

Mandarin Adverbial *Jiu* In Discourse*

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1.0. Introduction

I was motivated to conduct this study by an almost omnipresent, multi-functional, and sometimes semantically illusive marker *jiu* in verbal interactions. Almost all the linguists who study *jiu* put *jiu* and *cai* together and investigate the contrastive semantic meanings, pragmatic functions and conversational implicatures of these two markers in contrastive perspective. But such a comparative study cannot help us understand the behavior of *jiu* in conversations.

If we pay a little attention to the daily conversations around, we may get an impression that the frequency of the occurrence of *jiu* is much higher than that of *cai*. In Liu's (1993) study, the total number of occurrences of *jiu* in her 255-minute spoken corpus is 291, whereas that of *cai* is only 29.¹ I do not intend to argue against their theoretical approaches; to the contrary, their detailed and theoretically consistent accounts of these two markers provide me with a solid base to investigate the behavior of *jiu* in our verbal interactions.

2.0. Literature Review

Biq (1984) and (1988) are the most detailed studies on identifying adverbial functions of *jiu* and *cai*. She exemplifies a well-organized study that is carefully defined along the lines of modern linguistic theories. She consistently identifies and distinguishes the different usages in terms of one descriptive parameter (i.e. the scope of focus), and contrasts the two markers with one explanatory principle (i.e. scalar implicature based on Gricean maxims). She categorizes the various occurrences of *jiu* and *cai* into four types of usage: parametric usage, limiting usage, emphatic usage, temporal usage. In each usage, *jiu* and *cai* place a different type of focus on some element involved in speech. *Cai/jiu* can have four different kinds of focus: (1) temporal setting of the narrated event. (2) parametric: the circumstances determining the actuation of the event; (3) the emphatic: the event itself; (4) limiting: some element internal to the event. And *cai/jiu* are distinguished from each other by the implicatures they carry.

In addition to further exploring the adverbial functions of *jiu* and *cai* in spoken discourse, Liu's study also extends the grammaticalization processes of the two markers, including the

* I wish to thank Prof. Shuanfan Huang and two anonymous reviewers for their useful comments and suggestions. Needless to say, all the errors and inadequacies remaining in this paper are my own.

¹ There are only 37 *cai* in my 135-minute spoken corpus. All my data come from the Mandarin Spoken Corpus by NTU; for a detailed description of the texts I chose for this study, please see the Appendix.

source, pathways, and endpoint functionality.

3.0. The Database

3.1. Comparison of Liu's and Hsieh's database

Table 1. Comparison of Liu's and Hsieh's database.

	Liu's	Hsieh's
Texts	5	15
Durations	255 mins	135 mins
The number of occurrences of JIU	291	667 ²
The number of JIU per minutes	1.14	4.94

From the table above, we can see that the number of occurrences of *jiu* is much higher in the present data, about five times as many as those in Liu's data. In average, Mandarin speakers utters five tokens of *jiu* per minute. And I follow Liu's study and categorize *jiu* according to the function and summarize the distribution in Table 2. Before that, I give a brief description of the categorization of *jiu*.

3.2. The categorization of *jiu*

3.2.1. As a linking element

According to Liu (1993), there are main functions of *jiu*: as a linking element and as a limiting element. As a linking element, *jiu* relates two propositions in an antecedent-consequent relation and always occurs with the consequent clause, as in A, *jiu* B (A and B are two different propositions). Without making further sub-categorization here, Liu recognizes the dependency of A-C can be of any semantic type, but that the *jiu*-marked consequent proposition clauses are directly resultative of the antecedent.

As the following examples reveal, however, not all *jiu*-marked propositions in such relations are a consequence of the event indicated in the antecedent clauses. Based on the data I have, I therefore sub-categorize such an A-C linking usage into three types:

1.CONDITIONAL. In this usage, *jiu* usually cooccurs with the following phrases:

zhiyau...jiu “只要...就”; *yaushi...jiu* “要是...就”; *ruguo...jiu* “如果...就”; *na(...)**jiu*. “那(...就”; *(na/ruguo)dehua..jiu* “(那/如果)的話...就”; *buran..jiu* “不然...就”. For example:

(1) Basketball 103 B:..*zhiyau you henduo ren*

只要有很多人

104 .. *jiu keyi cangdau*

就可以搶到

“As long as we have lots of persons, we can get (the basketball field).”

2.CONSEQUENTIAL: In this usage, *jiu* marks the consequent clause as a consequence of

² In my data, I did not take into account the use of *jiu* in the phrase of *jiushishuo*, which is routinized as a discourse marker.

the event indexed by the antecedent clauses, and usually co-occurs with the following phrases: *yinwei...jiu* “因為...就”; *jieguo...jiu* “結果...就”; (*suoyi/na*)...*jiu* (*juede/xing*) (*shuo*) “(所以/那)...就(覺得/想)(說)”; *suoyi...jiu* “所以...就”.

For example:

- (2) Basketball 410 .. *suoyi wo ye jiu yizhi da*
 所以我也就一直打
 411 .. *ranhou pingchang jiu yizhi tiao*
 然後平常就一直跳
 412 .. *yizhi tiao*
 一直跳
 → 413 .. *jiu bian gau le*
 就變高了\

“(At the beginning of this semester, everyone was playing the basketball;) therefore, I also started playing the basketball. And in usual time with nothing to do, I just jumped and jumped; as a result, I became taller.”

3.SEQUENTIAL: In this usage, *jiu* marks the temporal sequence of two propositions, as in A, then *jiu* B. It usually co-occurs with such phrases as *houlai...jiu* “後來...就”; *ranhou...jiu* “然後...就”; *na...jiu* “那...就”. For example:

- (3) Basketball 200 B: ..*ranhou*
 然後
 201 ..*zhau ren yihou*
 找人以後
 → 202 ..*jiu yau ji qingchu shi shei*
 就要記清楚是誰

“Then, after you’ve found someone, you have to remember who you did find.”

3.2.2. As a temporal linking element

When *jiu* is used as a temporal linking element, it relates an event/state to a temporal frame, be it a temporal phrase or a temporal clause. The essential function of *jiu* is to assert a direct, or immediate relation between an event/state and a temporal reference point, by signaling an extremely short interval. It implies a time span between a temporal reference point and the event/state, and excludes all but the beginning of the span. *jiu* as a temporal linking function to mark “immediate future” (Biq 1988: 83) the event is described relative to the speech act time or to some assumed nominative reference point. For example:

- (4) Match 408: *na-mo zau jiu kai-shi zuo-mei*
 那麼早就開始作媒
 “(You) started making matches at that early age.”

3.2.3. As a limiting element

Jiu can also be used as a sentential particle to limit, usually in an emphatic manner, the referential or predicational scope of a subsequent constituent. As a limiting element, *jiu* does not indicate relations across two propositional entities; instead, it is relevant only to one following constituent. The limiting *jiu* is usually considered to be ‘emphatic’ (Biq 1988. Li & Thompson 1981), and Liu (1993) attributes such emphatic reading to its scope limiting character: highlight a selected member out of a general set. For example:

- (5) MCON3 124: *wo jiu xi-huan yun-dong*
我就喜歡運動
“I like nothing but sports.”
- (6) Match 116: *ta jiu jiau ke-yi tai yi-dian*
他就腳可以抬一點
“What he can do is just lifting his leg a little bit.”

3.2.4 As a concessive conditional marker

In this usage, *jiu* always combines with either *shi* ‘be’ or *suan* ‘count’ as in 就算 / 就是.

Such a usage is rare in our data; I found only two examples:

- (7) Homo 134 A:.. *na suoyi ni jiusuan zhenzheng you*
那所以你就算真正有
135 ..*ni dagai ye buhui tai ganjue dau*
你大概也不會太感覺到
“Therefore, even if you do have (that kind of propensity), you probably wouldn’t be aware of it.”
- (8) MCON1 445 ..*na zue zhuyau shi yinwei zheli feng da*
那最主要是因為這裡風大
446 ..*ranhou women zheli shi di de*
然後我們這裡是低的
→ 447 ..*jiushi women gang sau-guo*
就是我們剛掃過
448 ..*keshi*
可是
449 ..*ta yi cue*
它一吹
450 ..*ye cue dau*
也吹到

“The most important is that the wind here is rather high and then (the ground) here is low; even if we just finish sweeping, the wind will still blow the dirt (and the trash) here.”

3.2.5 *jiu* in prepositional phrases

Another use of *jiu* is the occurrence of *jiu* in a prepositional phrase, as in the phrases of *jiu...reylan / jiu...cengmian* “就...而言/就...層面”, in which *jiu* introduces the topical frame for the following proposition. For example:

- (9) Assig 318 ..*ta ciji you dingwei*
她自己有定位
319 ..*ranhou zai xuexiao*
然後在學校
→ 320 ..*jiu zemo*
就怎麼
321 ..*zemo*
怎麼
→ 322 ..*zemo gen tongxue hudong de cengmian*
怎麼跟同學互動的層面
323 ..*jiu dau nali*
就到那裡

“She has located herself in a clear position. With regard to the relationship between classmates in school, she would never exceed the assumed relation.”

3.2.6. The identificational use

In her thesis, Liu also discusses the identificational use of *jiu*, as in *jiushi* ‘就是’, *jiushuo* ‘就說’, or the reduced form *jiu*, which she views as a convergence of its linking and limiting functions. In this usage, *jiushi* or *jiu* functions as an equating or identificational marker that attaches a preceding NP with a structurally parallel NP or relative type of clause. Though she gives examples to illustrate the usage, she does not indicate the number of occurrences in her distribution table (Liu 1993:81&138).

Following are Liu’s examples (p.138):

(10) *ta shuo ta jihu dou meiyou shenmo tiezhe le*

她說她幾乎都沒有什麼鐵質了，

jiushi pin-xue pin de hen yanzhong.

就是貧血貧得很嚴重。

“She said she barely has any iron (in her blood); in other words, she has serious anaemia.”

(11) *tong-sheng-nan, ta hai keyi la,*

Tong Sheng Nan 他還可以啦，

Jiushuo ta men-zhe tou zuo la, ren man qianxu de.

就說，他悶著頭做啦，人蠻謙虛的。

“Tong Sheng Na is alright; that is, he is hardworking and modest.”

From the examples, we can clearly see that the two tokens of *jiu* here are more like paraphrasing than identificational usage. Furthermore, the use of *jiushuo* as an identificational (or paraphrasing) marker does not occur in my data.

4.0 Results and Findings

Table 2 summarizes a comparison of the distribution of *jiu* in Liu’s and Hsieh’s results.

Table 2. The distribution of *jiu* in Liu’s and Hsieh’s database

Liu’s		Hsieh’s			
Linking			45	Consequential	Linking
A-C linking	114	324	103	Conditional	
			176	Sequential	
Temporal linking	47		23	Temporal	
Limiting	122		158	Scope-limiting	
Concessive	6		2	Concessive	
Prepositional	0		1	Prepositional	
Verbal	2		0	Verbal	
			159	Identificational usage	
Total	291		667	Total	
		**	79	**就是說 ³	

What calls my attention is the obviously outnumbering of the linking usage, identificational usage and the limiting usage of *jiu*. I will give a detailed account of each usage in my data in the following sections.

4.1 The linking usage of *jiu*

What strikes me more is that when I was analyzing the data, some of linking *jius* were

³ Since *jiushishuo* has been routinized as a discourse marker, I did not take into account such usage in my data.

so devoid in the semantic content and so illusive in its pragmatic function that it was sometimes a rather difficult task to identify its categorization, especially those combined with temporal connectives *ranhou* and *houlai*. For example:

- (12) MCON3 174: Y...*dong jun-yan xian-zai zai gau na-ge daxuefa*
董俊彦現在在搞那個大學法
→ 175...*ranhou ta jiu shuo*
然後他就說
→ 176..*ta jiu shuo women xi tai baushou le*
他就說我們系太保守了
177..*dou meiyou dou*
都沒有到
→ 178...(1.1)*ta jiu zai na-bian*
他就在那邊
179..*ho ta xianzai hau-xiang mingjindang oh*
他現在好像民進黨哦

“Dong Jun-yan now is making the college bill; and then he said...He said our department was too conservative and (none of the faculty) attended the meeting. He was just there....Oh, he is rather like a member of Mingjindang.”

- (13) fami 258 ...*zhenghau yau qu bang woba mai yige dianzi*
正好要去幫我爸買一個墊子
259 ..*pa ta*
怕他
260 ...*zaushang ta hua-yi-jiau*
早上他滑一跤
261 B:.oh
哦
→ 262 A:..*ranhou*
然後
→ 263 ..*wo jiu shuo*
我就說
264 ..*women jia yijin jiudian le*
我們家已經九點了
265 ..*jiu-dianban le*
九點半了

A: “(No, that was because) we were going to buy a mat for my father; he slipped and fell down that morning.” B: “Oh.” A: “ Then, I said. It was nine o’clock when we were leaving our home; nine-thirty.”

Many scholars who study connectives have found that connectives in discourse often lose their semantic content in conjoining two propositions but are used as discourse markers (Schiffirin 1985; 1986; 1992) or verbal fillers (Huang 1993). Huang’s study regards Mandarin temporal connective *ranhou* as a “hesitation marker” rather than a “linking word” which reflects speakers’ “conceptual planning operation” that is translated into linguistic form. Following Schiffirin’s (1994) lists theory, Su (1998) illustrate the nonpropositional use of *ranhou*, which is used to maintain textual coherence rather than the temporal order of events. She calls such use of *ranhou* interactional usage, since it is not necessarily to link anaphorically a previous proposition (event time), but simply to denote the temporal sequence of speech behavior (discourse time); furthermore, it can be used as a topic initiator, a

floor-holding device or a floor-taking device. (Su 1998)⁴

In this regard, the linking *jiu* acts more like an utterance-connective, even when it does not combine with such connectives as *ranhou*, *hou-lai* and *shuo-yi*. In my data, about half, more than fifty, of the sequential *jius* do not mark any antecedent-consequent relation of the two propositions, but simply denote the temporal sequence of speech behavior for the purpose of accomplishing conversational coherence (Craig & Tracy 1983). As Extract (14) and (15) illustrate:

- (14) Assig 353 B:..hm\
 → 354 A: ..*xiang wo jin-tian jiu xie a*
 像我今天就寫啊
 → 355 .. *ranhou jiu zai na han shuo*
 然後就在那喊說
 356 <Q *ou dou meiyou zhuyi guo eh*
 <Q 都沒有注意過 eh

B: "hm." A: "Just like while I was writing today, and then I cried out, 'Ou, I have never noticed that...'"

- (15) KTV 489 B: .. <@ *ni you-mei-you kan zuotian de chaujixingqitian* @>
 <@ 你有沒有看昨天的超級星期天 @>
 490 .. [(H) @@@]
 491 A: ..[*meiyou a*]
 [沒有啊]
 492 ..*jiu zai biauyan*
 就在表演
 493 B: .. <@ *zuotian nage* @>
 <@ 昨天那個 @>
 494 A: ..*zeyang*
 怎樣
 → 495 B: ..*lan-xin-mei ta jiu shang nage jizhehui*
 藍心湄她就上那個記者會

B: "Did you watch *Super Sunday* yesterday? A: "No, I was performing." B: "Yesterday, that..." A: "What?" B: "Lan Xin-mei showed up in the Ji-zhe-hui."

4.2 Identificational usage of *jiu* / *jiushi*

As Liu (1993) points out, the identification use of *jiu* or *jiushi* is to identify or characterize the referent of a previously mentioned NP as in an equation sentence, as Extract (16) & (17) illustrate:

- (16) Theft 37 L:..(0.8) *nage yau* <E dialogue E>
 那個要 dialogue
 38 ..*suo-wei* <E dialogue E>
 所謂 dialogue
 → 39 .. *jiushi yau ting liang fang*
 就是要聽兩方

"That needs dialogues. The so-called dialogue refers to the two-party conversation."

- (17) KTV 169 B: (0)*shang-xiau shi ta baba ma*
 上校是她爸爸嗎

⁴ As Su points out, "everyday talk is the accomplishment of conversational coherence (Craig and Tracy 1983); it is the joint creation and display of connective between utterances, such that what one speaker says can be understood to follow sensibly from what the other has said." (Su 1998:177)

→ 170 A: (0) *duei shang-xiau jiushi ta baba*

對上校就是她爸爸

B: "Is the colonel her father?" A: "Yes, the colonel is her father."

Table 3 The distributions of identificational *jiu* and *jiushi*

<i>jiu-shi/jiu</i>	Occurrence
External facts/An entity's ID	71
Assessments	58
Concessive	1

Nevertheless, as the data in Table 3 reveal, we may find that the identificational *jiu* is not only used in equation sentences to give an objective description to identify or characterize an entity, but also used to report speaker's thought, subjective opinions, evaluations or assessments. The most striking is that it can appear as verbal filler. In Extract (18), the two speakers are talking about their mutual friend, Lan-xin, and getting worried about Lan-xin's recent depression and conflict caused by her rather busy career. Lan-xin feels rather perplexed because on the one hand she wants to transfer to the department of translating editors to gain more free time, but on the other hand, she also wants to stay in the original post as a reporter to write "something", a goal which a translating editor can never reach. When Speaker S utters *bianyi jiushi zheyangzi* "編譯就是這樣子" (A translating editor is just like this)" in Line 175, it is pretty hard for the addressee to understand what exactly a translating editor is like unless she knows the speaker's preference and subjective assessment on this job.

(18) repo 171: *..ta qishi*
 她其實
 172 *..lan-xin ta ziji ye xiang xie xie*
 蘭馨她自己也想寫些
 173 *..xie dian dongxi a*
 寫點東西啊
 174 S: *..bianyi shi*
 編譯是
 → 175 *..bianyi jiushi zheyangzi*
 編譯就是這樣子

C: "In fact, Lan-xin also wants to write and has her own products." S: "A translating editor is just like that."

In Extract (19), the speakers are talking about a heavy snowstorm that forces the Dallas airport closes and one speaker's father is thus stuck in the Dallas airport. Moreover, the Dallas airport does not provide any food or hotel for the passengers and just let the passengers sit and wait in the airport lobby. Then Speaker B asks a question in Line53, and Speaker A provides a confirming answer followed by a negative assessment on Dallas City, which is not directly related to the question.

(19) fami 52 B: *..zemo namo*
 怎麼那麼
 53 (1.8) *dalesi shi yiqian dagu zhu de difang*
 達勒斯是以前大姑住的地方
 54 A: *..duei a*
 對啊

→ 55 ..*dalesi jiushi yige da zaiqu*
達勒斯就是一個大災區

B: "How could that be? Is Dallas the place where the eldest aunt lived before?" A: "Yes. Dallas is an area where big disasters occur."

And in Extract (20) Speaker L's utterance in Line 122 conveys strong negative emotional reaction toward the entity they are talking about. His description of that woman is solely based on his subjective opinions rather than on external facts or objective evidence.

(20) elec 115 L: .. *duei a*
對啊
116 ..*nazhong nu de hen kongbu*
那種女的很恐怖
117 .. *qianwan buneng kaulu*
千萬不能考慮
118 ... (0.8) *nuyanshe ye*
女研社耶
....
121 C: ..*heN*
→ 122 L: ..*fanzheng jiushi nazhong nuren nenggou zemoyang a*
反正就是那種女人能夠怎麼樣啊

L: "Yes. That kind of female are rather terrible. You should never take her into consideration. The Association of Feminism Study! (Two IUs omitted) C: "heN." L: "Anyway, what can that kind of women do?"

4.3. The limiting usage of *jiu*

According to Liu, the limiting *jiu* occurs with almost all kinds of constituents. Although it renders slightly varying meanings when combined with different constituents, its major function is to place focus on a subsequent element by limiting the scope of possible candidates to the particular one. But in my data, I have found that in addition to conveying emphatic meaning, *jiu* can also denote a decision or a suggestion, as the following example illustrates:

(21) G& M 305: *women jiu shier-dian*
我們就十二點
"Let's say twelve o'clock."

5. Discussions

From Table 1, we can clearly see that the frequency of the occurrence of *jiu* in verbal interactions is much higher now than that in Liu's 1993 study, whereas that of *cai* does not change much as time changes. Furthermore, as a linking element, *jiu* is gaining its epistemic meaning as a discourse marker. The linking *jiu* is not only to mark an antecedent-consequent relation of two propositions, but also to denote a temporal sequence of speech behavior. As an identificaitonal element, *jiu* can be used in equation sentences to identify or characterize a previously mentioned entity; such an identification can go from those based on external facts or objective statements to those based on speaker's personal preference and subjective evaluations or assessments and to those without any semantic content but serving as verbal

fillers.

The high frequent occurrence of *jiu* in verbal interactions accelerates the change of the meaning and the behavior of Mandarin *jiu*. On the other hand, the *cai* behaves extremely conservatively in this aspect. A possible explanation for such a difference in these two adverbial items might be that *jiu* originates as a verb and *cai* a noun in the Early Stage of Old Chinese. Research by Gentner (1981) and by Gentner and France (1988) suggests that if the comprehension system is looking for a possible metaphor, it would try the verb first, because verbs are inherently more mutable than nouns. They found that nouns tend to refer to fixed entities, while verb meanings bend more readily to fit the context.

But how do we explain the behavior of limiting *jiu* that speakers use to denote their decision or suggestion after their negotiation in the interaction? In her 1993 study, Liu also explores the grammaticalization process of Mandarin adverbial marker *jiu*, states that the development of *jiu* has followed more than one path/channel of grammaticalization and thus can be represented as a poly-grammaticalization chain; that is, one and the same morpheme provides the source of more than one chain. (Liu 1993:216-218)

Jiu originates from a spatial motion verb in Early Old Chinese; the essential meaning of *jiu* is 'to bring oneself to the deictic center of the GOAL', with focus more on the TOWARDS-THE-GOAL part. (Liu 1993:221) And through metaphorical and contextual manipulations, the verbal *jiu* is allowed to be used in a wide range of contexts. Therefore, on the basis of the metaphorical concept ACTION IS PATH or ACTION IS MOVEMENT, that speakers make a decision after negotiation with others through verbal interactions can be perceived as taking action 'to accomplish a certain task' or 'to achieve certain goal', which can both be perceived as moving in space towards a definite location.

6. Concluding Remarks

This study starts out with my little curiosity about the seemly over-flooded use of *jiu* in our daily verbal interactions and turns out to be an account of the further grammaticalization process of Mandarin adverbial marker *jiu* after Liu's 1993 study.

As what many functional linguists and CA experts believe, grammar emerges out of response to verbal interactions. The high frequency of *jiu* in verbal interactions accelerates the change of the meaning and the behavior of Mandarin *jiu*.

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Appendix

TEXT	SPEAKERS	TOPIC	TYPE	DURATION	IUs
Hong Kong	C, 33, female, social worker in a church Y: male, clergyman in the church Z: male, clergyman in the church W: the transcriber	Hong Kong	Face-to-face	8'27"	446
G & M	G: female college teacher about 34 M: female college teaches about 39	Treating	Face-to-face	6'11"	379
Match	H: a junior college teacher and amateur matchmaker, female, about 50 I: a junior college teacher, female, about 33 M: a college teacher, female, about 39	Matchmaking	Face-to-face	10'00"	706
Actor	M: male, student F: female, student	Actor	Face-to-face	10'05''66'''	498
Basketball	T: female, 29, teacher	Basketball	Face-to-face	9'05"	414

	B: junior high school student, 14				
Repo	C: female, social worker in a church S: female, a translating editor in a magazine W: female, the transcriber	Reporters	Face-to-face	19'20"	835
Assignment	A: female, college student, 22 B: female, college student, 29	Assignment	Face-to-face	11'22"	758
Theft	L: a female graduate student about 27 J: a female teaching assistance about 28 I: a female junior college teacher about 33 M: a female college teacher about 39	Theft	Face-to-face	8'51"	584
MCON1	F: female, librarian, 40 M: male, assistant, 30	Department	Face-to-face	9'06"	504
KTV	A & B: female college students	KTV	Face-to-face	9'17"	532
Homo	A & B: roommates at a girl's dormitory in NTU	Homo	Face-to-face	10'34"	385
Fami	A: female, middle age, housewife B: female, college student C: female, college student O: female, child	Family talk	Face-to-face	6'41"	333
MCON3	Y: female, college lecturer, 33 H: female, vice professor, 40 J: female, janitor, 65	Ping-pong	Face-to-face	5'03"	260
Elec	C & L: male, college students	Election	Face-to-face	6'18"	299
MCON5	B: female college student, 21 J: female college student, 21 L: female, housewife, 43	Friends	Face-to-face	5'36"	251