

## Chapter 2

# Stance, categorisation, and information structure in Malay

František Kratochvíl

Palacký University, Olomouc, Czech Republic

Nur Izdihar Binte Ismail

Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Diyana Hamzah

Temasek Laboratories, Singapore

This chapter describes the expression of referents in Singaporean Malay using a parallel corpus of elicited narratives. We demonstrate that the speaker's epistemic stance affects how discourse is constructed. The speaker's epistemic stance is apparent in referent categorisation: referents can be categorised either as "familiar", when taking a strong epistemic stance, or as "unfamiliar", when taking a neutral stance. We show that referent categorisation is more fundamental than the information structure notions of *new*, *old*, or *given*. Familiar human or animate referents are expressed with proper names and are pivotal for organising the narrative plot: by constructing other discourse-persistent referents in relation to the familiar referent, their description and tracking simplifies. Human and animate referents categorised as unfamiliar are expressed with nominals. Their descriptions and tracking are more elaborate, involving demonstratives and discourse particles, whose function lies in the coordination of joint attention. Inanimate referents are rarely subject of strong epistemic stance and are therefore expressed with nominals. Their discourse-persistence is the best predictor of how elaborate their description and tracking are.

## 1 Introduction

One of the fundamental functions of human language is balancing the information disparity between the speaker and the hearer. It has been argued that the speaker and hearer both operate under the assumption that the world presents itself in the same way to their interlocutor. Under such an assumption, the speaker can "trade places" with the hearer, and can predict and mitigate obvious disparities (Rommetveit 1976; Zlatev 2008; Duranti 2009; 2010).



František Kratochvíl, Nur Izdihar Binte Ismail & Diyana Hamzah. 2018. Stance, categorisation, and information structure in Malay. In Sonja Riesberg, Asako Shiohara & Atsuko Utsumi (eds.), *Perspectives on information structure in Austronesian languages*, 41–80. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:10.5281/zenodo.1402537

The above information-disparity problem is examined through the study of information structure, i.e. the structural arrangement of various types of information, such as *new*, *old*, *given*, *topic*, *focus*, etc. (cf. Prince 1981; Gundel et al. 1993; Lambrecht 1994; Gundel & Fretheim 2004).

In a broader perspective, however, the complexity of expression of the *new*, *old* and *given* reflects the speaker's stance towards the utterance, reality, and the hearer. This *stance*, or *alignment* is manifested in the amount of information disclosed in order to mitigate disparity (cf. Du Bois 2007).<sup>1</sup>

Du Bois' framework conceptualises stance as the process of evaluation and positioning towards the object of stance and the mutual alignment between subjects emerging from the interaction (Du Bois 2007: 171). Stance is achieved through overt communicative means towards any salient dimension of the sociocultural field (Du Bois 2007: 163). This process is visualised in Du Bois' original *stance triangle*, reproduced here in Figure 1.

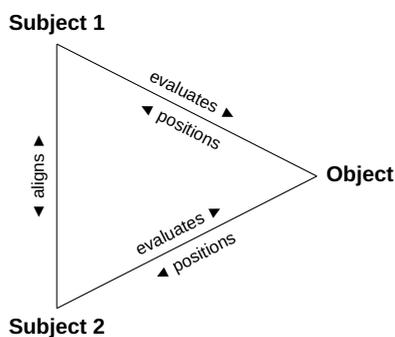


Figure 1: Du Bois' *stance triangle* (Du Bois 2007: 161)

We demonstrate that the compositional vectors of *stance*, namely *evaluation*, *positioning*, and *alignment* can be applied to the study of information structure and referent expression. We expand the understanding of Du Bois' *evaluation* to include the choice in identifying a referent and *referent categorisation*, a term borrowed from Stivers et al. (2007). The categorisation *positions* the speakers towards the object differently in terms of their epistemic stance. The choice has consequences for the construction of subsequent discourse, as will be documented in §3.

## 2 Methodology, participants, and language situation

The data for this paper consists of a set of elicited narratives in Singapore Malay. These narratives were collected using four stimuli sets: (i) Getting the Story Straight (San Roque et al. 2012), (ii) Pear Story (Chafe 1980), (iii) Frog Story (Mayer 1969), and (iv) Jackal

<sup>1</sup>In Malay/Indonesian, an important work on this aspect of language is Englebretson (2007), which primarily deals with the choice of pronouns and its consequences.

and Crow (Carroll et al. 2011). The stories allow us to make a systematic comparison of how our subjects categorise a variety of referents (human, animate, inanimate, singular, plural, etc.). By comparing how referents are introduced and tracked, we reveal the consequences of the categorisation for discourse construction. We rely on the annotation guidelines of the *RefLex Scheme* to distinguish various types of referents and their expressions (Riester & Baumann 2017).

In this section, we describe the Malay spoken in Singapore (2.1), our participants (2.2), and the stimuli used here (2.3–2.6). The instances where we consulted our Singapore Malay Corpus are distinguished with corpus text identifiers.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.1 Malay in Singapore

The Malay language connects diverse varieties that form the Malayic subgroup of Austronesian. In all probability from Southern Sumatra, Malay varieties are now spoken throughout Indonesia, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore and southern Thailand (Adelaar 2004). In Singapore, Malay has always had a special status, given its former role as the administrative language and lingua franca and for its political value in the region (Alsagoff 2008).

Apart from the symbolic status of the national language of Singapore, Malay is one of the four official languages of Singapore, alongside English, Mandarin Chinese and Tamil. Malay is the assigned *mother tongue* of the ethnic ‘Malays’ in Singapore, a label comprising people of Malay, Javanese, Boyanese, and Sundanese descent as well as other smaller groups from the peninsula and archipelago, which make up 13.3% of the resident population (Kuo & Jernudd 1993; Singapore Department of Statistics 2015).<sup>3</sup>

Standard Singapore Malay is the formal written and spoken variety taught in schools and used in formal contexts (government and media). It is similar to the standard variety used in Malaysia, with the addition of certain lexical items relevant to the local context. Colloquial Singapore Malay is the informal spoken variety. In the past, a number of contact varieties emerged, with distinct syntactic, grammatical and phonological features (Sasi Rekha d/o Muthiah 2007). The best studied among them include: (i) Singapore Baba Malay, a Malay creole influenced by Hokkien, which is typically spoken by the Peranakan population in Singapore (Lee 2014), (ii) Singapore Bazaar Malay, a Malay-lexified pidgin influenced by Hokkien which was the traditional lingua franca for interethnic communication (prior to the rise of English) and is typically spoken by Singaporean Chinese, and (iii) Singapore Indian Malay, a Malay-lexified pidgin influenced by Bazaar Malay and Indian languages which is typically spoken by Singaporean Indians (Adelaar & Prentice 1996; Daw 2005; Sasi Rekha d/o Muthiah 2007). Rising levels of bilingualism with English introduce contact features such as code-switching, borrowing of lexicon and structural convergence with Singlish.

---

<sup>2</sup>Our Singapore Malay Corpus consists of about 100 conversations and narratives (spontaneous, planned and elicited), counting about 62,000 words.

<sup>3</sup>The 2015 census reveals that English-Malay bilinguals make up 86.2% and 14.0% of the Malay and Indian resident population, respectively, and that Malay remains the dominant home language of the Malay resident population aged 5 years and over (78.4%) (Singapore Department of Statistics 2015).

## 2.2 Participants

Our participants are all Singapore Malays from diverse linguistic backgrounds. JUR, ISM, and ISH grew up in monolingual Malay families, only beginning their English studies when they entered primary school at the age of seven. AM, YAN, and SI grew up in Malay-dominant bilingual families. While their exposure to English was earlier, all three attended Malay-speaking kindergartens, and YAN and SI went on to private religious schools, where the medium of instruction was Malay and English. MIZ grew up in an English-dominant bilingual family, while LQ, HZ and NZ came from families where bilingualism was more balanced. Their formal education in English and Malay also began in kindergarten. After kindergarten, AM, MIZ, LQ, HZ, and NZ went through the mainstream Singapore education system, where the medium of instruction was English.

## 2.3 Getting the Story Straight (San Roque et al. 2012)

The first stimuli collection is a graphic mini-novel depicting in 16 pictures the transformation of a man, through a descent into jail caused a change of heart, from someone who drinks and beats his wife into a loving father and husband, as shown in Figure 2.



Figure 2: Getting the Story Straight storyline (San Roque et al. 2012)

In the original set-up (see text 1 in Table 1), the pictures were presented in a stipulated sequence to two participants who negotiated and constructed the narrative. When finished, they presented it to a newly arrived third participant. The entire experiment lasted about 20 minutes. The word counts offer a measure of the verbal effort with the second set-up, when the correct picture sequence is presented to a speaker who narrates it. No negotiation took place, since the second participant was instructed to take on the role of the listener. The task lasted only about five minutes on average, and required much less verbal effort (see texts 2–11).

## 2.4 Pear Story (Chafe 1980)

The second stimuli set is the *Pear Story*, a six-minute film. Set in the countryside, it depicts a loose sequence of events happening around an orchard, where a farmer is picking pears. A man walks by with a goat, and a boy on the bicycle comes to collect the fruit. When

he later falls and the load of pears spills on the road, three other boys come to his help, who each receive a pear in return. We recorded two versions.

## 2.5 Frog Story (Mayer 1969)

*Frog Story* is a picture book for children (see Figure 3) widely used for language comparison. It is the story of a boy whose pet frog escaped from its jar, so he sets out with his dog to find it. We recorded two versions of this story, listed in Table 3.



Figure 3: Frog Story storyline (Mayer 1969)

## 2.6 Jackal and Crow (Carroll et al. 2011)

*Jackal and Crow* consists of nine pictures presenting a version of the famous Aesop fable of The Fox and the Crow. The fox is drawn to be identifiable as a jackal, wolf, or dog, and the crow holds a fish, instead of cheese.

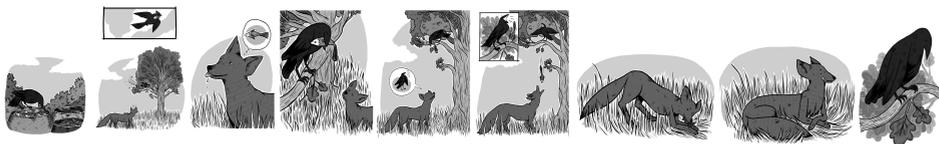


Figure 4: Jackal and Crow storyline (Carroll et al. 2011)

We again used two set-ups. The 2013 version is a narration of the picture sequence by a single speaker, while the 2014 version follows the original guidelines of Carroll et al. (2011) and is a negotiation of two speakers, who construct the narrative for a third participant.

Table 1: Collected versions of *Getting the Story Straight* (San Roque et al. 2012)

	text name	words
1.	2014.MLZ.GettingTheStoryStraight	2235
2.	2017.NI.GettingTheStoryStraight.JUR	247
3.	2017.NI.GettingTheStoryStraight.ISM	249
4.	2017.NI.GettingTheStoryStraight.MIZ	572
5.	2017.NI.GettingTheStoryStraight.AM	355
6.	2017.NI.GettingTheStoryStraight.YAN	437
7.	2017.NI.GettingTheStoryStraight.SI	512
8.	2017.NI.GettingTheStoryStraight.ISH	239
9.	2017.NI.GettingTheStoryStraight.LQ	214
10.	2017.NI.GettingTheStoryStraight.HZ	380
11.	2017.NI.GettingTheStoryStraight.NZ	227

Table 2: Collected versions of *Pear Story* (Chafe 1980)

	text name	words
1.	2013.CA.PearStory	169
2.	2013.LN.PearStory	442

Table 3: Collected versions of *Frog Story* (Mayer 1969)

	text name	words
3.	2013.OG.FrogStory	963
4.	2013.SS.FrogStory	387

Table 4: Collected versions of *Jackal and Crow* (Carroll et al. 2011)

	text name	words
1.	2013.OG.JackalAndCrow	212
2.	2014.MLZ.JackalAndCrow	660

### 3 Stance and referent categorisation

In §1, we linked stance to the notion of *referent categorisation*. Referent categorisation refers to the choice a speaker makes by identifying the referents for the hearer. A fundamental dichotomy exists between *proper names* and *descriptions* (nominal expressions).

Categorisation with proper names positions the speaker as familiar with the object of stance. According to Sacks & Schegloff (2007), proper names satisfy two discourse-organisational preferences: (i) recognitional preference and (ii) minimised reference. For the first, it is easier to work out the reference to something familiar, even if familiarity is only constructed. The second is a preference for a stable, and perhaps a single, reference form, so that the expression-referent pair is stable. Proper names meet both requirements, but nominal expressions require more recognitional effort on the part of the hearer. In addition to speaker's stance, the choice of a proper name reveals aspects of speaker's identity, such as their relation to the topic and their self-positioning within the community (cf. Barešová 2016: 13). In a constructed narrative, the identity is symbolic.

Categorisation with *descriptions* reveals the speaker's neutral epistemic stance.<sup>4</sup> The hearer's effort is greater in both recognition and maintaining reference, as will be apparent in §4.

The effect of referent categorisation on discourse structure is most obvious among the eleven versions of *Getting the Story Straight* (see §3.1), and is also detected in the *Frog Story* (see §3.2). In contrast, the referent categorisation in the *Pear Story* is uniform. For categorisation of inanimate referents, their discourse role is the most important factor. Discourse-persistent referents require more elaborate descriptions than "props" (see §3.3).

#### 3.1 Human referent categorisation in *Getting the Story Straight*

The main participants in *Getting the Story Straight* are: a farmer, his wife, child, and friends. The farmer is present in all frames, while the other characters play a less central role, sometimes restricted to a single frame.

More than half of our subjects categorise the farmer with a proper name (usually a common Malay name such as *Adam*, *Halim*, *Samad*, or *Zamri*), making it a referential pivot for other human referents (farmer's family and friends). This strategy is in line with the *preferences for person reference* formulated in Sacks & Schegloff (2007: 24). Proper names are prototypical and ideal recognitional devices (Sacks & Schegloff 2007: 25) and their use is therefore referentially effective. The RefLex scheme classifies the first use of proper names as *r-unused-unknown* (Riester & Baumann 2017: 10). Example (1) illustrates that to track the given referent (RefLex *r-given*) proper names can be repeated.

- (1) Singapore Malay (2017.SI.12–14)  
 [Abu] *kedengaran me-racau-racau ber-tanda dia sudah mabuk.* [Abu]  
 PN audible AV-talk.incoherently AV-sign 3SG already drunk PN

<sup>4</sup>The term *descriptions* is synonymous with *nominal expressions*.

*mula ber-cerita yang bukan-bukan. Ini lazim ber-laku apabila [Abu]*  
 start AV-tell REL nonsense PROX common AV-happen when PN  
*mabuk kerana minum minuman keras itu.*  
 drunk because consume alcohol DIST

‘Abu was heard to rave, which was a sign that he was drunk. Abu started to tell untrue stories. This habitually happened when Abu was drunk from drinking alcohol.’

The neutral epistemic stance leads to the categorisation of the farmer with a nominal expression as a *petani* ‘farmer’ (RefLex *r-new*).<sup>5</sup> Because the referent will persist in discourse, it is typically introduced with a classifier phrase (cf. Hopper 1986: 317). We will return to this point in the discussion of example (6) and again in §3.3.

The farmer’s family and friends are always introduced through expressions of their relationship to the farmer, such as *isteri=nya* ‘his wife’ in (2). The RefLex scheme characterises such expressions as *r-bridging-contained* (Riester & Baumann 2017: 9). The bridging containment is realised by possessive constructions available in Malay. It is interesting that when the farmer is given a name, his wife is usually given one too (e.g. *Alia, Hawa, Huda, Laila*), as in (2).<sup>6</sup>

- (2) Singapore Malay (2017.MIZ.01)  
*kedua-dua Zamri dan [isteri=nya Alina] ber-kerja seperti pekebun.*  
 both PN and wife-3POSS PN AV-work as farmer  
 ‘Both Zamri and his wife Alina work as farmers.’

The categorisation of the child seems independent of the speaker’s stance towards the farmer and his wife. In our data, the child is rarely categorised with a proper name. In several versions, although depicted in Frame 2 as held by her mother, the child is introduced only in the domestic violence scene, as in (3).

- (3) Singapore Malay (2017.YAN.12)  
*sambil men-dukung [anak=nya ], Huda mem-beritahu Halim bahawa dia tidak*  
 while AV-hold child-3POSS PN AV-tell PN COMP 3SG not  
*mem-punyai apa-apa hubungan sama sekali dengan Khalid ... dengan Leyman.*  
 AV-have any relationship at.all with PN with PN  
 ‘While carrying her child, Huda told Halim that she did not have any relationship with Khalid [sic], ...with Leyman.’

<sup>5</sup>A wealth of literature is dedicated to various aspects of the Malay noun phrase. The relevant devices are (i) classifiers (Hopper 1986; Chung 2000; 2008; Cleary-Kemp 2007; Chung 2010; Salehuddin & Winskel 2012), (ii) demonstratives (Himmelmann 1996; Williams 2009), (iii) relative clauses (Cole & Hermon 2005), (iv) the linker *yang* (van Minde 2008), and (v) the definite *-nya* (Rubin 2010).

<sup>6</sup>The bridging anaphor between the possessive *-nya* and its target *Zamri* is highlighted using the RefLex scheme convention, i.e. the target of the anaphora is underlined and the referential expression is in square brackets.

Plurality is an important feature of human referents: the farmer's friends are always introduced in a reduplicated form as *kawan-kawan* 'friends'. The possessive =*nya* may associate them with the topical farmer. In some versions, the gossiping friend is named (e.g. *Rashid, Wahid*). Both strategies are combined in AM's version, where the friends are first introduced as a group in an earlier sentence, and then the gossipier is named as *Rashid*, as shown in (4).

- (4) Singapore Malay (2017.AM.08)  
 [Rashid] *menceritakan bahawa dia pernah ter-nampak isteri Pak Samad telah*  
 PN AV.tell COMP 3SG once INVOL-see wife Mr PN already  
*meng-gatal dengan Encik Romi semasa dia sedang mem-beli barang rumah di*  
 AV-chat.up with sir PN when 3SG PROG AV-buy item home in  
*pasar.*  
 market  
 'Rashid told everyone that he had seen Pak Samad's wife flirting with Mr. Romi while she was buying household items at the market.'

The old man, who sees the fight between the farmer and his wife (Figure 2, frame 5), is usually categorised as a relative (usually as the father of the spouse) using a possessed noun, as in (5). This is a type of *r-bridging-contained*, where the possessor is already known from the context. The introduction is abrupt, because the old man calls the police right away, so there is no time or need to provide any other details.

- (5) Singapore Malay (2017.AM.14)  
 [Papa Laila ] *ter-nampak perkara ini lalu me-lapor-nya, lalu*  
 father PN INVOL-see event PROX then AV-report-3 then  
*me-lapor-kan-nya ke polis.*  
 AV-report-APPL-3 to police  
 'Laila's father saw the incident and reported it, reported it to the police.'

The neutral stance leads to a nominal categorisation of the old man as a neighbour, using an enumerated classifier phrase, as in (6).<sup>7</sup> In the RefLex Scheme, such a referent is classified as *r-new* (Riester & Baumann 2017: 11). It should be noted that the neutral stance to the old man does not exclude a strong stance to the farmer and his wife, whom SI categorises with proper names.

- (6) Singapore Malay (2017.SI.23)  
*kebetulan kejadian tersebut di-lihat oleh [se-orang jiran].*  
 coincidentally event mentioned PV-see by one-CL.HUMAN neighbor  
 'Coincidentally, the incident was seen by a neighbour.'

<sup>7</sup>Hopper (1986) described the role and use of classifiers and provided parameters conducive to the use of classifiers based on written nineteenth-century Malay (pp. 313–314). According to Hopper, the primary function of classifiers is to grant discourse-new nouns prominence and the ability to become topics, whose referents are "individuated" and "persistent in discourse" (p. 319).

Categorisation of the policemen and court officials is fairly uniform, using various types of nominals. Bare nouns such as *polis* ‘police’, or a group compound *pihak polis* ‘police force’ are the most common.<sup>8</sup> Within the RefLex scheme, the referent is classified as *r-unused-known*, because we assume that it is generally known and that appeal can be made to the local security force to stop violence. The only case where an indefinite description (quantified classifier phrase) is used is shown in (7). This may be a consequence of enumeration, which in Malay requires a classifier phrase.

- (7) Singapore Malay (2017.SI.24)  
*tidak lama selepas itu, [dua orang polis] datang dan mem-berkas Adam.*  
 not long thereafter two CL.HUMAN police come and AV-arrest PN  
 ‘Not long afterwards, two policemen came and arrested Adam.’

Proper names open up a referent-internal perspective: for example, the abuse by the farmer can be presented from the perspective of his wife or the court, and their stance can be constructed. This is shown in (8), where the farmer, introduced as *Adam*, is referred to as *suami-nya* ‘her husband’, embedding him in a kinship relation with expected norms of behavior. HZ’s version uses the same strategy to mark the wife’s perspective in the same point of the narrative (see Table 6). The speaker can establish and/or maintain differential perspective to the same referent in this way (cf. Enfield 2007: 107).

- (8) Singapore Malay (2017.SI.25)  
*Semasa Hawa di-panggil untuk mem-buat kenyataan di balai polis, Hawa*  
 when PN PV-call to AV-make statement in station police PN  
*kelihatan teruk di-cederakan oleh [suami-nya] sehingga mata, kepala*  
 appearance dreadful PV-injure.CAUS by husband-3POSS so.that eye head  
*dan leher-nya perlu di-balut.*  
 and neck-3POSS need PV-dress.wound  
 ‘While Hawa was called in to make a statement at the police station, she seemed badly hurt by her husband, to the point where her eyes, head, and neck had to be bandaged.’

### 3.2 Categorisation of human referents in *Frog Story* and *Pear Story*

The two versions of *Frog Story* show a similar pattern as *Getting the Story Straight*. A stronger epistemic stance leads to categorisation of the boy with a proper name. The stronger stance allows the speaker to fabricate the boy’s character, emotions, and habits, as in (9), where the dog is described as the boy’s *anjing kesayangan* ‘beloved dog’, and the frog is expressed with a possessive phrase (*r-bridging-contained*).

<sup>8</sup>The root *pihak* is used in other group compounds such as *pihak berkuasa* ‘authority, agency’, *pihak lawan* ‘opposition’, *pihak musuh* ‘enemy, enemies’, and *pihak pengurusan* ‘management’.

- (9) Singapore Malay (2013.SS.FrogStory.01)  
*Pada suatu malam sebelum tidur [Abu] dan [anjing kesayangan dia ] sedang*  
 on one night before sleep PN and dog beloved 3SG PROG  
*me-renung [katak-nya ]*.  
 AV-study frog-3POSS  
 ‘One night before sleeping Abu and his beloved dog were watching his frog.’

In an inverted manner, the speaker’s neutral epistemic stance is reflected in a categorisation with descriptions. In (10), both the boy and his dog are categorised with indefinite nominals (RefLex Scheme: *r-new*). The friendship between the dog and the boy is constructed later, and is not included in the first description of the dog.

- (10) Singapore Malay (2013.OG.FrogStory.01)  
*Pada suatu hari, ada [se-orang anak kecil], budak lelaki, yang mem-punyai*  
 on one day exist one-CL.HUMAN child small boy REL AV-OWN  
*[se-ekor anjing] sebagai teman-nya*.  
 one-CL.ANIMAL dog as friend-3POSS  
 ‘Once, there was a little boy, who had a dog as his friend.’

Both available versions of the *Pear Story* contain no proper names. New human referents (*r-new*) are categorised with enumerated classifier phrases and inanimates with bare nouns.<sup>9</sup>

### 3.3 Categorisation of non-human referents

Let us now turn to the *Jackal and Crow* texts, which describe a simple plot without human referents.<sup>10</sup> Neither of the texts uses proper names; instead, participants are introduced into the discourse with enumerated classifier phrases (RefLex *r-new*), as in (11). The fragment also contains two presentational clauses, headed by the verb *terdapat* ‘exist, be attested in the world, be found’. Vague quantification with *beberapa* ‘several, few’, or with reduplicated plural forms such as *ikan-ikan* ‘(a variety of) fish’ does not require a classifier.

- (11) Singapore Malay (2013.MLZ.JackalCrow.140–141)  
*Pada zaman dahulu, terdapat [se-ekor burung gagak]. Dah beliau*  
 in past exist one-CL.ANIMAL crow already 3SG.HON  
*ternampak beberapa bakul yang terdapat ikan-ikan*.  
 INVOL-see few basket REL exist RED-fish  
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a crow. And it saw several baskets filled with fish.’

<sup>9</sup>Our findings agree with those reported by Sukamto (2013), who studied written narratives of the *Pear Story* in Indonesian.

<sup>10</sup>As mentioned in §2.6, two set-ups were used to collect the two texts. For the analysis of the MLZ version, we are only concerned with the final summary of the story given to the third participant.

The second text shows the same pattern. Animate non-human referents are categorised as descriptions, expressed with a classifier phrase, if the referent will become a topic. In (12), the referent *burung gagak* ‘crow’ is introduced as the subject of an inverted existential clause headed by *ada* ‘exist’. The inversion puts the focus on the predicate (Sneddon et al. 2012: 270). The subject is quantified (the numeral *se-* + the classifier *ekor* (animate)), as well as the object of the relative clause (*beberapa* ‘several’). A similar use of classifiers and quantification in introducing new referents is reported in Hopper (1986: 319) for the nineteenth-century written autobiography known as *Hikayat Abdullah*.

- (12) Singapore Malay (2013.OG.JackalCrow.02)  
*Pada satu hari ada [se-ekor burung gagak] yang men-jumpai beberapa bakul ikan.*  
 on one day exist one-CL.ANIMAL crow REL AV-discover several basket fish  
 ‘Once, there was a crow that found several baskets of fish.’

Although the fish is already mentioned as the content of the basket, as introduced in (12), this does not grant the fish the status of given information. It requires an upgrade from being a ‘prop’ to become a discourse-persistent referent (cf. Hopper 1986: 319). Analogous to other discourse-persistent referents, the single fish, which is to be picked up by the crow, is introduced with a classifier phrase, as in (13).

- (13) Singapore Malay (2013.OG.JackalCrow.03)  
*Jadi burung gagak itu meng-ambil [se-ekor ikan] untuk jadi bahan makan-nya untuk hari itu.*  
 so crow DST AV-pick one-CL.ANIMAL fish to become matter food-3POSS for day DIST  
 ‘So the crow took a fish (OR one fish) as its meal for the day.’

It is interesting to note that the tree, on which the crow lands, is not mentioned at all in the second version. In the first version, its expression is unusual, requiring a placeholder, suggesting retrieval problems, as in (14). After the correct label is retrieved, it is realised as an N-DEM structure, with the reduced proximate *ni*, requiring resolution in the physical context. The RefLex scheme classifies such referents as *r-environment*. This is, however, a non-standard solution in the context of the narrative.

- (14) Singapore Malay (2013.MLZ.JackalCrow.147)  
*Dia LAND kat ker..., apa ni..., pokok ni.*  
 3SG CS.land at PART what PROX tree PROX  
 ‘It landed on what..., what’s this..., on this tree.’

The above examples illustrate what Hopper (1986: 313) refers to as *props*. Event settings are described with bare nouns, which are occasionally enumerated, or reduplicated (*beberapa bakul ikan, ikan-ikan*). Props are easily omitted where the context and world knowledge enable the hearer to construct them regardless.

To summarise, the speaker epistemic stance is most apparent in the categorisation of humans. A stronger epistemic stance leads to the use of proper names for the key characters. We will show in §4 that the tracking of such characters is simpler than of those humans categorised as nominals. For non-human participants, the speaker's epistemic stance is less relevant than what Hopper (1986: 319) termed as *persistence in the discourse*. Future topics are introduced in a more elaborate way (typically with a classifier phrase) than *props*. Incidental props have only short persistence and require no tracking (cf. Hopper 1986: 320). Table 5 summarises the effects of stance and discourse role on the categorisation and expression of referents in our Malay corpus. We should keep in mind that elaborate descriptions can combine a nominal and a proper name, as in (2). For the sake of our hierarchy postulated here, we consider the proper name to be an indication of the speaker's stronger epistemic stance.

Table 5: Effect of stance and discourse role on referent categorisation

REFERENT CATEGORY	EPISTEMIC STANCE	
	STRONG	NEUTRAL
+human	proper name	classifier phrase
+animate	?	classifier phrase
-animate, +discourse-persistent		classifier phrase
-animate, -discourse-persistent		bare noun

## 4 Categorisation and referent tracking

Many referents persist in discourse for some time (Hopper 1986: 317) and dedicated constructions indicate their status as given (RefLex *r-given*). In this section, we show that the initial stance and categorisation have global consequences for referent tracking.

Human referents categorised with proper names, discussed in §3, are tracked with proper names and pronouns, usually *dia* and *ia*. Particles, demonstratives and other markers are used rarely. In contrast, human referents categorised with nominals are tracked in a more elaborate way, requiring a greater effort from the hearer. A range of devices are used, including repetition, and synecdoche; marking with demonstratives, particles, or relative clauses are all common ways of tracking.

Figure 5 and Figure 6 visualise the categorisation and tracking of referents in two quite distinct versions of *Getting the Story Straight*. The expressions are time-aligned as they appear in the story.<sup>11</sup> Continuous lines mean that the referent is not only discourse-persistent but also topical. Whenever the line is interrupted, another topical referent appears. Two lines coincide when a reference is made to more than one referent, either

<sup>11</sup>The following abbreviations are used in Figure 5 and 6 and the tables in the remainder of this chapter: CL classifier, N noun, NUM numeral, PN proper name, POSS possessor, PRO pronoun, and RED reduplication.

with plural pronouns (*mereka* ‘they’), or with possessive constructions (indexing both the possessed and the possessor).

Figure 5 illustrates the minimisation of reference: proper names are systematically followed by pronouns (cf. Heritage 2007: 260), but other devices are not used. As the narrative shifts, a proper name is used to activate the referent and the pronoun tracking it within the local macro-event, usually corresponding to a single picture. In two places, the speaker used synecdoche (N[N]), which corresponds to the blue line dropping to the bottom of the chart.

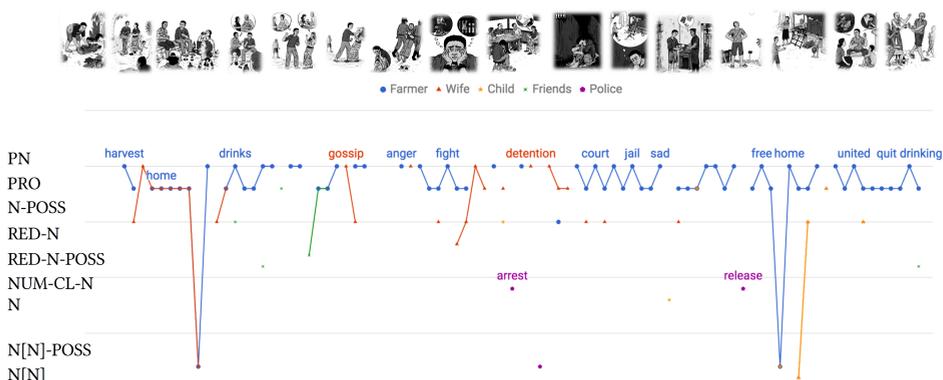


Figure 5: Storyline visualisation of the referential devices in SI version of *Getting the Story Straight*

Figure 6 shows that the referents are introduced with a classifier phrase (NUM-CL-N) or with a possessor phrase (N-POSS), and are tracked almost without exception with pronouns. Particles *pun*, *pula* and the demonstrative *tersebut* are used to reactivate a given referent as a topic.

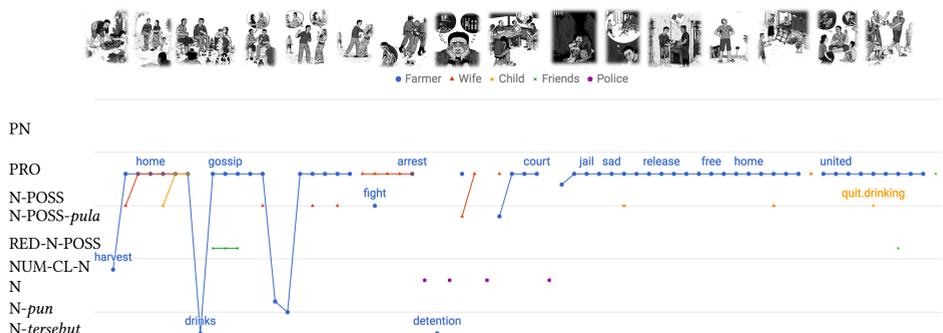


Figure 6: Storyline visualisation of the referential devices in HZ version of *Getting the Story Straight*

Detailed discussion of the patterns visualised in Figure 5 and Figure 6 and those attested in other texts follow. Demonstratives and the particles *pun*, *pula*, and *lagi* will be treated in §5. We are only concerned with the nominal expression of referents; zero anaphora, word order alternations, and verbal morphology will be discussed elsewhere.

#### 4.1 Tracking of human referents

The most common way to track human referents is with pronouns, followed by repetition and synecdoche. The main characters of *Getting the Story Straight* (the farmer and his wife), regardless of their categorisation as familiar or unfamiliar, can be tracked by pronouns. Repetition of the proper name or the nominal expression is also common. In a complex sentence, proper names are restricted to the first mention and tracked with personal pronouns in subsequent positions, such as *dia* and *-nya* in (15).

- (15) Singapore Malay (2017.AM.09)  
*er... [Zamri] sangat marah dengan pengetahuan ini, dan [dia], dan [dia]*  
 HESIT PN very angry by knowledge PROX and 3SG and 3SG  
*telus... terus balik rumah untuk marah isteri [-nya].*  
 immediately return home to scold wife-3POSS  
 ‘Zamri was very angry upon receiving this information, and he immediately went back home to scold his wife.’

Multiple named referents are tracked with the plural *mereka*, as in (16).

- (16) Singapore Malay (2017.YAN.01)  
*Seperti hari-hari biasa, Halim bersama isteri-nya Huda akan ke kebun*  
 as everyday accustomed PN together wife-3POSS PN will to garden  
*mereka untuk memetik buah-buah labu yang telah pun masak.*  
 3PL to AV.pick RED-fruit pumpkin REL already ADD ripe  
 ‘As on a normal day, Halim and his wife Huda would go to their garden to pick pumpkins that had ripened.’

Referents categorised with proper names are tracked with pronouns, even where another topic is present. This is the case in (17), where the speaker comments on the loss of appetite experienced by the farmer in jail. The farmer, called *Halim* in this version (see (16)), is tracked with the possessive *-nya* to background his experiencer role and to highlight his experience.

- (17) Singapore Malay (2017.YAN.22)  
*Selera [-nya] juga ter-ganggu dan [dia] tidak dapat*  
 appetite-3POSS also AFF-upset and 3SG not manage AV-finish  
*meng-habiskan makanan yang di-berikan.*  
 food REL PV-give  
 ‘His appetite was affected and he couldn’t finish the food he was given.’

Topical kinship terms, such as *isteri-nya* ‘his wife’ in (18), are tracked with pronouns. Interestingly, the proper name *Jack* in the complement clause cannot become the antecedent of *dia*. This suggests that Malay anaphoric pronouns target the local topic, or that embedded proper names are not felicitous as antecedents for pronouns.

- (18) Singapore Malay (2017.LQ.07)  
*Isteri-nya ber-kata yang Jack salah faham dan [dia] setakat beli*  
 wife-3POSS AV-say COMP PN misunderstand and 3SG so.far buy  
*barang-barang pasaran sahaja.*  
 things market only  
 ‘His wife said that Jack misunderstood and that she only bought goods from the market.’

As mentioned in the discussion of Figure 5, proper names are tracked with pronouns where one description is a paraphrase of an earlier one, or follows from it in a logical way, as in (19).

- (19) Singapore Malay (2017.YAN.30–31)  
 [Halim] mem-beritahu berapa seksa-nya hidup di dalam penjara.  
 PN AV-tell how.much torturous-INTENS life inside prison  
 [Dia] me-luahkan rasa kesal [-nya] di atas perbuatan ganas  
 3SG AV-express feeling repent-3POSS at action violence-3POSS past.time  
 [-nya] tempoh hari akibat mabuk me-minum minuman keras.  
 in.result drunk AV-drink alcohol  
 ‘Halim told them what a torment life in prison was. He expressed his feelings of regret over his brutal actions a few days ago, the result of being drunk from drinking liquor.’

In (20), a single macro-event in three sentences characterises the farmer’s ordeal in jail. The proper name *Adam* is used only in the first sentence, and tracked with *dia* ‘3SG’ subsequently.

- (20) Singapore Malay (2017.SI.29–31)  
*Sewaktu di dalam penjara, [Adam] tidak henti-henti menangis. [Dia] tidak*  
 while inside jail PN not RED-stop AV.cry 3SG not  
*lalu untuk makan. [Dia] hanya duduk menangis di dalam penjara yang gelap*  
 happen to eat 3SG only sit AV.cry inside jail REL dark  
*lagi berbau itu.*  
 ADD smell DIST  
 ‘While in jail, Adam did not stop crying. He could not eat. He only sat crying in the jail that was dark and smelly.’

We have shown that proper names are tracked with pronouns, and that their repetition creates a rhythm of sub-events. This strategy applies to the main character, the farmer.

A somewhat different strategy is used to track the farmer's wife and child. Apart from repetition, particularly common is synecdoche (RefLex *r-given*); the farmer's wife and child are referred to as *keluarga* 'family', as in (21). In another version, the farmer's status is characterised as *berumah-tangga* 'married, having a family', or the couple is referred to with *suami-isteri*.

- (21) Singapore Malay (2017.AM.26)  
*Pak Samad cuba mengeratkan hubungan-nya dengan [keluarga-nya].*  
 Mr PN try AV.strengthen relationship-3POSS with family-3POSS  
 'Pak Samad tried to improve his relationship with his family.'

In one version of *Frog Story*, the boy is categorised with a proper name and tracked by repetition and pronouns (see Table 8). His dog and frog are categorised and tracked with possessives, highlighting their relationship to the boy.

- (22) Singapore Malay (2013.SS.FrogStory.11)  
*Kemudian Abu dan [anjing-nya] memanggil-manggil [katak-nya] lalu*  
 subsequently PN and dog-3POSS RED-call frog-3POSS through  
*tingkap [bilik-nya].*  
 window room-3POSS  
 'Then Abu and his dog called repeatedly for his frog through the window of his room.'

Categorisation with descriptions reflects the speaker's neutral epistemic stance (see also §3). Tracking of such referents is more elaborate and besides repetition, pronouns and zero anaphora also include demonstratives and particles (see also §5).

Another tracking strategy involves relativisation. Unlike demonstratives or particles, however, relativisation can embed another perspective. In the final scenes of *Pear Story*, the farmer is puzzled by seeing three boys walking by with his pears. The farmer is not aware that the boy who took one of his baskets shared the fruit with these boys when they helped him to pick up the scattered fruit. LN resolved this by constructing the three boys as new, taking up the farmer's perspective, as in (23). Notice that the noun *pear* combines with *tadi*, conforming to the all-knowing perspective of the speaker-storyteller.

- (23) Singapore Malay (2013.LN.PearStory.31)  
*Kemudian dia ter-nampak tiga, [tiga orang budak yang sudah*  
 subsequently 3SG INVOL-notice three three CL.HUMAN child REL already  
*me-makan pear tadi].*  
 AV-eat pear previous  
 'Then he saw three..., three boys who were eating the pears from earlier on.'

In CA's version in (24), the passing boys are presented as the subject of an inverted intransitive clause and modified by a relative clause referring to the pears received for their help.

- (24) Singapore Malay (2013.CA.PearStory.13)  
*<unclear> datang [tiga budak] yang mem-bantu budak yang <unclear> makan*  
 arrive three boy REL AV-help boy REL eat  
*buah yang di-petik.*  
 fruit REL PV-pick  
 ‘[While he was thinking], coming there were three boys who helped the [fallen] boy, eating the harvested fruit.’

Relative clauses are utilised in *Pear Story* to distinguish between the children (boy, girl, and the three boys). In the case of the boy, reference is made to his fall, as in (25). The false start with code-switching may reveal the decision-making of the speaker as to how to most effectively categorise the boy, i.e. with reference to boys who helped, or with reference to the fall. In general, the more elaborate descriptions distinguishing the children confirm our point about the simplifying effect of strong epistemic stance on referent categorisation and tracking.

- (25) Singapore Malay (2013.LN.PearStory.25)  
*Budak yang CHILDRE... [budak yang ter-jatuh tadi itu pun] terus*  
 boy REL CS.children boy REL INVOL-fall RECENT DIST EVENT direct  
*menunggang basikal-nya kembali.*  
 AV.ride bicycle-3POSS back  
 ‘The boy that children..., the boy who fell just now continued riding his bicycle.’

Table 6 summarises the expressions of the participants in *Getting the Story Straight*, in the order in which they appear in the narrative (the first mention is underlined). The horizontal line divides the texts into two groups according to the epistemic stance, taking the categorisation of the farmer as a criterion. Above the line are seven texts where the farmer (and usually also his wife) is categorised with a proper name. In the remaining four texts, the speaker’s neutral epistemic stance is apparent in the categorisation of the farmer with a description. In contrast, categorisation of the police and friends is more uniform.

The most significant patterns, discernible in the table, are the following: (i) the speaker’s strong epistemic stance is reflected in the categorisation of prominent referents with proper names; (ii) repetition and pronouns are used to track them; (iii) neutral stance leads to categorisation with descriptions, typically an enumerated classifier phrase; (iv) various types of NPs (including demonstratives and particles) and pronouns are used for tracking; and (v) the farmer’s wife, child and friends are referred to with possessive phrases.

## 4.2 Tracking animate and inanimate referents

Tracking of non-human referents (animate and inanimate) shows a split pattern, a more diverse one to track animates, especially when fabulated as capable of inner speech (thoughts, plans, or emotions). Inanimate referents, on the other hand, are rarely tracked

Table 6: Categorisation and tracking of prominent human referents in *Getting the Story Straight*

version	farmer	wife	child	friends	police
MLZ	PN <sup>a</sup> , PRO <sup>b</sup> , N(+itu+pun)	PN, PRO, N-POSS(+itu), N[N]	N-POSS <sup>c</sup>	RED-N-POSS <sup>d</sup>	N[N] <sup>e</sup>
AM	PN, PRO	N-POSS + PN, PRO <sup>f</sup> , N-POSS, N[N]	N-POSS	RED-N-POSS, PRO	N[N], PRO
AM	PN (+pun), PRO	N-POSS + PN, PRO, N[N]	N-POSS <sup>g</sup> , N[N]	RED-N-POSS, PRO	N, N+pun
YAN	PN, PRO	N-POSS + PN, PRO, N[N]	N-POSS, N[N]	PN, PRO, N[N]	N[N]
SI	PN, PRO, N-POSS <sup>h</sup>	N-POSS + PN, PRO, N-POSS, N[N]	N-POSS, N[N]	PN + N-POSS, PRO,	NUM-CL-N,
ISH	PN, PRO, [N] <sup>i</sup>	PN, PRO, N-POSS, N[N] <sup>j</sup>	(RED)-N-POSS	RED-N-POSS	N[N]
LQ	NUM-CL-N + PN, PRO, N[N]	NUM-CL-N, PRO, N[N]-POSS <sup>k</sup>	NUM-CL-N + PN, PRO, [N]-POSS <sup>l</sup>	RED-N-POSS, PRO	N[N]
JUR	N, PRO, N, N+itu, N+pun	N-POSS, N, PRO	N-POSS, PRO+NUM <sup>m</sup> , N[N]	RED-N-POSS, PRO	n
ISM	N, PRO, N+pun	N-POSS, PRO	N-POSS	RED-N-POSS	N
HZ	NUM-CL-N, PRO(+pun), N-POSS <sup>o</sup> , N+tu+pun, N+puta, N+tersebut	N[N]-POSS, PRO, N+puta	N[N]-POSS	RED-N-POSS	N
NZ	NUM-CL-N, PRO(+pun), N-POSS+pun, N[N] + (itu+pun, N+tersebut	N[N]-POSS (+pun),	[N]-POSS	N-POSS, RED-N+tersebut, N-POSS	N + tersebut, [N]+puta

<sup>a</sup> pn: proper name

<sup>b</sup> pro: pronominal element, including *dia*, *mereka*, and *nya*

<sup>c</sup> n-poss: possessed noun, e.g. *anak-nya* 'their child', *isterinya* 'his wife', *bagak Halim* 'Halim's father', etc.

<sup>d</sup> red-n: reduplicated noun with an optional possessive *-nya*, e.g. *kawan-kawan-nya* or *teman-teman(-nya)* '(his) friends'

<sup>e</sup> s[n]: both n repetition and synecdoche, e.g. *pihak berkuasa* 'authorities' or *keluarga* 'family, i.e. wife and child'

<sup>f</sup> includes also *kedua-dua mereka* 'both of them (i.e. wife and child)'

<sup>g</sup> not referred to in the first picture frame where it occurs, but later

<sup>h</sup> the farmer, named here *Adam* is referred to as *suami-nya* 'her husband', when his wife is reporting to the police

<sup>i</sup> [n]: synecdoche *suami-isteri* 'couple, husband and wife'

<sup>j</sup> s[n]: both n repetition and synecdoche *suami-isteri* 'couple, husband and wife'

<sup>k</sup> n[s]-poss: repetition and synecdoche, including possessive marking

<sup>l</sup> [s]-poss: synecdoche *keluarga-nya* 'his family'

<sup>m</sup> pro+num: pronom combined with a numeral, to refer to both the child and her mother, e.g. *mereka dua-dua* 'both of them'

<sup>n</sup> st: simple repetition only

<sup>o</sup> n-poss: possessed noun *suami-nya* 'her husband' used when wife's perspective is given

beyond their first introduction. Discourse-persistent inanimate referents are tracked with various types of NPs, but never with pronouns. Table 7 and Table 8 summarise the tracking devices in *Frog Story* and *Jackal and Crow*.

Table 7: Categorisation and tracking of referents in *Jackal and Crow*

version	crow	basket	fish	jackal	tree
MLZ	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> PRO <sup>b</sup> , N(+ <i>pun</i> ), <i>the</i> +N <sup>d</sup>	<u>QUANT-N-RC</u>	<u>RED-N</u>  N, N+ <i>itu</i>	<u>N</u> <sup>a</sup>  PRO(+ <i>pun</i> ) <sup>c</sup>	<u>N-DEM</u>
OG	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> PRO, N[N] <sup>e</sup> N[N]+ <i>itu</i>	<u>QUANT-N</u>	<u>N</u>  N N+ <i>itu</i>	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> PRO, N N+ <i>itu</i> (+ <i>pun</i> )	n.a.

<sup>a</sup>bare noun is followed by the additive focus particle *pula* in (43), but we analyse it as scoping over the entire clause

<sup>b</sup>both the honorific *beliau* and default *dia* are used

<sup>c</sup>a range of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person pronouns are used

<sup>d</sup>codeswitching is used: *the gagak* ‘the crow’

<sup>e</sup>N[N]: the crow is referred to as *burung gagak* ‘crow’, or as *burung* ‘bird’

Table 7 shows that referent categorisation and tracking in *Jackal and Crow* is quite uniform. A single referent, the tree in which the crow perches, is completely omitted by OG. In contrast, the two versions of *Frog Story* display the same epistemic stance variation as the *Getting the Story Straight* texts, as shown in Table 8.

We now turn to the tracking of non-human referents. For animate referents, repetition and pronouns are common. In (26), the frog (*katak Abu* ‘Abu’s frog’) is tracked with the possessive *-nya*, partly because the frog is fabulated as an experiencer (capable of emotion), and thus the description of the boy and dog is consistent with the frog’s perspective.

- (26) Singapore Malay (2013.SS.FrogStory.54)  
*Nampaknya [katak Abu] sangat merindui kawan-kawan-nya* .  
 apparently frog PN very miss RED-friend-3POSS  
 ‘Apparently Abu’s frog missed his friends.’

In (27), personal pronouns *dia* and *beliau* (honorific) refer to the crow, where the honorific is a clue of speaker’s sarcasm.

- (27) Singapore Malay (2013.MLZ.JackalAndCrow.141–2)  
*Dah [beliau] ter-nampak beberapa bakul yang terdapat ikan-ikan. SO [dia]*  
 already 3SG.HON INVOL-see few basket REL exist RED-fish CS.SO 3SG

Table 8: Categorisation and tracking of referents in *Frog Story*

version	boy	dog	frog	jar	forest	bees	rodent	hole <sup>a</sup>
OG	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> PRO, N-POSS N[N](+itu)	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> PRO, N-POSS, N+itu(+pun)	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> PRO, N-POSS N+itu	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> PRO, N[N](+itu)	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> N(+itu)	<u>N-RC</u> N(+itu)	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> N[N](+itu)	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> N-POSS PP <sup>b</sup>
SS	<u>PN</u> PN, PRO(+pun), (RED-)N-POSS	<u>N-POSS</u> PRO(+pun) (RED-)N-POSS	<u>N-POSS</u> N-POSS N+itu	<u>N-POSS</u> N-POSS N+itu	<u>N</u>	<u>N-RC</u> RED-N	n.a.	<u>NUM-N-PP</u> N+itu
	owl	rock	branch	antlers	deer	water	log	frogs
OG	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> PRO, N(+itu)	<u>NUM-N</u> N+itu	<u>NUM-N-RC</u> N+itu	<u>N-POSS</u>	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> PRO, N+itu	<u>N-RC</u> N	<u>NUM-N</u> <sup>c</sup> N+itu	<u>N-POSS</u> <sup>d</sup> PRO, N[N], NUM-CL-N+itu
SS	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> N+itu	<u>NUM-N</u> N+itu	<u>NUM-N-RC</u> <sup>e</sup> N+itu	<u>N-POSS</u>	<u>N</u> N+itu	<u>N</u> <sup>f</sup> N+itu	<u>N-RC</u> N	<u>N-POSS</u> NUM-CL-N N[N](+itu)

<sup>a</sup>the cavity occupied by the owl

<sup>b</sup>PP: prepositional phrase: the hole referred to as *di dalam* ‘inside’

<sup>c</sup>the constituent could be interpreted as a compound *satu akar pokok* ‘a tree root’ or a possessive construction *satu akar pokok* ‘a root of the tree’

<sup>d</sup>realised as a possessor in *bunyi-bunyi katak* ‘frog sounds’ and treated as given thereafter

<sup>e</sup>realised as *satu ranting pokok yang...* ‘a tree branch that ...’

<sup>f</sup>realised together with *antlears* as *tanduk rusa* ‘deer antlers’

*pergi ah, terbang, terbang, terbang, [dia] pergi dekat ikan tu, zoop!*  
go PART fly fly fly 3SG go near fish DIST INTER

‘And he (the crow) saw several baskets filled with fish. So he went, flew, he came to the fish and went *zoop*.’

The same version contains a mini-dialogue, shown in (28), where the first and second person pronouns refer to the jackal and crow, respectively. The follow-up comment where the speaker praises his own story-telling performance is another clue of the speaker’s sarcasm.

- (28) Singapore Malay (2013.MLZ.JackalAndCrow.164)  
[Saya] nak dengar suara [awak] yang merdu lah. *Chey, macam betul aja.*  
1SG want hear voice 2SG REL sweet PART INTER, kind genuine PART  
‘I want to hear your sweet voice, hey that kind of sounds just right.’

A summary of the categorisation and tracking of non-human given referents in *Jackal and Crow* and *Frog Story* is given in Table 7 and Table 8. The common pattern is the limited variation in the description of inanimates, and the lack of tracking thereof. When tracked, the default is to include the demonstrative *itu*, which will be discussed in §5.1.

Finally, Table 9 shows that the categorisation and tracking of referents in *Pear Story* is fairly uniform. Neither speaker takes a strong epistemic stance, with the result that the

tracking of the children is quite elaborate to distinguish the boy with the basket, from the girl on the bike and the boys who help him pick up spilled fruit.

Table 9: Categorisation and tracking of referents in *Pear Story*

version	farmer	fruit	baskets	shepherd	boy	bicycle	girl	3 boys
CA	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> , PRO, N+ <i>tadi</i> si+N+ <i>itu</i>	N	NUM-N <sup>a</sup>	n.a.	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> , PRO, N+ <i>itu</i>	N	n.a.	<u>NUM-N</u> <sup>b</sup> PRO, N(+NUM)
LN	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> , PRO, N+ <i>itu</i> , N+ <i>tadi</i>	N	N-PP <sup>c</sup>	<u>N-POSS</u> , PRO	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> , PRO, N+ <i>lagi+tadi+itu</i>	N	<u>NUM-CL-N</u>	<u>NUM-CL-N</u> <sup>d</sup> , PRO+ <i>pun</i> PRO+ <i>tadi</i> , NUM-CL-N RED-N-POSS

<sup>a</sup>NUM-N: quantified noun, e.g. *tiga bakul* ‘three baskets’

<sup>b</sup>NUM-N: enumerated noun phrase *tiga lagi budak kanak-kanak* ‘three small boys’

<sup>c</sup>N-PP: noun with a locative prepositional phrase locating the baskets in relation to the tree

<sup>d</sup>realised as *tiga orang dak laki* ‘three boys’

The effect of stance and discourse role on the tracking of referents is summarised in Table 10, whose structure parallels that of Table 5 above.

Table 10: Effect of stance and discourse role on referent tracking

REFERENT CATEGORY	EPISTEMIC STANCE	
	STRONG	NEUTRAL
+human	PN, PRO	PRO, N(+ <i>itu</i> /PART)
+animate	PRO(+PART), N-POSS/+ <i>itu</i>	PRO, N(+ <i>itu</i> /PART)
–animate, +discourse-persistent	PRO, N-POSS/+ <i>itu</i>	N(+ <i>itu</i> )
–animate, –discourse-persistent		n.a.

## 5 Maintaining joint attention

In the previous two sections we discussed the role of stance for referent categorisation and tracking. This section focuses on another aspect of interaction and balancing of information disparity. This interactive aspect is part of Du Bois’ stance model, conceptualised as the alignment between the interlocutors (cf. Du Bois 2007: 171). As Du Bois puts it: *I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with you* (2007: 163). Du Bois’ *alignment* falls within a larger notion of *joint attention*, which is a type of social cognition (cf. Tomasello 1995). Diessel (2006) applies the notion of joint attention to demonstratives, whose primary roles he identifies in (i) locating referents relative to the deictic centre, and (ii) coordinating the interlocutors’ joint attention (Diessel 2006: 469).

While demonstratives are certainly the most prominent joint-attention coordinating devices in Malay (cf. Himmelmann 1996; Williams 2009), Malay possesses a number of

adnominal markers with a similar function, most importantly *pun* and *pula*. In this section, we analyse the use of Malay demonstratives and other adnominal markers in relation to coordination of interlocutors' joint attention and show how the use of these devices is related to epistemic stance and referent categorisation. The data suggests that neutral stance and nominal expression of referents correlate with the use of demonstratives. By taking a neutral stance, the speaker expects greater recognitional effort on the side of the hearer and compensates by providing more clues so that joint attention can be maintained. We will demonstrate that these clues are demonstratives and particles. While key characters of the story do not require the use of these clues frequently, they are used whenever a more peripheral participant becomes a topic.

## 5.1 Malay demonstratives

Malay demonstratives (both long and short forms) may introduce new information and track "persistent" referents throughout discourse (Himmelmann 1996: 241). The use of demonstratives has implications for how the perspective of the hearer is constructed in interaction, as either having or lacking access to the intended referent (Williams 2009), and indicates the speaker's stance. Our discussion of the data again follows the referential hierarchy, starting with human referents.

In the following fragment, the farmer is tracked with a demonstrative phrase. Such use is common in texts where the referent was categorised with a description.<sup>12</sup> The speaker prevents a possible misalignment with the hearer by using the demonstrative and putting focus on the farmer, as affected by *polis* 'police', the local topical agent, which moves the plot.

- (29) Singapore Malay (2017.JUR.18)  
*Polis tiba dan menangkap [petani itu].*  
 police arrive and AV.seize farmer DIST  
 'The police arrived and caught the farmer.'

Another example is given in (30), which immediately follows (50). The distal *itu* puts the gardener in focus, and constructs the child's perspective as not recognising her father. The distal form does not have any spatial meaning here, because the man has just arrived in the scene. Instead, it creates an emotional distance, and marks the stance of the child. It locates the responsibility for the non-recognition within the child, and ultimately in the abusive behaviour of her father.<sup>13</sup>

- (30) Singapore Malay (2017.ISM.21)  
*Anak-nya tidak kenal kepada [pekebun itu].*  
 child-3POSS not know to gardener DIST  
 'His child did not recognise the gardener.'

<sup>12</sup>An overview of all the expressions of key referents in *Getting the Story Straight* can be found in Table 6.

<sup>13</sup>Williams (2009) describes a similar use of demonstratives in Indonesian conversation. Djenar (2014) shows that *nih* and *tuh* have presentative, directive and expressive functions, and explains why *tuh* is used for recognitional and discourse deixis.

The most common way to track discourse persistent non-human referents is with *N+itu*. The demonstrative has a similar function as the English definite article, marking the given referential status of the referent. The distal form does not imply any contrast or any spatial relation, and its function is purely referential in marking the given referent and perhaps aids the hearer in identifying the referent. We do maintain the gloss *DIST* in (31), but a gloss *GIV* for *given* would be equally plausible.

- (31) Singapore Malay (2013.OG.FrogStory.03)  
*Umm. Dan mereka ber-main bersama-sama tiap-tiap malam, di mana [anjing HESIT and 3PL AV-play RED-together RED-each night where dog itu] akan tidur di bawah [katil [budak lelaki itu]], sementara [katak itu] akan DIST will sleep below bed boy DIST while frog DIST will tidur di dalam peti gelas-nya. sleep inside glass.jar-3POSS*  
 ‘Mmm. They played together every night and the dog would sleep under the boy’s bed while the frog slept in its jar.’

The above characterisation of *itu* as a definite marker is further supported by the code-switching patterns. Speakers of Colloquial Singaporean Malay frequently code-switch in English across genres. Consider now (32), where the NP contains the English definite article *the*, where one would expect *itu*. The English *then* corresponds to the eventive *pun*, which will be discussed in §5.4.

- (32) Singapore Malay (2013.MLZ.JackalAndCrow.167)  
*THEN THE gagak, THEN THE gagak nyanyi CS.then CS.DEF crow CS.THEN CS.DEF crow sing*  
 ‘Then the raven sang.’

The following two examples from *Frog Story* are a pair, where (33) shows the categorisation of a pair of adult frogs in the final episode of the story. A description consisting of a possessive construction presents the frogs indirectly as “emitters” of the sound.

- (33) Singapore Malay (2013.OG.FrogStory.30)  
*Selepas itu, mereka um, jalan ke satu ah, lagi satu uh, akar uh, pokok ya, thereafter 3PL PART move to one HESIT other one PART root PART tree yes dan budak lelaki itu suruh anjing-nya diam, kerana dia men-dengar ah, and boy DIST ask dog-3POSS silent because 3SG AV-hear HESIT [bunyi-bunyi katak ] di belakang mm, dahan pokok itu ya. RED-noise frog behind PART branch trunk DIST yes*  
 ‘After that, they walked to another tree root, and the boy instructed his dog to be quiet because he heard frog noises behind the tree trunk.’

Subsequently, the frogs are tracked with *N+itu* (ReFLex *r-given*).

- (34) Singapore Malay (2013.OG.FrogStory.31)

*Jadi dengan senyap, mereka dekat berhampiran dengan um, [katak itu], dan,*  
 so with silence 3PL near adjacent with PART frog DIST and  
*akhirnya mereka jumpa dua ekor katak di belakang um, pokok itu, ya.*  
 finally 3PL find two CL.ANIMAL frog behind PART tree DIST yes  
 ‘So with silence, they approached close to the frog and finally they met two frogs  
 behind the tree.’

The proximal *ini* is used less frequently and does entail that the referent is spatially proximate. The viewpoint from which the proximity is constructed can shift and be located within the participants. In (35), the boy’s perspective is taken to refer to the frogs, as well as to the relative temporal *ini* ‘now’, located within the story.

- (35) Singapore Malay (2013.OG.FrogStory.33)

*Jadi mm, selepas budak lelaki itu, ber-cerita-kan kepada kedua, uh,*  
 so PART subsequently boy DIST AV-tell-APPL to couple PART  
*[ibu dan bapa katak ini ], bahawa ia mahu mem-bawa balik, uh katak*  
 mother and father frog PROX COMP 3SG wish AV-carry return PART frog  
*yang sebelum ini berada di rumah-nya.*  
 REL previously PROX be in house-3POSS  
 ‘So after the boy explained to both the father and mother frog that he wanted to  
 bring back that frog that before this was in his house.’

Apart from the spatial *ini* and *itu*, there are three more deictic forms which do not have spatial uses, but are common in discourse: *tadi* ‘recently mentioned’, *tersebut* ‘aforementioned’, and *si* ‘familiar’, which will be described below. Their use correlates with a neutral epistemic stance and categorisation with descriptions, except for *si*, which expresses familiarity and therefore marks a stronger epistemic stance.

The demonstrative *tadi* ‘recently mentioned’ is a dedicated anaphoric form derived from an adverbial meaning ‘earlier’ (Sneddon et al. 2012: 133). It is likely grammaticalised to the adnominal position through a *yang* modifier construction: *N yang tadi > N tadi*. In one version of the *Pear Story*, it tracks the farmer picking fruit. The example given in (36) is beautiful, because it verbalises the intention behind using *tadi* in the preceding phrase *kita patah balik...* ‘let us return back’.

- (36) Singapore Malay (2013.CA.PearStory.11)

*Jadi bila, kita patah balik kepada [perkebun tadi ], masa dia turun*  
 so when IPL.INCL turn.back to farmer RECENT time 3SG descend  
*dari pada pokok dia nampak tadi, dia nampak agak aneh kerana sebab*  
 from tree 3SG see recently 3SG see slightly weird because reason  
*masa dia naik ada tiga bakul.*  
 time 3SG climb be three basket  
 ‘So back to the farmer from earlier, the time he came down from the tree he  
 found it weird as he last saw three baskets.’

The anaphoric demonstrative *tersebut* ‘aforementioned, that’ is used with expressions referring to the farmer in *Getting the Story Straight*. Singapore Malay speakers base some of their stylistic preferences on their formal education; the use of particles and of the demonstrative *tersebut* strikes native speakers as formal and rote-like. In NZ version, where *tersebut* is used more than in all the other texts combined, the particle is used to track the farmer, his friends and the police (see Table 6). Apart from tracking, *tersebut* puts the focus on the given referent. We gloss it as GIVEN.FOC and translate it with the English *that*, which can also have a focusing role. Its use correlates with the neutral epistemic stance and categorisation of referents with descriptions. Its extensive use by NZ is illustrated in (37). We believe that the frequent use is a personal characteristic of NZ, rather than a general pattern.<sup>14</sup>

(37) Singapore Malay (2017.NZ.05–08)

*Dalam kemarahannya itu dia pun menumbuk isterinya. Se-orang*  
in anger-3POSS DIST 3SG EVENT AV.punch wife-3POSS one-CL.HUMAN  
*orang tua yang ter-lihat [kejadian tersebut ] pun, uh, mmm, memanggil*  
old.man REL INVOL-see event GIVEN.FOC TOP2 HESIT HESIT AV.call  
*polis dan [polis tersebut pun] uhhh, menangkap [lelaki tersebut ]. Di*  
police and police GIVEN.FOC EVENT HESIT AV.catch man GIVEN.FOC in  
*balai polis pula, uh, isteri-nya pun mem-beritahu keterangan tentang*  
station police then HESIT wife-3POSS TOP2 AV-report testimony about  
*[kejadian tersebut ] kenapa ia terjadi. Suami-nya pun takut dengan,*  
event GIVEN.FOC why 3SG happen husband-3POSS TOP2 afraid with  
*aah, apa yang akan menjadi terhadapnya.*  
HESIT what REL will happen about-3

‘In his anger he then punched his wife. An old man who saw that incident then called the police and those police then caught that man. Then at the police station, his wife explained that incident and why it had happened. Her husband then got frightened over what would happen to him.’

In our corpus, the demonstrative *si* is used sparsely. Traditional grammars attribute *si* a diminutive function (Sneddon et al. 2012: 146) and report that it is never used in address terms, but only in reference to somebody who is not the hearer (Sneddon et al. 2012: 374). The *Wiktionary* entry for *si* contains an accurate characterisation; in addition to ‘friendly connotation’, ‘diminutive’, and ‘friendly categorisation’, it also lists ‘generic categorisation’, exemplified in (38).

(38) Indonesian (Wiktionary.si#Indonesian)

[*Si ayah*] harus belajar mengenal [*si anak*].  
father must learn AV.know child  
‘The father has to learn to know the child.’

<sup>14</sup>Note that the NP *seorang tua yang...pun* combines with *pun*, while newly introduced into discourse, but immediately cast as topic. The particle *pun* seems to work in tandem with *tersebut*, where one marks the new topic and the other links explicitly the relevant given referent.

We propose that *si* is a marker of familiarity, restricted to human referents. It is an expression of a strong epistemic stance.<sup>15</sup> *Si* draws interlocutors' attention to a referent by presenting it as familiar, i.e. identifiable within one's knowledge, or recent discourse. Tracking proper names with a *si* phrase follows the *triangular* pattern of person reference identified in (Haviland 2007: 229–230), where a new referent is anchored in relation to both the speaker and the hearer. The *si* phrase is an explicit anchoring effort in relation to the familiar knowledge of the hearer. Within the stance framework proposed by Du Bois (2007), it is also an alignment device which explicitly interacts with the interlocutors' perspective.

It is not relevant that the familiarity is only constructed as such, because existing familiar referents are identified in exactly the same way, as we will show in (41). In (39), a discourse-recent referent marked with *si* is presented. Sukanto (2013) observes a similar pattern in written Indonesian accounts of *Pear Story*. Expressions re-activating the given participants tend to be highly specified, and combine with both *si* and *sang* in the Indonesian texts.

- (39) Singapore Malay (2013.CA.PearStory.05)
- Semasa dia memetik buah dia atas, ada se-orang budak me-naiki*  
 when 3SG AV.pick fruit 3SG above exist one-CL.HUMAN boy AV-travel.by  
*basikal dan dia ter-nampak buah di dalam bakul itu lalu dia memikir*  
 bicycle and 3SG INVOL-notice fruit inside basket DIST then 3SG AV.think.about  
*harus-kah dia meng-ambil tetapi memandangkan [si perkebun itu]*  
 need-Q.PART 3SG AV-take but considering FAMILIAR farmer DIST  
*begitu perihatin dengan memetik buah di atas pokok lalu dia meng-ambil satu*  
 so concerned with AV.pick fruit on.top tree then 3SG AV-take one  
*bakul tanpa izin.*  
 basket without approval
- 'When he picked the fruits above, a boy riding a bicycle saw fruits in the basket. Then he thought whether he should take some, but considering that our farmer was so concerned with picking fruits, he actually took one whole basket without permission.'

In our Singapore Malay corpus, *si* is used invariably to refer to relatives, partners or friends who do not take part in the interaction. The fragment in (40) is taken from an interview with an elderly speaker of Singapore Malay, who describes here how she got engaged. Her future father-in-law used to ask her, whether she had yet found a *mata-air* 'beloved' and whether she liked his son (absent during the exchange).

<sup>15</sup>The notion of familiarity is defined by Gundel et al. (1993: 278) as a special cognitive status where the hearer already has a representation in memory, either in long-term memory, absence of recent mention, or in short-term memory, if he has.

- (40) Singapore Malay (2016.BandarGirls.202)  
*Kau suka tak, dengan si... Arsyad?*  
 2SG like not with FAMILIAR PN  
 ‘Do you like [our] Arsyad, don’t you?’

In (41), a mother asks whether her son, who is preparing for a math exam, is finished with his tutor (absent during the exchange). This is the first mention of the tutor in the conversation, and later in that same conversation, the tutor is tracked with *dia*.

- (41) Singapore Malay (2013.SNS.Exam.17)  
*Abeh tak belajar eh? Dah habis [si dia tu] ajar dah habis?*  
 then not study Q.PART already finish FAMILIAR 3SG DIST teach already finish  
 ‘Why don’t you prepare anymore? It is done what he [the tutor] taught you?’

In our narrative corpus, human referents categorised with proper names may be accompanied by an appositive *si* phrase. In (42), the vegetable seller is constructed as familiar to the farmer, amplifying the effect of the accusation and explaining the rage that follows.<sup>16</sup>

- (42) Singapore Malay (2017.SI.15)  
*sewaktu sedang mabuk Abu mem-beritahu Adam bahawa dia ter-nampak Hawa,*  
 while PROG drunk PN AV-tell PN COMP 3SG INVOL-see PN  
*isteri Adam, sedang ber-mesra-mesra bersama [Sani, si penjual sayur] di*  
 wife PN PROG AV-RED-COZY together PN ART seller vegetable in  
*pasar.*  
 market  
 ‘While he was drunk, Abu told Adam that he saw Hawa, Adam’s wife, behaving in a friendly way with Sani, [you know] the vegetable seller at the market.’

In summary, Malay *si* interacts with a specific layer of the hearer’s memory: either with the recent memory, or with personal knowledge and stereotypes. Marking unknown and unfamiliar referents with *si* is a request for cooperation to either fill out the speaker’s intention, and accept the referent in a common ground (in statements), or to supply the relevant knowledge in the next turn (in questions). It is the ultimate device forcing joint attention.<sup>17</sup>

We will now proceed to discuss the Malay particles *pula*, *lagi*, and *pun*, whose function in manipulation of joint attention is even more complex than that of the demonstratives discussed here.

<sup>16</sup>The man introduced in the drunk gossip (see Figure 2, frame 4), is sometimes given a name, such as *Encik Romi* in (4), or is referred to with a proper name followed by a nominal marked with *si*, such as *Leyman, si penjual surat khabar* ‘Leyman, the news agent’.

<sup>17</sup>There are some interesting parallels with other markers of familiarity, such as the New Zealand *y’know* (Stubbe & Holmes 1995: 69), the Abui hearer-oriented forms (Kratochvíl & Delpada 2015), or the more grammaticalised systems of engagement (Evans et al. 2017a,b).

## 5.2 Particle *pula*

The Malay particle *pula* (colloquial *pulak*) is traditionally characterised as an additive focus particle (Sneddon et al. 2012: 236). Nomoto (2017: *pula(k)*) distinguishes between two functions of the Malay *pula*: (i) when placed after the predicate, the particle indexes the speaker’s epistemic stance – the situation is marked as not conforming to the speaker’s expectation, as surprising, or as evoking doubts; (ii) when combined with nominals, *pula* encodes contrast, but also interacts with expectation.

Both (43) and (44) employ the additive *pula* when the jackal is categorised with a description.<sup>18</sup> In (43), the additive *pulak* marks the existence of the newly introduced jackal as a somewhat unexpected addition to the discourse. The speaker perhaps contradicts the reasonable anticipation of the bird eating the fish, so the appearance of a hungry jackal presents an unexpected twist in the story.<sup>19</sup> After all, the fable is well-known, and it is reasonable to expect that the hearer is familiar with the plot.

(43) Singapore Malay (2013.MLZ.JackalCrow.149)

*Dah LAND, dia alih-alih ni ada [musang] pulak dia nampak.*  
 already cs.land 3SG suddenly PROX exist jackal ADD 3SG see

‘And as it landed, the crow suddenly saw that there was also a fox (there).’

In the second text, the jackal is introduced as the subject of an inverted existential clause with an enumerated classifier structure in (44). The jackal is linked to the already known crow with the relative clause, where the crow is the object of the involuntary action verb *terlihat* ‘happen to see’. The additive *pula* marks the newly introduced location, effectively extending the space in which the narrative is constructed. In terms of joint attention, the particle forces an update. It constructs the extension of the space in which the story takes place as unexpected or surprising.

(44) Singapore Malay (2013.OG.JackalCrow.04)

*Di satu ladang pula ada [se-ekor serigala] yang terlihat burung gagak*  
 in one field ADD exist one-CL.ANIMAL jackal REL spot crow  
*itu terbang bersama ikan dalam mulut burung itu.*  
 DST fly together fish inside beak bird DST

‘In a field, there was a jackal that saw the crow flying with the fish in its mouth.’

Example (45) shows the contrastive function of *pula*, where the benefit of the police action for the farmer’s wife has to be considered in parallel with the punishment of her husband.

<sup>18</sup>Note that there are several additive markers in Malay. Forker (2016: 91) discusses only *pun* as additive, while Goddard (2001: 27) calls both *pun* and *pula* emphatic. Sneddon et al. (2012: 236) considers both *juga* and *pula* additive markers, which indicate that “the focused part is an addition”.

<sup>19</sup>Malay speakers in Singapore are taught in Malay language composition classes that the particles *pula* and *pun* make their style “more interesting” or “engaging”, and mark the “climax”. We believe that at least in some cases, Malay speakers may be using these particles for such “aesthetic” reasons. The aesthetic function of *pun*, as a marker of a particular style is also discussed by Cumming (1991: 107).

- (45) Singapore Malay (2017.HZ.09–10)

*Dengan itu, dia harus pergi ke, uh, pihak polis dan beritahu tentang apa yang*  
 therefore 3SG must go to HESIT police and inform about what REL  
*terjadi. Um, [suami-nya pula ] berasa amat menyesal akan apa*  
 happen HESIT husband-3POSS CON.FOC feel very AV.regretful about what  
*terjadi, dan beliau amat risau tentang, um, apa yang akan terjadi*  
 happen and 3SG.HON very uneasy about HESIT what REL will happen  
*kepada-nya iaitu, um, beliau harus di- di- di-letakkan di dalam lockup dan*  
 to-3 namely HESIT 3SG.HON must PV-place inside jail and  
*di-belasah oleh pihak polis.*  
 PV-beat.up by police

‘So now she had to go to the police and tell them what happened. Her husband (on the other hand) felt very regretful about what had happened, and he was very worried about what would happen to him, that is, he had to be detained in a jail cell and beaten by the police.’

The particle *pula* also occurs with left-dislocated locative elements. Its function appears to be to move the narrative along to another location. We have seen one example of this use in (44) and give another in (46) below.

- (46) Singapore Malay (2017.NZ.07)

[*Di balai polis pula ], uh, isteri-nya pun mem-beritahu keterangan*  
 in station police ADD HESIT wife-3POSS TOP2 AV-report testimony  
*tentang kejadian tersebut kenapa ia terjadi.*  
 about event GIVEN.FOC why 3SG happen

‘Then at the police station, his wife explained that incident and why it had happened.’

By using *pula*, the speaker proposes a broadening or update of joint attention. In this function *pula* is similar to the demonstratives discussed in §5.1, because the “field” of joint attention remains essentially the same. In the next section we will discuss the use of *lagi*, another additive particle, whose use seems to be more restricted, but allows for scope manipulation.

### 5.3 Particle *lagi*

The particle *lagi* indicates repetition with predicates, but with adnominal quantifiers, it has an additive function. The additive function is illustrated in (47), where the particle highlights that the reference is made to all members of the group (Forker 2016: 84–85).

- (47) Singapore Malay (2013.CA.PearStory.08)

*Dalam perjalanan pulang budak itu dengan tidak sengaja ter-langgar batu*  
 while drive home child DIST with accident INVOL-hit rock  
*lalu dibantu oleh [tiga lagi budak kanak-kanak] untuk mengumpulkan,*  
 then PV-help by three more boy child to AV.collect

*mem-bangunkan basikal-nya dan buah-buahan yang ter-jatuh.*

AV-put.upright bicycle-3POSS and fruit REL INVOL-fall

‘On the way home, the boy accidentally bumped into stones and is assisted by three other young children to collect the bicycle and fallen fruits.’

The additive *lagi* also creates a relationship with the boy, who is the topic of the sentence. Within the RefLex scheme, this referent is classified as *r-new*, but the presence of the additive marker suggests that this may be a referential type, not distinguished by the RefLex Scheme. In terms of joint attention manipulation, *lagi* emphasises the existence of another referent which should be included in the focus. Additives are known to be scope sensitive (Forker 2016: 72). In (47), the additive marker follows the quantifier, highlighting the precise quantity of the added referents. In the next section we will discuss the use of *pun*, which essentially marks a proposal for a joint attention shift.

#### 5.4 Particle *pun*

The particle *pun* is more frequent than other particles and demonstratives in our *Getting the Story Straight* corpus. This particle has received much attention in the literature, and is treated in the greatest detail in Goddard (2001), who provides an exhaustive overview of earlier studies (p. 29–30). In our discussion, we adhere to Goddard’s analysis. The most common use in our data, is the “second-position *pun*” which highlights the sentence topic (Goddard 2001: 31). Cumming (1991: 107) suggests that *pun* is a resumptive topic marker attached to left-dislocated noun phrases. Its distribution is further affected by *individuation* of the referent, its *semantic role*, its *introduction* into the discourse, and the *eventiveness* of the description. The first function is well attested in our narratives; *pun* frequently marks a switch in topic as participants take over the agency in moving the plot forward. One such sequence is given in (48).

(48) Singapore Malay (2017.ISM.11–13)

*Bila polis tiba, [pekebun pun ] di-tangkap. Di mahkamah, isteri-nya*  
 when police arrive gardener TOP2 PV-catch in court wife-3POSS  
*memberi, ah, tahu hakim apa yang telah terjadi. [Pekebun pun ]*  
 give HESIT know judge what REL already happen gardener TOP2  
*di-jatuhkan hukuman penjara.*  
 PV-hand.down jail.sentence

‘When the police came, the farmer was arrested. In court, his wife told the judge what had happened. The farmer was then sentenced to a jail term.’

In (49), which follows directly from (21), *pun* amplifies the eventiveness of the sequence (i.e. the progress of the plot). Note that the translation attempts to capture this with the English adverb *then* in both sentences.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Note also the use of the active voice in both clauses, highlighting their eventiveness (cf. Djenar 2018: this volume).

- (49) Singapore Malay (2017.AM.27–28)  
 [Pak Samad pun ] *men-ceritakan pengalaman-nya di dalam penjara dan*  
 Mr PN EVENT AV-tell experience-3POSS inside prison and  
*men-jelaskan bahawa dia menyesal dengan tindak-laku-nya.* [Pak Samad pun ]  
 AV-explain COMP 3SG AV.regret with actions-3POSS Mr PN EVENT  
*ber-janji dengan anak-nya bahawa dia akan mem-bawa anak-nya ke*  
 AV-promise with child-3POSS COMP 3SG will AV-take child-3POSS to  
*jalan-jalan keesokan hari.*  
 walk.around the.following.day

‘Pak Samad then told the story of his experiences in jail and made it clear that he regretted his actions. Pak Samad then promised his child that he would take him for a walk the next day.’

A similar instance of *pun* amplifying the progress of the plot (i.e. eventiveness) is shown in (50). In colloquial Singapore English, the particle *pun* is often translated with *then*, which has the same function in marking the previous event as completed and a new one as commencing.<sup>21</sup>

- (50) Singapore Malay (2017.ISM.19–20)  
*Dia sangat gembira dapat me-nikmati cahaya matahari.* [Pekebun pun ] *pulang*  
 3SG very elated get AV-enjoy sunlight gardener EVENT return  
*ke rumah-nya.*  
 to house-3POSS

‘He was very happy that he got to enjoy the sunshine. The farmer then returned to his house.’

Goddard (2001: 54) reports that the *topic focus* function is the most common in his written Malay corpus. In our narrative data, the *event sequence* function is more common. An instance of topic focus is given in (51), where the jackal, upon spotting the crow with the fish, is constructed as talking to itself.

- (51) Singapore Malay (2013.MLZ.JackalAndCrow.151)  
 [Aku pun ] *lapar ah.*  
 1SG TOP2 hungry PART  
 ‘I am also hungry.’

The presence of *resumptive topic* resets the reference of the third person pronoun *dia* and *ia*. In (52), the jackal is referred to as *ia*, while the fish and crow require nominal expressions. The minimisation of the expression of the topic after it has been focused with *pun* resembles the general tendency for minimisation of reference (Heritage 2007; Sacks & Schegloff 2007). We take this as a signal that *pun* indicates a shift of joint attention to a new “field”, which is accompanied by a reset in the scope of anaphoric devices.

<sup>21</sup>Hiroki Nomoto has suggested to us that perhaps the core function of the particle is to indicate a clause relationship between two clauses which are told in their order of occurrence, but the particle has to be placed after the subject of the second clause (Nomoto 2017: *pun*).

- (52) Singapore Malay (2013.OG.JackalAndCrow.05–6)  
*Jadi [serigala itu pun ] ingin me-makan ikan itu kerana [ia] sangat lapar.*  
 so jackal DIST TOP2 wish AV-consume fish DST because 3SG very hungry  
*Jadi [ia] fikir [ia] mahu ikan yang di dalam mulut burung gagak itu.*  
 so 3SG think 3SG want fish REL inside mouth crow DST  
 ‘The jackal wanted to eat the fish because it was so hungry. And it thought, it wanted the fish in the crow’s mouth.’

Example (53) summarises the outcome for the crow and clearly illustrates the *event sequence* focus function of *pun* (cf. Goddard 2001: 38).

- (53) Singapore Malay (2013.MLZ.JackalAndCrow.173)  
*[Gagak pun] sedih sebab dia kena tipu, bosan.*  
 crow EVENT sad because 3SG PASS cheat disgusting  
 ‘The crow was sad because it got cheated, disgusting.’

The particle *pun* does not occur in our texts with inanimates, but this is just a consequence of the construction of the plot in the narratives which we focus on here. There are instances of its use in our Singapore Malay corpus, such as (54), which describes the shortage of rice during WWII. *Pun* here highlights the food shortage as a local topic and brings the focus on *porridge*, lexically tracking the topic *beras* (RefLex *r-given, l-accessible-sub*).

- (54) Singapore Malay (2016.BIZ.45)  
*Memang takde jumpa beras, lah, nanti masak, ah, bikin bubur ke, bikin,*  
 indeed not find rice PART later cook TOP make porridge or make  
*kalau dapat bubur pun dah bagus lah, sekali-sekali, pun nak taruk*  
 if get porridge TOP2 already good PART occasionally EVENT MOD put  
*keledek, taruk ubi.*  
 sweet potato put tapioca  
 ‘We couldn’t of course find rice, when we cooked porridge for instance, if we got porridge it was already very good, once in a while, still we had to add sweet potato and tapioca.’

## 5.5 Demonstratives and particles

Demonstratives may be followed by the particle *pun*. An eventive *pun* can be seen in (55). The speaker confuses the plot, and refers to the wife where the husband is meant.

- (55) Singapore Malay (2017.NZ.04)  
*Dalam kemarahan, uh, [lelaki itu pun ] pergi, uh, pergi ke suami-nya,*  
 in anger HESIT male DIST TOP2 go HESIT go to husband-3POSS  
*eh, ke isteri-nya dan marah, dan marah suami-nya kenapa dia berbual*  
 HESIT to wife-3POSS and angry and angry husband-3POSS why 3SG converse

*dengan lelaki lain.*  
with male other

‘In anger, that man then went to his wife and scolded his husband [sic] for talking to other men.’

In (56), the farmer is described as *suami tu pun*. The particle *pun* prompts the hearer to attend to the temporal sequence, while the demonstrative *tu* places the focus on the same referent. The distal *tu* may encode the wife’s apprehensive stance towards her husband.

(56) Singapore Malay (2017.NZ.14)

*Dia mem-beritahu tentang, aah, keadaan-nya di situ dan bagaimana dia*  
3SG AV-tell about HESIT situation-3POSS there and how 3SG  
*insaf dan rasa kesan terhadap kejadian-nya tersebut. Dari hari*  
penitent and feel consequence about incident-3POSS GIVEN.FOC from day  
*itu, [suami tu pun] tidak me-minum arak lagi dan tidak ber-campur*  
DIST spouse DIST EVENT not AV-drink alcohol again and not AV-mix  
*dengan kawan-kawan tersebut.*  
with RED-friend GIVEN.FOC

‘He told them about the conditions there and how he regretted and felt the effects of that incident. From that day on, the husband did not drink alcohol any more and did not mix with those friends.’

Multiple demonstratives can combine within a single description, as in (57), where the noun *budak laki* ‘boy’ is followed by the recent mention *tadi* and *itu*.

(57) Singapore Malay (2013.LN.PearStory.18)

[*Budak lelaki tadi yang menunggang basikal itu*] *te-nampak se-orang*  
boy RECENT REL AV.ride bicycle DIST INVOL-spot one-CL.HUMAN  
(1s) *budak perempuan yang juga menaiki basikal yang bertentangan, yang (1s)*  
child female REL also AV.travel.by bicycle REL opposite REL  
*berjalan bertentangan dengan-nya.*  
travel opposite with-3

‘The boy who was riding the bicycle saw a girl who was also riding a bicycle in the opposite direction.’

Table 11 sketches the functions of Malay demonstratives and particles in manipulating and directing the interlocutors’ joint attention. The effect is captured with simple verb phrases – a conventionalised terminology remains lacking.<sup>22</sup> This representation also draws on the idea of cognitive states developed in Gundel et al. (1993) but takes the attention asymmetry between the interlocutors as a starting point. The effects fall into two groups, depending on whether the “field” of joint attention remains the same or shifts.

<sup>22</sup>Tomasello (1995) offers a lucid account of the development of social cognition and the ability to manipulate joint attention in children.

Within the same field, the proximal *ini* requires a symmetrical manipulation of joint attention, while the remaining deictic forms indicate a reorientation of attention on the side of the speaker and require a manipulation of the focus on the side of the hearer so that joint attention can be renewed. The most forceful reorientation within the same field is encoded with the epistemic particle *pula(k)*, which indicates a surprise or novelty on the side of the speaker (captured here as “update”). Finally, the particle *pun* encodes a shift of joint attention and entails a reset of anaphora, exemplified in (52).

Table 11: Joint attention manipulating functions of Malay demonstratives and particles

DEMONSTRATIVE	JOINT ATTENTION MANIPULATION	
	SPEAKER	HEARER
<i>si</i>	bring in focus	activate familiar
<i>ini</i>	keep in focus	keep in focus
<i>itu</i>	bring in focus	access
<i>tadi</i>	bring in focus	recall recent
<i>tersebut</i>	bring in focus	recall known
<i>pula(k)</i>	update/broaden	update/broaden
<i>lagi</i>	add in focus	add in focus
<i>pun</i>	shift	shift

## 6 Conclusions

A systematic comparison of elicited narrative texts organised in a parallel corpus enables us to make several points about Malay discourse and information structure:

- The speaker’s stance is reflected in referent categorisation and has consequences for referent tracking.
- The stronger epistemic stance simplifies expression of referents and their tracking, confirming the claim by Sacks & Schegloff (2007) that categorisation of humans with proper names require less recognitional effort, as shown in §4.
- The neutral epistemic stance generally motivates referent categorisation with descriptions, which need to be more elaborate to track referents effectively.
- Taking a stronger epistemic stance, the speaker can construct and maintain differential perspectives on the referents through their categorisation, such as *Adam* vs. *her husband*, or *her father* (Stivers et al. 2007).

- The variation of expression correlates with the referential status of the referent as well. The high referential status allows for tracking with pronouns, but the low status disfavours enumeration and classifiers.
- The topic focus particle *pun* is preferred with more complete expressions of a third person referent, after which the reference can be minimised (zero, *dia*, *ia*, etc.), as argued by Heritage (2007); Sacks & Schegloff (2007).
- Both topical and focused participants are eligible for minimisation, but the remaining referents require a fuller expression, for non-humans typically a *N+itu* phrase.

Future work will focus on the role of word order and verbal morphology as well as on the effect of downgrading the role of the hearer to a silent listener, unable to interact where joint attention is not achieved (DeLancey 1997). Our parallel corpus contains such information in the negotiations preceding the presentation of the agreed narrative.

## Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the editors of this volume and three anonymous reviewers for their encouragement and comments on earlier versions of this paper. We would also like to thank the members of the Malay Research Group at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore for their valuable comments and suggestions: David Moeljadi, Kadek Ratih Dwi Oktarini, Nur Atiqah binte Othman, Hannah Choi Jun Yung, Nur Amirah Binte Khairul Anuar, and Hiroki Nomoto. All the authors gratefully acknowledge the generous support of the Singaporean Malay community. The authors also acknowledge the generous support of the ILCAA Joint Research Project 'Cross-linguistic Perspective on the Information Structure of the Austronesian Languages' (PI Dr Atsuko Utsumi), funded by The Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ICLAA) of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, as well as the research funding through a Tier 1 project 'Development of Intonational Models for Malay and Singapore English' awarded by the Singapore Ministry of Education Tier 1 Grant MOE2013-T1-002-169 (PI Dr Tan Ying Ying).

## Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	person markers	INVOL	involuntary agent <i>ter-</i>
AFF	affected	HESIT	hesitation marker
APPL	applicative	MOD	modal auxiliary
AV	active voice	PASS	passive auxiliary <i>kena</i>
COMP	complementizer <i>bahawa</i> , <i>yang</i>	POSS	possessive
CS	code-switching	PROX	proximate
DEM	demonstrative	PV	passive voice
DIST	distal	TOP	topic
FOC	focus	TOP2	switched topic (Goddard's <i>topic focus</i> )
INTENS	intensifier		

## References

- Adelaar, K. Alexander. 2004. Where does Malay come from? Twenty years of discussions about homeland, migrations and classifications. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 160(1). 1–30.
- Adelaar, K. Alexander & David J. Prentice. 1996. Malay: Its history, role and spread. In Stephen A. Wurm, Peter Mühlhäusler & Darrell T. Tryon (eds.), *Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas*, vol. II (Trends in Linguistics, Documentation 13 1), 673–693. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Alsagoff, Lubna. 2008. The commodification of Malay: Trading in futures. In Rani Rubdy & Peter Tan (eds.), *Language as commodity: Global structures, local marketplaces*, 44–56. London & New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Barešová, Ivona. 2016. *Japanese given names: A window into contemporary Japanese society*. Olomouc: Palacký University Olomouc.
- Carroll, Alice, Barbara Kelly & Lauren Gawne. 2011. The jackal and crow picture task. Designed for use by the Social Cognition and Language Project. A collaboration of The Australian National University, Griffith University, University of Melbourne and the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1980. *The Pear Stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.
- Chung, Sandra. 2000. On reference to kinds in Indonesian. *Natural Language Semantics* 8(2). 157–171.
- Chung, Sandra. 2008. Indonesian clause structure from an Austronesian perspective. *Lingua* 118(10). 1554–1582.
- Chung, Siaw-Fong. 2010. Numeral classifier buah in Malay: A corpus-based study. *Language and Linguistics* 11(3). 553–577.
- Cleary-Kemp, Jessica. 2007. Universal uses of demonstratives: evidence from four Malayo-Polynesian languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 46(2). 325–347.

- Cole, Peter & Gabriella Hermon. 2005. Subject and non-subject relativization in Indonesian. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 14(1). 59–88.
- Cumming, Susanna. 1991. *Functional change: The case of Malay constituent order*. Vol. 2. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Daw, Khin Khin Aye. 2005. *Bazaar Malay: History, grammar and contact*. Singapore: National University of Singapore dissertation.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology* 1. 33–52.
- Diessel, Holger. 2006. Demonstratives, joint attention, and the emergence of grammar. *Cognitive linguistics* 17(4). 463–489.
- Djenar, Dwi Noverini. 2014. Nih and tuh as spatial deixis in imagined interaction. *Nusa* 56. 27–46. <http://hdl.handle.net/10108/77644>.
- Djenar, Dwi Noverini. 2018. Constituent order and information structure in Indonesian discourse. In Sonja Riesberg, Asako Shiohara & Atsuko Utsumi (eds.), *A cross-linguistic perspective on information structure in Austronesian languages*. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Du Bois, John W. 2007. The stance triangle. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, 139–182. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 2009. The relevance of Husserl's theory to language socialization. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 19(2). 205–226.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 2010. Husserl, intersubjectivity and anthropology. *Anthropological Theory* 10(1). 1–20.
- Enfield, N. J. 2007. Meanings of the unmarked: How 'default' person reference does more than just refer. In N. J. Enfield & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social Perspectives* (Language Culture and Cognition), 97–120. Cambridge University Press. DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511486746.006
- Englebretson, Robert. 2007. Grammatical resources for social purposes: Some aspects of stancetaking in colloquial Indonesian conversation. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, 69–110. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Evans, Nicholas, Henrik Bergqvist & Lila San Roque. 2017a. The grammar of engagement I: Framework and initial exemplification. *Language and Cognition* 21. 1–31.
- Evans, Nicholas, Henrik Bergqvist & Lila San Roque. 2017b. The grammar of engagement II: Typology and diachrony. *Language and Cognition* 22. 1–30.
- Forker, Diana. 2016. Toward a typology for additive markers. *Lingua* 180. 69–100.
- Goddard, Cliff. 2001. The polyfunctional Malay focus particle pun. *Multilingua—Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 20(1). 27–59.
- Gundel, Jeanette K. & Thornstein Fretheim. 2004. Topic and focus. In Larry R. Horn & Gregory Ward (eds.), *Handbook of pragmatics*, 175–196. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg & Ron Zacharski. 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69(2). 274–307.

- Haviland, John B. 2007. Person reference in Tzotzil gossip: Referring dupliciter. In N. J. Enfield & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social Perspectives* (Language Culture and Cognition), 226–252. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511486746.011
- Heritage, John. 2007. Intersubjectivity and progressivity in person (and place) reference. In N. J. Enfield & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social Perspectives* (Language Culture and Cognition), 255–280. Cambridge University Press. DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511486746.012
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 1996. Demonstratives in narrative discourse: A taxonomy of universal uses. In Barbara Fox (ed.), *Studies in anaphora*, 205–254. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1986. Some discourse functions of classifiers in Malay. In Colette Grinevald Craig (ed.), *Noun classes and categorization*, 309–325. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Kratochvíl, František & Benidiktus Delpada. 2015. Definiteness and specificity in Abui. In *Proceedings of the second international workshop on information structure of Austronesian languages*, 179–208. Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages, Cultures of Asia & Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Kuo, Eddie C. Y. & Björn H. Jernudd. 1993. Balancing macro-and micro-sociolinguistic perspectives in language management: The case of Singapore. *Language problems and language planning* 17(1). 1–21.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Nala Huiying. 2014. *Lee, n. H. (2014). A grammar of baba Malay with sociophonetic considerations*. Manoa: University of Hawai'i (Doctoral dissertation).
- Mayer, Mercer. 1969. *Frog, where are you?* New York: Dial Press.
- Nomoto, Hiroki. 2017. *Bahasa Melayu TUFs Grammar – in Japanese*. [http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/ase/mal/tatabahasa\\_web/index.html](http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/ase/mal/tatabahasa_web/index.html). [http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/ase/mal/tatabahasa\\_web/index.html](http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/ase/mal/tatabahasa_web/index.html).
- Prince, Ellen F. 1981. Toward a taxonomy of given-new information. In Peter Cole (ed.), *Radical pragmatics*, 223–255. New York: Academic Press.
- Riester, Arndt & Stefan Baumann. 2017. The RefLex scheme: Annotation guidelines. In Jonas Kuhn (ed.), *SinSpec. Working papers of the Sfb 732*, vol. 14, 1–31. University of Stuttgart.
- Rommetveit, Ragnar. 1976. On the architecture of intersubjectivity. In Lloyd H. Strickland, Kenneth J. Gergen & F. J. Aboud (eds.), *Social psychology in transition*, 201–214. New York: Plenum Press.
- Rubin, Aaron D. 2010. The development of the Amharic definite article and an Indonesian parallel. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 55(1). 103–114.
- Sacks, Harvey & Emanuel A. Schegloff. 2007. Two preferences in the organization of reference to persons in conversation and their interaction. In N. J. Enfield & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social Perspectives*

- (Language Culture and Cognition), 23–28. Cambridge University Press. DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511486746.003
- Salehuddin, Khazriyati & Heather Winskel. 2012. Malay numeral classifier usage in caretaker-child talk. *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies* 12(1). 89–104.
- San Roque, Lila, Lauren Gawne, Darja Hoenigman, Julia Colleen Miller, Alan Rumsey, Stef Spronck, Alice Carroll & Nicholas Evans. 2012. Getting the story straight: Language fieldwork using a narrative problem-solving task. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 6. 135–174. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/4504>.
- Sasi Rekha d/o Muthiah. 2007. *A description of Singapore Indian Malay, a pidgin's pidgin*. Singapore: National University of Singapore MA thesis.
- Singapore Department of Statistics. 2015. General Household Survey 2015. In. <http://www.singstat.gov.sg/publications>.
- Sneddon, James N., K. Alexander Adelaar, Dwi N Djenaar & Michael Ewing. 2012. *Indonesian: A comprehensive grammar*. 2nd edn. London & New York: Routledge.
- Stivers, Tanya, N. J. Enfield & Stephen C. Levinson. 2007. Person reference in interaction. In N. J. Enfield & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social Perspectives* (Language Culture and Cognition), 1–20. Cambridge University Press. DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511486746.002
- Stubbe, Maria & Janet Holmes. 1995. You know, eh and other 'exasperating expressions': An analysis of social and stylistic variation in the use of pragmatic devices in a sample of New Zealand English. *Language and Communication* 15(1). 63–88.
- Sukanto, Katharina Endriati. 2013. Anaphoric expressions in Indonesian narrative discourse. Paper presented at the 23rd Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asia Linguistics Society (SEALS 23) Bangkok, 29–31 May 2013.
- Tomasello, Michael. 1995. Joint attention as social cognition. In Chris Moore & Phil Dunham (eds.), *Joint attention: Its origin and role in development*, 103–130. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- van Minde, Don. 2008. The pragmatic function of Malay yang. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40(11). 1982–2001.
- Williams, Nicholas. 2009. Toward a linguistic anthropological account of deixis in interaction: *Ini* and *itu* in Indonesian conversation. In *Colorado research in linguistics*, vol. 22 (June 2009), 1–23. Boulder: University of Colorado.
- Zlatev, Jordan. 2008. The co-evolution of intersubjectivity and bodily mimesis. In Jordan Zlatev, Timothy P. Racine, Chris Sinha & Esa Itkonen (eds.), *The shared mind: Perspectives on intersubjectivity*, 215–244. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.