cyberspace. Thus language is not only a tool, it has narrative objectives as well.

Examples of Chinese neologisms "Mister De" (德先生 De Xiansheng) and "Mister Sai" (賽先生 Sai Xiansheng) could also be regarded as similar to the devising of *youmo*. "Mister De" can be translated as Democracy and "Mister Sai" as Science. Democracy was first translated as *minzhu* (民主) in 1864 (Jin & Liu, 1999, p. 30) and *kexue* (科學) was used as a translation of science since 1878. (Zhou & Ji, 2009, p. 96) However, coming into 1918 Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 wrote in *the New Youth magazine* (新青年 Xinqingnian): "It is important to support *Mister De* and *Mister Sai*, and we cannot but oppose the quintessence of our country and its old literature." He also named them as they were two real persons, namely *Demokelixi* (德莫克拉西) and *Saiyinsi* (賽因斯). (Chen, 1919) The former term became even more common after

1920 (Jin & Liu, 1999, p. 37), as it became an important slogan for the Chinese New Culture Movement (中國新文化運動 *Zhongguo xinwenhua yundong*). *Mister De, Demokilixi, Mister Sai* were all commonly used; however, there was no sign of *minzhu* and *kexue*, not because they were representing new concpets, but because they were not in accordance with the new feelings and meanings aroused in a large group of people towards "old concepts". The users have intentionally abandoned commonly used and well known vocabulary, and started using specific and rare neologisms to express their special feelings.

Yet another example is *daren* (達人), which comes from the Japanese *tatsujin* (たつじん), with an original meaning of a master or an expert. Master (大師 *dashi*) or expert (專家 *zhuanjia*) are words commonly used in Modern Chinese, so in fact there is no need to introduce words, such as Japanese *daren*. However, *daren* implies a "foreign style (Japanese style)" and fresh interests, which had been lacking in the old terms of master and expert. Even the most recent common practice of the youth, using instead the word *gaoshou* (高手), cannot compare to the neologism *daren*, which can better show the fresh and unique interests of language users. Since the beginning of 21st century the word *daren* has appeared in Taiwan and became a popular neologism. It stands in phrases such as "the master of love" (戀愛達人 *lianai daren*), "the mistress of beauty" (美麗達人 *meili daren*), "a musical genious" (音樂達人 *yinyue daren*), "a great cook" (美食達人 *meishi daren*), "master of the household" (家事達人 *jiashi daren*) , "a health expert" (健康達人 *jiankang daren*), "an excellent bartender" (調酒達人 *tiaojiu daren*), "expert at savings" (省錢達人 *shengqian daren*), etc. The word also gradually reached Mainland China and became a commonly used neologism, as we can find the entry in the sixth edition of Modern Chinese Dictionary from 2012. Neologisms borrowed from abroad all use similar preferences, such as Chinese words for "popularity" (人氣 *renqi*), "a prostitute" (腐女 *funü*), "a woman above 30" (熟女 *renü*), "an unmarried woman above 30" (敗犬 *baiquan*), "a (male/female) geek" (宅男/宅女 *zhainan/zhainü*), etc.

Another group of neologisms are formed from "sandhi[2]", such as Taiwan's famous *jiangzi* (醬子), which is a shortened version of *zheyangzi* (這樣子), meaning "this way" and *niangzi* (釀子), a shorten of *nayangzi* (那樣子), meaning "that way". By following the taste of a likable expression, this neologism became commonly imitated. Youth likes to say *"jiu jiang"* (就醬, meaning "just like this") or *"jiu niang"* (就釀, meaning "just like that"). Also good examples examples are *biang* (ㄅ丨ㄤ丶) which means "not the same" (不一樣 *bu yiyang*), and *881* or *886* which means "bye-bye".

The feeling of freshness in neologisms frequently takes on a large fascination and attracts a large amount of people. A Cantonese (Hongkongese) transliteration of English name for "taxi" (的士) is a great example. The Taiwanese use the native term *jichengche* (計程車) and in the Mainland China it is called a *chuzuqiche* (出租汽車).

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[2] **Sandhi** comes from sanskrit's saṃdhí, meaning "joining". This term covers a wide variety of phonological processes that occur at morpheme or word boundaries, such as fusion of sounds across word boundaries and the alteration of sounds due to neighboring sounds or due to the grammatical function of adjacent words.

Both are frequently used general vocabulary words, hence *chuzuqiche* for Chinese is not a fresh thing or a concept at all. But thankful to the intercultural exchange between Hong Kong and China, the word for "taxi" (的士) entered China and became a neologism, which developed a series of new words, such as *di* (的 as abbreviation for taxi), *dadi* (打的 meaning "taking a cab"), *miandi* (面的, commonly referred to as "a bread car", "a box shaped van", "a cab").

Creation and extinction of words can also be influenced by governmental interferences and reforms, with examples such as "a board member" (董事 *dongshi*), "a stockholder" (股東 *gudong*), "a pawnshop" (當鋪 *dangpu*), "bankruptcy" (倒閉 *daobi*), "an auction" (拍賣 *paimai*), "a prostitute" (妓女 *jinü*), "usury" (高利貸 *gaolidai*), "fortune telling" (算命 *suanming*), etc. These words had disappeared after establishing The People's Republic of China, but have been slowly reappearing again. Some other examples which express respectful cultural words that faded away during Cultural Revolution, but are gradually recuperating in use are: "await respectfully" (恭候 *gonghou*), "patronize" (惠顧 *huigu*), "long time no see" (久違 *jiuwei*), "condescend" (屈尊 *quzun*), "fail to meet you" (失迎 *shiying*), r"equest the pleasure of your arrival" (賞光 *shangguan*), "your mother" (令堂 *lingtang*), "your father" (令尊 *lingzun*), etc.

Governmental intervention into language is however not always effective. There is an interesting example where Shanghai municipal administration once started restricting depictions on the taxi's and posted the following in 1985: "Cars which continue to use the sign with characters *dishi* (的士) will not be allowed to enter the streets and do business. Starting from September 1st , we unitedly start to standardize the taxi signlamps, which will state both *chuzu* (出租) and taxi on the front." This governmental notice has not been effective in its prohibitive demands, as the term *dishi* (的士) not only continued to be used but also produced a number of words deriving from the character *di* (的). (Yang, 2010, p. 214) This word also has its place among the entries in the Modern Chinese Dictionary, which can serve to show the power of societies looking for newness and change.

New formulation modes not only produce appearance of new words, they can also change the syntax. A good example is the use of the passive voice character bei 被 in such phrases as "to commit a suicide" (被自殺 *bei zisha*), "to get employed" (被就業 *bei jiuye*), "to volunteer" (被自願 *bei ziyuan*), "to donate" (被捐款 *bei juankuan*) and "to represent" (被代表 *bei daibiao*). Although not exactly logically consistent, thankful to the usage of a passive voice, they are still very important as an expression of irony and passive protest. Suicide can only be an intentional act of ending one's life, therefore *bei zisha* (被自殺) states an ironic saying "it is not a suicide, yet it is called as suicide." The same goes with phrases of getting employed, volunteering, donating and representing, which expressed in the passive voice seem to violate the syntax of language, but can really demonstrate the language user's protest and mockery as well as being faked and forced. This also shows the Chinese people's crisis of faith and the awakening consciousness of citizenship rights in the beginnigns of the 21st century.

4. Conclusion

Neologisms have existed since the ancient times. Investigating this topic based on the aspect of formalism or from research on new matters, new things and new concepts, can explain to us the origins of its appearance and enables us to understand its characteristics.

The majority of research concentrating on neologisms can be recollected into three aspects:

1. Neologisms form and structure *per se*,

2. the denoted object of a neologism,

3. relationship between a neologism and an archaism or the system of language.

If we do not reflect through the aspect of a "word", but instead change the emphasis to the language user's psychological requirements, we can obtain very different observational outcomes. Motives for devising and using neologisms are not only in the functional requirements, or in denoting new matters and concepts, but are connected to language user's psychological requirements. We can thus say that neologisms are not produced for the reason of depicting new objects, but are devised for relating to language user's new tastes of description and a sense of language.

These kinds of neologisms have some characteristic features:

1. Even if it is already sufficiently expressed in the Chinese vocabulary, neologisms can be formulated by discarding the original Chinese word by being either borrowed from foreign languages or devised completely anew.

2. When borrowed from foreign languages, the word can be clearly translated by adopting the method of literal translation, from which we can intentionally pick from non-correspondent meanings or even violate the word meaning, even to the point of using characters that have nothing to do with the translated meaning, merely following phonetic translation.

3. Even if we don't borrow from foreign languages, we can still use the method that doesn't fit the logic of language or normatives of grammar to express special emotions or language feelings.

4. Meaning and usage of neologisms can evolve and develop unceasingly.

The devising of Chinese neologisms has already transcended functional demands and this very issue deserves to be furtherly researched on the subjective grounds of emotions and interests.

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THE FIFTH MILESTONE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE LANGUAGE

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Abstract

Chinese language has undergone drastic in the past century. Papers on the language development stress four big events in the Chinese history that imposed changes on the language, i.e. The May Fourth Movement (1919), establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949), Cultural Revolution (1966), and China's reform and opening (1978). According to the features of recent neologisms, we suggest that the widening gap between rich and poor should be considered as the fifth milestone for changes in Chinese language.

Keywords: Chinese; neologisms; language development; social gap

Izvleček

Kitajski jezik se je v zadnjem stoletju korenito spremenil. V študijah zasledimo opažanja, da so ga močno zaznamovali štirje zgodovinski dogodki, ki predstavljajo mejnike v razvoju sodobne kitajščine. To so bili Gibanje 4. maja (1919), ustanovitev Ljudske republike Kitajske (1949), Kulturna revolucija (1966) in politika odpiranja Kitajske (1978). Glede na lastnosti neologizmov zadnjih let lahko rečemo, da se je izoblikoval peti mejnik v razvoju jezika, in sicer naraščajoče socialne razlike oz. razkorak med bogatimi in revnimi.

Ključne besede: kitajščina; neologizmi; razvoj jezika; družbeni razkorak

1. Major Milestones for Language Changes

Scholars agree that four big events in the history of China imposed changes onto Chinese language. The first milestone was 1919, when the May Fourth Movement took place; the second one was 1949, when People's Republic of China was founded; the third milestone was Cultural Revolution in 1966, and the fourth milestone dates to 1978, when China launched the policy of reforms and opened up to the outside world (Li, 2008; Sheng, 2009; Wu, 2006; Zhang, 2007). Zhang (2007) further noticed that since 1978, Chinese people have been welcoming new things and concepts with such

eager as never before. As a result, numerous new expressions in the fields of politics, economics, science and technology, social life etc. have appeared.

In addition to the above-mentioned milestones, some research papers point out the expansion of computers, internet and the development of information-communication technologies. It is to be agreed with Wu (2006, p. 24) that a variety of new products on this field leads to the corresponding Chinese expressions, and Han (2011, p. 99) that the rapid development of Internet technology has enabled the rise of numerous netizens which continuously create vivid forms of Chinese Internet language, and thus have an important impact on Standard Chinese. In other words, internet as the medium for spreading news can be seen as the cradle of new words and expressions.

This study proposes that the present social-economic situation with the widening gap between rich and poor may be considered as the fifth milestone for changes in Chinese language. According to the reports in The Economic Times, following Global Times and the Beijing News, the Gini coefficient[1] in China reached 0.438 at the end of 2010, whereas it was 0.275 in the 1980s[2]. Coefficients that exceed 0.4 are thought to indicate a challenge to the country's stability. The widening gap between rich and poor is associated with great achievements for the reforms and opening-up policy that happened within the last three decades. The changes helped officials and business people to prosper, whereas a vast number of Chinese were left with meager monthly wages in a society whose living standards have reached higher brackets ("China faces instability risks as gap between rich, poor widens," September 17, 2012).

Chapter 3 below demonstrates that newly created words in Chinese reflect exactly the mentioned social problem.

2.   The Amount and Structure of New Words and Expressions

Language as the communication tool meets the needs of its speakers; therefore, it has to be changing as to reflect new situations and tendencies in life. Social changes may affect grammar, but they are reflected most intensely in the vocabulary of language. As Wang (2011, p. 1) notes, "new words are social barometer as they mirror changes in a society. Whenever such a change happens, new words will come forth to describe it." The above-mentioned milestones have caused many changes in all fields of social life; ranging from economics, politics, science and technology, culture, education, medical care, information technology, everyday life etc. As shown in the

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[1] The Gini coefficient is an index measuring inequality of income with a scale of zero to one, zero being totally equal and one being totally unequal. ("China faces instability risks as gap between rich, poor widens," September 17, 2012)

[2] For detailed figures of Gini index in China, see ("Index Mundi: China GINI Index," 2011) or consider (*The World Factbook*, 2012). The Economic Times also reports that since 2000, no official statistics about wealth gap have been released by National Bureau of Statistics, with the argumentation that the Gini index couldn't be calculated as the incomes of urban and rural residents are calculated separately. ("China faces instability risks as gap between rich, poor widens," September 17, 2012) Further reasons are discussed in Chen et al. (2010).

following paragraphs, even great historical events could not affect life in the same extent. New expressions from different decades carry different characteristics.

Newly created words and expressions have always attracted scholars and lexicographers. Whereas no presentable work on neologisms is available from the period before 1987, more than 30 dictionaries of neologisms were published in China since then (Su & Huang, 2003). According to data, though incomplete, they vary in the scope, as well as in the inclusion criteria, and cover from 335 entries up to 20 thousand entries (Chao, 2004).

Scholars have noted that since China adopted the reforms and opening up policy up to the 1990s, more than 7000 new words were invented in Chinese. According to statistics, approximately 600 neologisms arose yearly in the 1980s, around 400 in the 1990s, and about 450 in the first ten years of the 21st century (Lin, 2000 in: Lin & Xie, 2012; Zhang, 2007, p. 2). Different studies show that the amount of neologisms appearing per year is more or less constant. Xu (2009) made a research for the period 1966-1990, Li (2008) for the period 1990-2005, and Hou and Zhou (2011) for the recent five years. See Table 1.

Table 1: New words per year (Data range: 1966-2010)

	1966-1967[3]	**1977-1990**	**1990-2005**[4]	**2006-2010**[5]
New words per year (average)	415	375	400	447

Although the amount of new expressions per year is rather constant, the semantic distribution of new words varies significantly in different decades due to the belonging historical events. A brief overview is presented in the following sections.

2.1 The May Fourth Movement

The May Fourth Movement is primarily related to changes in conceptual and knowledge systems, and to the shift of values etc. In this period Europeanization of the Chinese language affected not only vocabulary, but also had a significant impact on the grammatical features of Chinese language. (Gunn, 1991; Zhang, 2004) Words like "democracy" (*demokelaxi* 德莫克拉西[6]), "science" (*saiensi* 赛恩斯[7]), "stick" (*sidike* 斯的克), "club" (*julebu* 俱乐部), "morphine" (*mafei* 吗啡), "rectification" (*zhengfeng*

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[3] For data 1966-1967 and 1977-1990, compare (Xu, 2009, p. 19)

[4] Li, 2008, p. 5.

[5] Hou & Zhou, 2011, p. 313.

[6] Word "democracy" was semantically translated into *minzhu* 民主 before the May Fourth Movement, and was later on phonetically translated into *demokelaxi* 德莫克拉西. Nowadays the term *minzhu* is used again. (Du, 2009, p. 61)

[7] Present Chinese expression for the word "science" is *kexue* 科学.

整风), "test" (*kaoyan* 考验) etc. originate from this period. (for more examples, see Xu, 2009, p. 19)

2.2 People's Republic of China

The establishment of People's Republic of China gave rise to several new expressions in the field of politics, e.g. "New Democracy" (*xin minzhu zhuyi* 新民主主义), "Mao Zedong Thought" (*Mao Zedong sixiang* 毛泽东思想), "People's Democratic Dictatorship" (*Renmin minzhu zhuanzheng* 人民民主专政), "Five Economic Sectors" (*wu zhong jingji chengfen* 五种经济成分), "Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns" (*san-fan wu-fan* 三反五反), "Reform of the Three Industries" (*san da gaizao* 三大改造) etc. Social changes also affected everyday's life, where, for example, a new term "comrade" (*tongzhi* 同志) replaced the previous "mister" (*xiansheng* 先生) or "miss" (xiaojie 小姐). (Chao, 2004, p. 8)

2.3 Cultural Revolution

New expressions from the Cultural Revolution period had even stronger political connotations. Some of the mostly used phrases are "capitalist roader" (*zouzi pai* 走资派), "rebel faction" (*zaofan pai* 造反派), "little red book" (*hongbaoshu* 红宝书), "Red Guard" (*Hong Weibing* 红卫兵), "relative family" (*guanxihu* 关系户), "anti-revolutionary revisionism" (*fan geming xiuzheng zhuyi* 反革命修正主义), "Sweep Away All Demons and Monsters" (*Huangsao yiqie niugui-sheshen* 横扫一切牛鬼蛇神), etc. (Chao, 2004, p. 8)

The reason for the Cultural Revolution to be one of the milestones is a big turn in the distribution of new words. In this period, a large majority of new words were related to politics (74.6%), whereas in the next decade only a few new expressions were coined in the same field (Wu, 2006, p. 24). See Figure 1 for distribution of neologisms in the period 1966-1967.
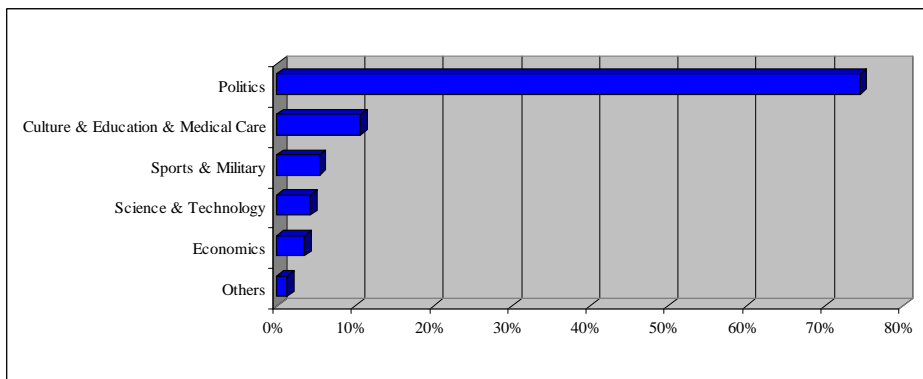

Figure 1: Distribution of neologisms in years 1966-1967 in %; (Based on Xu, 2009, p. 19)

2.4 Reform and opening up

After China's reforms and its opening up, almost one third of the newly created expressions was related to economical concepts, e.g. "socialist market economy" (*shehui zhuyi shichang jingji* 社会主义市场经济), "Special Economic Zone" (*Jingji tequ* 经济特区), "Speed up reform" (*jiakuai gaige* 加快改革), "Open door policy" (*kaifang zhengce* 开放政策) etc. (Chao, 2004, p. 8)

China's contacts with foreign countries influenced not only economics, but also had a large impact on other fields of life. Therefore, Chinese language absorbed several new words and expressions, e.g. "clone" (*kelong* 克隆), "cartoon" (*katong* 卡通), "e-mail" (*yimeir* 伊妹儿), "internet" (*yintewang* 因特网), "mini skirt" (*mini qun* 迷你裙), "soft drink" (*ruan yinliao* 软饮料), "human rights" (*renquan* 人权) etc. (Huang, 2009, p. 188) See Figure 2.
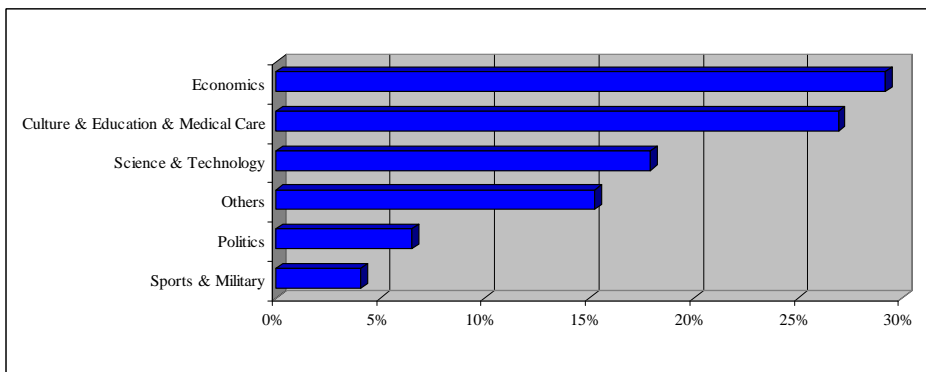

Figure 2: Distribution of neologisms in years 1977-1990 in %;
(Based on Xu, 2009, p. 19)

Moreover, in the search of self-expression and through the refusal to follow others, people became very creative in language use. Old words that were thought of as "worn out" and were replaced with new ones which carried a taste of uniqueness. (Yuan, 2006, pp. 42-43) As mentioned in Chapter 1, people welcomed new things and concepts with such eager as they never did before. If the previous system was described as "communal pot" (*daguofan* 大锅饭) or "iron rice bowl" (*tiefanwan* 铁饭碗), the new situation was called porcelain "rice bowl" (*cifanwan* 瓷饭碗). (Yuan, 2006, p. 43)

In the period 1990-2005, this trend was even more evident. According to Li's (2008) research results, the largest amount of new words was related to economics, finance and business, whereas social life became the second largest source for new expressions. Many new expressions were related to the field of news and communications, which is an expected trend, since new technologies enabled different channels for information flow. See Figure 3.
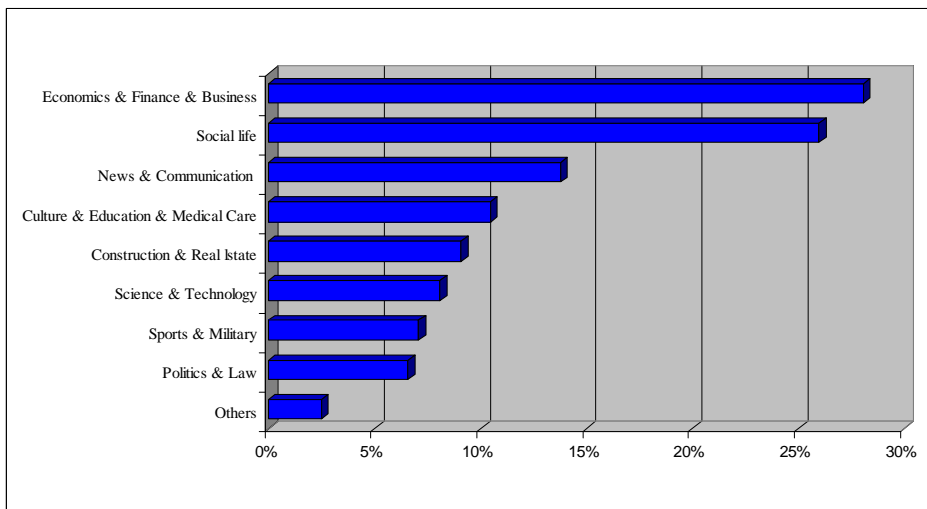
Figure 3: Distribution of neologisms in years 1990-2005 in %;
(Based on Li, 2008, p. 20)

3.   The Fifth Milestone: Economic Inequality

The importance of social life as a source of neologisms is even more obvious in the recent years. Wu and Wu (2012, p. 67) have noted that in year 2010, nearly 35% of all new expressions were related to social life. See Figure 4.
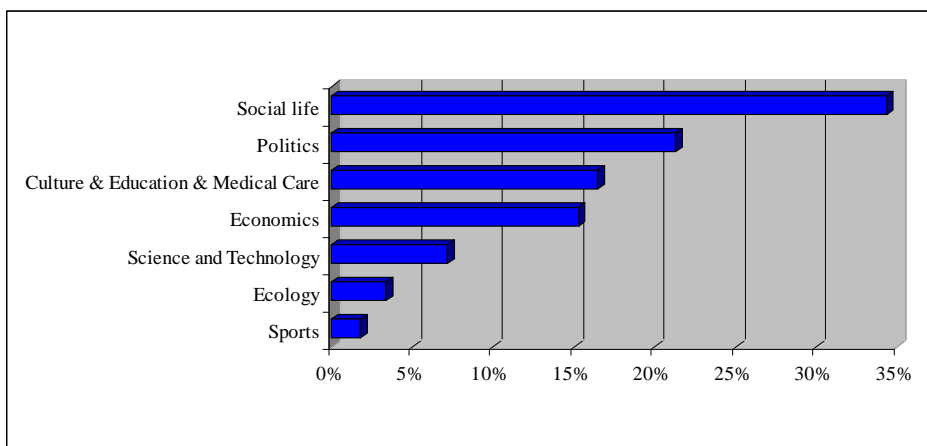

Figure 4: Distribution of neologisms in 2010 in %;
(Based on T. 吴. Wu & Wu, 2012, p. 67)

However, in spite of the rapid economic growth and higher living standards, recently invented words and expressions reveal that Chinese citizens do not feel satisfied with the present quality of life. Numerous new words reveal dissatisfaction with the living conditions, and the trend of inventing the negatively loaded words is still growing. For example, several words indicate pressure, financial burden, unease, suspicion, fear and other similar feelings. Examples that support this observation is the productive use of morphemes like *nu* (奴, "slave") or *bei* (被 X, "being X-ed").

3.1 Various *Slaves*

Character *nu* (奴) which means "slave" is a very trendy tool to express one's negative attitude toward some situations. New words with *nu* reveal that people feel like slaves about several things, for example:

- *Fangnu* (房奴), "house slave", "mortgage slave".
  A slave to one's mortgage. The person who works to pay off the loan used to buy a house.

- *Chenu* (车奴), "car slave".
  Somebody forced to sacrifice quality of life to buy or maintain a car.

- *Hunnu* (婚奴), "marriage slave".
  Due to high expenses of wedding ceremonies and banquets, a marriage is a huge financial burden. At the same time, people mostly feel obligated to get married.

It is worth noticing that the present pressure, requirements and expectations are frequently expressed in ways that are much more humorous and creative. For example, men are expected to have a house, car and wife, and those who achieve this goal are called *zhuannan* 孬男. Since the character *zhuan* 孬 consists of three 子, netizens apply it to refer to *fangzi* (房子, "house"), *chezi* (车子, "car") and *qizi* (妻子, "wife"), while at the same time, character *zhuan* 孬 means "restpectful and prudent". Therefore this word also means successful self-starter who builds his career from scratch. As such, it could be translated as "ABC-man" (Apartment–Bride–Car) in English.

Other examples of *nu*-phrases include: *cainu* (菜奴, "food slave" – because of the increasing food prices), *bainu* (白奴, "white collar slave" – office worker who is overworked and exploited), *jienu* (节奴, "festival slave" – people who are overwhelmed by the pressure of socializing and giving away gifts during major Chinese traditional festivals), *zhengnu* (证奴, "slave of certificates" – people who are forced to take all kinds of exams to get as many certificates as possible to improve their qualifications and get a good job), among others.

3.2 *Being X-ed*

Roughly speaking, the *bei*-construction (被) in Chinese functions similarly to the English passive voice. This morpheme has recently become a very productive and widely used element. It expresses the meaning of something happening without

someone's knowledge or agreement, or even that the situation is untrue and harmful. Zhang (2010, p. 87) understands numerous new expressions with *bei* as awakening awareness of civil rights and the lack of trust, while Liu (2010, p. 51) relates these words to empathy. On the other hand, Han (2011, p. 99) prefers looking at this phenomenon as the passiveness and helplessness of the socially weak people, whose voices cannot be heard. Some examples are:

- *Beishanglou* (被上楼), lit. "being flated", "being apartmented".
  The process of *farmers* being forced to give up their land by local governments and move into apartments is referred to as "going upstairs"

- *Beishishi* (被逝世) or *beisiwang* (被死亡), lit. "being recorded dead".
  Hundreds of Chinese villagers were registered as dead and struck from village lists. By recording the false deaths, local officials held back payments.

- *Beijiuye* (被就业), lit. "being quasi-employed".
  Some universities are faking job contracts for their graduates to make sure graduate employment statistics remains high.

Further examples of *bei*-phrases are: *beidiyi* (被第一, "being reported as the (worst) first one"), *beijianqiang* (被坚强, "being toughened" (due to difficult life conditions)), *beizhiyuan* (被志愿, "being volunteered" (for a task against one's will)), *beishangwang* (被上网, "being (automatically) connected to the Internet" (and stolen money)), *beijuankuan* (被捐款, "being selected to donate money") etc.

3.3 Real Estate Market

In addition to the above mentioned "mortgage slave" or closely related "rental slave", several words describe the problem of increasing urbanization and rising real estate prices. The following new words vividly describe the citizens' response to housing issue.

- *Danxing woju* (蛋形蜗居) or *danju* (蛋居), lit. "egg-shaped snail house".
  Dai Haifei, a 24-year-old architect in Beijing, found a solution to live rent-free. He built himself a mobile egg-shaped house that was powered by the sun. This structure, which was small enough to fit on a sidewalk, was made of bamboo strips, wood chippings, sack bags, and grass seed that's expected to grow in the spring.

- *Dixia biaojian* (地下标间), lit. "underground room".
  A retired Chinese coal miner Chen Xinnian, 64, from Zhengzhou, Henan province, has found an underground solution to the country's sky-high housing costs, by carving out a new home beneath the shack he lives in.

- *Cunzhengfang* (村证房), lit. "village-certificated house".
  Residence supposedly only transferable to other village residents but often sold on the open market.

- *Qunzu* (群租), lit. "group renting" or "collective renting".
  Most migrant workers like to participate in the collective renting
  program as they cram as many people as possible into a small house in
  order to cut the share of the rent each has to pay.

- *Qiuxuefang* (求学房), "school-nearby house".
  Many parents buy houses in the neighborhood of elite schools purely for
  the purpose of guaranteeing a better education for their children.
  According to the existing rules in many cities, primary and middle
  schools are only allowed to enroll students living in their neighborhoods.

On the other hand, rapid economic development has led to higher purchasing power and gave rise to various new expressions. Two examples from 2010 are "Peking Pound" (*Beijingbang* 北京镑) that is used for the money that Chinese spend overseas every year (Sun, January 2, 2011); and "Nth rich generation" (*fu N dai* 富 N 代), an expression for wealthy and prominent families. The latter term resembles "Second rich generation" (fu er dai 富二代) which describes children of entrepreneurs who became wealthy under 1980s economic reforms.

For the above-sketched reasons, this article proposes that the economic inequality should be considered as the fifth milestone in the language development that has promoted the social life to be the most important source for the creation of new words and expressions.

4. Some Other Linguistic Features of Recent Neologisms (2006-2010)

4.1 The Amount of New Words

Table 1 above shows that in the last five years around 450 words have been created annually. The more detailed analysis reveals that the amount of new words is increasing year by year. See Table 2.

Table 2: New words per year (Data range: 2006-2010)
(Hou & Zhou, 2011, p. 313)

	2006	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**
New words per year	171[8]	420	444	573	626

We assume that these figures are slightly misleading, and do not purely indicate an increasing tendency in creating new words. Such numbers might be a result of more

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[8] According to Wang (2007, p. 52), over 300 new expressions were invented in 2006, however, only 171 of them were extracted and officially presented to the public.

sophisticated language technologies, larger databases, better query methods, different inclusion criteria etc.

Numerous new expressions are closely related to specific events. For example, in 2008, several new words arose because of Olympic Games in Beijing, Sanlu milk scandal, Sichuan earthquake and financial crisis. (Ren, 2009, p. 29)

These figures also include words for specific individuals that suddenly – on purpose or not – gained their five minutes of glory, for example "Brother Sharp" (*Xilige* 犀利哥, a homeless man in Ningbo) or "Peacock Dance" (*Kongquege* 孔雀哥, a performance in China's Got Talent), and are not very likely to become an established part of vocabulary.

The character *men* (门, gate) originates from the Watergate scandal and is nowadays commonly accepted as the word for "scandal", but several names of affairs will probably sink into oblivion very quickly, e.g. "Comment Scandal" (*Jieshuomen* 解说门) from June 27, 2006.

In overall, this is still a very rough interpretation, and a more detailed research should be done to define accurate and reliable reasons for the increasing tendency in creation of neologisms.

4.2 The Length and Structure of New Words

According to Hou and Zhou's (2011) results, 3-syllable words are thought to be the most productive, whereas creation of 2-syllable words is a decreasing trend. The average length of new words and expressions is 3.2 characters. Compared to the previous century, words nowadays are undoubtedly longer.

Table 3 and Figure 5 provide a detailed situation of the length and structure of new words, and are based on data gathered in Hou and Zhou (2011, p. 313). Note that different researchers came to almost identical results. (Duan & Zeng, 2010, p. 138; Wu & Wu, 2012, p. 66)

Table 3: Distribution of N-syllable words per year (Data range: 2006-2010)

	2006	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**
2-syllable words[9]	34%	22%	17%	19%	17%
3-syllable words	31%	38%	47%	51%	55%
4- or more-syllable words	35%	40%	37%	30%	28%

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[9] Only one one-syllable word was recorded in 2006, therefore this category is omitted from the table.
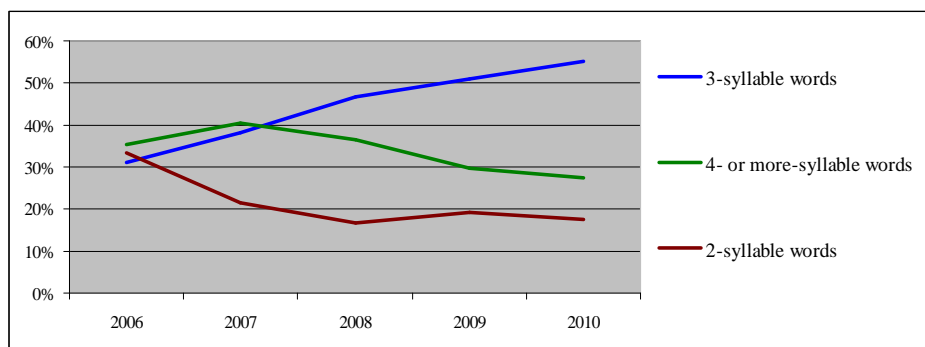
Figure 5: Distribution of N-syllable words per year (Data range: 2006-2010)
- graphical presentation

Further analysis has shown that present neologisms generally reflect domestic needs, social situations, problems, formations or concepts, and do not refer much to ideas from abroad. Loanwords tend to be translated into Chinese semantically, or at least semantically and phonetically at the same time. Purely phonetic translations are quite rare.

5. Conclusion

Chinese neologisms vividly reveal the changes that China has undergone over the past decades. At the beginning of the 20th century, The May Fourth Movement deliberately "updated" and Europeanized Chinese language. The second big event that reshaped Chinese, was the establishment of the People's Republic of China and Cultural Revolution with the strongly enriched political vocabulary, whereas the economical sector became much more influential after the China's reforms and its opening to the world. These events are considered as the four milestones in development of Chinese language.

This paper has sketched the present social-economic situation and the widening gap between rich and poor, which engenders resentment, frustration, insecurity on one side, and huge purchasing power on the other side. The gap is thought to be a new turning point in the Chinese language development, with the field of social life to be the most important source for new words and expressions. Therefore, we propose the beginning of the 21st century with its economic inequality to be the fifth milestone in the development of Chinese language.

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We Have It too: A Strategy Which Helps to Grasp the Japanese Writing System for Students from Outside of the Chinese Character Cultural Zone

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Abstract

For beginner learners with non-Chinese character background complexities of Japanese writing system often represent an insurmountable obstacle. Yet closer look at different types of writing systems reveals that differences between them are more of a degree than of a kind. Present paper, based on this perception, argues for the employment of strategies based on a transfer of analogies between alphabet based writing systems such as English, to Japanese writing system. This would help beginner learners overcome cognitive and affective blockade, when beginning to learn Japanese writing.

Keywords: writing system; Chinese characters (*kanji*); pleremic; cenemic; analogy transfer

Izvleček

Kompleksnost japonskega sistema pisave pogosto predstavlja nepremagljivo oviro za tiste učeče se na začetni stopnji, ki ne izhajajo iz kulturnega kroga kitajske pisave. Natančnejši pogled na različne sisteme pisave pokaže, da razlike med sistemi niso toliko v sami zasnovi, ampak bolj v deležu, ki ga vsak tip pisave v danem sistemu zavzema. Izhajajoč iz takega pogleda na pisavo, pričujoči članek predlaga, za to, da bi učeči se premagal kognitivno in čustveno blokado ob prehodu na novi sistem pisave, uporabo učnih strategij, ki temeljijo na prenosu analogij iz sistema pisave lastnega učečemu se na ciljni, to je, japonski sistem pisave.

Ključne besede: pisave; kitajske pismenke (*kanji*); pleremsko; cenemsko; prenos po analogiji

1. Introduction

At present the majority of learners who learn Japanese do not learn it because they are especially interested in Japan's language and culture but for a wide spectrum of reasons, including study, work, or being married to a Japanese. Many live in Japan and for them, in order to be fully functional and autonomous members of community, learning Japanese implies also writing. For many of these learners, complexities and unfamiliarity of the writing system that they have to face when trying to learn Japanese can be overwhelming, causing them to give up the effort, with all the negative societal consequences that follow such decisions.

Based on what kind of linguistic units are represented by individual units of writing, writing systems can be classified into semantically informed ones, i.e., pleremic, and semantically "empty" ones, i.e., cenemic. Pleremic systems are based on logography (word-writing), morphograpy (morpheme-writing) or both, and cenemic systems on writing units that represent individual sounds or syllables (Haas, 1976; French, 1976).

In general writing systems are not homogeneous, - i.e. based on a single principle of representing units of language with units of writing. On the contrary, they seem to be incorporating various principles of representation, either primarily, at the level of the relation of units of writing to units of language, or secondarily, at the level of organization of the units of writing motivated by the relation of this organization to units of language. Thus for example, Latin script, used in many European languages is primarily cenemic, letters (ideally) representing individual sounds, but employs spaces to signal division between words, and as such also secondarily incorporates logographic principle (Haas, 1976).

Japanese writing system is even more complex, employing Chinese characters (henceforth *kanji*) for logography units and two *kana* syllabaries for representing syllables (or more correctly mora). On the top of it, *kanji* are in principle used to represent morphemes when writing Chinese loan words and words when writing Japanese native words (Coulmas, 1989).

Requirements for a student to make a conceptual jump from one's own, primarily cenemic writing system, to a heavily hybrid pleremic-cenemic writing system such as Japanese, can be enormous. Reflecting on my experience teaching Japanese at the International Student Center at the University of Tsukuba and at the Japanese Studies program at the University of Ljubljana, I argue in this paper for a familiarizing strategy, sensitizing learners to the hybrid nature of their own writing systems, as a starting point to approach writing in Japanese, for the purpose of making learners' conceptual transition into the Japanese writing system easier.

2.   Previous research of *kanji* in Japanese language learning context

There is an extensive theoretical research on *kanji*. Kaiser (2001, 1995), written in Japanese, are accessible considerations of the role of *kanji* from the point of view of writing science - including comparative perspective. Coulmas (1989) is an introduction to writing systems, while Coulmas (2003) is offers a rigorous linguistic analysis of various writing systems. Both works also treat characteristics of Japanese writing system. Tōdō (1969) is an interesting discussion of *kanji* in Japanese language context by an expert Chinese philologist, offering interesting insights into internal structure of *kanji*, potential of script reforms, script development and their present-day use. Haas (1976) and French (1976) discuss theoretical frameworks for classification of writing.

Research concerning learning *kanji* is also quite extensive. Haththotuwa Gamage (2003a) addresses learning strategies and the influence of learners "orthographic" background (*kanji* cultural area or not) on success of learning *kanji*, stressing the fundamental differences in strategies for the two types of learners. The same author (Gamage, 2003b) addresses language learning strategies in general. Also relevant to

this paper is pointing out the "orthographic transfer" strategies, (Douglas, 1992). Nonetheless, such transfers are discussed only in the context of learners with Chinese character cultural zone background, often with harmful consequences. Possibilities of transfer strategies for learners with cenemic writing background, as a means to overcome conceptual hurdles in learning *kanji*, are not discussed. Douglas Ogawa (2004), in the context of learning and teaching *kanji* to learners with alphabetic background, discusses affective factors, while focusing more on issues such as the number of *kanji*, their relation to vocabulary, and absence of one to one encoding (such as *on'yomi* and *kun'yomi* "readings" etc.). Mental blockade, faced by learners when switching from an overall cenemic system to predominantly pleremic system, are not treated. Asaoka (2010) centers on issues such as retention and methods such as calligraphy, used to overcome the hurdles faced by Japanese learners. Rose (2010) investigates *kanji* learning strategies and offers important insights into until now rather neglected issue of self-regulation and other aspects of learning, while the important issue of trying to integrate *kanji* learning with the narrow and wide context of communication is not treated. Here, too, the issue of mental blockade in beginner learners is not dealt with.

3. A sketch of options available in writing

Writing in the narrow sense is the writing where units of writing are conventionally related to units of language (Coulmas, 1989). There is a major division regarding the level of linguistic units, stemming from the principle of double articulation (Martinet, 1960). According to this principle, continuous speech can be analyzed into discrete units of meaning, words and morphemes, this being the first articulation. Units of meaning can be further analyzed into semantically empty units of sound, this constituting the second articulation. Following French (ibid.) and Haas (ibid.), two basic options are pleremic and cenemic writing.

Pleremic writing is associated with the first articulation, i.e., with semantically informed, i.e., "full", units of meaning. Typical modern writing systems, extensively employing pleremic writing, are Chinese writing system and partly Japanese writing system, both based on the use of Chinese characters - *kanji*.

Cenemic writing is associated with the second articulation, i.e., with semantically empty units of sound such as syllables and individual sounds or phonemes. Typical representatives of cenemic writing are writing systems based on syllabic abugidas such as Ge'ez, Devanagari, etc., on alphabets such as Arab, Greek, Latin, Cyrillic, etc. (Daniels, 1990), and those employing syllabaries (e.g., partly Japanese, employing also *katakana* and *hiragana* syllabaries)

Ideography, on the other hand, is not writing in the narrow sense, since graphic signs in it are not primarily related to linguistic units. It is used to represent ideas and concepts directly and independently of language, in contexts such as traffic signs, mathematical formulas etc. (Haas, 1976).

Writing systems also display secondary organization. Primarily pleremic writings, for example *kanji*, include a lot of phonetically motivated elements. Because the primary principle is pleremic, this happens at the level if internal structure of character

("inner form", cf. Coulmas ibid). On the other hand, cenemic writing systems include secondary organization motivated pleremically, i.e., secondary organization units being related to words/morphemes. In such cases, secondary organization is usually ruled by orthography of each particular language (Haas, 1976).

4.   A sketch of Japanese writing system makeup

Japanese writing system is hybrid, pleremic-cenemic, employing various primary and secondary devices to represent language units.

4.1 Primary devices

Primary devices are the most conspicuous part of writing system, i.e., units of writing, graphic signs, directly associated with language units of meaning or sound.

4.1.1   Chinese characters - *kanji*

In Japanese *kanji* are now conventionally used primarily to write verb stems, adjective stems, and nouns, in other words, "full meaning words", in line with what pleremic writing is expected to do. They are used in two ways. One is to write Chinese loan words or Chinese loan morphemes (*on'yomi*), for example 大学 *daigaku* (university) etc. The other is to write native Japanese words or morphemes (*kun'yomi*), for example 山 *yama* (mountain), etc. Neither of the two ways is straightforward, because the relationship between a character and the language element written with the character is not one-to-one. One character can be used to write several different words or morphemes. For example, character 頭 can encode several Chinese loan elements (morphemes) belonging to different periods of loaning (*zu, tō,* etc., meaning "head"), and several different native Japanese words (*atama, kashira,* etc., also basically meaning "head", but belonging to different meaning domains (Coulmas ibid.).

There are also other uses, two of which will be mentioned here. One of them is the logographic use of compound Chinese words (*jukujikun*), to write native Japanese words, for example, 明日 for *ashita*, *asu* (tomorrow)*,* 昨日 for *kinō* (yesterday), 大人 for *otona* (adult), etc. Nonetheless such examples are nowadays few and do not represent a significant additional load for beginner learners, therefore this paper will not deal with the issue. The other is the rebus-like use of *kanji* in many proper names (i.e., place names, family names etc.), such as 筑波 *tsuku•ba* (a mountain in Kanto region), 伊那 *i•na* (a town in the south of Nagano prefecture), etc. Often this use seems to be based on an older, *Man'yogana* style rebus use of *kanji*.

4.1.2   *Hiragana* and *katakana*

Hiragana and *katakana* are used as supporting script in *kanji-kana majiri* style, and were developed as a necessity to write Japanese, a language highly inflected as compared with isolating Chinese, more accurately. *Hiragana* is at present used typically to write inflectional part of verbs and adjectives, adverbs, function words and often also full meaning words and proper names (as for instance in the name of

Tsukuba city (つくば). *Katakana* is used typically for writing loan words and morphemes from languages other than Chinese, onomatopoeic words and for stressing (Tōdō, 1969; Coulmas, 1989).

4.2 Secondary organization principles

Secondary organization principles operate on primary graphic signs used to write a particular language. In Japanese, secondary organization is almost nonexistent.

Okurigana (inflection endings written in kana) do somehow contribute to the secondary organization by showing the inflectional ending of a verb or an adjective stem.

Wakachigaki (putting spaces between words) is problematic in Japanese because of the agglutinative nature of Japanese language, which makes it often very difficult to sharply distinguish between word boundaries. This is probably one of the reasons why dividing words with spaces did not catch up in Japanese orthography. *Wakachigaki* is used at the early elementary school level but is then discontinued. Another reason for not putting spaces between words is that at a more advanced level of writing ability, *kanji* employed to represent "full meaning" words can to some extent signal the boundary between individual words or morphemes, due to their different graphical impression.

While punctuation also belongs to the level of secondary organization, the principal marks such as *ten* (comma) and *maru* (period) delimit larger units such as phrases and clauses, which go beyond logography.

5. Hybrid nature of primarily cenemic writing systems

Inherently hybrid nature of cenemic systems can represent a welcome starting point for building consciousness about similarities, conductive to learners' intuitive grasp of principles on which the Japanese writing system is based.

5.1 Alphabets - exemplified by the Latin alphabet in English

Latin alphabet, used for writing English and a good number of other languages, from Albanian to Turkish, developed many conventions which in practice make the system hybrid, with inherent elements of pleremic writing principles.

5.1.1   Pleremic use at the primary level of organization

Such use is actually not so rare. Arab and Roman numbers used as subsidiary symbols within the alphabet, are used to write the words for numbers, and are thus pleremic. Further, all sorts of abbreviations, such as Dr (doctor), Mr. (mister) , Mrs. (mistress), prof. (professor), Rev. (reverend), etc, are word signs derived from primarily alphabetic letters. Such abbreviations are conventionally representing full words, i.e., Dr is pronounced as "doctor" and not as /díːɑ́ːr/. Same is true also of acronyms of place names, widely used especially in the US, such s NY (New York),

CA (California), etc., though there are exceptions, such as LA (Los Angeles, pronounced as /èléi/, thus behaving as a true acronym). In these cases an acronym may function either as derived logogram, referring to the original word (in cases such as NY and CA), or as a cenemically recoded version of the original place name (in cases such as LA). The same is basically true also of acronyms of organizations, such as NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, pronounced /néitou/) etc. Such acronyms are very handy, because besides making the name shorter, they often conveniently hide the true purpose of the organization (mutual defense centered on North Atlantic, but being active in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan).

In addition, in more playful uses, examples such as "I ♥ NY" and its imitations, are not rare. This example is interesting, because it employs two logographic graphic signs, pictographic ♥ and alphabet derived NY. Similarly, smileys, Japanese "emoji" and similar, pictography based characters, such as ♥, ☺, etc., are used in particular in electronic messaging to convey feelings and moods of the sender. Proliferation of pictographic signs also shows the need for direct, word-based option of writing, latent also in cenemic systems.

It can be seen that primarily cenemic systems, such as Latin alphabet based English writing system, are quite happy with a certain number of primary pleremic graphic signs (including the derived ones), since this in the right circumstances expedites communication.

5.1.2   Pleremic principles at the secondary level of organization

Pleremic principles at the secondary level of organization, with words as linguistic units being conventionally and consistently signaled by the spaces between them, are also very instructive for drawing learners' attention to analogies with pleremic-cenemic systems such as Japanese.

Delimiting words with spaces was introduced in Latin alphabet in 7c.-8c. (Bruthiaux, 1993). Visual saliency of clearly individualized words contributed to the increase of accuracy and speed of reading. Individualized words thus function as a second degree logograms, in a way similar to phono-semantic compounds (形声字 ／ 形聲字 *xíngshēngzì, keiseiji*) in *kanji*. Both are phonetically motivated, while at the same time they also relate to the coded linguistic unit at the word/morpheme level.

5.1.3   Mixed pleremic-cenemic use

Interestingly, mixed pleremic-cenemic use, analogue to *okurigana* inflectional endings in *kanji-kana majiri* writing in Japanese, is also found in many alphabet based writing systems, as for example in the case of ordinal numbers in English, French, etc. In English, for example, we have 1st (FIRst), 2nd (SECOnd), 3rd (THIrd), 4th (FOURth), etc. The principle is the same as in *okurigana*, the ending part of the word written with a logograph is spelled phonetically, to disambiguate and thus ease the reading. In the case of English, it is necessary to disambiguate between cardinal and ordinal numbers, and in the case of Japanese, between different shapes of the inflected words.

5.2 Pleremic reflexes in abugidas and other phonetic scripts

Other cenemic writing systems also employ secondary organization to delimit individual words. Modern Hebrew and Arabic in some cases employ different shapes of letters written at the beginning as opposed to the rest of a word. To separate words, Arabic alphabet used for writing Persian, Uyghur, Urdu and Pashto employs bigger size of the letter at the beginning of each word (the so called *nasta`līq*). Korean hangul alphabet uses spaces. Many abugidas (being a hybrid between alphabetic and syllabic writing, also called alphasyllabic writing), employ word separating signs. For example in Ge'ez, words are separated by a kind of semicolon (Haile, 1996) while in devanagari abugida script used to write modern Hindi, words are separated by space. Related Khmer and Thai abugidas in modern use do not separate words.

5.3 Syllabic reflexes in alphabetic writing

This case seems to be limited to hangul, the Korean alphabet. In the case of hangul, letters are *per definitionem* grouped in syllabic groups, as for example in word *han* (Korean), written not as linearly as ㅎㅏㄴ (h-a-n) but grouped into two-dimensional module: 한. This makes syllables visually salient, a great asset also in writing phonetically Chinese characters (*hanja* in Korean). *Hanja* are usually transliterated as syllables conforming to the Korean syllabic principles, and thus expressed as hangul letters grouped in syllables.

5.4 Summary of analogies

Even a rather superficial comparison of a complex mixed pleremic-cenemic system such as Japanese and primarily cenemic systems as exemplified by Latin alphabet in English, and also by many other alphabet or abugida based systems mentioned in sections 4 and 5, shows that these systems actually do share many analogue traits. In fact, there is no pure division between a pleremic or a cenemic system; actually all writing systems seem to be at least to some extent based on a mixture of the two principles. These analogue traits are summarized in the Table 1 below. As can be seen from the Table 1, these analogies seem to be strong enough to be able to say that the basic differences in writing systems are those of degree rather than those of a kind.

Table 1: Analogies between Japanese and some cenemic writing systems

	Writing system	Japanese	Latin (English)	Hangul	Ge'ez (Amharic)	Arab	Hebrew
Primary organization	Primary type (main)	pleremic (*kanji*)	cenemic (alphabet)	cenemic (alphabet)	cenemic (abugida)	cenemic (alphabet)	cenemic (alphabet)
	Primary type (subsidiary)	cenemic (*kana* syllabary)	some logographic signs	some logographic signs	some logographic signs	some logographic signs	some logographic signs
	Pleremic and cenemic mixing	*kanji-kana majiri* (mixed *kanji-kana*)	traces	traces	traces	traces	traces
	okurigana endings	extensive use of *okurigana* endings	limited use of endings for ordinal numerals	NA	NA	NA	NA
Sec. organization	word separation	word boundaries vaguely shown by different script (*kanji/kana* or *hiragana/katakana*)	spaces	spaces	spaces, double dots etc.	letter shape, letter size	letter shape
	syllable grouping	present (*kana*)	NA	present	present	NA	NA

It is the transfer of these analogies inherent in cenemic scripts that has potential to help beginner learners of Japanese to surmount their conceptual blockade learning Japanese writing.

6. Conclusions

At the beginners level, when learners are faced for the first time with an unfamiliar and complex writing system, experience shows that the mental block towards such complexities often prevents learners from proceeding beyond the basic stage of learning, with all the societal and intercultural damage that goes with such developments.

The starting point of usual discussions of *kanji* learning strategies seems to always be beyond the initial contact with Japanese writing system. Such discussions are thus of no help at this critical point of learners' experience. Analogies summarized above are salient and intuitive enough to be easily transferred into Japanese writing system, thus providing a confused beginner with an intimate understanding of basic principles on which the Japanese writing system rests. Numerals and other subsidiary logographic signs in cenemic systems provide an intuitively accessible anchor for understanding the basic difference between pleremic and cenemic writing. Word separation and its connection with logography can amplify this understanding, in particular at the level when first phono-semantic compounds are introduced. Endings of ordinal numbers in

English, French, Spanish etc., can serve to elucidate the way *okurigana* functions, at the stage when first verbs and adjectives are written with *kanji*.

With a wider range of cenemic systems examined in a greater detail perhaps even more analogies could be discovered. Also, expanding analogies between certain types of *kanji* inner form and traffic signs, mental crutches for understanding the role of *bushu* (semantic classifiers) could be provided, a topic worth further investigation. Nonetheless, what is essential in our case is that such analogies are not explanations *per se* but mental crutches which help the learner to grasp the Japanese (and by analogy also Chinese) writing system, and start understanding its functioning from within that system.

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