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## From information to emotion: The affective function of right-dislocation in Mandarin Chinese<sup>☆</sup>

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### Abstract

This study illustrates one affective function of Mandarin right-dislocation found in activity oriented interactive discourse by 7-year-old children. The study first illustrates that Mandarin right-dislocation is a grammaticalized device characterized by a set of consistent syntactic and prosodic features, rather than a repair device previously labelled as afterthought. Then the study shows that Mandarin right-dislocation has developed an EMPHATIC function to focus the addressee's attention on the concerned person or object, especially when they are assigned to the topic slot and thus assume the presupposed information status. Furthermore, this emphatic function has a stable association with negative evaluations by the speaker. The combination of the emphatic function and negative evaluation is characterized as the INTENSIFYING function. © 1999 Elsevier Science B.V. All rights reserved.

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## 1. Introduction

Word order has been studied for its information management function (Li, 1976; Lambrecht, 1986, 1994; Givón, 1983), and its interactional function as a device to negotiate speaker's turns (Duranti and Ochs, 1979), or to bring new themes to the ongoing conversation (Chafe, 1976; Keenan and Schieffelin, 1976; Zubin and Li, 1986). This paper attempts to explicate the affective function of word order, which heretofore has received little attention.<sup>1</sup> The paper first discusses the prosodic and grammatical characteristics of the long observed right-dislocation in Mandarin Chinese, better known as *AFTERTHOUGHTS*. Then the paper will illustrate, with data from interactive discourse of 7-year-old Mandarin-speaking children, that right-dislocation in Mandarin may be used to serve an affective function to focus the addressee's attention and convey the intensity of the speaker's negative affect. This function is characterized as the *INTENSIFYING* function.

Right-dislocation is a widely observed phenomenon found in many languages, such as English (Keenan, 1977), German (Vennemann, 1973), Haya (Byarushengo and Tenenbaum, 1976; Tenenbaum, 1977), Niger-Congo (Hyman, 1975), Ute (Givón, 1983b), Japanese (Clancy, 1985; Fujii, 1989; Ono and Suzuki, 1992), and Chinese (Chao, 1968; Lu, 1980; Packard, 1986; Tai and Hu, 1991; Bourgerie, 1991). It is also known as *EXTRAPOSITION* (Jespersen, 1933/1964), and *ANTITOPIC* (Chafe, 1976). In Mandarin Chinese, a typical example of right-dislocation is shown in (1):

- (1) *bié xiǎ shuō le, nǐ.*  
 don't talk-nonsense PART<sup>2</sup> you  
 'Don't talk nonsense, you.'

In (1), the word *nǐ* 'you' is the underlying subject<sup>3</sup> of the sentence and it is both grammatically and semantically possible to place it in the preverbal position, as in (2):

- (2) *nǐ bié xiǎ shuō le.*  
 you don't talk-nonsense PART  
 'Don't talk nonsense.'

Chao (1968) was the first to talk about this sentence form in Mandarin and referred to it as *AFTERTHOUGHT*. He defined it as follows: "If an unplanned part is added to a sentence which has already been completed, then it is an afterthought

<sup>1</sup> The research I know of are Kuno's (1976) discussion on the function of showing empathy in the choice of sentence subject; Ochs and Schieffelin's (1989) discussion on word order in Hawaiian; and Ono and Suzuki's (1992) discussion on the emotively motivated post-predicate constituents in Japanese.

<sup>2</sup> CL = classifiers; PART = sentence final particles; PEFT = perfect marker; POSS = possessive marker; REL = relative clause marker; QU = question marker.

<sup>3</sup> The definition of subject in Mandarin is problematic and controversial. Here I follow the pre-theoretical definition of subject as discussed in Chao (1968) and Li and Thompson (1981).

form". Thus, afterthought forms are basically regarded as a form of repair for omission errors made in the prior speech under time and psychological pressures. Previous treatments of right-dislocation in other languages also regard it as a form of afterthought typically occurring in unplanned speech (Hyman, 1975; Hinds, 1976; Keenan, 1977; Givón, 1976). Givón (1976), for example, suggests that right-dislocation represents the speaker's hedge between the anaphoric pronoun (or zero pronoun in pro-drop languages) and the topic shift devices due to the dubious accessibility status of the right-dislocated referent. The general consensus in this regard is that right-dislocation is the result of the speaker's effort to repair a speech error or to reorganize the utterance that has already been made.<sup>4</sup>

Packard (1986) argues that so-called right-dislocation in Mandarin is the remaining part of the sentence which has undergone a left-dislocation process for a certain sentence constituent to receive thematic focus. Tai and Hu (1991) identified three discourse motivations for utterances containing right-dislocations (INVERTED SENTENCES in their terminology): **thematization**, **repair**, and **afterthought appendage**. The **thematization** function is very similar to that of Packard's, and **repair** is similar to Givón's claim. Bourgerie (1991) reports that the right-dislocated (he uses the term POSTPOSED) forms in Mandarin and Cantonese are often modal words, and suggests that the sentence final slot in Chinese is being grammaticalized for expressing modality. Like Chao, all the above authors claim that this phenomenon is very typical and pervasive in spoken Mandarin.

In what follows, I will argue, through detailed illustration of data from interactive discourse, that all the above accounts contain insights about Mandarin right-dislocations, but none of them can satisfactorily explain the right-dislocations found in my data. I will illustrate that right-dislocation, an established grammatical device in Mandarin Chinese, has developed an emphatic function to place special focus<sup>5</sup> on the referent of the right-dislocated form – especially when the referent is placed in the position that marks it as presupposed due to the constraints of the information structure (Selkirk, 1984; Lambrecht, 1994).

Moreover, this emphatic function is skewed to express negative feelings to the addressee. The combination of the emphatic function and the negative affect will be identified as the INTENSIFYING function, and it will be argued that the utterance final position in Mandarin has developed, among other functions, the function to express the speaker's affective stance in interactive discourse.

<sup>4</sup> At least this is so at the beginning stage of this phenomenon in historical change. However, many researchers indicate that this particular word order has been grammaticalized. For example, Hyman (1975) argues that frequent occurrence of the dislocated NP makes the new word order acceptable and conventional, leading to a word order change, in which case it is no longer an afterthought. Givón (1976) argues that right-dislocation is the source of object-verb agreement. Packard and Shi (1986) suggest that the afterthought forms might indicate the beginning of a word order change in Mandarin from SVO to SOV. Clancy (1985) suggests that postposing has become integrated into Japanese grammar as a defocusing device.

<sup>5</sup> I use the term FOCUS in its non-technical sense here. This use should be differentiated from the technical sense as in what is called 'sentence focus' by Selkirk (1984) and Lambrecht (1994). I will use this word in its non-technical sense for the rest of the paper, unless it is noted otherwise.

## 2. Data

The data for my discussion come from the speech of 7-year-old Mandarin-speaking children in semi-naturalistic interactions. The data were collected in a full-time elementary school attached to a university in Beijing, China, for a study of the children's use of modal auxiliaries. Subjects are three 7-year-old Mandarin-speaking children from that school, one girl and two boys. The children were engaged in object oriented activities such as Lego construction, doll play, playdough, and puzzle solving. The data consist of five hours of video recording.

This corpus is unique from previously reported corpora in that the speech is situated in activity oriented discourse, while the data reported in the existing literature tend to be conversation oriented discourse. The linguistic consequences of this difference are significant. Speech in activity oriented discourse tends to be short, concerned with here and now, and tends to focus on the objects being manipulated and the participants present in the speech situation. Thus the speaker is more likely to use linguistic devices to express his or her affects, emotions, attitudes towards the ongoing event and addressee. In contrast, speech in conversation oriented discourse tends to be long and extended, concerned with non-ongoing events, and tends to focus on presenting an organized and coherent argument or representation of past events. Thus the speaker is more likely to use linguistic devices to organize events and manage information. Thus the former type of data (such as these used for the current study) is more valuable for examining the INTERPERSONAL function of language (Halliday, 1973), while the latter type of data is more valuable for examining the INFORMATIONAL function of language.

## 3. Scope and definition of right-dislocation

### 3.1. Coreferentiality of right-dislocation

The existing literature on Chinese right-dislocation (Chao, 1968; Lu, 1980; Packard, 1986; Tai and Hu, 1991; Bourgerie, 1991) indicates that right-dislocation in Mandarin occurs in a wide variety of word categories and constructions. Guo (1993) reports all the right-dislocated constructions and their structural properties found in the same corpus used for this study. The right-dislocated constructions include pronouns, noun phrases, verb phrases, prepositional phrase, modal auxiliaries, adverbs, vocatives, and complex constructions such as subject+verb and subject+adverbials.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, right-dislocations reported of other languages primarily involve nominal constituents. In order to be comparable to right-dislocations in other languages, this study will confine itself to examining the right-dislocations of pronouns and noun phrases that are coreferential with an explicit or underlying con-

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<sup>6</sup> Clancy (1985) and Ono and Suzuki (1992) also report similar heterogeneity of postposed constituents in Japanese.

stituent of the sentence. Thus included in the analysis are pronouns coreferential with the underlying subject, as shown in (3a),

- (3a) *cǎi wǒ jiǎo le, nǐ.*  
 step I foot PEFT you  
 ‘(You) stepped on my foot, you.’

and noun phrases coreferential with the underlying subject, as shown in (4a):

- (4a) *tè nán zhǎo, wǒ zhèige.*  
 very difficult find my this  
 ‘(It’s) very difficult to find, this (thing) of mine.’

It is commonly agreed that the right-dislocated pronoun and noun phrase in (3a) and (4a) originally come from their underlying preverbal subject position as shown in (3b) and (4b) respectively:

- (3b) *nǐ cǎi wǒ jiǎo le,*  
 you step my foot PEFT.  
 ‘You stepped on my foot.’  
 (4b) *wǒ zhèige tè nán zhǎo,*  
 my this very difficult find  
 ‘This (thing) of mine is very difficult to find.’

Also included in the analysis are vocatives that are coreferential with a sentence component. The only possible case for this type is when the sentence subject (explicit or implicit) is the second person referring to the addressee, as shown in (5):

- (5) *nǐ yě děi shōushí a, wǒ shuō, Lǐ Yán.*  
 you also have-to clean-up PART I say Li Yan  
 ‘You also have to clean up, I say, Li Yan.’

Vocatives that are placed at the end of an utterance, as shown in (6), are not included, since they are not part of or coreferential with the arguments of the predicate in the standard analysis of Chinese grammar (Chao, 1968; Li and Thompson, 1981), but rather, they are independent from the core sentence structure.

- (6) *wǒ qù mǎi fàn qù, bàbà.*  
 I go buy meal go dad.  
 ‘I’m going to buy the dinner, dad.’

### 3.2. Prosodic constraints of right-dislocation

Right-dislocations in Mandarin consistently receive a typical parenthetical prosodic contour: fast and low-pitched, with a flat intonation. Traditionally, Man-

darin right-dislocations were thought to be preceded by a brief pause, indicated by a comma in the written form. The presumed pause was often taken as evidence for the afterthought argument, indicating that the speaker has thought of something new, then stops and adds the afterthought. Contrary to the pause claim, Chao (1968) suggests that the right-dislocated form is actually closely latched to the main clause, and it is uttered faster than normal. Lu (1980: 37) also reports that his Mandarin-speaking interviewees consistently report that utterances with right-dislocated forms “consist of two contrasting prosodic segments, the main part is like high plateau and the right-dislocated part is like low land,”<sup>7</sup> and that there is no pause at all between the two parts. The beginning of the right-dislocated form is actually more closely connected to the last word of the main clause.<sup>8</sup>

The data used in this study agree with the above claims. The prosodic contour of the right-dislocated forms is characterized by a significantly faster tempo and lower pitch than the main clause, indicative of a syntactic break for a parenthetical clause. In addition, the syllabic tonal contrast of the right-dislocated part is reduced, or even neutralized, and its overall intonation is plain. This prosodic feature is not only applicable to the right-dislocated pronouns and noun phrases, but also true to the right-dislocated vocatives, which, when placed in non-dislocated positions, would always receive high-pitched level intonation. Thus, the previously claimed pause is probably nothing but an illusion caused by the change of tempo and pitch. Consequently, the conventional use of comma in written Mandarin indicates nothing but this prosodic change for the right-dislocated form.

### 3.3. Syntactic constraints of right-dislocation

Right-dislocations in Mandarin also have very restrictive syntactic distributional properties. Although the forms that can be right-dislocated in Mandarin consist of a rather heterogeneous group (Guo, 1993), the syntactic slot for the right-dislocated forms is restricted, and failure to comply with this restriction will result in ungrammatical sentences. The assigned position for right-dislocation is the right most slot of the sentence. In Mandarin, the sentence final particles are always placed at the end of the sentence and they have the scope over the whole sentence. But Lu (1980) notes that the right-dislocated forms can only occur after the sentence final particles. It will produce an ungrammatical sentence if the right-dislocated form (in bold face) is placed before the sentence final particle, as shown in (7):<sup>9</sup>

- (7) A: \**lái le, nǐ gēge, ma?*  
           come PEFT **your older-brother** QU  
           ‘Has (he) come, **your older brother?**’

<sup>7</sup> The English translation from Mandarin is by the current author.

<sup>8</sup> Clancy (1985) and Ono and Suzuki (1992) also report that there is no pause between the main clause and the postposed constituent in Japanese.

<sup>9</sup> This example is taken from Lu (1980: 29).

B: \**zǒu le, dàgài ba.*  
 go PEFT probably PART  
 ‘(He) is gone, probably.’

The grammatical forms for (7A) and (7B) should be (8A) and (8B) respectively:

(8) A: *lái le ma, nǐ gēge?*  
 B: *zǒu le ba, dàgài.*

Another syntactic constraint on the distribution of right-dislocation is that it cannot occur in embedded clauses or be coreferential with a constituent in the embedded clause. Thus it is grammatical to say (9a) (9b) and (9c), but not (9d):

- (9) a. *fàng nàr, zhèxiē shípǐn.*  
 put there **these food**  
 ‘(They should be) put over there, **these foods.**’  
 b. *tā gàosù wǒ zhèxiē shípǐn fàng nàr.*  
 he tell I these food put there  
 ‘He tells me that these food (should be) put over there.’  
 c. *tā gàosù wǒ fàng nàr.*  
 he tell I put there  
 ‘He tells me (that these foods should be) put over there.’  
 d. \**tā gàosù wǒ fàng nàr, zhèxiē shípǐn.*  
 he tell I put there **these food**  
 ‘He tells me (that it should be) put over there, **these foods.**’

What is noteworthy here is that the ungrammaticality of (9d) is not due to the dangling status of the right-dislocated phrase *zhèxiē shípǐn* ‘these foods’. It is the faster and lower pitched prosodic contour assigned to the phrase *zhèxiē shípǐn*, which marks it as a form of right-dislocation, that makes the utterance ungrammatical. If we assign a clear sentence final intonation to the first part, make no change in the tempo and pitch on the second part, and place a clear pause (as indicated by the period in (10) below) between the two, then, it will be a grammatical utterance. But such change will produce a genuine case of afterthought repair, i.e., the speaker adds more information to clarify some possible vagueness or ambiguity.

- (10) *tā gàosù wǒ fàng nàr. zhèxiē shípǐn.*  
 he tell I put there these **food**  
 ‘He tells me (that these foods should be) put over there. (I mean) **These foods.**’

Another important feature of right-dislocation in Mandarin is that absence of the right-located form will never cause ungrammaticality to the main part of the utterance. In other words, the main clauses in those utterances can always function as independent grammatical sentences on their own without the right-dislocated forms. Thus, despite its coreferentiality, right-dislocations are not an obligatory part of the

argument structure of the predicate. This is indirectly indicated by its prosodic features, which clearly mark it off from the main clause.

### 3.4. Exclusions

Since right-dislocations in Mandarin are well constrained prosodically and syntactically, it is reasonable to hypothesize that Mandarin right-dislocation is a conventionalized grammatical device rather than a repair device in performance. Thus right-dislocations in Mandarin should be distinguished from some ostensibly similar but actually different phenomena, which consequently are not included in the analysis.

One type of utterance that should be distinguished from right-dislocation is one as shown in (10) above. In (10), since the seemingly right-dislocated noun phrase *zhèxiē shípǐn* ‘these food’ is clearly separated from the main clause by the pause and assumes an intonational contour characteristic of independent utterances, they should be treated as a genuine afterthought repair, not a right-dislocation.

The second type of utterance that should be distinguished from right-dislocation is one that contains an explicit patient in the sentence object position, as shown in (11).

- (11) *wǒ chī le nàxiē píngguǒ le.*  
 I eat PEFT those apples PART  
 ‘I ate those apples.’

Utterances like (11) might be confused with utterances containing right-dislocations as shown in (12):

- (12) *wǒ chī le, nàxiē píngguǒ.*  
 I eat PART those apples  
 ‘I ate (them), those apples.’

There are two crucial distinctions between the two types of utterance. Prosodically, when the patient is realized as an explicit object of the sentence, it is uttered under the main clause intonational contour, while the right-dislocated form coreferential with the underlying patient receives the typical right-dislocation intonation contour of fast tempo and low pitch. Syntactically, right-dislocations cannot be placed before the sentence final particle *le* as in (11). Thus by both criteria, (11) is not a case of right-dislocation.

## 4. Categories of right-dislocations found in the corpus

Following the criteria discussed in the last section, a total of 100 utterances have been identified from the current corpus. In this section, I will describe in detail these right-dislocations along the following two parameters: (1) the informational value of the right-dislocated forms, and (2) the grammatical functions of the coreferents of the right-dislocated forms.



#### 4.1. Categorization by the information value of right-dislocation

As mentioned earlier, all right-dislocations included in this study have a coreferent in the main clause, either implicit or explicit. Depending on the explicitness of the coreferents, the right-dislocated forms may have different informational values. If the right-dislocation has an zero (implicit) coreferent, it provides some additional information about the identity of the referent. They will be labeled as ZERO ANAPHORIC right-dislocations. If the right-dislocation has an explicit coreferent in the main clause, then there are two possibilities. The right-dislocated form may be an elaboration of the briefer coreferent, thus adding more information to the main clause. They will be labeled as ELABORATIONS. Alternatively, the right-dislocated form may be exactly the same as its coreferent, with zero informational value. They will be labeled as REDUPLICATIONS.

An example of ZERO ANAPHORIC right-dislocation is shown in (13):

- (13) *dōu zài nǎr ne, wǒ nèige?*  
 all at where QU I that  
 ‘Where is (it), **that one of mine?**’

It is note-worthy to point out here that the main clause in (13) *dōu zài nǎr ne?* without the right-dislocated form *wǒ nèige* is a perfectly grammatical sentence in Mandarin. In Mandarin, the arguments of the predicate can be deleted if the referent is clear from the context.<sup>10</sup> Thus, it might be more accurate to view the right-dislocated form as a copied form coreferential with the implicit subject of the main clause, rather than the subject of the main clause that has been moved to the end of the sentence.

An example of ELABORATION is given in (14):

- (14) *zhèi bù shì zuò cāo, zhèi yīnyuè.*  
 this not is do exercise **this music**  
 ‘This is not (for) doing exercises, **this music.**’

In this category, the coreferent in the main clause is usually a pronoun and the right-dislocated form is a full noun or noun phrase.

REDUPLICATIONS are those right-dislocated forms that are exactly the same as their coreferents in the main clause. Right-dislocated forms in this category can be full noun phrases as shown in (15):

- (15) *zhèi jiǎndāo zěnmē liǎng bàn le, zhèi jiǎndāo?*  
 this scissors how-come two half PART **this scissors**  
 ‘How come this pair of scissors is broken, **this pair of scissors?**’

<sup>10</sup> See Li and Thompson (1981) for more detailed discussion on this grammatical characteristic of Mandarin.

They can also be pronouns as shown in (16):

- (16) *nǐ méi zhǎng yǎnjīng a, nǐ?*  
 you haven't grow eyes QU you  
 'Don't you have eyes, **you**?'

#### 4.2. Categorization by the grammatical functions of the coreferents of right-dislocations

The coreferents, either implicit or explicit, of the right-dislocated forms found in this corpus consist of a wide variety of sentence constituents. They include SUBJECT, TOPIC, OBJECT, ADVERBIAL, and VOCATIVE.

The concept of SUBJECT in Mandarin is highly controversial.<sup>11</sup> I am using the term SUBJECT in a loose sense, including all the preverbal arguments of the predicates that only allow one logical argument as shown in (17),

- (17) *zhèi tài dà le, zhèi yú.*  
 this too big PART **this** fish  
 'This is too big, **this** fish.'

and the preverbal agent of the predicates that allow two or more arguments, as shown in (18):

- (18) *nǐ hái tuō kùzi a, nǐ?*  
 you even take-off pants QU **you**  
 'You are even going to take off your pants, **you**?'

As one of the typical characteristics of topic prominent languages, Mandarin allows any argument of the predicate to be placed at the preverbal position as the TOPIC. The TOPIC receives the same prosodic features as the SUBJECT and the verb does not have to be marked by any topicalization or passivization marker, regardless of the semantic role of the TOPIC in relation to the predicate. An example is given in (19):

- (19) *shū dōu fàng zhèi lǐ.*  
 book all put this inside  
 'Books (should be) put inside this.'

<sup>11</sup> Since Mandarin does not have morphological variations for argument-verb agreement and constraints on control are more pragmatically regulated than grammatically regulated, no conclusive agreement has been reached for the existence of SUBJECT in Mandarin. Formalist approaches (Huang, 1982; Li, 1990) argue that SUBJECT is as valid a concept in Mandarin as that in English or any other languages. Chao (1968) uses the term SUBJECT interchangeably with the term TOPIC. Li and Thompson (1976) argue that Mandarin is a Topic Prominent language, but the preverbal arguments can nevertheless be validly classified as either SUBJECT or TOPIC. LaPolla (1990) argues that Mandarin has not grammaticalized the syntactic function of SUBJECT and OBJECT. Since this concept is not crucial in the basic arguments of this paper, I will not pursue the argument other than defining it extensionally as did in the main text.

In the analysis, I include into the TOPIC category those right-dislocated forms whose coreferents are patients of the predicate but placed in the TOPIC position in the sentence as shown in (20),

- (20) *zhèi zěnmē chā de ya, zhèi chuānghù?*  
 this how insert REL QU **this window**  
 ‘How (should) this (be) insert(ed), **this window?**’

or those forms whose patient coreferents are placed in the preverbal position with the object marker *bǎ*, as shown in (21):

- (21) *bǎ zhèige gē zhèi lǐtóu le a, xiǎo yú.*  
 BA this put this inside PEFT PART **little fish**  
 ‘(I) have put this into this, **the little fish.**’

In the OBJECT category, the right-dislocated forms corefer to the object of the main clause. This requires not only that the coreferent be the patient of the predicate, but also that it be placed in the postverbal object position, as shown in (22),

- (22) *tā zài bù fúcong, wǒ jiù zǎi le tā, zhèige chéngtuó.*  
 it still not obey I then kill PEFT it **this balance-weight**  
 ‘If it still doesn’t obey me, then I’ll kill it, **this balance-weight.**’

The ADVERBIAL category includes utterances with right-dislocated noun phrases that indicate place and time, as shown in (23) and (24) respectively:

- (23) *zhèi lǐ zhuāng zhe liǎngge guǒguo, shūbāo lǐ.*  
 this inside contain PART two fruit **bag inside**  
 ‘Here there are two fruits, **in the bag.**’  
 (In Mandarin, *fruit* is countable.)
- (24) *děng huǐr jiù nòng chū lái le, chā de shíhòu.*  
 wait moment then make out come PEFT **stick-in REL time**  
 ‘In a little while (it will be) made to come out, **when (we) stick (it) in.**’

The VOCATIVE category includes those right-dislocations which are themselves vocatives but corefer to a core argument of the predicate of the main clause, as discussed earlier (in 3.1) and illustrated in (5), which is repeated here in (25):

- (25) *nǐ yě děi shōushí a, wǒ shuō, Lǐ Yān.*  
 you also have-to clean-up PART I say **Li Yan**  
 ‘You also have to clean up, I say, **Li Yan.**’

Table 1 summarizes the different categories and shows the frequencies of the utterances with right-dislocations classified by these two parameters.

Table 1  
Frequency and categorization of right-dislocations

	Subject	Topic	Adverbial	Object	Vocative	Total
Zero anaphoric	28	8	3	0	0	39
Elaboration	8	6	2	2	4	22
Reduplication	36	2	0	0	1	39
Total	72	16	5	2	5	100

## 5. Toward an affective analysis of right-dislocation

### 5.1. *Inadequacies of previous accounts of right-dislocations*

Several explanations have been given for the functions of right-dislocations in the existing literature. However, they do not seem to be adequate in explaining all the right-dislocations I found in my data.

The *AFTERTHOUGHT* account proposed by Chao (1968), Hyman (1975) and Givón (1976) suggests that right-dislocation is a repair device adding information to the consciousness of the addressee either due to processing pressure in spoken discourse or due to unclear status of the retrievability of the referent in the discourse. This can account for the *ZERO ANAPHORIC* and *ELABORATION* right-dislocations. However, this account provides no obvious explanation for the *REDUPLICATION* right-dislocations. As Table 1 indicates, the latter makes up 39% of the total occurrences of right-dislocations, too significant a proportion to be dismissed as performance errors.

Packard (1986) notices that in Mandarin the right-dislocated forms are very often complex in structure and that some of them are not governed by a single superordinate structural node. In other words, the right-dislocated forms can be a defective structural constituent. To account for this phenomenon, he suggests an alternative account that the Mandarin right-dislocations are not constituents that are moved to the right of the sentence, but rather, they are the leftovers of the sentence structure after a constituent of the sentence has been moved to the left of the sentence. Thus, what was originally regarded as the 'main part of the utterance' should be viewed as the *LEFT-DISLOCATED* constituent. The motivation for the left-dislocation is to receive focus. Tai and Hu (1991) make a similar claim by suggesting that one of the functions of right-dislocations is for the left part of the utterance to receive thematic prominence, though they did not discuss the structural operations explicitly. Guo (1993) discusses in detail the problems with this view as a structural explanation. Here, I will briefly discuss the difficulties in adopting this explanation to account for the data in the current corpus. Although the left-dislocation hypothesis can explain the *ZERO ANAPHORIC* category in the corpus, it does not explain why, in the *ELABORATION* and *REDUPLICATION* categories, the NPs should have coreferential or identical components left in their original position after they have been moved to the left. In addition, it cannot account for the syntactic constraint that the right-dislocated

forms have to be placed in the outer most layer of the sentence, after the sentence particles.

Givón (1983a) proposes that right-dislocations in spoken English is an information management device sitting in the middle of the scale between zero anaphora (complete topic predictability) and left-dislocation (extreme topic unpredictability). Although this helps to account for the ZERO ANAPHORIC and ELABORATION right-dislocations, it does not help explain why a large proportion of the right-dislocations are repetitions of the referent, which have already been explicitly mentioned in the same utterance.

From the above discussion, it is clear that syntactic structural accounts or information management discourse accounts cannot satisfactorily explain the Mandarin right-dislocations in the current corpus as summarized in Table 1. In the next section, I will provide an explanation from the point of view of face to face social interactions. I will argue that right-dislocations in the current corpus are used to express the speaker's affect to the addressee with respect to the coreferent of the right-dislocated form.

## 5.2. Discourse functions of right-dislocation

In this section, I will first examine the various discourse functions of the utterances containing right-dislocations. Then, I will examine how the different types of right-dislocations (as discussed in Sections 3 and 4) are correlated with these discourse functions. In doing so, I will try to argue that the Mandarin right-dislocations in the current corpus serve a specific discourse function: the INTENSIFYING function.

### 5.2.1. Categorization of discourse functions of utterances containing right-dislocations

The 100 utterances containing right-dislocations serve five discourse functions: STATEMENTS, QUESTIONS, RIDICULES AND REPRIMANDS, DIRECTIVES, and CLAIMS.<sup>12</sup>

*5.2.1.1. Statements.* Statements refer to those utterances that represent something in the external world. STATEMENTS serve what Halliday (1975) calls the mathetic or ideational function of language. An example is shown in (26) and (27):

- (26) C1: (C1 kept stove on for too long. C2 points at C1 and reports to Guo)  
           làngfèi. làngfèi qì, tā.  
           waste waste gas he  
           ‘(He) waste (gas). (He) waste gas, him.’

<sup>12</sup> I use the term ‘discourse functions’ here in the sense similar to that of speech act. They should not be confused with other common senses associated with the term, such as information management, conversation management and structuring. Despite the risk of possible confusion, I still prefer the term ‘discourse function’ since ‘speech act’ as defined in the speech act theory is too speaker-based, while I would like to emphasize its interpersonal nature in interactive discourse.

## (27) C3: (Tidying up things in doll play, to self)

wǒ hái méi zhěnglǐ hǎo ne, zhèr.

I still haven't tidy-up good PART here

'I haven't finished tidying up yet, **this place**.'

In (26), the speaker is reporting to the adult about the inappropriate behavior of a third party. In (27), the speaker is describing what she was doing in the play. They all represent some events in the external environment. The primary function of these utterances is to convey a piece of information.

5.2.1.2. *Questions*. Questions refer to genuine questions for information. Questions presenting indirect speech acts similar to the conventionalized English indirect request *Can you pass the salt?* are not included in this category. An example is given in (28):

## (28) C2: (looks at the wall for a place to hang a clock)

biǎo guà nǎr ya, zhèi biǎo?

clock hang where QU **this clock**

'Where should the clock be hung, **this clock**?'

5.2.1.3. *Ridicules and reprimands*. In this category, the function of the utterance is either to criticize the addressee's behavior (or absence of behavior) which is in conflict with social conventions, or to ridicule the addressee's behavior for its non-conformity with the usual way in which things are done. The majority of the utterances of this category are in the form of rhetorical questions. The speaker asks a questions about the addressee's ongoing or boasted action that blatantly violates the known norm, and in doing so the speaker produces a ridicule or a reprimand. Because ridicules and reprimands are corrective in nature, they also implicate closely related secondary discourse functions. In (29), the speaker ridicules the addressee's previous statement claiming to be a magic Buddha (who is able to do all kinds of impossible things), implicating a challenge to the addressee's previous claim. In (30), the speaker reprimands the addressee for having stopped playing the role of a shopper, implicating a request that the addressee should resume the assigned role. In (31), the speaker reprimands the addressee for laughing, implicating a prohibition against the addressee's laughing.

## (29) nà nǐ dào shuǐ lǐtóu qù, néng ma, nǐ?

then you reach water inside go can QU **you**

'Then you go inside the water, can (you), **you**?' (= Of course you can't.)

## (30) nǐ hái mǎi bù mǎi dōngxi le, nǐ?

you still buy not buy things PART **you**

'Are you still going to buy things or not, **you**?'

## (31) lè shénme, nǐ?

laugh what **you**

'What (are you) laughing at, **you**?'

Reprimands can also be made in a declarative form, as in (32):

- (32) C3: (C1 has been misbehaving and ignored his role as a shop assistant)  
*nǐ guāng wánr le, nǐ zhèi shòuhuòyuán.*  
 you only play PART you this shop-assistant  
 ‘You have been doing nothing but playing, you (as a) shop assistant.’

It should be noted that (32) is not a statement, even though it has a declarative sentence form. (32) has an emphatic intonation contour that is always associated with reprimands and that intonation contour distinguishes it from normal statements.

5.2.1.4. *Directives*. This category includes both imperatives as in (33) and modalized indirect requests as in (34), and prohibitions as in (35):

- (33) *nǐ gǎnjǐn gǔndàn ba, nǐ.*  
 you quickly roll-egg PART you  
 ‘You get lost right now, you.’  
 (34) *nǐ yě děi shōushí ya, wǒ shuō, Lǐ Yue.*  
 you also have-to clean-up PART I say Lǐ Yue.  
 ‘You have to clean up too, I say, Lǐ Yue.’  
 (35) *bié xiāshuō le, nǐ.*  
 don’t talk-nonsense PART you  
 ‘Don’t talk nonsense any more, you.’

5.2.1.5. *Claims*. This category includes both claims for possession of properties as in (36), and claims of reality by which the speaker claims something to be the case simply by virtue of saying that it is true, as in (37):

- (36) *dōu shì wǒmen mǎi de, zhèxiē.*  
 all be we buy REL these  
 ‘All (of these) are what we bought, these.’  
 (37) *nà nǐ yuè lái yuè lǎo le, nǐ.*  
 then you more and more old PART you  
 ‘Then you become older and older, you’.

Table 2 shows the distribution of the above discourse functions in each type of right-dislocations.

Table 2  
Breakdown of discourse functions by right-dislocated forms

	Statements	Questions	Ridicules and reprimands	Directives	Claims	N
Reduplication	10%	38%	38%	5%	8%	39
Elaboration	50%	18%	9%	23%	0%	22
Zero anaphoric	41%	18%	26%	10%	5%	39

From Table 2, we can see that the most frequently used REDUPLICATION right-dislocations serve the discourse function of QUESTIONS and RIDICULES AND REPRIMANDS, while the ELABORATION and ZERO ANAPHORIC right-dislocations most frequently serve the function of STATEMENTS. In the following section, I will try to explain why there is this correlation between the categories in the different types of right-dislocations and the categories in the discourse functions of the utterances containing these right-dislocation. In the course of explanation, I will try to illustrate that Mandarin right-dislocation has developed an emphatic function to express the speaker's focus of attention.

### 5.2.2. *The emphatic function of Mandarin right-dislocation*

In order to understand the skewed distribution shown in Table 2, we need to examine these discourse functions in terms of the distinction between the IDEATIONAL and INTERPERSONAL macro-functions of language (Halliday, 1973). A STATEMENT primarily carries information and involves the least interpersonal involvement, since the addressee is least affected in that the basic requirement on the addressee is merely to receive the message. Thus, it primarily serves the ideational function of language. RIDICULES AND REPRIMANDS and DIRECTIVES require the most interpersonal involvement, since they not only involve critical evaluations of the addressee's behavior, but also require the addressee to modify his or her behavior. Their basic function is not to inform, but to direct. Although CLAIMS do not require the addressee to change his or her behavior, they function as attempts to make the addressee accept the social reality constituted by the speaker's utterance. It requires the addressee to change his or her belief. Thus it also requires the most interpersonal involvement. So these three discourse functions, namely RIDICULES AND REPRIMANDS, DIRECTIVES, and CLAIMS, primarily serve the interpersonal function of language. A QUESTION requires more interpersonal involvement than a STATEMENT in that the addressee not only has to receive the information, but also has to provide an appropriate answer to the question asked. However, it requires less interpersonal involvement than RIDICULE AND REPRIMAND, DIRECTIVE, and CLAIM in that it does not require the addressee to change his or her behavior or belief. Therefore, QUESTION weighs more or less equally in serving both the ideational and interpersonal functions of language. Fig. 1 shows the positions of these discourse functions in relation to the two macro-functions.

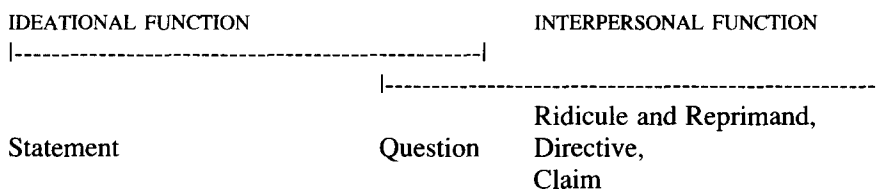


Fig. 1. Positions of discourse functions in relation to macro-functions.

Based on the above conceptualization, we can see from Table 3 that the REDUPLICATION right-dislocations primarily serve the interpersonal functions, while ELABO-



RATION and ZERO ANAPHORIC right-dislocations tend to serve the ideational function (i.e., STATEMENT) more frequently.

Table 3  
Percentages of type of right-dislocations by macro-functions

	Ideational		Interpersonal			N
	Statement	Question	Repri. and ridic.	Directive	Claim	
Reduplication	10%	<b>38%</b>	38%	5%	8%	39
				<b>51%</b>		
Elaboration	<b>50%</b>	18%	9%	23%	0	22
				<b>32%</b>		
Zero anaphoric	<b>41%</b>	18%	26%	10%	5%	39
				<b>41%</b>		

The skewed distribution of different types of right-dislocations in relation to the macro functions they serve provides us with some clues to the following question: What are the REDUPLICATION right-dislocations doing even though they do not add any new information? I suggest that these REDUPLICATION right-dislocations are used to emphasize the referents of the right-dislocated forms. This emphatic function is clearly shown in utterances like (38):

- (38) *Li Yue, nǐ zěnmē zěnmē fēng a, nǐ?*  
 Li Yue, you how-come like-this out-of-control PART you  
 ‘Li Yue, how come that you are so out of control, you?’

In (38), the sentence initial vocative, the pre-verbal subject *nǐ* ‘you’, and the right-dislocated *nǐ* ‘you’ all point to the addressee. For information purposes, the repetition is simply redundant. But for interactional purposes, the double mention makes perfect sense. The speaker is trying to control the addressee Li Yue’s bad behavior. Thus Li Yue is the focus of attention in the social interaction. The speaker uses these informationally redundant devices to emphasize the focus of the social interaction, namely, the addressee. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the speaker uses the vocative *Li Yue* at the beginning of the utterance to secure the attention of the addressee. Thus, the addressee is mentioned not twice, but three times in one utterance.

If right-dislocation in Mandarin is an emphatic device, then it will be predicted that right-dislocations should be most frequently in the second person when the utterances containing it serve the interpersonal functions, since they are used to manipulate the addressee’s behavior. Analysis of the right-dislocations by person confirms this prediction. Table 4 gives the breakdown of the percentages of different types of right-dislocations by their discourse functions for each person of the right-dislocations.

Table 4

Percentages of types of right-dislocations and their functions for each person

		Ideational		Interpersonal			
		-----		-----			
		Statement	Question	Ridic. and repri.	Directive	Claim	Total N
2nd person	Reduplication			37%	5%	7%	41
	Elaboration		2%	5%	5%		
	Zero anaphoric		5%	24%	7%	2%	
	Subtotal		7%	66%	17%	9%	
3rd person objects	Reduplication	4%	29%				51
	Elaboration	22%	6%		2%		
	Zero anaphoric	25%	10%			2%	
	Subtotal	51%	45%		2%	2%	
3rd person Human	Reduplication						3
	Elaboration				33%		
	Zero anaphoric	67%					
	Subtotal	67%			33%		
1st person	Reduplication	40%					5
	Elaboration				20%		
	Zero anaphoric	20%			20%		
	Subtotal	60%			40%		

Table 4 shows that most of the right-dislocations in this corpus are either in second person (41%) or in third person referring to inanimate objects (51%). The following discussion will focus on these two major categories. As shown in Table 4, right-dislocations in second person primarily serve the interpersonal oriented macro functions. In contrast, right-dislocations in third person referring to inanimate objects primarily serve the ideational oriented macro functions. Why is there such a clear contrast in their distributions with respect to discourse functions? How does this contrastive distribution help reveal the function of these right-dislocations? In what follows, I will try to explain this contrastive distribution by adopting the hypothesized INTENSIFYING function.

As shown in Table 4, over 90% of the second person right-dislocations serve the interpersonal functions, whether they have additional information values (ZERO ANAPHORIC and ELABORATION) or not (REDUPLICATION). As discussed earlier, in all the interpersonal functions, the speaker is trying to use speech to affect the addressee's behavior or belief. The focus of speech is on the addressee, and the referent of the topic is clear from the interactive context. Thus, from the point of view of communicative **efficiency**, the presence of the second person subject is redundant. In reprimands and directives, for example, all the contextual information, gestural and facial expressions, and other paralinguistic features unambiguously point to the addressee as the focus of attention and as the person to carry out, or refrain from, the predicated action. In English, the grammar even requires the sentence subject to be deleted in imperatives because the contextual information is very clear who the actor

will be, as in *Do it right now*. However, from the point of view of communicative **effectiveness**, the presence of the sentence subject adds emphasis and intensity. Thus, the English imperative *You do it right now* represents a more forceful command, usually conveying the emotion of frustration and anger. In the same spirit, use of the second person in right-dislocations in Mandarin also serves the function of emphasis and intensification. Therefore, an explicit mention of the focus of attention (i.e., the addressee) is made in the right-dislocated slot regardless of its information value in the discourse. Since the focus of attention in the interpersonal functions is the addressee, most of the right-dislocations serving these functions are consequently in the second person.

How do we account for the concentration of third person right-dislocations referring to inanimate objects in QUESTIONS and STATEMENTS? As discussed earlier, STATEMENTS and QUESTIONS are primarily used to present or request for information to or from the addressee, rather than to manipulate the addressee's behavior. In activity oriented discourse, the speakers are most likely to present and ask for information about the objects they are acting upon, rather than information about the addressee (the latter is more likely to occur in discourse situations such as personal interviews or gossip about personal experiences). Thus, in STATEMENTS and QUESTIONS, inanimate objects are more likely to be the focus of attention. In the current corpus, most of the STATEMENTS and QUESTIONS are about the toys the children were playing with at the time of speech, as shown in (39),

- (39) C2: (holds broken scissors to Guo)  
*shūshu, zhèi jiǎndāo zěnmē liǎng bànr le, zhèi jiǎndāo?*  
 uncle this scissors how-come two half PART **this scissors**  
 'Uncle, how come this pair of scissors is broken, **this pair of scissors**?'

It is evident in (39) that the speaker intends to focus the addressee's attention on the pair of scissors. Why does the speaker need to place extra emphasis on the referent? One explanation lies in the competition between the informational sentence focus (Selkirk, 1984; Lambrecht, 1994) and the speaker's interactive focus that I advocate in this paper. In unmarked sentences, the subject (or topic in a topic oriented language such as Mandarin) is typically the presupposed information and the predicate being the new information. Thus the information focus structure assigns sentence focus to the predicate, *is broken*. This focus assignment by the information structure is in competition with the speaker's intended interactive focus, which places emphasis on the pair of scissors. In such situations, the repetition of *this pair of scissors* at the right-dislocated position is made as an emphatic device that shows to the addressee the speaker's focus of attention on the intended referent.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the right-

<sup>13</sup> There are prosodic ways to allocate emphasis and focus on the designated component of the sentence. For example, Lambrecht's (1994) identified two focus structures apart from the unmarked predicate structure (e.g., p. 223) in his informational sentence focus structure framework. However, his framework is strictly restricted to the speaker's management of information in terms of old information (presupposed) and new information (proposition about the topic). In contrast, what I advocate here is that

dislocation device is used to indicate interactive focus, which I call the emphatic function. So far, it should be clear that management of social interaction, rather than management of information, plays a crucial role in determining the use of the Mandarin right-dislocations found in this corpus.

The possibility of using right-dislocations for emphatic functions has been indirectly alluded to by other scholars as well. For example, it has been suggested that right-dislocations do not mark topic continuity anaphorically, but rather, they signal cataphoric discontinuity in Japanese (Fujii, 1989) and Ute (Givón, 1990). That is, right-dislocations mark the end or the conclusion of a thematic paragraph. Thus, it is a discourse marker highlighting the theme of the discourse and marking the importance of the utterance in the discourse. If right-dislocations are used to mark the emphasis at the level of discourse, it will not be unusual for Mandarin right-dislocations to serve emphatic functions at the utterance level.

### 5.2.3. *Intensifying: The affective function of Mandarin right-dislocation*

What seems unique about the Mandarin right-dislocations in this corpus is that the emphatic function it serves is frequently associated with strong negative evaluations. This correlation with negative feelings is most obvious when the utterance serves interpersonal oriented discourse functions. Table 5 shows that 63% of right-dislocations that serve the interpersonal functions falls in the category of RIDICULE AND REP-RIMAND.

Table 5

Right-dislocation serving interpersonal oriented discourse functions

Ridic. and repri.	Directive	Claim	Total N
63%	25%	12%	43

As discussed earlier (in 5.2), most of the right-dislocations in this category are in the form of rhetorical questions, which usually carries the meaning 'I bring your attention to your undesirable behavior or an undesirable situation caused by your behavior, and you'd better correct your behavior or the situation'. Examples (16) and (38) are given again here as (40) and (41) to illustrate the point.

(40) *nǐ méi zhǎng yǎnjīng a, nǐ.*

you have-not grow eyes QU you

'Don't you have eyes, you?'

(41) *Lǐ Yue, nǐ zěnmē zènmē fēng a, nǐ?*

Li Yue, you how-come like-this out-of-control PART you

'Li Yue, how come that you are so out of control, you?'

the speaker's intention to focus on the constituent goes well beyond information management. It is at the level of social interaction that the focus is expressed, and it is the speaker's affect that the speaker is trying to convey to the addressee. It might be the case that the sentence stress is utilized for indicating information structure focus and sentence order is utilized for indicating interactional structure focus here.

Whether in the rhetorical question form or not, all the right-dislocations in this category express negative feelings concerning the addressee's behavior and implying clear corrective meanings. Examples are given in (42) in their rough English renderings to illustrate this point.

- (42) a. What are you saying?  
 (= You'd better cut it out.)  
 b. How come you simply grab things as soon as you come in?  
 (= How ill-mannered you are.)  
 c. Do you still want to play?  
 (= If you keep misbehaving, I won't let you play any more.)  
 d. Are you still a little baby?  
 (= You are too old to do things like that.)  
 e. Why are you always hitting me?  
 (= You'd better stop it.)  
 f. You haven't been working.  
 (= You'd better get some work done.)  
 g. You always talk about death and marriage.  
 (= Don't you know you are not supposed to talk about it?)  
 h. Are you going to pee and poo on my neck?  
 (= I can't bear you any more.)  
 I. No wonder you guys come back so late.  
 (= You'd better watch out for possible punishment.)

If this association with negative evaluations is only limited to RIDICULE AND REPRIMAND, it might be argued that the negative feeling is only interpreted from the discourse function of RIDICULE AND REPRIMAND, and has nothing to do with the right-dislocation structure. However, such negative evaluations are also found in the right-dislocations serving as DIRECTIVES. Six out of the 11 DIRECTIVES have expressed strong negative emotions. Thus, the expression of negative affect is not limited to discourse functions that are intrinsically negative, but rather, it is associated with the right-dislocation structure across different discourse functions. An example of use of right-dislocation with negative emotions as a DIRECTIVE is shown in (43):

- (43) C1: *nǐ gǎnjīn gǔndàn ba, nǐ.*  
 you quickly roll-egg PART you  
 'You get out (of here) right now, you.'

Why should negative emotions be related to right-dislocation, which indicates interactive emphasis? There seems to be a natural connection between the expression of emphasis and the expression of negative emotions, though such connection is not always necessary. When people have negative emotions, they are most likely to be agitated and will use language expressively.<sup>14</sup> They especially want to focus on

<sup>14</sup> Ono and Suzuki (1992) also suggests that one of the function of the utterances containing post-predicate constituents in Japanese is to indicate the speaker's urgency in expressing his/her inner feelings. However, their analysis seems to be similar to Tai and Hu's (1991) THEMATIZATION analysis for Mandarin right-dislocation.

the recipient of the negative evaluation, in the case of REPRIMAND, the addressee. The emphatic function of right-dislocation serves this expressive purpose very well. Therefore, it is natural to see that the right-dislocation with its emphatic function is skewed to the expression of negative feelings. This constant association, however, may have a consequence. By constant use in expressing negative feelings, the original emphatic device, right-dislocation, may become ‘contaminated’ by the negative emotions expressed in the main utterance, and the negative evaluation becomes a default connotation of the device. For example, in interpersonal contexts, Mandarin right-dislocations may add a negative evaluative tone even though the main utterance does not intrinsically contain any negative feelings in its semantic content, as is shown by (44a) and (44b):

- (44) a. directive  
 (after the student finishes answering the question, the teacher says)  
*zuò xià.*  
 sit down  
 ‘Sit down.’ (= ‘You are permitted to sit down.’)
- b. scolding  
 (the student stands up without the teacher’s permission, the teacher says)  
*zuò xià, nǐ.*  
 sit down you  
 ‘Sit down, **you**.’ (= ‘Who let you stand up? Sit down for heaven’s sake.’)

In addition, if the main utterance is friendly and polite, adding a right-dislocated form will make it quite inappropriate, as shown in (44c):

- (44) c. offer  
 (host to guest)  
 \* *nín qǐng zuò, nín.*  
 you-respect please sit **you-respect**  
 ‘Please have a seat, **you**.’

Although it is possible to make an utterance like (44c), it has quite different meaning from an offer without the right-dislocated form *nín*. The utterance in (44c) might be made by a person who has to show courtesy and respect to the guest by using the respectful second person pronoun *nín* and the polite word *qǐng* ‘please’, but dares to show impatience and control by using the right-dislocation form showing negative feelings. If (44c) is to be used as a genuine friendly offer or invitation, it will read very awkward (hence the star).

One point to note is that the function of conveying negative evaluations does not cancel the emphatic function. Rather, it intensifies the emphasis with a negative tone. For this reason, we may call this combination of the emphatic function and the expression of negative evaluations the INTENSIFYING function, by which the speaker conveys his or her negative attitude expressively.

Although right-dislocations may contribute negative evaluations in utterances serving interpersonal oriented functions (e.g., REPRIMANDS, DIRECTIVES, and CLAIMS), this affective function is restricted and does not necessarily apply to utterances serving ideational oriented functions (e.g., STATEMENTS and QUESTIONS). For example, (45a) and (45b) do not differ in affect, though the use of right-dislocation in (45b) gives more emphasis on the referent ‘this book’:

- (45) a. *zhè shì zhōngwén shū ma?*  
           this be Chinese book QU  
           ‘Is this a Chinese book?’  
       b. *zhè shì zhōngwén shū ma, zhè běn?*  
           this be Chinese book QU **this** CL  
           ‘Is this a Chinese book, **this copy**?’

#### 5.2.4. Possible path of development of the functions of Mandarin right-dislocation

Data presented in this study have shown that the information management account cannot explain the distributional features of Mandarin right-dislocations found in the current corpus, and a satisfactory explanation has to be found in its interpersonal affective function. Then, is this affective function found in the current corpus related to the information management function at all, as previous research has shown clear information management value of right-dislocations? If so, how are information management functions related to the interactive functions in Mandarin? What might be the possible order of development of these different functions?

Based on the data of the current corpus that I have presented above, I will make the following hypothesis. It was clear that all right-dislocations found in this corpus express a degree of emphasis (the EMPHATIC function) whether the utterance primarily serves an ideational oriented discourse function or an interpersonal oriented discourse function. In contrast, the association of emphasis to negative affect (the INTENSIFYING function) is limited to utterances that primarily serve interactive oriented discourse functions. Since the EMPHATIC function is the common denominator for all right-dislocations, while the INTENSIFYING function is primarily restricted to right-dislocations serving interpersonal oriented functions, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the EMPHATIC function developed first, and the INTENSIFYING function has developed out of the EMPHATIC function. In addition, since right-dislocations in STATEMENTS are mostly those that have some informational value (i.e., ELABORATIONS and ZERO ANAPHORIC), and since right-dislocation in other languages do serve the function of information management, it is possible that Mandarin right-dislocation originally developed as an information management device. Later, it developed its emphatic function, and as a result, it could occur in utterances whether there is need for information management (as in ELABORATIONS and ZERO ANAPHORIC) or not (as in REDUPLICATION). Since people often make emphatic remarks (a good reason for using the emphatic device of right-dislocation) when they express negative emotions, the originally affect-neutral right-dislocation became associated with negative affect, and finally developed the INTENSIFYING function. From the above reasoning, we may hypothesize the possible developmental path of the functions of right-dislocation as in (46):

## (46) Afterthoughts → Information → Emphatic → Intensifying

What (46) shows is the following. Right-dislocations may have originally been a repair device in spoken discourse as *AFTERTHOUGHTS*. Then it became grammaticalized for information management. Later, it developed the *EMPHATIC* function. And finally, by collocation and association, it has developed the affective function to express the speaker's negative attitude. This hypothesized trend of development bears upon Traugott's (1982) formulation of the developmental path of grammaticalization, namely, from propositional to expressive/interpersonal. It shows that not only morphological grammatical forms follow this path of development, but also syntactic constructions such as word order may follow this path of development as well. This hypothesis is certainly highly speculative, and requires further investigation using diachronic data and method.

Why has right-dislocation in Mandarin developed to serve the affective function? This tendency of change may be related to the special typological features of Chinese. Mandarin Chinese is one of the Asian languages that tend to grammaticalize social and affective notions. For example, Mandarin is very rich in sentence final particles that express notions such as surprise, suggestion, concern, etc. Mandarin word order also often codes affects. For example, the so-called passive *bèi* constructions is mostly used to refer to events the speaker regards as unfortunate. Therefore, it is not surprising for right-dislocation to develop to serve affective functions.

Having illustrated that the distribution of right-dislocations in the current corpus has to be satisfactorily explained by their functions at the interpersonal level, and having postulated the possible path of development of the functions of Mandarin right-dislocations, a caveat is in order. Given the presented data, it is quite clear that Mandarin right-dislocations serve the *EMPHATIC* and *INTENSIFYING* functions, at least in certain contexts by certain speakers. That is the main thrust and claim of this paper. However, it is not clear whether this claim is generalizable to the majority of Mandarin speakers given the nature of the current corpus. To address that issue, a much more comprehensive data base representative of the entire language will be required. In addition, although the *EMPHATIC* and *INTENSIFYING* functions are predominant among the right-dislocations in this corpus, it is not clear whether the information management function will be predominant in a different type of discourse (e.g., non-interactive monolog, such as lectures or speeches). Thus, questions such as whether Mandarin right-dislocations are multi-functional, what is their predominant function, and how they are used among different populations of Mandarin speakers, remain unanswered by the current study and deserve serious investigation in the future.

## 6. Conclusion

Mandarin right-dislocation construction has traditionally thought to be either afterthought repairs or a device for information management. However, none of the traditional explanations can account for the distribution of Mandarin right-disloca-



tions found in activity oriented face-to-face interactive discourse. The failure of the traditional explanations is due to the fact that they primarily focus on the ideational level of language. The current paper has argued that a satisfactory explanation of the data in the current corpus has to be found in analysis at the level of social interactions, namely how linguistic forms are used to regulate relations among participants of social interactions. The data from activity oriented interactive discourse by 7-year-old children presented in this study have shown that Mandarin right-dislocation can be used to serve the EMPHATIC function. Furthermore, when the utterances are used to serve interpersonal oriented functions, the EMPHATIC function may acquire a negative affective connotation, giving rise to the INTENSIFYING function. The paper hypothesizes that Mandarin right-dislocation originally emerged as an afterthought repair, then became grammaticalized to serve the information management function at the ideational level, and finally developed to serve the EMPHATIC functions at the interpersonal level, and further acquired its affective function of INTENSIFYING. This provides further bearing on the general trend of grammaticalization from serving ideational function to discourse and interpersonal functions.

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