OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEICTIC CENTER IN DISCOURSE IN JAPANESE AND MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the language of the Maori of New Zealand discourse is marked relative to the position of the speaker. The marking often indicates not only the physical location of discourse participants, but also the attitude of the speaker. This phenomenon is a syntactic function that can be regarded as grammaticalization, as defined as variation in grammatical function of lexical items and sentence construction depending on linguistic context.

Grammaticalized words for marking participants in discourse are similar in Maori and Japanese. In Maori, directional particles mark the participants in the discourse, and thereby elucidate the setting of the speech location. In Japanese, the verb *kuru* (to come) serves a similar function. When *kuru* attached to verbal gerund relates to an event of the past to the speaker's location at Coding Time (CT). Fillmore (1966) has previously said deictic motion verbs ("come," "go," "bring," and "take") and directional affixes share common features in exotic languages. Grammaticalized deictic motion verbs and directional affixes are anchored to the discourse location of the current utterance and are distinctly relative to reference. Levinson (1983) categorized this deixis function into the discourse deixis, as being parallel with time, space, and social deixis.

This study will examine the function of discourse deixis by comparing the marking of participants in discourse of the Japanese through the use of the verb *kuru* with the Maori of New Zealand through the use of directional particles. This research was conducted to contribute to establishing a clear, universal process and function of grammaticalizing the space deixis into a discourse deixis.

2. JAPANESE *KURU*

In Japanese the verbal gerund + *kuru* construction is used to describe an activity performed elsewhere or a movement to another place, followed by a return to the location of the utterance. The verb *kuru* translates as "come" in English, though there is slight difference between the usage of "to come" in English and *kuru* in Japanese.

While "come" describes the locomotion of coming closer to the addressee, *kuru* can be

used only in the cases where the speaker has already arrived at his or her final destination. Fillmore (1971) calls the verbs "come," "go," "bring," and "take" deictic motion verbs whose description needs to include something about the location of the participants in the discourse. On the other hand, *kuru*, originally a deictic motion verbs in Japanese, is grammaticalized into an auxiliary verb which functions to draw the addressee's attention toward the speech location. However, grammaticalization has eliminated the sense of moving as an action in the English "come." It retains its original property as a deixis, and means to be toward the speech location. Below are ten example sentences in Japanese using the verbal gerund + *kuru* construction.

Situation 1:
A mother has come back from shopping and talks to her daughter:
Ex. 1: okashi   katte   kita   wa   ,   isshoni   tabenai.
  candy   buy   came   topic marker   together   don't eat
  "I bought candy. Do you want to eat it together?"

Kuru is subordinate to the preceding predicate, creating a close link between the two. As a result, *kuru* indicates the present location of the speaker and the listener. The speaker communicates with the listener by using a sentence that begins with *kuru*, which indicates that the past action is related to the present. It follows logically that in example (1), this usage is an invitation to eat sweets with the speaker.

Ex. 2: okashi   katta   wa.
  candy   bought   particle
  "I bought candy."

Example (2) simply reports a past occurrence. The speaker's intention or expectation is naturally omitted from such a simple past tense sentence like this one. This makes it is quite hard to distinguish space deixis from discourse deixis. Both forms certainly indicate placement, but not necessarily the physical place as in, here or there, the location of, or the direction intended by the speaker. The physical place is a sort of setting for communication. It is the location where the participants are speaking. Hereafter, I will refer to this place as the speech location. In Japanese, the verb *kuru* can introduce the events of a past topic into the speech location. In this usage, *kuru* marks the existence of the speech location, indicating where the speaker is.

Situation 2:
A woman talks to her husband after returning from shopping:

Ex. 3: seetaa   katte   kita   wa   yo.

      sweater   (I) buy   came   particle   particle

      "I bought a sweater (for you)."

Because *kuru* is included in the above sentence, we can assume that the sweater is meant for the addressee. *Kuru* is likely used here because the speaker wants to begin communicating with the addressee. The speaker has chosen a sentence structure that will quickly capture the attention of the addressee.

Ex. 4: seetaa   katta   wa   yo.

      sweater   (I) bought   particle   particle

      "I bought a sweater."

In example (4), the sweater was not necessarily purchased for the addressee. It is highly likely the speaker bought the sweater for herself, or for some other reason. For example, it might be a birthday present for someone else. In the case where the sweater is intended for a third person, the use of *kuru* is not required.

In examples (1) and (3), it can be argued that the speaker must use *kuru* in order to elicit a favorable response from the addressee.

Situation 3:

A woman talking to her husband after she has returned home:

Ex. 5: Woman: kyoo, Takeshi no   tannin   to   atte   kita   wa.

           today Takeshi (their son)"s teacher with meet came particle

           "I met Takeshi's teacher today."

    Husband: sorede, nandatte.

           Well what was said

           "Well, what did he say?"

Ex. 6: Woman: kyoo, Takeshi   no   tannin   to   atta   wa.

           today Takeshi (their son)"s teacher with met particle

           "I met Takeshi's teacher today."

    Husband: soo.

           So it is.

           "Really?"

This couple has a problem with their son. In example (5), it is quite clear to Japanese language speakers that the woman had an appointment with their son's teacher for a seri-

ous reason. This utterance implies the meeting had been planned for a specific purpose. In contrast, the situation in example (6) is completely different. Without the verb *kuru*, the passage implies the woman had a casual encounter with the teacher. She might have seen him walking in town.

Situation 4:

A conversation between nurse and a man getting a checkup:

Ex. 7: Nurse: rentogen   wa   ukete   kimashita   ka.

             X-ray   topic marker (you) receive came   particle

             "Have you had your X-rays taken?"

      Patient: hai.

            "yes."

    Nurse: dewa, tsugini   naishin   wo

          Then next   internal examination   direct object marker

          ukete kudasai.

          receive please

          "Then, next is the internal examination."

The nurse asks the man whether he has already had X-rays taken. After confirming that he has, she tells him the next procedure. Through the use of *kuru*, the nurse refers to the past and tells the patient what to do next. *Kuru*, thereby functions to connect the present topic of conversation to the future.

Ex. 8: Nurse: rentogen   wa   ukemashita   ka.

             X-ray   topic marker   received   question marker

             "Did you have X-rays taken?"

      Patient: hai.

            "yes"

    Nurse: ja,   naishin   wa.

          then   internal examination   topic marker

          "Then how about an internal examination?"

      Patient: ukemashita.

          (I) received

          "I already had it done."

Nurse: dewa,   moo   kaette   iidesu.
   then   already (you) going home   good (to be allowed)
   "Then you can go home."

In example (8), the nurse checks whether the patient has already had his X-rays taken, but does not move to a new topic at this time. The conversation ends with the nurse asking about a previous examination, and the patient replies using the simple past tense.

Situation 5: A conversation among friends:
Ex. 9: Yoshidasan   no   hoo   kara   ayamatte *kuru*   beki   yo
   Mr. Yoshida of   direction from   apologize come   should   emphasis   marker
   "Mr. Yoshida is the one who should apologize."

This utterance suggests the speaker is committed to solving a specific problem. The function of *kuru* is almost has the role of the object of the verb "us" in English. *Kuru* stresses the speaker and addressee (s) as the central people involved, so it is clear that Mr. Yoshida should apologize to the speaker or the people who are at the speech location.

Ex. 10: Yosidasan   no   hoo   kara   ayamaru   beki   yo.
   Mr. Yoshida of   direction from   apologize should   emphasis   marker
   "Mr. Yoshida should apologize to (them/you)."

Compared to example (9), in example (10), the speaker seems less insistent than she is in example (9). Judging from the language used, the matter could very well be unrelated to her. This utterance suggests the speaker is stating an opinion on a matter unrelated to those present.

In the ten examples above, *kuru* is consistently used to assign the topic of the utterance to the location of the speaker and addressee. When the speaker utters something to the addressee with the expectation of further communication, the speaker will insert *kuru* into the utterance so as to treat an event from the past as a matter to be discussed at a later time. That is why the direct object X in each utterance can be translated into "your (addressee's)" X. The speaker seems to be at the center of the utterance; the person most concerned about the situation. Making use of this effect, *kuru* is frequently used at the beginning of a conversation as an opening strategy.

3. DIRECTIONAL PARTICLES AS SPACE DEIXIS IN MAORI

The Maori language contains four directional postpositions, which are placed after the

verb to indicate the direction of the action in relation to the speaker. It is striking that most utterances in Maori contain one of these postpositions after the verb to assign a directional aspect even when physical motion is irrelevant to the idea expressed. The four directional postpositions and examples follow.

mai: hither, towards speaker

atu: away from speaker

ake: upwards from speaker

iho: downwards towards speaker

Ex. 11: Aa   te   kurii   i   mau   mai   te   raakau.
actgen   the   dog   T/A   bring   hither   the   stick
"The dog brought me a stick."

(Bauer, 1993, p. 474)

Ex. 12: Naaku   i   whakahoki   atu   too   pukapuka
actgen   T/A   return   away   sggenIIsg   book
"I returned your book."

(Bauer, 1993, p. 475)

Ex. 13: Ka   piki   ake   a   Taawhaki   kı   te   rangi
T/A   climb   up   part   Taawhaki   to   the   sky
"Taawhaki climbed up to the sky."

(Biggs, 1969, p. 66)

Ex. 14: Ka   tatu   iho   ra   te   tangata ki raro.
T/A   reach bottom down over there the man   to downwards
"The man reached down there."

(Williams, 1985, p. 327)

Ex. 15: I   kata   atu   ia   ki   a   Hone
T/A   smile   away   IIIsg   to   pers   John
"She smiles at John."

(Bauer, 1993, p. 475–476)

Example (15) shows that not only the speaker's spatial relationship, but also her emotional relationship to the participant is an important factor in determining the use of *atu*.

4. DISCOURSE DEIXIS

Ex. 16: I toona   koorero tanga   atu   ki   a   Hata
      at talk   the speaker   away   to   per   Hata

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      ka   kohete   mai    a      Pani
      T/A  scold   hither  pers   Pani
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"When she talked to Hata Pani scold [him]."

<div align="right">(Bauer, 1993, p. 475)</div>

According to Bauer's description, the postpositions in example (16) indicate the emotional distance that separates Pani and Hata. This usage is frequently used when narrating dialogue. In a narrative, these directional postpositions indicate the emotional distance between the participants. They sometimes indicate the physical location relative to the narrator, rather than to the characters in the story. In some cases, no physical movement is involved despite the use of directional postpositions. Most of those cases cannot be easily explained by physical direction. The rules of the appropriate use for these postpositions in such cases are not entirely clear.

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Ex. 17: I  haere     ia    mai    i     Te Rerenga Wairua   ki  Muri Hiku
        T/A move   IIIsg hither from the jump/nom spirit    to  Muri Hiku
                                                                Bluff
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"He went from North Cape to Bluff."

<div align="right">(Bauer, 1993, p. 474)</div>

As in example (17), Bauer indicates this usage of *mai* can be understood to mean "from where the participant is." He states that the reference locus is not with the "ia," but with the discourse participants.

The above linguistic feature shows the production of the marking of discourse as deixis. Lexical items which had originally been used to indicate direction or movement, become deictic words which may be understood to refer to the physical location of the speaker or addressee. This marking of discourse between speakers is important to understanding highly contextual meanings in discourse.

5. OBSERVATIONS

Previous examples demonstrate the similarities in the marking of discourse participants in Maori and Japanese. The meaning and function of *kuru* is evident in Japanese text when it is omitted from a sentence, as in the following example. The following is a note from a telephone conversation, which was written by a non-native Japanese speaker. She had studied the Japanese language for three years at the University of Australia and worked for a Japanese company (Marubeni Company: New Zealand, 1988). The following is a memo to her boss:

Ex. 18:

X-san e,

Dear Mr. X,

Y- kaisha   no   Z-san   wa,   denwa   wo 1) kake-mashita.

  company of   Mr. Z   Topic marker   telephone DO   gave a call

"Mr. Z of Y-company called."

Y-kisha no Z-san wa,   denwa   wo 1)' kakete-ki-masita.

Ima   kare   wa   atarashii fax   wo 2) dashite-imasu.

now   he   topic marker   new   fax   DO   is sending

"He has sent us a fax, now."

Z-san   wa,   fax   wo 2)' okutte-kite -imasu.

soshite, moshi anata   wa   motto information   ga

and   if   you   Topic marker   more information   (DO of "want")

"If you would like further information,

hoshii-dattara   kare   ni   denwa   wo   kakete-kudasai.

want-conditonal   he   to   telephone   DO   call   (request)

please call Mr. Z."

hoshi-kattara   Z-san   ni   dennwa   wo   shite-kudasai.

I would like to refer to 1) *"kake- mashita"* in the first line and 2) *dashite-imasu*, in the second line of this note. While 1) *kake-mashita* means just to call up, *kakete- ki-mashita.* means to telephone "to us." "To us" is clarified by adding *"ki."* *Ki-mashita* is the distal past form of *kuru.* If *kuru* had been inserted in this telephone note, the writer's statement would have indicated clearly that the caller had called this office. In this note, it is unclear whether Mr. Z has called the company where this writer was working.

In example 2), *"dashite-imasu"* is the distal present progressive form of "submit." It should be corrected to read, *"okutte kite-imasu,"* which indicates the fax was sent to the writer's company. *"Kite-imasu"* is the distal present progressive form of "to come," and its use denotes that Mr. Z is sending a fax to this office. If *"kite-"* is not added to *"okutte-imasu,"* native Japanese language speakers may wonder who received Mr. Z's fax. Without proper context, a native Japanese speaker might interpret the memo to say Mr. Z had sent a fax to another company. As explained in the previous section, *kuru* is used to mark the participants' discourse and to indicate the speaker's location. If *kuru* is not used properly, the recipient of the action becomes unclear. Because the writer and Mr. X are employed by the

same company, the writer should have a sense of common membership with Mr. X, which would be reflected in her use of *kuru* in the memo. When the writer wrote the phone note, she was doing so as though she were with Mr. X at the time. That would assume she was sharing the same speech location with Mr. X, which she was not since this was a phone call. Her mistake was failing to write about the event from the outside by marking herself in the discourse with *kuru.*

This telephone note also sheds light on how discourse is marked in English. It is assumed that the marking of the participants in discourse, at least in a directional sense as in Japanese and Maori, is not required in English speech. If an experiment was conduct to teach Japanese to English speakers and Maori speakers under the same circumstances, the native English learners would likely experience greater difficulty understanding discourse marking with space deixis because it is a concept totally foreign to their understanding of language. Special training for English speaking learners would be necessary in order for them to acquire discourse marking with implied directions in the Japanese language.

6. STUDY

To test the hypothesis drawn from analysis of the telephone notes in the previous section, a study of Japanese language learners in Auckland University was conducted on August 25, 2001 and at the Maori Museum on August 28, 2001. The hypothesis was that Japanese language learners who are English speakers would experience difficulties in correctly using deixis in Japanese. A comparison with Maori language speakers was not performed in this experiment. Instead, several informants who speak both English and Maori were required to write down telephone notes in both Maori and English.

Experimental Method:
At first, the informants were to read the prepared telephone dialogue and then were asked to write a note to Mr. Yoshida in Japanese, Maori, or English as if they were secretaries of Mr. Yoshida.

The Telephone Dialogue
People Involved:
Mr. Smith   (Purchasing manager of Jax Paper Mills.)
Kate   (Staff member of pulp and paper dept. of Three Stars Ltd.)

Mr. Yoshida (Director of Three Stars Ltd.)

Telephone conversation in the office of Three Stars Ltd.

Mr. Smith: Hello, May I speak to Mr. Yoshida?
Kate: I'm sorry but Mr. Yoshida is out now.
              He will come back to the office later this afternoon.
Mr. Smith: Oh, I see. Please tell him that we have an inquiry about
              price and shipment conditions regarding our pulp order.
              I will send the details by fax. In case he needs more information,
              please have him phone me. Thank you.
Kate: I certainly will, good by.

Results

By focusing on the first sentences of the messages, the samples of messages in English, Japanese and Maori are analyzed.

The four beginning sentence patterns of the messages in English are as follows:
1. Mr. Smith phoned to you.
2. Mr. Smith called this morning when you were out.
3. Mr. Smith rang to speak with you regarding to the details of their pulp order.
4. Mr. Smith called to inquire about prices regarding pulp order.

Of the messages, only No. 1 mentions the telephone call was for "you" with directional expression in the deictic sense. However, the subject who composed this message was Chinese and not a native English speaker. Message No. 4 was written by a native English speaking New Zealander. The writer of message No. 2 came from South Korea and No. 3 was written by an Indian woman. Deixis indicating the receiver can be interpreted to be largely irrelevant in English in this case.

The four beginning sentence patterns in the messages in Japanese are as follows:
1. kantokusama ga gaishutsu shita aida ni, Smith-san   ga anata ni denwa   wo
   director   was out   while   Mr. Smith   you to   phoned DO

   shimashita.
   (past tense)

2. Smith-san   kara   denwa   ga   arimashita.
   Mr. Smith   from   telephone call   subject marker   there was

3. Smith san   kara   denwa   wo   moraimashita.
   Mr. Smith   from telephone call   DO   was received

4. Smith san   ga   denwa   wo kakete kimashita.
   Mr. Smith subject marker   telephone call DO make   come (past tense)

Sentence No. 1 was written by Japanese language learner of two years. No. 2 was written by a Japanese language learner with a good command of Japanese. This is a conventional expression for a telephone message. No. 3 and No. 4 were produced by native Japanese speakers. It is highly likely that native Japanese speakers are prone to use deictic expressions with directional expression or deictic motion verbs.

The two beginning sentence patterns in the message in Maori are as follows:

1. Kua   waea   mai a Mr. Smith.
   (perfective) telephone to me   Smith

2. I   waea   ahau e Mr. Smith.
   (past tense) telephone I   by   Smith

Most of the native speakers of Maori use pattern No. 1. The deictic expression *mai* is essential. The pattern used in sentence No. 2 was used by a young Maori lady who is studying Maori in a language course in the University. She is little studying in a natural language learning environment. Maori language in New Zealand can be said to be strongly influenced by English because its structure is nearly identical to the English passive voice as an accusative language. The structure of the sentence "I was phoned by Mr. Smith" cannot be identified with the original structure as an ergative language.

Even more interesting is, in Maori, when a sentence begins with *mai* (to me), the message is expected to end with *atu* (away). It is customary to use *mai* and *atu* as a pair in this way. The two following sentences from the survey both contain the postposition *atu*.

1. Me waea atu.
   you shall phone away.
2. Ka awhi koe ki a ia   me waea atu.
   please work you   in order to shall phone away

    The study shows evidence that both Maori and Japanese quite frequently require the deictic expressions such as *mai* in Maori, and nominal verb + *kuru* of deictic motion verbs

or a few directional expressions in Japanese. However, the deictic expression is not as important in English as it is for Maori and Japanese.

7. CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the directional particles in Maori, and the directional expression *kuru* in Japanese are both used to mark the discourse participants. They can be used to mark not only the physical position of the speaker, but in some cases also indicate the mental orientation of the speaker. Furthermore, through grammaticalization, they also indicate the speech location, at which field deictic words such as: here, now, and I, are relatively defined.

In the written Maori language, *mai* is sometimes interpreted to mean, "from where the participant is," while, on the other hand, Japanese deictic motion verb *kuru* can be understood to mean "where the participant is." These usages are categorized into discourse deixis. Both in Maori and Japanese, spatial deixis is grammaticalized into discourse deixis.

ABBREVIATIONS

actgen   actual genitive

gen   genitive

per   personal article

sg   singular

T/A   tense/aspect marker

IIsg   second person singular

IIIsg   third person singular

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