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Comparative Properties of Zero Anaphora between Tagalog and Korean

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ABSTRACT

The Journal of Studies in Language **36.3, 417-432**. Comparative Properties of Zero Anaphora between Tagalog and Korean. This paper comparatively examines the distribution and interpretation of the zero anaphora in Tagalog and Korean in terms of typological perspective. This fact is achieved by drawing a comprehensive account. The two restrictions, speech acts participant (SAP)s and topicality in both languages, are touched upon with the corresponding examples. For SAPs in the interrogative, imperative, exhortative, (and promissive) mood, the overt pronouns' reference can be categorized within the discourse deixis rather than within the discourse anaphora. In those constructions, the overt pronouns in Tagalog are considered. The overt discourse deixis, the overt pronouns, and optional zero anaphors in Korean are also considered the discourse overt or zero deixis. Another example discussed in terms of topicality in two languages is the discourse anaphoric or zero expression. For topicality, the topical reference is favored by the overt pronoun, while the non-topical one is preferred by the zero anaphora in Tagalog. In contrast, the zero anaphora takes preference over the overt pronoun in referring to the topical referent, while the zero anaphora and the overt pronoun are optional. However the overt pronoun is more preferred in referring to the non-topical referent in Korean. **(Konyang University)**

Keywords: zero anaphor, speech acts participant, topicality, Tagalog, Korean

1. Introduction

This study examines the distribution and interpretation of zero anaphora in Tagalog[1] discourse and compares them with those of zero anaphora in Korean discourse in terms of typological perspective by drawing a comprehensive account.

Anaphora is a linguistic phenomenon of reference in which a linguistic expression/item refers to a preceding referent in discourse. An anaphor, a particular linguistic item, is represented by a pro-form and a deictic expression.

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1) Filipinos' Language

A zero anaphor (Ø) is the use of the gap in discourse, functioning as a pro-form and referring back to an antecedent that has information about the gap. Out of other referring expressions, a zero anaphor as an empty category has a particular preference and a characteristic over a pronoun and a lexical noun phrase in discourse. According to Chomsky's (1981) Avoid Pronoun Principle, when a language allows a zero form, language users prefer a zero form to an overt pronoun in terms of minimization principle. In addition, Levinson's (1987) Principle of Minimality (and Semantic Content Hierarchy[2]) in (1) indicates that "the more minimal the form is, the stronger the preference for a coreference" in discourse, so a zero anaphor induces a coreferent reading, while a lexical NP induces a disjoint reading in discourse, and vice versa.

(1) Principle of Minimality (& Semantic Content Hierarchy)

    Lexical NP > Pronoun > Zero Anaphor (Ø)   (Levinson, 1987: 384)

In order to study this property of zero anaphora, the initial issue about zero anaphor in Tagalog based on Himmelmann (1999) is summarized and the counter examples and an alternative explanation of topicality from Nagaya (2006a, 2006b, 2007) are suggested in section 2. The two restrictions on zero anaphora: speech acts participants and topicality in Tagalog and Korean are represented in section 3, in which the comparative and corresponding examples are suggested and explained. The proposal to understand zero anaphora in both languages is suggested and wrapped up in terms of discourse anaphora vs. discourse deixis in section 4.

2. Literature Review

Himmelmann (1999) argues against the widely assumed notion in Tagalog that zero anaphora freely occurs for actors and undergoers in semantically transitive constructions with a corpus of spontaneous Tagalog narratives. As for freely allowed zero anaphora in Tagalog, Himmelmann argued that zero anaphora for undergoers (*ang*-phrases) in undergoer-oriented constructions is readily allowed, while zero anaphora for actors (*ng*-phrases) in undergoer-oriented constructions (corresponding to ergative nominals) is not allowed in natural Tagalog narratives. In particular, we might expect zero anaphors for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions in the expected context; however, we actually find overt pronouns instead of zero anaphors in the following two contexts. First, we can expect zero anaphors after a referent is introduced at first, but the 3rd person singular (italicized) pronoun *niya* 'he' repeatedly occurs instead of zero anaphors.

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2) Levinson's (1987) Semantic Content Hierarchy indicates that "the inherent semantic content of a lexical NP tends to be semantically more specific than that of a pronoun, and the inherent semantic content of a pronoun, than that of a zero anaphor" (Huang 1991), p. 310.

(2) a. ay   nakúha   *niya*   ang   dáhun

      pm   real:stat-getting   3:sg:poss   spec   leaf

   b. at   kinúha   *niya*   ang   langgám

      and   real(ug)-getting   3:sg:poss   spec   ant

   c. at   inilagáy   *niya*   sa   pampáng   u   sa   úpa'

      and   real(ug)-cv-position   3:sg:poss   loc   river_bank   or   loc   earth

      'He was able to get the leaf. And he got the ant and (he) put it on the riverbank or the ground.'

<div align="right">(Himmelmann, 1999: 244)</div>

Second, a zero anaphor in the imperative utterance is usually expected; however, the 2nd person singular (italicized) pronoun *mo* 'you' occurs instead of a zero anaphor.

(3) tingnan   *mó*   ang   ganda   na   ng   buhay   ni   Maria

    look-lv   2:sg:poss   spec   beauty   now   gen   life   gen:pn   Maria

    'Look how beautiful Maria's life is now!'   (Himmelmann, 1999: 245)

On the other hand, the overt pronouns for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions can be unspecified and unrealized regardless of zero anaphora in three respects. First, when the actor is unidentifiable or unknown, the overt pronoun can be unrealized, as shown in (4), in which the actor for (italicized) exhumation and re-interment is unidentifiable.

(4) a. na   yung   bangkáy   nung   lalaki   na: si   Makísig

      lk   dist:lk   corpse   dist:gen :lk   man   lk   pn   Makisig

   b. ay   *hùhukayin*   *at*   *isasáma*   sa   kanyang

      pm   red1-excavation-pv   and   cv-red1-be_with   loc   3:sg:dat-lk

   c. sa   kanyang::   húhay

      loc   3:sg:dat-lk   hole

      'that the corpse of that man, Makisig, be exhumed and put together into her, into her hole.'

<div align="right">(Himmelmann, 1999: 247)</div>

Second, although the actor is identifiable or known, it can be omitted because it is not important or not relevant to the current event of the speech in (5), in which the first (italicized) predicate *hinabol* 'chase' is followed by an overt actor *ng mga kawal* 'the soldier', but the actors for the second (italicized) predicate *kinuha* 'get' and the third (italicized) predicate *pinatay* 'kill' are unrealized.

(5) a. ang   ginawá'   ay   *hinábol* ngayón   *ng*   *mga:*   *m:káwal*

      spec   real(ug)-made   pm   real(ug)-pursuit   now   gen pl   soldier

   b. ng   mga: suldádo   nitong::   sultán

      gen   pl   soldier   prox:gen-lk   sultan

c. yung::	mga	natakas	at	*kinúha*	yung	lalaki
dist:lk	pl	real:stat-runaway	and	real(ug)-getting	dist:lk	man
d. at	*pinatáy*	ngayon	itong	si	Makísig	
and	real(ug)-dead	now	prox-lk	pn	Makisig	

'(The sultan had already come to know that his daughter had eloped with Makisig. So now)
What happened was, the soldiers of this sultan chased the runaways, and (they) got that man and killed him, this Makisig.'   (Himmelmann, 1999: 247)

Third, the actor is unspecified when it is semantically dependent on a preceding predicate in the complex predications, such as repetition or elaboration in sequences of clauses in (6), in which the (italicized) predicates, *hinigit* 'exceed', and *pinigil* 'hold' occurs without overt pronouns after the first predicate *bitawan* 'release' is followed by an overt actor *nung babae* 'that woman'

(6) a. abá	e::ya	hindi	naman	*bitawan*	*nung*	*babae*
well!	emph	neg	also	releasing_one's_hold_on-lv	dist:gen	:lk woman
b. talagang	*hinigit*		na	maigi		
really −lk	real(ug)-exceeding		lk	stat −all_right		
c. mahigpit		ang	*pínigil*		ay	
stat-tightness		spec	real(ug) -holding_in_hand		pm	

'Wow, that woman would not let go of it, pulling really tight, the thing she is holding being tight'
                                                                             (Himmelmann, 1999: 252)

It is noteworthy that this unrealization of overt pronouns is fundamentally equal to that of the agent in English passive structures, so it is not likely that zero anaphors function as null anaphors in Tagalog as in Himmelmann (1999:231-269). However, this omission is reconsidered the topicality for zero anaphora, put forward by Nagaya (2006a, 2006b, 2007) in section 3.2.

However, Nagaya (2006a) argues that Himmelmann (1999) has limitations in understanding zero anaphora in Tagalog in two respects: actors in undergoer-oriented (undergoer voice, UV) constructions and *ang*-phrases.

First, Himmelmann (1999:258) argues that "although the option for zero anaphora in undergoer-oriented constructions may exist in theory, it does not occur in a reasonably large and varied corpus of spoken narratives." However, Nagaya (2006a) argues that this generalization is too strict because of the fact that zero anaphora occurs for actors (ergative nominals) in undergoer-oriented construction.

(7) a. nahihirapan	na	siya.		
had.difficulty	already	3SG.ABS		
b. may may nakakita	sa	kanyang	tatlong	batang,
exist saw	DAT	3SG.DAT-LK	three-LK	child-LK
c. tatlong	bata	na	nag- namamasyal.	
three-LK	child	LK	roaming.around	

d. tinulungan	Ø	siyang	ilagay	yung	prutas	sa kaing.
helped		3SG.ABS-LK	put	ABS	fruit	DAT basket

'(When his hat flew off, he turned around. He toppled down. The fruits he was carrying fell down. Then he did not know what he would do.) He had difficulty. There were three children who were roaming around who saw him. (They) helped him to put the fruits back into the basket' (Nagaya, 2006a: 87)

There are actors *tatlong batang* 'three children' in UV construction in (7b) and (7c); however, in (7d), a zero anaphor is used for actors in UV, indicating the 3rd person plural pronoun *nila* 'they'.

Second, contrary to Himmelmann's (1999) claim, Nagaya (2006a) argues that the subject (*ang*-phrase, absolutive nominals) cannot always be freely omitted.

(8) a. kahapon	pumunta	si	Weng	sa	UP
yesterday	went	ABS	Weng	DAT	UP
b. naglakad	??(siya)		papunta	doon,	
walked	3SG.ABS		toward	there	
c. dahil	wala		??(siya)ng	pera	
because	didn't.have		3SG.ABS-LK	money	
d. tapos,	nakasalubong		??(niya)	si	Flor
then,	came.across		3SG.ERG	ABS	Flor
e. niyaya	Ø		??(siya)ng	magmeryenda	
invited			3SG.ABS-LK	have.snack	
f. E	wala	nga		??(siya)ng	pera
eh	did.not.have	indeed		3SG.ABS-LK	money
g. kaya,	nilibre		??(siya)	ni	Flor
so	paid.for		3SG.ABS	ERG	Flor

'Yesterday, Weng went to UP. She walked there, because she didn't have money. Then she came across Flor. She was invited (by Flor) to have snack. (But) she didn't have money. So Flor paid for her' (Nagaya, 2006a: 88)

In (8), if we use a zero anaphor for the 3rd person singular subject pronoun *siya*, it becomes very awkward in Tagalog discourse. This indicates that zero anaphora for absolutive phrases is not always available in Tagalog.

3. Two Explanations on Zero Anaphora

Nagaya (2006a, 2006b, 2007) argues that there are two restrictions in explaining zero anaphora in Tagalog. The first restriction comes from the notion of Speech Act Participants (SAPs) in section 3.1, while the second one from a particular property of topicality in Tagalog in section 3.2. To compare these two restrictions with those in Korean, I will explain corresponding examples in both languages.

3.1 Speech Act Participants (SAPs)

SAPs, especially for the 1st and 2nd person referents, are in general referred by personal pronouns rather than zero anaphors. In other words, the referential expressions for the 1st and 2nd person SAPs prefer personal pronouns to zero anaphors in Nagaya (2006a, 2007), and resist zero anaphors in particular contexts, such as interrogative, imperative, and exhortative sentences. Regarding referring expressions for SAP, let us consider the corresponding examples in order. First, the interrogative utterances are shown as followings:

(9) Interrogative
   a. (on the phone)
      Hello, Daf. nasaan *(ka)   na?
      hello   Daf   where   2SG.ABS   now
      'Hello, Daf. Where are you now?'
   b. ano   'ng   ginagawa   *(mo)   dyan?
      what   ABS   are.doing   2SG.ERG   there
      'What are you doing there?'

(Nagaya, 2006a: 93)

In (9a), if we do not use the 2nd person singular absolutive pronoun *ka* 'you' for SAP, it becomes ungrammatical. That is, if we use a zero anaphor instead of the overt absolutive pronoun *ka* 'you', it becomes awkward in Tagalog interrogative utterance. Also, in (9b) if we use a zero anaphor for the 2nd person ergative SAP, it becomes ungrammatical, so we need to use the overt 2nd person ergative pronoun *mo* 'you' instead of the zero anaphor.

Second, let us consider the imperative utterances:

(10) Imperative
   a. kumain   *(ka)   sa   KFC.
      eat   2SG.ABS   DAT   KFC
      'Eat at the KFC'
   b. ituloy   *(mo)   ang   ginagawa mo.
      continue 2SG.ERG   ABS   are.doing   2SG.ERG
      'Continue what you are doing'

(Nagaya, 2006a: 93)

In (10a), the same type represented in example (3) of Himmelmann (1999), when we refer to the 2nd person absolutive SAP in the imperative mood, we need to use the overt 2nd person singular absolutive pronoun *ka* 'you' for SAP instead of the zero anaphor. Also, in (10b) if we use a zero anaphor for the 2nd person ergative SAP, it becomes ungrammatical, so we need to use the overt 2nd person ergative pronoun *mo* 'you' instead of the zero anaphor.

Third, the exhortative utterances are shown in (11):

(11) Exhortative

    a. kumain   *(tayo)   sa   KFC.

       eat   1PL.INC   DAT   KFC

      'Let's eat at the KFC'

    b. mamasyal   *(tayo)   sa   Glorieta   sa   Linggo

       go.out   1PL.INC.ABS   DAT   Glorieta   DAT   Sunday

      'Let's go out to Glorieta on Sunday'

<div align="right">(Nagaya, 2006a: 93)</div>

In (11a), when we refer the 1st person inclusive plural SAP in the exhortative mood, we need to use the overt 1st person inclusive plural pronoun *tayo* 'we' for SAP rather than the zero anaphor. Also, in (11b) if we use a zero anaphor for the 1st person inclusive plural absolutive SAP, it becomes ungrammatical. Then we have to use the overt 1st person inclusive absoultive pronoun *tayo* 'we' instead of the zero anaphor.

Consequently, in Tagalog interrogative, imperative, and exhortative mood, the reference for the 1st and 2nd person SAPs is referred by overt personal pronouns rather than by zero anaphors. For this issue, I will touch the notion of SAP in the section 4.1.

The notion of SAPs, the 1st and 2nd person pronouns, has the same line of reasoning; however, referring expressions for SAPs have different distribution in Korean. Consider corresponding contexts, interrogative, imperative, exhortative, (and promissive) mood in Korean with respect to zero anaphora.

First, consider the interrogative utterance shown in (12):

(12) Interrogative

    A: ne/Ø   eti   ka-ni?

       you/Ø   where   go-Q?

      'Where are (you) going?'

    B: ung,   na/Ø   tosekwan-ey   ka.

       yeah,   I/Ø   libarary-to go.   Decl

      '(I) am going to the library'

    C: kulem   wuli/Ø   kathi   ka-ca.

       then   we/Ø   together   go.Exhor

      'Then let (us. inclusive) go together'

<div align="right">(Han, 2006: 51)</div>

Contrary to the examples in Tagalog, as in A's first utterance in (12), the 2nd person singular pronoun *ne* 'you' for SAP is tolerant and the zero anaphor of it is also available in Korean. Also as in B's utterance, the 1st person singular pronoun *na* 'I' for SAP is also tolerant and the zero anaphor for it is also available. In fact, zero anaphors are more preferred than overt pronouns in this interrogative mood; however, we can also use overt pronouns in referring to SAPs.

Second, let us consider the imperative utterance in (13):

(13) Imperative

    ne/Ø   cemsim   mek-ela.

    you/Ø   lunch   eat.Imp

    '(You) eat lunch'

<div align="right">(Han, 2006: 52-4)</div>

In (13), the 2nd person singular pronoun *ne* 'you' for SAP is overtly referred by another SAP and the zero anaphor for that SAP is referred, in which the overt pronoun and its zero anaphor are all tolerant. Zero anaphors are actually more preferred in this imperative mood; however, we can use overt pronouns in referring to SAPs.

    Third, let us consider the exhortative utterance in (14):

(14) Exhortative

    wuli/Ø   kathi   ka-ca.

    we/Ø   together   go.Exhor

    'Let (us. inclusive) go together'

<div align="right">(Han, 2006: 52-4)</div>

In (14), the 1st person plural pronoun *wuli* 'inclusive we' for SAP can be overtly referred by another SAP, and the zero anaphor for that SAP is also available. In fact, the zero anaphor is more preferred in this exhortative mood, but two referring expressions are all tolerant in referring to SAPs in Korean.

    Fourth, let us consider the promissive utterance in (15):

(15) Promissive

    na/Ø   ku   il   nayil   ha-lkkey.

    I/Ø   that   work   tomorrow   do.Prom

    '(I) will do that work tomorrow'

<div align="right">(Han, 2006: 52-54)</div>

In (15), the 1st person singular pronoun *na* 'I' for SAP is overtly referred and the zero anaphor for this SAP is available. Although zero anaphors for referring to SAP in this promissive mood are preferred, overt pronouns for SAP are also tolerant in Korean.

    Consequently, overt pronouns for referring to SAPs in Tagalog are preferred than zero anaphors because the utterance with zero anaphors for SAPs becomes ungrammatical as in Nagaya (2006a). On the contrary, overt pronouns and zero anaphors for referring to SAPs are all tolerant in Korean, in which they are, in fact, optionally selected by SAPs according to appropriate contexts although there is a bit preference of zero anaphors over overt pronouns.

3.2 Topicality

The notion of topic is a significant apparatus to introduce the main argument and refer to it in a cohesive and coherent way. Lambrecht (1994) notes that the topic is the notion of "aboutness" in discourse, in which a proposition tells about the topic when the utterance represents the related information about the topic, and increases the addressee's knowledge about it (Oh, 2007:19). In other words, the topic is what is talked about in discourse. In addition, Gundel (1998) gives the definition of topic as shown in (16):
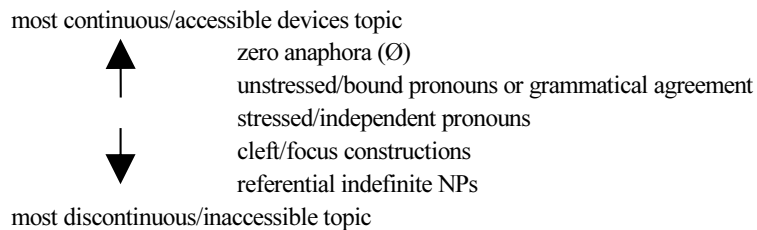
(16) Definition of Topic (Gundel 1988)

An entity, E, is the topic of a sentence, S, iff in using S the speaker intends to increase the addressee's knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to E.

In (16), this definition subsumes the relation of Lambrecht's "aboutness" between a particular entity and the predication in a given discourse. This notion of topic is realized by different types of referring expressions in each language with a particular property.

In fact, the generalization for topicality with referring expressions in terms of typological perspective has been discussed and summarized by many linguists, such as Givón, Ariel, and Gundel and so on. In this paper, I will introduce their fundamental idea for topicality represented by different types of referring expressions with the scale and the hierarchy in order as follows.

Givón (1983:17) proposes the following Topic-Coding Devices Scale:

(17) Topic-coding devices scale:

most continuous/accessible devices topic

zero anaphora (Ø)
unstressed/bound pronouns or grammatical agreement
stressed/independent pronouns
cleft/focus constructions
referential indefinite NPs

most discontinuous/inaccessible topic

In (17), Givón (1983) suggests that "the more continuous a topic is, the more likely that it will be encoded by a minimized anaphoric expression." Then zero anaphora is the most preferable referring expression for a continuous and accessible topical referent in discourse.

Accessibility Marking Scale is suggested in Ariels (1990, 1994):

(18) Accessibility Marking Scale:

zero < reflexive < agreement markers < cliticized pronouns < unstressed pronouns < stressed pronouns
< stressed pronouns + gesture < proximal demonstrative (+NP)\ < distal demonstrative (+NP)
< proximal demonstrative (+NP) + modifier < distal demonstrative (+NP) + modifier < first name < last name
< short definite description < long definite description < full name < full name + modifier

(Ariel, 1994: 30)

As seen in (18), Ariel summarized that each expression in the left marks a relatively higher degree of accessibility for the topical referent than the member to its right. In this scale, a zero anaphor has the highest degree of accessibility for referring the topical referent in discourse.

Finally, consider Gundel et al. (1993) Givenness Hierarchy in (19):

(19) The Givenness Hierarchy

In focus	>	Activated	>	Familiar	>	Uniquely Identifiable	>	Referential	>	Type Identifiable
zero(Ø) {it}		{that} {this} {this N}		{that N}		{the N}		{indefinite this N}		{a N}

In (19), this hierarchy represents six different cognitive statuses of referring expressions with respect to the different attention states coded lexical forms. For the highest status *In Focus*, the zero anaphor (Ø) or the unstressed demonstrative pronoun *it* is the most preferred expression used by a speaker who knows that his/her addressee already has an identifiable representation as the topical referent in discourse.

Consequently, as Givón, Ariel, and Gundel suggest in terms of typological point of view, the most accessible topical referent is referred by a zero anaphor, while other non-topical referents are referred by different referring expressions, in which it is evident that the overt pronouns are used not for the most accessible topical referent, but for the less scale of referent as possibly non-topical one.

For Tagalog, Nagaya's (2006a, 2006, 2007) second restriction on zero anaphora comes from the topicality. In Tagalog, the realization of the 3rd person pronouns is restricted by their topicality. That is, topic referent in discourse is referred by the overt pronouns, whereas non-topical referent is referred by zero anaphors. Therefore, pronouns have a preference over zero anaphors when we refer to the topic argument in discourse.

Also, it is noteworthy that Nagaya's (2006a, 2006b, 2007) notion of topicality subsumes Himmelmann's (1999) context for actor omission, such as in example (4), (5), and (6) in section 2, in which the actors in UV constructions become unrealized and deleted rather than referred by zero anaphors when actors in UV constructions are unknown and unimportant. This argument is subsumed under Nagaya's restriction on topicality as the non-topical referent.

The following examples are considered as topicality in Tagalog:

(20) a. hinahanap ng bata$_i$ yung nanay$_j$ niya
    was.looking.for ERG child ABS mother 3SG.GEN
  b. tapos nakita niya$_i$ Ø$_j$ sa kusina
    then saw 3SG.ERG DAT kitchen
    'The child$_i$ was looking for his$_i$/her$_i$ mother$_j$. Then s/he$_i$ found (her$_j$) in the kitchen'

(Nagaya, 2006a: 96)

In (20), the subject *bata* 'child' in (20a) functions as a topic in discourse. This topic referent is referred by the 3rd person singular pronoun *niya* 's/he' and coindexed with the pronoun in (20b). On the other hand, the absolutive noun

nanay 'mother' in (20a) functions as a non-topical referent in object argument position. This non-topical referent is referred by the zero anaphor with the coindexation as in (20b).

Another distinctive reference between personal pronouns and zero anaphors in terms of topicality is shown:

(21) a. binuhat   niya$_i$ ang   isang kahan$_j$..   isang   kahon$_j$

       lifted   3SG.ERG   ABS   one-LK   one-LK

    b. dinala   niya$_i$ Ø$_j$ ngayon   sa   bayk$_k$

       carried   3SG.ERG   now   DAT   bike

    c. isinakay   niya$_i$ Ø$_k$

       put   3SG.ERG

    d. di.   umalis   na   siya$_i$ ngayon

       filler   left   already   3SG.ABS   now

       'He$_i$ lifted up one box$_j$. He$_i$ carried (Ø$_j$: the box) to his bike$_k$. He$_i$ put (Ø$_k$: the box) down. Mmm⋯he$_i$ left now.'

                                                   (Nagaya, 2006a: 96)

In (21), the ergative subject *niya* 'he' in (21a) functions as a topic in discourse. This topical referent is repeatedly referred by the 3rd person singular pronoun *niya* 'he' in the following utterances (21b), (21c), and (21d) with coindexation. On the other hand, the absolutive noun *isang kahan* 'one box' in (21a) functions as a non-topical referent in object argument position and it is referred by the zero anaphor in the following utterance (21b). Also, the noun *bayk* 'bike' with the dative case in (21b) functions as a non-topic and it is referred by the zero anaphor in the following utterance (21c).

Accordingly, the topical referent is kept being referred by personal pronouns, whereas the non-topical referent is kept being referred by zero anaphors in Tagalog discourse. That is, the personal pronouns have a preference over zero anaphors in referring to topical referents, which is a particular property of topicality in Tagalog.

On the other hand, in Korean, the topical referent must be referred by the zero anaphor, while the non-topical referent should be referred by the overt pronoun, which meets the generalization of topicality as in section 4.2.1 and which is the contrastive selection against the notion of topicality in Tagalog, put forward by Nagaya (2006a, 2006b, 2007) in section 4.2.2.

Corresponding examples in Korean are shown in (22):

(22) a. Chelswu$_i$-nun   ecey   cha$_j$-lul   sa-ess-ta.

       Chelswu.Top   yesterday   car.Acc   buy.Past.Decl

    b. Ø$_i$/??ku-nun   onul   na-hanthey   kukel$_j$/Ø$_j$ poyecwu-ess-ta.

       Ø/??he.Top   today   I.Dat   it/Ø   show.Past.Decl

       'Chelswu$_i$ bought a car$_j$ yesterday. (He$_i$) showed (it$_j$) to me today'

                                                   (Han, 2006: 68)

In (22a), the subject *Chelswu* 'Chelswu' functions as a topic and the object *cha* 'car' functions as a non-topic. In the following utterance (22b), the topic subject is referred by the zero anaphor rather than the overt 3rd person pronoun *ku*

'he', whereby the utterance becomes awkward. On the other hand, the non-topical referent is referred by the overt pronoun or the zero anaphor. In fact, although the zero anaphor is available for the non-topical referent, the overt pronoun is more preferred.

Here, consider other examples of the use of zero anaphora for the topical referent:

(23) [The daughters of A and B were exchanged in a hospital when they were born. A and B, not knowing this, raised each other's daughter for 14 years. After finding this out, they meet and exchange questions about their daughters.]

A: Sinae$_i$-nun	ettayssnayo?		Ø$_i$pap	kathun	kes	cal	mekess-nayo?
Sinae-Top	how.was		Ømeal	like	things	well	ate-Q

'How was Sinae$_i$? Did Ø$_i$ (she$_i$) eat any kind of meal well?'

B: Ø$_i$ / ?? kunye-nun		cal		mek-supn-ita.
Ø / ?? she.Top		well		eat.Pres.Decl

'Ø$_i$ (She$_i$) eats well'

<div align="right">(Oh, 2007: 49-50)</div>

In (23), the topical referent *Sinae* 'Sinae' is overtly realized at the first utterance in A's utterance and then it is directly referred by the zero anaphor in A's following utterance. Then this topical referent is also referred by another SAP as the zero anaphor instead of the overt 3rd person singular pronoun *kunye* 'she', by which the utterance becomes awkward. This indicates that the zero anaphor for the topical referent is more preferred than the overt 3rd person pronoun in Korean discourse in Oh, Chisung (2007).

Next, consider the zero anaphora for the topical referent and the overt pronoun or the zero anaphora for the non-topical referent in the sequences of clauses, such as repetition or elaboration context:

(24) a. hyeng-eun$_i$	ssal-ul$_j$	phenay-u,			
older brother-Top	rice-Acc	bring.Affx			
b. Ø$_i$ /??ku-nun	kukel$_j$/Ø$_j$	cang-e	kaci-ko	ka	phal-eso,
Ø / ??he.Top	it/Ø	Market.in	bring.and	go	sell.Affx
c. Ø$_i$ /??ku-nun	emeni$_k$	yak-el$_l$	ci-e-wa,		
Ø / ??he.Top	mother	medicine.Acc	bring.Affx.Comp		
d. Ø$_i$ /??ku-nun	emeni-kke$_k$/Ø$_k$	kukel$_l$/Ø$_l$	tali-e	tuli-et-ta.	
Ø /??he.Top	mother.to/Ø	it/Ø	boil	give.Past.Decl	

'The older brother$_i$ brings the rice$_j$, (he$_i$) bring (it$_j$) to the market to sell, (he$_i$) bought medicine$_l$ for (his$_i$) mother$_k$, (he$_i$) boiled (it$_l$) and gave (it) to (her$_k$)'

<div align="right">(Yi, 2006: 61-2, adapted)</div>

In (24), the topical referent *hyeng$_i$* 'older brother' is overtly introduced at the first utterance and then this topical referent is repeatedly referred by the zero anaphor in the following elaborated clauses as in (24b), (24c), and (24d), in which the overt 3rd person singular pronoun *ku$_i$* 'he' for referring to the topical referent makes the subsequent clauses

awkward. On the other hand, the non-topical referents such as *ssal*ⱼ 'rice' in (24a) and (24b), *emeni*ₖ 'mother' in (24c) and (24d), and *yak*ₗ 'medicine' in (24c) and (24d) are referred by the overt pronouns *kukel*ⱼ 'it', *emeni*ₖ 'mother', and *kukel*ₗ 'it', respectively or the zero anaphors in the following elaborated sequences of clauses. In fact, zero anaphors are available for the non-topical referents; however, the overt pronouns are more preferred in Korean as in Yi, Heejong (2005)

Consequently, contrary to the phenomenon for topicality in Tagalog, a topical referent is kept being referred by the zero anaphor, whereas a non-topical referent is kept being referred by the preferred overt pronoun or possible zero anaphor in Korean. That is, the zero anaphors have a preference over the overt pronouns in referring to the topical referents in Korean, which meets the generalized distribution and selection for topicality as seen in section 3.2 contrary to Tagalog case.

4. Proposal

Concerning the primary concept of dexis and anaphora in Levinson (1983:54), deixis is related with "the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event," and is also related with "ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance." Then deixis represents the encoding of a variety of aspects of the circumstances within and outside the utterance, in which natural language utterances are "anchored" to aspects of the context (Levinson, 1983:55).

Deictic expressions are categorized into five subcategories: person, place, time, discourse, social deixis. Among those, person deixis and discourse deixis are related with this paper. Person deixis realize "the encoding of the role of participants in the speech event in which the utterance in question is delivered" (Levinson 1983: 62). That is, person deixis concerns the encoding of the SAPs in speech, which is directly related to the examples we have seen in Himmelmann (1999), Nagaya (2006a, 2006b, 2007), and Korean contexts, such as interrogative, imperative, exhortative, and promissive utterances in the previous sections. Discourse deixis concerns "the encoding of reference to portions of the unfolding discourse in which the utterance (including the referring expressions) is located" (Levinson 1983: 62), which is directly related to the examples we have seen in the text-based referring expressions, such as pronouns and zero anaphors.

In addition, Fillmore (1971) distinguishes deictic usages into two kinds: gestural usage and symbolic usage. Following this distinctions, then deictic terms as pro-forms including anaphors and deictic expression are divided into four categories as in (25):

(25) Different usages of deictic terms
    1. deictic
        a. gestural: *You*, *you*, but not *you*, are dismissed.
        b. symbolic: Q: What did *you* say? A: *I* said nothing.
    2. non-deictic
        a. non-anaphoric: John lives *opposite* Bill.
        b. anaphoric: John came in and *he* (Ø) lit a fire.

(Levinson, 1983: 65-73)

As seen in (25-1-b), the symbolic usage, as one of the deictic usages, needs knowledge of the fundamental saptio-temporal parameters of the speech events and participant-roles to interpret its referring expression, like the 2nd person pronoun *you* and the 1st person pronoun *I*. Then SAPs are the protagonists in that speech event to interpret those referring expressions like personal pronouns with sharing the spatio-temporal context. Also, in (25-2-b) the anaphoric usage, as one of the non-deictic usages, represents that the 3rd person singular pronoun *he* refers back to the preceding referent, the antecedent *John*.

In other words, following Han's (2006: 45-79)[3)] terminology, I suppose that the symbolic deictic usage is one type of text independent pronouns, while the non-deictic anaphoric usage is one type of text-dependent pronouns. Then I proposed that the overt pronoun and the zero anaphora with the examples we have seen in the previous sections should be recategorized as shown in (26).

(26) The recategorization of zero anaphora and overt pronouns in Tagalog and Korean

	dexis (the symbolic usage)		anaphora (non-deictic anaphoric usage)	
	text independent (SAP)		text dependent (Topicality)	
	deictic overt pronoun	deictic zero (Ø) pronoun	anaphoric overt pronoun	anaphoric zero (Ø) pronoun
Tagalog	✓	*	✓ (topic)	✓ (non-topic)
Himmelmann (1999)	(3)			(2), (4), (5), (6)
Nagaya (2006a, b)	(9), (10), (11)			(7), (8)
Korean	✓	✓	✓ (non-topic)	✓ (topic)
	(12), (13), (14), (15)			(22), (23), (24)

In (26), regarding reference for SAPs, the use of the overt pronouns in referring to SAPs in Tagalog should be recategorized into the deictic overt pronoun as the text independent pronouns under the symbolic deictic usage, whereas the use of the overt pronouns referring to SAPs in Korean can be recategorized into either the deictic overt pronoun or the deictic zero pronoun under the symbolic deictic usage.

In addition, regarding topicality, a topical referent in Tagalog should be referred by the anaphoric overt pronoun and a non-topical referent by the anaphoric zero pronoun, whereas a topical referent in Korean should be referred by the zero anaphor and a non-topical referent either by preferred the anaphoric overt pronoun or by the zero anaphor.

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3) Han (2006: 46) re-distinguishes Korean (zero) pronouns by reference types as in the following table, based on Kameyama (1985).

text dependent use	anaphoric (zero) pronoun
	discourse-deictic (zero) pronoun
text independent use	deictic (zero) pronoun
	indefinite personal (zero) pronoun
	general situational (zero) pronoun

5. Conclusion

It is argued that the fundamental problem is placed in Himmelamm (1999) and Nagaya (2006a, 2006b, 2007), which is the basic notion of discourse anaphora versus discourse deixis. Thus, this paper has presented zero anaphora with two restrictions: SAPs and topicality in Tagalog and Korean with the corresponding examples.

Consequently, discourse deictic pronouns for SAPs in Tagalog must be realized, whereas discourse deictic pronouns and zero anaphors in Korean are all tolerant in optional contexts. On the other hand, the overt pronoun is more preferred than the zero anaphor in referring to the topical referent in Tagalog, whereas the zero anaphor is more preferred than the overt pronoun in referring to the topical referent in Korean.

Regarding SAPs in the interrogative, imperative, exhortative, (and promissive) mood, I proposed that the reference for SAPs with the overt pronouns can be categorized within the discourse deixis rather than within the discourse anaphora. Hence, in those constructions, the overt pronouns for SAPs in Tagalog are considered the discourse overt deixis, the overt pronouns and optional zero anaphors for SAPs in Korean are also considered the discourse overt or zero deixis. On the other hand, other examples discussed in terms of topicality in two languages are considered the discourse anaphoric or zero expression.

For topicality in two languages, the reference for the topical referent is preferred by the overt pronoun, while the reference for the non-topical referent is preferred by the zero anaphor in Tagalog. Contrary to this fact, the zero anaphor takes preference over the overt pronoun in referring to the topical referent, while the zero anaphor and the overt pronoun are optional although the overt pronoun, in fact, is more preferred in referring to the non-topical referent in Korean.

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