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- The Phonology-Morphology Circle of Korea

## GENDER ISSUES IN MALAYSIAN PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE

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Jay 1999

...the abusive use of language emerges as a product of socio-cultural practices and beliefs, and it is likely to occur in contexts where power differences are salient, tensions are high, and the cost-benefit is appealing to the speaker.

## BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Among others, the memorandum called for the suspension of between two and six months without pay or allowances for elected members who fail to adhere to the prohibition on the use of sexist language and behaviour.

([The Star Online](#) > Nation Monday February 16, 2009, Wanita MCA out to stop sexism.)

## BACKGROUND OF STUDY

"Women in politics always have to work harder and they are judged more harshly. I have made it clear that sexism in Parliament must stop regardless what party he belongs to. And even if the culprit is from the BN, they must be punished."

[The Star Online](#) > Lifefocus Sunday March 22, 2009

## BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Cik Fong Po Kuan [Batu Gajah]: saya mewakili wanita seluruh Malaysia saya merasa terhina, saya rasa tidak ada penghormatan terhadap wanita.  
surat khabar hari ini melaporkan bahawa Yang Berhormat daripada Kinabatangan dan Jasin telah mengeluarkan kenyataan "... Mana ada bocor. Batu Gajah pun tiap-tiap bulan pun bocor juga". Oleh itu mengikut Peraturan Mesyuarat 25(1)(p) kenyataan berunsur sexist, berunsur tidak ada penghormatan kepada wanita, menghina wanita.  
<http://www.parlimen.gov.my/hindex/pdf/DR-10052007.pdf>

I represent women in Malaysia... I feel I have been abused and no respect has been shown to women...the newspapers today reported that the MP from Kinabatangan and Jasin said, "Where is the leak, Batu Gajah also leaks every month." Based on the Rules of Meeting 26 (1) (p) sexist statements, statements that show disrespect for women or abuse women ....

## BACKGROUND OF STUDY

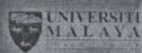
...unauthorised circulation of semi-nude pictures of Bukit Lanjan assemblyman Elizabeth Wong...being victimised as a single woman, in a tactic meant to deliberately cast moral aspersions and indirectly question her ability to carry out her duties as a politician.

"These photos are being released at a time when the tussle for power between the Barisan Nasional and Pakatan Rakyat is increasingly intense.

Politics, she added, was being practised in an increasingly violent, sensationalised and sexualised manner.

[The Star Online](#) > Nation Tuesday February 17, 2009

## Focus of Study



This study discusses and analyses gender related words in Malaysian parliamentary discourse. In order to achieve the aim of ascertaining the extent of sexist discourse in this domain, a quantitative research methodology is employed.

## FUNDING



This is a preliminary study of a bigger study on gender issues in parliamentary discourse which is funded by the University of Malaya.



## DATA FOR STUDY



The data for this study consists of a corpus of parliamentary discourse dated between 1960-1969 and 2000-2007. The task was to compare the two corpuses for frequency of words related to gender for example, men, women etcetera.



## METHODOLOGY



This study of gender related words replicates a study carried out on Swedenborg's writings where occurrences of words relating to gender such as men, women, wife, king, queen, brother, sister, etc. were tabulated. The aim of was to study gender image that is to be found in the Bible and in Swedenborg's writings.

## JAMES, L. STUDY



| CONCEPT     | WRITINGS | BIBLE | COMBINED |
|-------------|----------|-------|----------|
| son(s)      | 3432     | 2641  | 6073     |
| daughter(s) | 691      | 507   | 1198     |
| father(s)   | 1819     | 1353  | 3172     |
| mother(s)   | 517      | 233   | 750      |

## Ratio favour Masculine Imagery



|            |              |              |              |
|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| boy(s)     | 214          | 3            | 217          |
| girl(s)    | 75           | 2            | 77           |
| brother(s) | 461          | 332          | 793          |
| sister(s)  | 150          | 120          | 270          |
| Masculine  |              |              |              |
| Words /    |              |              |              |
| Feminine   | 19337 / 3445 | 10505 / 5335 | 29492 / 8780 |
| Words      |              |              |              |
| Ratio      | 6            | 2            | 3            |

## GENDER RELATED WORDS



| Gender related word     | 2000-2007 | 1990-1999 | COMBINED |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Wanita<br>(woman/women) | 700       | 565       | 1265     |
| Women/woman             | 117/58    | 59/14     | 248      |
| Lelaki (man/men)        | 527       | 449       | 976      |
| Gentlemen/gentleman     | 41/68     | 101/22    | 232      |
| Ladies/lady             | 24/31     | 6/13      | 74       |
| Child/children          | 77/72     | 89/36     | 274      |
| Jantina(gender)         | 173       | 112       | 285      |
| Gender                  | 219       | 29        | 248      |

## GENDER RELATED WORDS



|                      |       |        |     |
|----------------------|-------|--------|-----|
| Lesbian              | 9     | 13     | 22  |
| Pondan (transgender) | 31    | 15     | 46  |
| Female               | 22    | 6      | 28  |
| Inequality           | 5     | 4      | 9   |
| Brother/s            | 53/23 | 130/97 | 303 |
| Sister/s             | 17/9  | 61/37  | 124 |
| Girl/girls           | 54/18 | 0/30   | 102 |
| Boy/boys             | 0/30  | 0/10   | 40  |
| Man/men              | 0/0   | 0/0    | 0   |
| Male                 | 221   | 200    | 430 |

## FINDINGS



The findings show that while there are 219 occurrences of the word 'gender' between 2000-2007, there were only 29 occurrences between 1990-1999. Likewise 'jantina'(gender) in Malay accounted for 173 token between 2000-2007 and 112 tokens between 1990-1999. It should be noted that the occurrence of 'male' far outnumbered 'female' 430 versus 28 in total.

## FINDINGS



The total number of tokens for male gender related words outnumber female gender related words, that is, 1981 versus 1841. It is interesting that words related to unusual or marked gender words, for example lesbian (22) and pondan or transgender (46) outnumbered the 28 occurrences of the word 'female'.

## Definition



**Transgender-** A person who was assigned a gender, usually at birth and based on their biological sex characteristics, but who feels that this is a false or incomplete description of their gender identity. A person who expresses their gender in ways that challenge societal expectations of the range of possibilities for women and men.



## SEXIST LANGUAGE

DR-14-Jun-1968

... post facto, ia-itu apa yang kita buat dahulu hendak membetulkan, kita masukkan satu Undang2 Kerja yang sa-macam ini ia-lah kerja satu Kera ♡jaan yang pondan dari segi Undang2. Jadi saya harap-lah kerajaan lain kali kalau hendak buat, periksa betul2 dan jangan-lah menjalankan ex post facto terlampau banyak...

<http://www.parlimen.gov.my/hindex/pdf/DR14061968.php>

We should include a law that states that work like this is the work of a transgender government from a legal perspective.

## SEXIST LANGUAGE



DN-24-Mei-2007

...kita menjadi juara di Australia. Apakah rahsia kejayaan mereka ini yang boleh bermain seperti pasukan lelaki sedangkan bola sepak lelaki main macam pondan. [Ketawa] DN.24.5.2007 22 Tuan Sa. Vigneswaran: Saya ingat rahsiannya adalah Menteri Belia dan Sukan itu wanita. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berken...

<http://www.parlimen.gov.my/hindex/pdf/DN-24052007.pdf>

We became the champions in Australia. What is the secret of their success that they can play like a team of men but when playing football they play like transgenders (laughter). I think the secret is that the Minister of Youth and Sports is a woman.

## DI, GANZHI'S STUDY



Di, Ganzhi (1996) titled Gender inequality of classical Chinese: A study of gender-based word analyzed gender-based words in Shuowen Jiezi (A dictionary for explaining Chinese characters with annotation) written by Xu Shen (100 AD).

Shuowen Jiezi is the first major dictionary of Chinese, providing the most authentic data on the history of classical Chinese.

## DI, GANZHI'S STUDY



The analysis of semantic function shows a striking contrast in how Chinese men and women were represented with respect to oppositions such as strong/weak, powerful/powerless, and benevolent/vicious. With respect to word formation, early drawings present two basic images: superior man/inferior woman. Most interestingly, such gender disparity is made explicit in the minimal pairs: words with ren (human) as the radical tend to be positive and words with nu (woman) as the radical tend to be negative. In providing evidence of gender inequality in classical Chinese, this study shows the definite effects of Confucian philosophy on the language.

## CONCLUSION



Gender inequality is still prevalent today not only in literature but also in formal political arenas as the Parliament.

This preliminary study found that gender inequality can be tracked using a corpus of Malaysian parliamentary discourse. This study paves the way for bigger sociolinguistic studies which critically examine discourses and power struggle between male and female MPs in the Malaysian Parliament.

## LOSE-LOSE SITUATION



Unparliamentary discourse serve to further subjugate women.

However, men are hurt as well. Men are taught to derogate anything female.

This manifests itself as a high level of competitiveness, a disability to be open and vulnerable, and a lack of competence in interpersonal relationships (Kimmel, 1990).



## CHANGE



If gender roles are to change, then so must many other institutions of our society.

To change the outlook on women would require changes in how we perceive family relationships, how we educate our children, our criminal and civil laws, and religion, among other things (Hearn & Parkin, 1983).

### GENDER EQUALITY



menguatkuasakan apa yang di katakan undang-undangsyariah, undang-undang jenayah Islam dan saya sebutkan tadi tahun 1995, penangkapan 3 wanita Melayu Islam yang mengambil bahagian dalam pertandingan ratu cantik. Baru-baru ini di Ipoh, seorang yang kita katakan 'transgender' ataupun pondan juga ditangkap di Taiping dalam kawasan rumah seorang kawan beliau. Kita juga dapat laporan dan berita di Melaka juga wanita Islam Melayu ditangkap kerana kononnya menunjuk pakaian yang tidak sopan, nampak pusat.

Enforce Syariah Law ... 1995, 3 Malay, Muslim women were arrested for taking part in a beauty pageant. Recently in Ipoh a transgender or pondan was also arrested ... we have also received reports and news that in Melaka that Malay, Muslim women have been arrested for allegedly not dressing decently, where the navel can be seen.

UNIVERSITI MALAYA

Thank you

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Please Confirm What I Inferred: On the Korean Evidential Marker *-Napo-*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. PHENOMENA IN FOCUS

- (1) [A normal utterance that does not contain the marker]

*ku-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ess-a*

he-Nom school-Loc go-Past-Ending

"He went to school."

- Simple description: direct evidence or indirect evidence

- (2) [Finding him not in the room; with the marker *-napo-*]

*ku-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ess-napo-a*

he-Nom school-Loc go-Past-*napo*-Ending

"(I can infer that) It seems that he went to school."

- Inferential statement: when the speaker cannot see him going to school at present or could not see him going to school in past.

↪ The marker functions as an inferential evidential marker which encodes source of information in an indirect way.

- (3) [Contrary to the interlocutors' shared knowledge that he is not going to school, seeing that he is on his way to school on the street,]

*ku-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ø-napo-a*

he-Nom school-Loc go-ø-*napo*-Ending

"(Oh! Apparently! I guess, I can infer that) It seems that he goes (will go) to school."

- Surprise/Unexpectedness: Extended usage of the marker

- (4) [When a student explained what happened last night to his advisor, who was too drunk to remember anything last night.]

*ecy sensayngnim-kkeyse manhi chwilka-si-ess-\*(napo)-e-yo.*

yesterday teacher-Nom [Hon] much be drunk-Hon-Past-*napo*-Ending-Hon

"(I can infer that) It seems that you were drunk too much."

- Politeness Strategy

1.2. THE AIMS OF THE PAPER

- [1] To introduce *-Napo-* as an inferential evidential marker by showing its major characteristics, which has not been studied previously.

- [2] To show that the marker also encodes a mirative function (DeLancey 1999) that releases new information to the addressee and that can be used as a politeness strategy.

- [3] By looking into its grammaticalization process, to argue that the various semantic functions of the marker are cognitively interrelated and that in the core of the interrelation lies pragmatic tactic using the speaker's inference, and

- [4] To discuss relevant issues regarding mirative/inferential distinction, relationship with the other mirative marker *-hwim-*, and its distancing strategy.

2. BACKGROUND: EVIDENTIALITY IN GENERAL AND IN KOREAN

2.1. EVIDENTIALITY IN GENERAL

- [1] Definition: Linguistic devices that mark and specify type of the evidence on which a statement is based—whether the speaker saw it, or heard it, or inferred it from indirect evidence, or learnt it from someone else (Aikhenvald 2003: 1).  
↪ The semantic 'core' of evidential is source of information.

- [2] Controversy (Aikhenvald 2003: 19)

- a. 'Broad sense' by Chafe's (1986: 271) as marking speaker's attitude towards his/her knowledge of reality  
b. 'Narrow sense' as marking the source of such knowledge.

- [3] Typology

- a. Two broad types (Aikhenvald 2003: 3)

- [a] Indirectives: Those which state the existence of a source for the evidence without specifying it; 'by reference to its reception by a conscious subject.' (e.g. Turkic and a number of Iranian and Finno-Ugric languages and possibly Korean).  
[b] Directives: Those which specify the kind of evidence—be it visually obtained, based on inference, or reported information.

2.2. EVIDENTIALITY IN KOREAN

- [1] Controversy: Does zero-evidential exist?

"An analytic problem that arises in these cases is whether the zero marked form should be considered a term in an obligatory system, or whether the system (including no zero term) should be said to apply optionally" (Aikhenvald 2003: 7).  
↪ Chung (2006, 2007) argued that Korean evidential system is obligatory

- [2] Tense-Sensitive Systems: The choice of an evidentiality subsystem may depend on a choice made in the tense system or in the mood system (cf. Aikhenvald & Dixon 1998; Aikhenvald 2003: 9).

- [3] Tentative Evidential System of Korean (including periphrastic expressions; parameterized by source of information)

| Direct                       | Indirect (Inferred)                      | Reported/Hearsay            |
|------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| <i>-rela</i> (retrospective) | <i>-napo-</i> , <i>-ni moyung-</i> ,     | <i>-ko ha-</i>              |
| <i>-ney</i> (simultaneity)   | <i>-ni kas kath-</i> , <i>-ni tusha-</i> | <i>-lako ha- &gt; -lay-</i> |
|                              | <i>-kathi</i> + perception verbs         | <i>-lako ha- &gt; -lay-</i> |
|                              | <i>-chelem</i> + perception verbs        |                             |
|                              | <i>-hus</i> + perception verbs           |                             |

- [4] Problems

- a. There have been no systematic accounts covering an overall picture of its evidential system.  
b. There even seems to be an undiscovered evidential marker: an inferential evidential marker *-napo-*.

2. -*NAPO*- AS AN INFERENCE EVIDENTIAL MARKER2.1 BASIC PROPERTIES OF -*NAPO*-

## [1] Construction

- (5) *po*- (usually followed by an imperative marker)  
 -*na* whether  
 see

a. The speaker seeks an agreement on the validity of the information from the addressee or urges the addressee to pay attention to it.  
 b. Pragmatic tactic? The speaker urges the addressee to confirm what the speaker suggests.

[2] Inference: The speaker infers that the referred event occurs or has occurred (depending on the event time), based on her observation of the consequence that the speaker thinks does because of the event.

(6) [Seeing that he is packing his backpack (Pres/Fut) or finding him not there (Past)]

- ku-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ø/let/ess-napo-a*  
 he-Nom school-Loc go-ø/Fut/Past-*napo*-Ending  
 "(I can infer that) It seems that he goes (will go)/went to school."  
 a. The event should result from the speaker's inference (Indirect source).  
 b. The marker goes with any tense.

[3] The marker does not necessarily require the information source should be visual.

(7a) [When the speaker was told by the third party that he was not there.]

- ku-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ess-napo-a*  
 he-Nom school-Loc go-Past-*napo*-Ending  
 "(I can infer that) It seems that went to school."

(7b) [When the speaker tasted salty food.]

- yolisa-ka sokum-ul manhi neh-ess-napo-a*  
 cook-Nom salt-Acc much put.in-Past -*napo*-Ending  
 "(I can infer that) It seems that the cook put too much salt in it."

(8) [Seeing one coming into the room, whose coat is wet.]

- paek-ey pi-ka o-napo-a*  
 outside-Loc rain-Nom come-*napo*-Ending  
 "(I can infer that) It seems that it is raining outside."

[3] Since the marker encodes the speaker's inference based on the consequence that the speaker thinks was brought about by the event, this marker can be specified to be an inferential evidential marker.

## 2.2 LIMITATION ON PRONOUN USAGE

[1] This marker shows its limitation of pronoun usage, since its evidential function requires the speaker's inference based on her objectified observation:  
 a. "Evidentiality systems often interact with the grammatical person of the subject or experience" (Aikhenvald 2003: 16).

- (9) *ku* ('*na*)-*ka* *hakkyo-ey ka-ess-napo-a*  
 he(?)1)-Nom school-Loc go-Past-*napo*-Ending  
 "(I can infer that) It seems that he (I?) went to school"

## b. Intentionality?

"[T]he use of indirectives when speaking of oneself then necessarily implies lack of awareness, volitionality, consciousness or control due to inattention, sleep, drunkenness, coma, etc." Johanson (2003: 285).

(10) [When the speaker has just realized that she broke the vase last night, which she cannot remember]

- ny-ka ha-ess-napo-a*  
 I-Nom do-Past-*napo*-ending  
 "(Apparently) I did it."

[2] The first person pronoun is not likely to be licensed in general.

- (11)? *ny-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ess-napo-a*  
 I-Nom school-Loc go-ess-*napo*-a  
 "(It seems that) I went to school"

a. Limitation resolved

- (11') *ku-ny kwum sok-eyse ny-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ess-napo-a*  
 he-Gen dream inside-Loc I-Nom school-Loc go-Past-*napo*-ending  
 "(It seems that) I went to school in his dream."

- (11'')? *na-ny kwum sok-eyse ny-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ess-napo-a*  
 I-Gen dream inside-Loc I-Nom school-Loc go-Past-*napo*-ending  
 "(It seems that) I went to school in my dream."

[3] Generalization: The marker -*napo*- should be inferential, not direct evidential.

[4] Mirativity? (11'') can be licensed in some cases where the speaker thinks that the event referred to is unexpected.

## 2.3 UNIQUE PROPERTIES

## 2.3.1 MIRATIVES

[1] Mirativity: "... [t]he use of a non-firsthand evidential implies the lack of control and, more generally, the 'unprepared mind' of the speaker" (Aikhenvald 2004: 197).

(12) [Contrary to the interlocutors' shared knowledge that he is not going to school, seeing that he is on his way to school on the street,]

- ku-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ø-napo-a*  
 he-Nom school-Loc go-ø-*napo*-Ending  
 "(Ob! Apparently/ I guess, I can infer that) It seems that he goes (will go) to school."



(13) [Contrary to the expectation that it's not raining, looking out the window and seeing it's raining.]

*paek-ey pi-ka o-napo-a*  
outside-Loc rain-Nom come-napo-Ending  
“(Oh/ Apparently/ I guess, I can infer that) It seems that it is raining outside.”

a. The marker can be licensed only when the event that is talked about is unexpected.  
b. Notice that mirativity is more emphasized in (13) than in (12).

(14) [When the speaker has just inferred and realized that the addressee will receive a prize.]

*ney-ka sang-il tha-ess-napo-a*  
you-Nom prize-Acc get-Past-napo-Ending  
“(Apparently, it seems that) You got the prize!”

[2] Contrastive Examples regarding specificity of the referred entity.

(15a) *cip-ey koyangi-ka iss-e*  
house-Loc cat-Nom be-Ending  
“There is a cat in the house.” [specific] or “I have a cat in my house”  
(15b) *cip-ey koyangi-ka iss-napo-a*  
house-Loc cat-Nom be-napo-Ending  
“There is a cat in the house.” [non-specific]

### 2.3.2 POLITENESS STRATEGY

[1] The marker can be used in politeness strategy neutralizing the speaker's assertiveness:

(16) [When a student explained what happened last night to his advisor, who was too drunk to remember anything last night.]  
*eey sensynginim-kekye manhi chwihwa-si-ess\*(napo)-e-yo.*  
yesterday teacher-Nom [Hon] much be-drunk-Hon-Past-napo-Ending-Hon  
“(I can infer that) It seems that you were drunk too much.”

a. Pretending not to directly perceive what is referred to and making the addressee check it, even though she has certainty about the information.  
b. Part of the pragmatic tactics is related to the marker's inferential function and the other part of it is related to the marker's mirative function here.

[2] Interim Summary: Marking indirect source of information and inferring new information based on the indirect source via a pragmatic tactic inducing the addressee to determine validity of the information.

### 3. GRAMMATICALIZATION OF -NAPU

#### 3.1. THE FIRST STAGE: 'SEE WHETHER'

[1] Lexical meanings of the two morphemes in -napo- are preserved: the utterance will ask the addressee to see whether the event occurs or not:

(17) *ku-ka hakyoo-ey ka-na po-a*  
he-Nom school-Loc go-whether see-imp  
“See whether he goes to school.”

a. A pragmatic tactic: If the speaker asked the addressee to see and to confirm whether the event really occurs, responsibility for the validity of the information shifts from the speaker to the addressee.

b. Notice that -na 'whether' and po- 'see' are used when the speaker has a neutral stance toward occurrence of the referred event and is to strongly induce the hearer to confirm it.

[2] A tag-question phrase *kulh-c?* [be.such-Comittal marker] 'right?' cannot be licensed at the end of the sentence.

[3] *Hampen* [one time] 'once' can be inserted between them. This shows that -na and po- are not amalgamated yet and they did not enter into the grammaticalization yet.

#### 3.2. THE SECOND STAGE: CONTEXT INDUCED REINTERPRETATION

[1] Grammaticalization process kicks in at this stage, which is supported by the fact that this particular stage includes some cases where Context Induced Reinterpretation (Heine et al. 1991) occurs.

(18) (a) [The speaker asks the addressee to monitor her presentation,]  
*nan-ka cal ha-na po-a*  
I-Nom well do-whether see-imp  
“See whether I'm doing well.”

(b) [The speaker is confident that she will be doing a great job, invites the addressee to look at her, and proves that her inference is right]

*nan-ka cal ha-na po-a*  
I-Nom well do-whether see-imp  
“See how well I'll do.”

a. (18b), the speaker's stance toward the event becomes positive, gets stronger and the strong inducement which is implied by (18a) gets bleached, i.e. the addressee does not have to respond to the utterance.

b. Pragmatic inference is still in effect (Persistence; Hopper 1991) and the speaker tries to invite the addressee to look at how well she will do and to prove that her inference is right. Thus, inferential property is more or less involved in this stage.

[2] A tag-question still cannot be licensed at the end of the sentence, since the utterance is used with an imperative marker.

[3] Since the two morphemes are not completely grammaticalized yet, *hampen* [one time] 'once' can mark the edge between them.

- (24) *kwuk-i com cca-kwun-a*  
soup-Nom a little be salty-kwun-ending  
“(Apparently) this soup is salty.”  
(25) *kwuk-i com ccan-kapo'-a*  
soup-Nom a little be salty-napo-ending  
“(Apparently) this soup is salty.”

- a. When we are talking about a consequence, not a cause of the consequence, (24) is a more prototypical mirative than (25).  
b. (24) encodes the speaker's assertive and conclusive attitude toward the information.  
c. (24) can be used as a soliloquy something like self-exclamation, whereas (25) should have an addressee for the speaker to interact with.

[3] Even though *-napo* can encode mirativity as well as inferences just like the other marker, it is not as much specialized as the other marker *-kwun* in terms of mirativity

- ↪ Different degree of the speaker's belief that the markers encode:  
a. *-kwun* encodes the speaker's stronger belief about the inferred information  
b. *-Napo* encodes less stronger belief about it by employing a pragmatic tactic of inducement of the addressee.

#### 4.3 UNDERLYING COGNITIVE MECHANISM: DISTANCING STRATEGY

##### [1] Cognitive Functions

- a. The speaker has indirect access to the information and the validity of the information is determined by the addressee (Mirativity; Subjectification).  
b. The speaker invites the addressee to look at the information and shows/proves that what the speaker believes about the information is right (Politeness Strategy).

##### [2] Distancing Strategy

- (26) [The speaker is scheduled to meet her friend, but she feels sick. She feels sorry about not being able to keep the promise and tries to apologize her friend for that and saying: ]  
*may-ka apnu-n-ka-po-a*  
I-Nom be.sick-Com-napo-a  
“(I can infer that) It seems that I'm sick.”

a. The speaker objectifies himself/herself for some reason: the speaker tries to excuse himself/herself for the case politely. It involves a flouting tactic aiming to hedge the speaker's assertiveness.

b. Cognitive mechanisms underlying the usages of the marker *-napo*- stem from the speaker's effort to distance herself/himself from the event in question exploiting the indirective semantics originated from the original lexical items and the speaker's pragmatic tactic.

#### 5. Conclusion

- [1] The Korean marker *-napo-* is an inferential evidential marker, considering its general properties and unique properties  
[2] The marker can have a mirative function that releases new information to the addressee and can be coupled with inferential characteristics that can be employed in politeness strategy in Korean.  
[3] This paper argued that all the functions are cognitively interrelated, following Delancey's assumption that inferentials, evidentials, and miratives are semantically related, and that in the core of the interrelation lies pragmatic tactic using the speaker's inference and distancing based on indirective meanings of the morpheme.

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