

*Pun and discourse structure**

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1 Introduction

- *Pun* in Standard Malay (Malaysia) is polyfunctional (Asmah 2009; Goddard 2001).
- Focus on one of the apparently non-additive uses, i.e. the so-called “event-sequence *pun*.”
- Show that
 - the event-sequence aspect of the relevant use is contextual;
 - non-event-sequence examples are found;
 - the relevant use is actually a sort of the additive use, specifically one targeting propositions.
- Analyse the conditions on the relevant use of *pun* by means of Questions Under Discussion (QUDs) (Roberts 2012).
- Extension to (from?) Japanese *mo* and English *too*.
- Implications for the theory of additive particles.

Roadmap

§2. Overview of different uses of *pun*

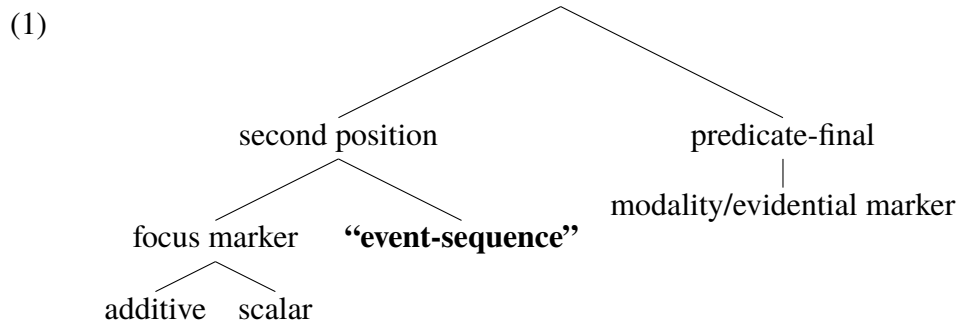
§3. Non-event-sequence examples

§4. QUD Analysis

§5. To do's

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2 Different uses of *pun*



Second position *pun*

(2) x *pun* P

a. ADDITIVE

The predicate P holds for individual x and at least one alternative of x .¹

cf. English *too, also*

b. SCALAR

x is the least likely individual that P .

cf. English *even*

(3) Saya tak tahu nama dia.

I not know name 3

‘I don’t know his/her name.’

(4) Saya **pun** tak tahu nama dia.

I PUN not know name 3

(i) ‘I also don’t know his/her name.’ (ADDITIVE)

[There is at least one individual other than the speaker who does not know his/her name.]

(ii) ‘Even I don’t know his/her name.’ (SCALAR)

[The speaker is the least likely individual that does not know his/her name.]

(5) Nama dia **pun** saya tak tahu.

name 3 PUN I not know

(i) ‘I also don’t know his/her name.’ (ADDITIVE)

[There is at least one thing other than his/her name that the speaker who does not know.]

(ii) ‘I even don’t know his/her name.’ (SCALAR)

[His/her name is the least likely thing that the speaker does not know.]

¹Another focus particle *juga* instead of *pun* is used for predicate focus, which conveys that P and at least one alternative of it hold of x .

- (i) Bahasa Melayu bahasa kebangsaan Malaysia. Bahasa Melayu **juga/*pun** bahasa kebangsaan language Malay language national Malaysia language Malay also/too language national Singapura. Singapore
 ‘Malay is the national language of Malaysia. Malay is also the national language of Singapore.’ (Nomoto 2016)

My textbook:

- http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/ase/mal/tatabahasa_web/PunJugaPula.html
- http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/ase/mal/tatabahasa_web/pun.html#extreme

Predicate-final *pun*

- (6) a. Saya tak tahu **pun** nama dia.
I not know PUN name 3
- b. Saya tak tahu nama dia **pun**.
I not know name 3 PUN
'I really don't know.'
[It is uncontroversial that the speaker does not know his/her name.]²

My textbook:

- http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/ase/mal/tatabahasa_web/pun.html#kepastian

cf. Initial *pun* = a variation of *walaupun* 'even though'

- (7) **Pun** begitu, setiap tahun beliau sentiasa menantikan ketibaan bulan penuh kerahmatan
PUN SO every year 3SG always await arrival month full blessing
iaitu bulan Ramadan.
namely month Ramadan
'However, every year she always looks forward to the arrival of the month full of blessings, namely the month of Ramadan.'³

Event-sequence *pun*

- Syntactically, the event-sequence *pun* occurs in the second position.
- However, its meaning does not appear to pertain to focus.
- Paraphrased by *kemudian* 'subsequently' or *lalu* 'then' (Asmah 2009:190).

My textbook:

- http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/ase/mal/tatabahasa_web/pun.html#transition

Asmah (2009:190)

Pun dalam subgolongan ini merujuk kepada waktu sesuatu perbuatan dilakukan; tegasnya, waktu sesudah perbuatan dalam ayat pertama dilakukan.

'*Pun* of this subtype refers to a time of something being done; in particular, to the time just after the completion of the action carried out in the first clause.'⁴

²A scalar reading is possible for (b), but with special prosody (?).

³(*Kosmo!*, http://kosmo.com.my/kosmo/content.asp?y=2017&dt=0530&pub=Kosmo&sec=Stailo&pg=st_01.htm#ixzz4uc1VMcet, accessed 5/10/2017)

⁴Translation by Goddard (2001).

Goddard (2001:38)

Stylistically, the effect of *pun* is roughly comparable to verb-particle/adverb inversion in English, as found in sentences like *Off he went, . . .*

- (8) 'Aku boleh bersahabat dengan mereka,' kata rusa.

Ia **pun** pergi menghampiri anjing-anjing itu. Apabila anjing-anjing ternampak rusa,
3 PUN go approach dog-PL that when dog-PL see deer
mereka **pun** mengepung-nya.
3PL PUN surround-3

“I can make friends with them,” thought (lit. said) the deer. Off he went towards the dogs. When the dogs spotted the deer, they surrounded him.’ (Goddard 2001:(20))

Questions

1. Why is only this use temporal? Why “sequence” rather than other temporal relations? → Strange. . .
 2. How is this use related to the focus marker *pun*?
→ Not obvious. . . The two don’t seem to be homonyms. Japanese *mo* also has a similar event-sequence use.
- (9) Sokode sika-wa inu-tati ni tikadui-te it-ta. Sika-ni kiduku-to, inu-tati-**mo**
so deer-TOP dog-PL to approach-and go-PST deer-DAT notice-when dog-PL-TO
sika-o torikakon-da.
deer-ACC surround-PST
‘Off he went towards the dogs. When the dogs spotted the deer, they surrounded him.’

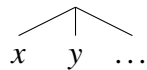
English *too*? Italian *anche*?

- (10) Google Translate
- a. **Anche** loro hanno circondato i cani.
‘They **too** surrounded the dog.’
 - b. Hanno **anche** circondato i cani.
‘They **also** surrounded the dog.’

A sketch of our alternative analysis

- The event-sequence use is related to the additive use.
 - The two uses differ in the scope of *pun*.
 - Additive: individual
 - Event-sequence: proposition
- (11) Additive *pun*
- a. Syntax: $x \text{ pun } P$
 - b. Interpretation: $\text{pun}(x) P$
The predicate P holds for individual x and at least one alternative of x . (P : property of individuals)

c. P holds for



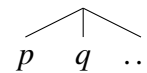
(12) Event-sequence *pun*

a. Syntax: $x \text{ pun } P$

b. Interpretation: $\text{pun}(x P) = \text{pun}(P(x)) = \text{pun}(p)$ (NB. $p = P(x)$)

Some property \mathcal{P} holds for proposition p and at least one alternative of p . (\mathcal{P} : property of propositions)

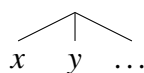
c. \mathcal{P} holds for



- \mathcal{P} is a discourse-structural property.
- Need a concrete and sufficiently restrictive theory of discourse structure \rightarrow QUD
- \mathcal{P} is “is an answer to the immediate QUD.”
- “Sequence” sounds too specific for \mathcal{P} . P in the individual counterpart (11) can be anything (of the right type) and is monadic (cf. “sequence” is a dyadic relation)⁵.

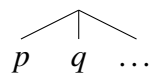
(13) a. Additive *pun*

What is it that P ?



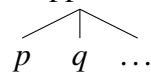
b. Event-sequence *pun*: $\mathcal{P} =$ “is an answer to the immediate QUD”

What is the answer to this question?



c. Event-sequence *pun*: $\mathcal{P} =$ “happens next”

What happened next?



- A sequence interpretation can arise easily from the context (and get confused as lexically encoded).
e.g. *This week Hiroki will return to Singapore and meet Antonia.*
—(implies)—*Hiroki will meet Antonia in Singapore.*
[Reality: I meet Antonia on Tuesday and return to Singapore on Saturday.]
- The sequence meaning is contextual.
E.g., in narratives, events are normally described in the order of occurrence.

If this analysis is on the right track,

- “Event-sequence *pun*” is not a good name.
 \rightarrow “Propositional additive” as opposed to “individual additive”
- We should be able to find non-event-sequence uses of the propositional additive *pun*.
 \rightarrow Let’s go back to the data!

⁵We thank Christopher Tancredi for pointing out the latter difference.

3 Non-event-sequence uses of the propositional additive *pun*

My textbook.

- (14) Takpe, mak cik. Saya **pun** tengah free sekarang.
it's.ok auntie I PUN PROG free now
'It's ok, auntie. I'm free anyway.'

- Presented as an example of the scalar *pun*:
'I am someone who is most likely to be free.'
- Actually, the meaning is predicted to be the opposite (cf. (2b)):
The speaker is the least likely individual that is free now.
= 'I'm busier than anybody else.'
- An individual additive reading ('I am also free') is possible, but not the only one.

Goddard (2001)

- (15) Tuk Wan mahu beri peluang pada Nit makan sebanyak-banyak yang mahu.

Dan Nit **pun** tahu itu.
and Nit PUN know that

'Tuk Wan wanted to give Nit the chance to eat as much as she wanted. And Nit knew it.'⁶
(Goddard 2001:(12))

→ Scalar *pun*? 'Even Nit knew it.'

- (16) Pernah ibu bapa saya bersuara tentang duit belanja kami anak-beranak,

sebab keluarga kami **pun** bukan orang senang.
because family our PUN not person well-off

'There are times my parents raise the issue of expenses for the children, because our family isn't well-off.'⁷
(Goddard 2001:(14))

→ Individual additive *pun*? There is at least one family other than us that isn't well-off. Being humble?

Goddard (2001) proposes the Natural Semantic Metalanguage explication in (17) for the focus marker *pun* including the two above.

- (17) X_{TOPIC} *pun* (Comment) =
I want to say something about this person/thing/place (i.e., X)
not about someone/something/somewhere else

→ "not about"? cf. contrastive topic marker *pula* 'on the other hand'
Specifically, referring to (15), he writes:

In such contexts, *pun* still focuses attention on the identity of the topic NP, even though there is no implication that the comment could apply to anyone else.

⁶English *too* is acceptable here (p.c. Christopher Tancredi, Eric McCready).

⁷English *too* is unacceptable here; *either* must be used (p.c. Christopher Tancredi, Eric McCready).

→ So, Goddard rules out the additive reading possibility. But neither explication (17) nor this remark is actually very helpful...

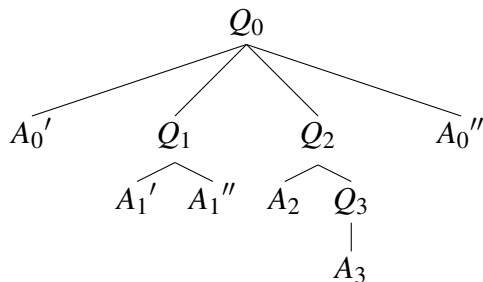
Multilingual Spoken Corpus (Malay) (Shoho et al. 2005)

- (18) Dia memang baik. Memang pertama kali kan jumpa, muka **pun** memang macam
 he indeed good indeed first time right see face PUN indeed like
 arwah nenek aku-lah.
 late grandmother my-PART
 'He was really a good person. It was really the first time we had seen him, you know, his face was like my late grandmother.'
 [01Dec#1, 240–241]
- (19) A: Harap-harap tak jadi kat kita macam tu.
 hopefully not happen to us like that
 B: Aaa jangan-lah malapetaka tu.
 yeah don't-PART catastrophe that
 A: Akak aku yang baru grad tu **pun** dia dah nak kahwin.
 elder.sister my REL just graduate that PUN she already will marry
 A: I hope something like that will not happen to us.
 B: Yeah, don't let that happen; it will be a catastrophe.
 A: My sister who has just graduated is going to get married.
 [01Dec#1, 282–284]

4 QUD analysis

Discourse is hierarchically organized by often implicit questions and assertions that answer the questions.

- (20) Discourse tree with QUDs (QUD tree) (Riester et al. 2017)



- (21) Propositional additive *pun*
- Syntax: $x \text{ pun } P$
 - Interpretation: $\text{pun}(x P) = \text{pun}(P(x)) = \text{pun}(p)$ (NB. $p = P(x)$)
 p is an answer to the immediate QUD and there is at least one alternative answer aside from p . (2nd clause is a presupposition?)
 - $$\begin{array}{c}
 Q \\
 \diagdown \quad | \quad \diagup \\
 p \quad q \quad \dots
 \end{array}$$

- Prediction: A QUD is followed by a subquestion (Q_0 – Q_2 – Q_3 in (20)).
 → A question with *pun* can serve as a subquestion to a more general question.

- Consequence: Implying that what the speaker says is only one of many other similar things that are not said → humbleness, modesty, politeness (depends on how a society perceives silence)

Recovering the QUD and alternative answers

- (14) Takpe, mak cik. Saya **pun** tengah free sekarang.
 it's.ok auntie I PUN PROG free now
 'It's ok, auntie. I'm free anyway.'

Q: Why is it ok?

A: {I am free now, I really want to help you because you always help me, ... }

- (15) Tuk Wan mahu beri peluang pada Nit makan sebanyak-banyak yang mahu.

Dan Nit **pun** tahu itu.
 and Nit PUN know that

'Tuk Wan wanted to give Nit the chance to eat as much as she wanted. And Nit knew it.'

Q: How about Nit?

A: {Nit knew it, Nit always wanted to eat as much as she wanted, ... }

- (16) Pernah ibu bapa saya bersuara tentang duit belanja kami anak-beranak,
 sebab keluarga kami **pun** bukan orang senang.
 because family our PUN not person well-off

'There are times my parents raise the issue of expenses for the children, because our family isn't well-off.'

Q: What did they raise the issue of expenses for the children?

A: {Our family isn't well-off, Our family has as many as ten children, GST is going to be raised, ... }

- (18) Dia memang baik. Memang pertama kali kan jumpa, muka **pun** memang macam
 he indeed good indeed first time right see face PUN indeed like
 arwah nenek aku-lah.
 late grandmother my-PART

'He was really a good person. It was really the first time we had seen him, you know, his face was like my late grandmother.'

[01Dec#1, 240–241]

In a larger context...

- (22) Preceding context

[The speaker's cousin was cheated by a man from India, who pretended to be a local and married her. He left her and returned to India to marry a woman arranged by his family. The speaker's cousin was already pregnant.]

Kakak sepupu aku dia cakap /// **dia memang macam terkejutlah. Memang dia tak**

sangka betul yang /// suaminya tu macam gitu. Baik tau, (PN2). Kau tau pertama kali yang first kan yang pertama kalilah kitorang jumpa dia kan dekat Subang ari tu, dekat rumah dioranglah.

‘My cousin’s sister told her /// **she was really like surprised. She really didn’t expect at all** the one /// her husband was like that. He was nice, your know, (PN2). You know what, the first time, the first time, right, it was when we met him for the first time, right, in Subang the other day, it was at their house.’

[01Dec#1, 234–239]

Q: Why was she surprised? Why did she not expect the incident at all?

A: {He was really a good person, His face was like my late grandmother, ... }

- The second one is not straightforward. How can a Malay woman’s grandmother have a face similar to an Indian?
- It also requires some inference: resembling a relative → trustworthy, local Indian (Indian Malaysian)
- So, the speaker continues...

(23) Subsequent context

Kan arwah sebelah datuk aku tu. Arwah datuk aku sebelah ayah nilah kan orang India kan, memang nampak seiraslah.⁸

‘My grandfather’s side, right. It’s my late grandfather of my father’s side, right, he’s Indian, right, they really looked alike.’ [01Dec#1, 242–243]

(19) A: Harap-harap tak jadi kat kita macam tu.
hopefully not happen to us like that

B: Aaa jangan-lah malapetaka tu.
yeah don’t-PART catastrophe that

A: Akak aku yang baru grad tu **pun** dia dah nak kahwin.
elder.sister my REL just graduate that PUN she already will marry

A: I hope something like that will not happen to us.

B: Yeah, don’t let that happen; it will be a catastrophe.

A: My sister who has just graduated is going to get married.

[01Dec#1, 282–284]

Q: Why do I hope something like that will not happen to us?

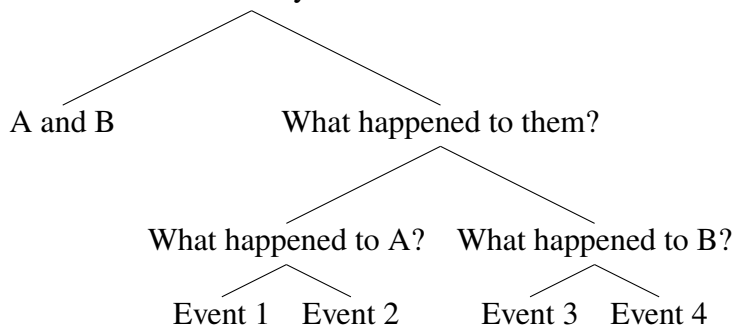
A: {It will be a catastrophe (for us), My sister is planning to get married, My parents will be in panic, ... }

—The second one requires inference based on cultural knowledge: A serious problem of one’s family member can spoil his/her marriage plan.

⁸The speaker seems confused here.

The event-sequence use

- (24) Discourse structure of a typical narrative
What's the story about?

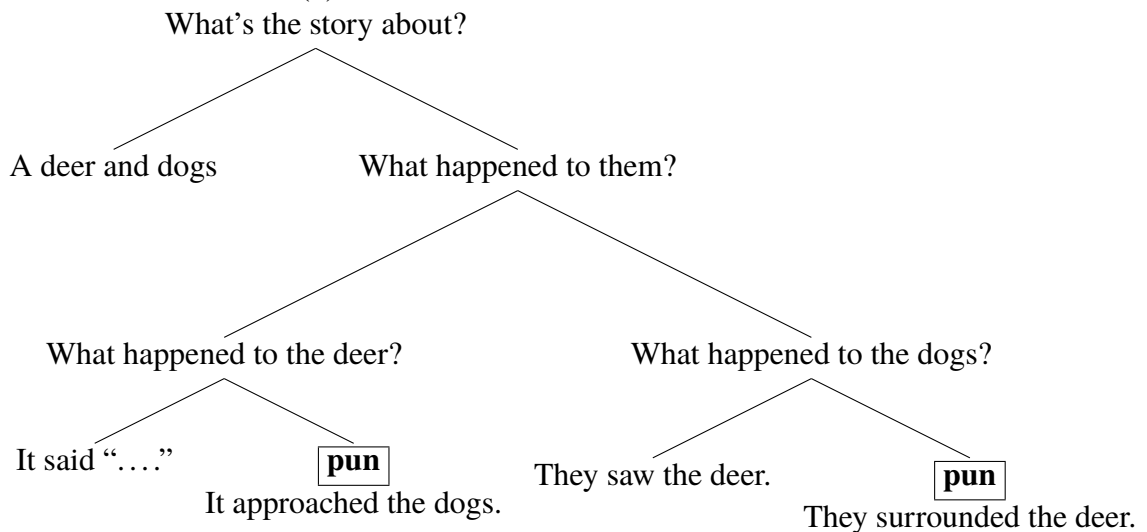


- (8) 'Aku boleh bersahabat dengan mereka,' kata rusa.

Ia **pun** pergi menghampiri anjing-anjing itu. Apabila anjing-anjing ternampak rusa,
 3 PUN go approach dog-PL that when dog-PL see deer
 mereka **pun** mengepung-nya.
 3PL PUN surround-3

"I can make friends with them," thought (lit. said) the deer. Off he went towards the dogs. When the dogs spotted the deer, they surrounded him.'

- (25) Discourse structure of (8)



- The sequence meaning is contextual/pragmatic.
- In narratives, events are normally described in the order of occurrence.
- *Pun* occurs in the second clause because the first clause establishes the presence of an alternative answer.
- Predictions:
 1. *Pun* can occur without a preceding clause if the presence of an alternative answer can be inferred from the context. For example??
 2. Since *pun* implies at least one alternative answer exists for the *immediate* QUD, the discourse flow will be unnatural if *pun* is only used in the third event: 'When the

dogs **pun** spotted the deer’.

The event-sequence analysis in previous studies makes an opposite prediction: the flow should be natural because the seeing event occurs after the approaching event.

5 To do’s

- Look at more data.
- Elicitation to check the predictions.
- Formalize.
- Look at studies on Japanese *mo* and English *too*.
- Relation to topic and topic shift.

References

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