A QUD-BASED ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOURSE PARTICLE *NAMAN* IN TAGALOG[*]

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Although the Tagalog second position particle *naman* is often regarded as marking contrast, we show that it also has plainly non-contrastive uses including to convey obviousness. We develop a unified account of contrastive and non-contrastive uses of *naman* in a QUD-framework as marking the closure of the prior immediate QUD. While the focus here is on *naman* in declaratives, we briefly explore the prospects of extending the account to its use in imperatives and with predicate adjectives.

1. Introduction

Tagalog has a rich inventory of second position clitics conveying temporal, modal, evidential, and other meanings. While their syntactic and prosodic properties have been much discussed in recent literature (e.g. Kroeger (1998), Billings (2005), Anderson (2009), Kaufman (2010)), their semantics and pragmatics (outside of the reportative *daw*) have remained largely unstudied since Schachter and Otanes (1972)'s seminal work (henceforth, S&O). One of the most puzzling of these clitics is the discourse particle *naman*. On the basis of examples like (1), *naman* is often described as a marker of 'contrast' and given translations like 'on the other hand', 'but', 'anyway', and 'also'.[1]

(1)   Nagaaral   si   Linda. Naglalaro   naman si   Carmen.
        learn.AV.Impf Dir Linda play.AV.Impf   naman Dir   Carmen
        'Linda is studying. Carmen, on the other hand, is playing.'   Schachter and
        Otanes 1972

        While this sort of example seems straightforward, there are three main reasons why characterizing the meaning of *naman* generally is less than straightforward.

[1]The following abbreviations are used for glosses: AV Agent Voice, Comp complementer, Imper imperative, Impf Imperfective aspect, Lnk Linker, Neg negation, Nmlz nominalizer, Pfv perfective, PV patient voice, Q question particle, Top topic. We neutrally gloss the case markers as Dir direct for *ang*, Indir indirect for *ng*, and Obl oblique for sa.

First, contrary to the above description, there are many examples, such as (2), for which the notion of 'contrast' is quite clearly inappropriate. Indeed, the inclusion of *naman* here seems to heighten the sense of agreement between the two speakers, as reflected in the the use of 'of course' in the English translation.

(2)   **Context:** A asks B "Will you marry me?". B replies:
        Oo naman.
        yes naman
        'Yes, of course.'

Second, although *naman* does occur in many cases of contrast, it is infelicitous in contexts like (3), which plainly includes a contrast, albeit of an intuitively stronger sort.

(3)   Hindi si   John yung   kumain   ng   tinola, ngunit si   Bill
        NEG   Dir John that.LNK   eat.AV.PFV   Indir   soup   but   Dir Bill
        (#naman) iyon
        naman   that
        'John wasn't the one who ate the soup, but rather it was Bill'

Finally, as S&O note, the apparent function of *naman* can be quite different across different sentence types. For imperatives like (4), for example, they describe *naman* as contributing "politeness together with mild reproach". Sentences with predicate adjectives of certain types like (5), on the other hand, are claimed to convey a "critical or negative attitude" on the part of the speaker.

(4)   Tulung-an   mo   naman ako.
        help.IMPER-PV 2SG.INDIR naman 1SG.DIR
        'Please help me. (Don't just sit there.)'   Schachter and Otanes 1972

(5)   Marumi naman ito
        dirty   naman this
        'This is dirty (and I'm displeased).'   Schachter and Otanes 1972

In this paper we tackle the first two of these problems, developing a unified account of *naman* in declaratives as marking the closure of the prior immediate Question Under Discussion (QUD) in the sense of Roberts (1996), Ginzburg (1996), and others. In contrastive uses, the prior immediate QUD is marked closed, and the sentence containing *naman* happens to address a sister immediate QUD. Non-contrastive uses differ in that the sentence containing *naman* does not address a sister QUD, but either the same QUD or a sub-question of it. The remaining paper is structured as follows: §2 presents data from contrastive uses of *naman* and introduces a QUD-

based analysis. §3 shows several kinds of cases where *naman* is felicitous with no contrast present. §4 refines the QUD-based analysis to handle these cases with no contrast. §5 offers tentative thoughts on the prospects of extending the account to other sentence types. §6 concludes.

2. Contrastive uses of *naman* and QUDs

2.1. Two contrastive uses of *naman*

Schachter and Otanes (1972) describe two different uses of *naman* with declarative sentences (p. 425): (i) "to express dissimarility between two situations", and (ii) "to express a shift of viewpoint". They illustrate the former with the examples in (6). For example, in (6a), *naman* highlights the (independently adducible) fact that the situation of Carmen differs from the one just discussed, in this case Linda's. While this example does not make use of other conventionally encoded informational structural notions like topic and focus (see Kaufman (2005) for an overview of information structure in Tagalog), other examples, such as (6b), do make use of such elements.

(6) a. Nagaaral   si   Linda. Naglalaro   naman si   Carmen.
       learn.AV.IMPF DIR Linda   play.AV.IMPF naman DIR Carmen
       'Linda is studying. Carmen, on the other hand, is playing.'   Schachter and
       Otanes 1972
    b. Bumili   ako   ng   karne kahapon. Ngayon, isda naman.
       buy.AV.PFV 1SG.DIR INDIR meat   yesterday today   fish   naman
       'I bought meat yesterday. Today, (it will be) fish (instead).'   Schachter and
       Otanes 1972

We can compare this use with that of a far more well-studied contrastive element: English *but*. Literature on *but* distinguishes at least three different types of uses for *but*, as illustrated in (7) (see Toosarvandani (2014) for a recent summary).

(7) a. The player is tall, but agile.   **Counterexpectational**
    b. Liz doesn't dance, but sing.   **Corrective**
    c. John is tall, but Bill is short.   **Semantic Opposition**

The use of *naman* in (6), then, intuitively corresponds to the Semantic Opposition subtype as there is no indication that the two situations compared with one another aren't expected to co-occur and certainly there is no correction to be had in these examples. The use of *naman* in counterexpectational scenarios is felicitous as well, as illustrated in (8). However, it is not *naman* itself which conveys the counterexpectation here, but rather some other element is needed along with *naman* to convey this stronger meaning. Here, it is the coordinator *pero* 'but' (borrowed from Spanish) and *ngunit* 'but' also often plays this role.

(8) May umuugoy talaga-ng duyan ng bata, pero wala naman
     exist rock.AV.Impf really-Lnk cradle Indir child but not.exist naman

     tao.
     person
     'Something is really rocking the child's cradle, but no one is there.' Martin
   2004

The second use S&O identify is "to express a shift of viewpoint", typically between two conversational participants such as speaker and hearer, as in (9). While this use may differ somewhat functionally, as we will see in §2.2, these uses are straightforwardly unified in terms of the QUDs they make use of.

(9) a. **Context:** A asks: *Kumusta ka?* 'How are you?'. B responds:
         Mabuti. Ikaw naman?
         fine   2sg.Dir naman
         'Fine. And [what about] you?' (Alt. 'Your turn.')   Schachter and Otanes
         1972
     b. Juan ang pangalan ko.   At ang iyo   naman?
         Juan Dir name 1sg.Indir and Dir 2sg.Indir naman
         'My name is Juan. And yours?'   Schachter and Otanes 1972

2.2. Contrastive *naman* in a QUD framework

One of the most central developments in the study of the structure of discourse in recent decades has been the development of the notion of Questions Under Discussion (QUDs). The QUD is a hierarchically structured set of abstract questions we are jointly endeavored to resolve at a given moment (e.g. Ginzburg 1996, Roberts 1996, Rojas-Esponda 2014a though we follow Roberts 1996 most closely here). Following Büring 2003, it can be useful to think about the progression of the QUD over the course of a conversation using the graphical representation of the D-tree, in (10). Each node in the tree represents a 'move' in the discourse[2] with assertions serving a terminal nodes in the tree. For each move m, QUD(m) can be determined by traversing up the tree from that move, where dominance reflects entailment/sub-questionhood relations. More frequently, we are interested only in the Immediate QUD (often simply called *the* QUD), Imm-QUD(m), which is the question that immediately dominated m.
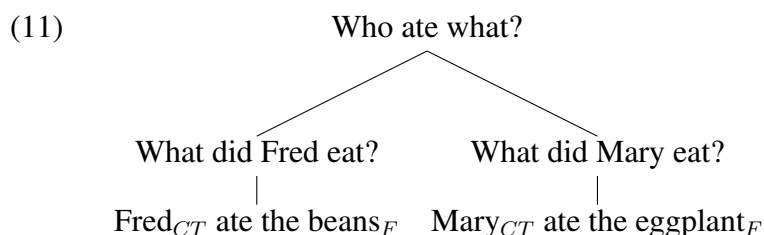
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[2]I use scare quotes here since moves in this technical sense have some potentially counterintuitive properties. First, moves are semantic objects rather than actual speech acts. Second, as such, moves need not have any actual speech act associated with them. This will typically be true of Questioning moves more than assertive moves, though either is in principle possible.

(10)
$$\text{Who ate what?}$$

Who ate the beans?   Who ate the eggplant?

Fred ate the beans   Mary...   ...
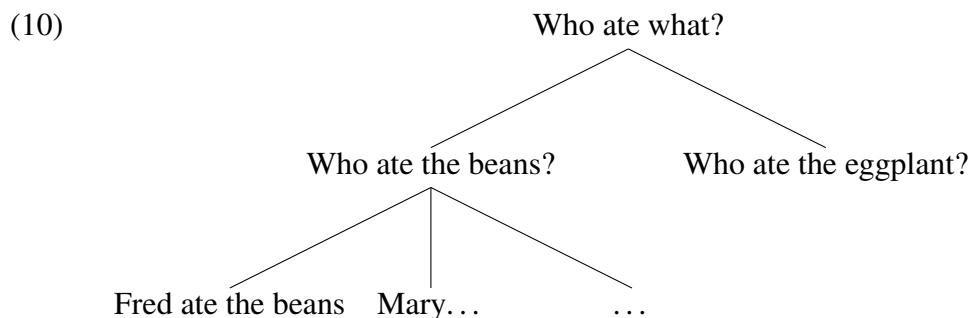
     While immediate QUDs can be overtly present in the discourse in the form of utterances used to perform the speech act of questioning, QUDs including the immediate QUD are typically implicit. That is to say, like Stalnaker (1978)'s Common Ground (CG), the QUD is a shared mental object and so one of the things that interlocutors in a successful discourse must do is to coordinate on what the QUD looks like. For the CG, this is necessary in order to ensure that one's utterances are *informative*, while for the QUD this coordination is in service of making sure one's contributions are *relevant*. Just as presuppositions signal aspects of what the speaker takes the CG to be like, so too notions like topic and focus give the addressee information about what assumptions the speaker is making about the QUD at a given moment.
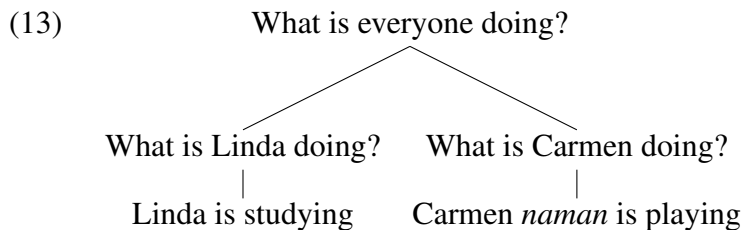
     Beyond (certain kinds of) topic and focus, one of the means of solving this coordination problem in many languages is through the use of discourse particles which signal particular kinds of QUD configurations. For example, Eckardt 2007 analyzes German *noch* as signaling a series of prior positive answers to sisters of the immediate QUD. Simplifying significantly, Davis 2009 argues that Japanese *yo* encodes relevance to the immediate QUD (among other contributions). Finally, Rojas-Esponda 2014b claims that German *doch* signals a reopening of a previously closed immediate QUD.

     One of the more complex elements conveying information about the QUD has been claimed to be Contrastive Topic (CT), as encoded by rise-fall-rise intonation in English (the so-called 'B accent'). Büring 2003 analyzes English CT as indicating a QUD *strategy*. While we won't bother to define strategies formally, the basic claim is that whereas focus conveys information about the immediate QUD, CT is claimed to conventionally make reference to an entire subtree structure, indicating not only the immediate QUD, but also the presence of a sister to that QUD, as in (11).

(11)
$$\text{Who ate what?}$$

What did Fred eat?   What did Mary eat?

Fred_{CT} ate the beans_F Mary_{CT} ate the eggplant_F

However, we might also think of CT as being 'decomposed' into two different parts following Constant 2014 (we gloss over over important details of the intonational encoding). First, the presence of CT intonation in the utterance signals that a shift between two sister QUDs is taking place. Second, the location of CT intonation and the location of focus within the sentence more generally constrain what these two sister QUD are, in particular that the QUDs differ in the value of the CT-marked element. Returning to *naman*, we can see that the contrastive uses we have seen thus far plausibly involve this first element, signalling a shift between QUDs or equivalently the closure of the prior immediate QUD and opening of a sister QUD. We see this in D-tree form in (12).

(12)   Nagaaral   si   Linda. Naglalaro   naman si   Carmen.
       learn.AV.IMPF DIR Linda play.AV.IMPF naman DIR Carmen
       'Linda is studying. Carmen, on the other hand, is playing.'   Schachter and
       Otanes 1972

(13)   What is everyone doing?

       What is Linda doing?   What is Carmen doing?

        Linda is studying   Carmen *naman* is playing

Even limiting ourselves to contrastive uses of *naman*, however, some important differences emerge. First, the second function of English CT – constraining the values of the two sister QUDs – is not part of what *naman* contributes. Pragmatic topic and focus, as described by Kroeger 1993 and Kaufman 2005, may independently play this role (e.g. in (6b)), however examples with neither of these elements like (12) show that they need not. More generally, since unlike Tagalog, English has obligatory deaccenting, focus and therefore CT are often obligatory as well as discussed by Büring 2003 and Constant 2014.[3]

Second, English CT can be 'forward-looking', occurring on the sentence preceding the QUD shift, whereas *naman* is only 'backward-looking'. While clearly an important difference, recent work on CT cross-linguistically has claimed that CT in other languages can be 'backward-looking' (Constant 2014 in Chinese, Mikkelsen 2016 in Karuk). Finally, beyond CT, contrastive *naman* is very similar to Toosarvandani (2014)'s analysis of the semantic opposition use of *but*, which similarly is claimed to involve a shift between immediate QUDs. While there are important differences to be sure, contrastive uses of *naman* can be fruitfully analyzed like English

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[3]As Constant 2014 discusses extensively, English CT in fact includes focus intonation as a subpart of it (setting aside boundary tones, F= H*, CT = L+H*). So, we really could speak of focus in English as simply being the consequence of the obligatory nature of deaccenting.

CT and *but* as signalling a shift between two immediate QUDs.

3.   Beyond contrast: other uses of *naman*

While we have seen some differences between *naman* and more well-studied markers of contrast, the examples thus far nonetheless are cases of contrast, both intuitively and formally in the sense that they involve sister QUDs. However, contrary to S&O's brief description of *naman* in declaratives, *naman* is felicitous in cases which do not fit even this more general notion of contrast. That *naman* does not *always* express contrast at all is arguably reflected in Bloomfield 1917's brief remark that *naman* "expresses transition to another subject, hence *often* also mild contrast" (emphasis mine).

Descriptively, there are two uses where no contrast is found: (i) to convey the obviousness of the previous immediate QUD, and (ii) to signal a move to a sub-question/sub-issue of the previous immediate QUD. The first of these are cases where the addition of *naman* serves to highlight the obviousness of the statement the speaker is making. Perhaps the clearest illustration that this is not contrastive in any sense comes from examples like (14), where the rest of the utterance's content is contributed by anaphoric response particle *oo* 'yes'. However, we also this meaning illustrated without *oo* 'yes' in naturally occurring and elicited examples, (15-16).

(14)   **Context:** A asks B "Will you marry me?". B replies:
Oo naman.
yes naman
'Yes, of course.'

(15)   **Context:** A Facebook discussion about whether a recipe which calls for steaming a chocolate cake counts as 'no-bake'.
"Of course po. Steaming is definitely not baking. Steamed ang siopao. Hindi *naman* yun baked. Lol!"

(16)   **Context:** Responding to the question 'Who likes chocolate?'
Lahat naman ay   mahilig sa   tsokolate
all   naman TOP fond   OBL chocolate
'Everyone likes chocolate (duh!)'

Beyond the simple expression of obviousness, a closely related use of *naman* is in concessives like (17), from a pop song lyric. Here, the use of *kahit* 'even, although' explicitly marks the speaker's concessive stand, with *naman* furthering this by noting that not only is there no hope, but that this is obvious or known. This connection with concessives perhaps also supports the conjecture that *naman* historically arose from the combination of the two particles *na* and *man*, since *man* is described by S&O as playing a role in concessives more generally.

(17) Kahit   alam namang   walang   pag-asa,   ang puso
      although   know naman.Lnk   not.exist.Lnk   Nmlz-hope   Dir heart
         ko-ng   ito-'y   'di   pamimigay
         1sg.Indir-Lnk   this-Top   Neg   be.free
      'Even though I know there's obviously no hope, my heart won't be available
      (to anyone else)'

    In addition to conveying obviousness, *naman* may also be used in cases where
the speaker signals a shift to discuss a further detail or follow-up on the previous
QUD.[4] While the example in (18a) may seem to rely on the obviousness of the pri-
mary answer (i.e. that we should eat), the example in (18b) does not appear to be
of this sort. The sentence does not convey that it is obvious that he cancelled, but
rather merely that the speaker has shifted from the issue of whether he is going to the
sub-issue of why he is not coming and/or how the speaker knows he is not coming.

(18) a. **Context:** Spkr is asked what the speaker and hearer should do today.
         Marami namang   restaurant sa   mall.
         many   naman.Lnk   restaurant Obl   mall
         'Well, there are many restaurants at the mall.'
     b. **Context:** Addr states that Juan is going to the concert. Spkr replies:
         Hindi siya   pupunta, nagcancel naman siya.
         Neg   3sg.Dir   go   cancel   naman 3sg.Dir
         'He's not going, he cancelled.'

    To summarize, we have seen both elicited and naturally occurring examples
where *naman* does not in any sense convey contrast, but rather indicates obviousness,
or a move to discuss more specific details of the previous issue, whether or not its
resolution was obvious.

4.   A unified QUD-based analysis

As discussed above, we assume Roberts 1996's definition of the CG and QUD. In-
formally, QUD is a function from a discourse "move" m to a stack of questions
ordered by precedence and constrained by sub-questionhood, while CG is a function
from a discourse "move" m to a set of propositions which is the speaker and hearer's
Common Ground. We refer the reader to Roberts 1996 for more formal definitions
for reason of space. One crucial notion for present purposes which we will define
explicitly is that of the Immediate QUD:

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[4]One point to which we return later is that such sub-issues are actually not straightforward
under leading QUD formalisms. For Roberts 1996, they do count as sub-questions, but the
dynamics prevent a straightforward treatment of such follow-ups. Even under the less strin-
gent formulation of Rojas-Esponda 2014a, such issues still cannot be captured straightfor-
wardly. See Onea 2016 for extended discussion of these considerations.

(19)   IMM-QUD(m) = the unique question q such that for all $q' \in$ QUD(m) where $q \neq q', q' < q$

Within this framework, I claim that the effect of *naman* is simply to signal the closure of the prior QUD explicitly. More formally, we can state its effect as in (20).

(20)   A move m consisting of an utterance containing an instance of *naman* indicates that IMM-QUD$(m-1)$ is (or should be) entailed by CG(m)

As discussed in §2.2, this effect can be seen as one of the components of Contrastive Topic in English. However, whereas English CT also had the effect of signally a transition to a sister question and constraining this sister in a particular way, *naman* under our definition does not itself indicate anything about the current QUD-structure (i.e. it does not constrain IMM-QUD(m) in any particular way). While *naman* itself imposes no restrictions on IMM-QUD(m), this importantly does not mean that the possible current IMM-QUDs are unconstrained. In particular, we assume following Rojas-Esponda 2014a (and less directly, Roberts (1996) and Büring (2003)) that D-trees in general have default rules of traversal which freely allow for the transitions from a node to a sister node or from a node to a child node, but only allow moves to parent nodes when the current immediate QUD is resolved to the maximal extent possible.
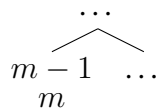
So, while *naman* marks IMM-QUD$(m-1)$ as resolved, it does not indicate any sort of non-monotonic revision to the overall QUD structure. The various contrastive and non-contrastive uses we have seen can therefore be analyzed as different kinds of IMM-QUD(m), as follows:
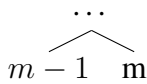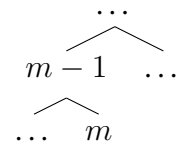
Contrastive	**Obviousness**	**Transition to subquestion**

| (Sisterhood) | (Identity) | (Subquestion) |

Which option is found in a given example is determined not by *naman* but by the other means such as co-occurring discourse markers like *pero* 'but' and *ngunit* 'but', information structural notions like topic and focus, and of course general world knowledge. For contrastive uses of *naman*, the relevant IMM-QUDs are as seen in (21).

(21) a. Nagaaral   si   Linda. Naglalaro   naman si   Carmen.
     learn.AV.IMPF DIR Linda play.AV.IMPF naman DIR Carmen
     'Linda is studying. Carmen, on the other hand, is playing.'

    b. IMM-QUD$(m-1)$: 'What is Linda doing?'

    c. IMM-QUD(m): 'What is Carmen doing?'

Therefore, *naman* in the second clause, corresponding to move m, indicates that IMM-QUD$(m-1)$ is settled by CG(m), in this case because move $m-1$ resolved it. There are no particular elements of the second clause which indicate the QUD that it addresses. For example, this sentence contains no conventional marking of topic or focus and givenness-driven deaccenting does not occur in Tagalog (Kaufman 2005). Nonetheless, move m can only be interpreted as addressing a sister QUD and hence *naman* serves to reinforce this independent adducible shift. While we have given the most likely values for IMM-QUD here, nothing in principle prevents alternatives such as 'Who is studying?' and 'Who is playing?'.

Obviousness uses including concessives arise when IMM-QUD$(m-1)$ and IMM-QUD(m) are identical to one another. In such a case, then, *naman* has the effect of signalling that the speaker regards this question as one that should already be settled prior to the utterance containing *naman*. Given the independent difficulties in capturing the appropriate sub-issue relationships discussed above, we will not spell out the account in detail for this case. However, we hope it is clear that given an independently viable theory of this sort, the account of the *naman* data of this sort will be straightforward.

(22) a. **Context:** Responding to the question 'Who likes chocolate?'
     Lahat naman ay   mahilig sa   tsokolate
     all   naman TOP fond   OBL chocolate
     'Everyone likes chocolate (duh!)'

    b. IMM-QUD$(m-1)$: 'Who likes chocolate?'

    c. IMM-QUD(m): 'Who likes chocolate?'

Finally, we can see that the account not only captures the cases where *naman* is felicitous, but also correctly rules out cases where *naman* is infelicitous. The first case are corrections with the same QUD, as we have seen above in (3) and in a different format in (23). Although these are quite clearly contrastive in a certain sense, such uses are infelicitous with *naman*. This is expecially clear in this example here since both speakers make use of contrastive focus, which is indicated formally here through the use of the cleft construction. As Kaufman (2005) puts it, an "XP in the construction [XP [*ang* YP] occupies a focus position." Since the contrastive focus construction conventionally marks the QUD as 'Who ate the soup?' in both sentences, we can tell definitively that the QUD remains the same throughout. The context does not support an obviousness interpretation and indeed this would seem to be at odds with the use of focus in (23b), which conveys precisely that the speaker

regards the question as being open prior to uttering (23b). The use of *naman* is therefore correctly predicted to be infelicitous.

(23) Infelicitous with direct corrections:

    a. Si   John ba ang kumain   ng   tinola?
        Dir John Q Dir eat.Pfv.AV Indir soup
        'Was John the one who ate the soup?'

    b. Hindi, si   Bill (#naman) yung   kumain   ng   tinola.
        No   Dir Bill naman   that.Lnk eat.Pfv.AV Indir soup
        'No, it was Bill who ate the soup.'

The second case where *naman* is infelicitous is in transitions to a superquestion, either by invalidating its presuppositions, as in (24). Situations where the transition to the superquestion is to resolve it directly, rather than reject its appropriateness altogether do not license *naman* either. Note that there are cases where the utterance containing *naman* may itself happen to provide a complete answer to the superquestion together with previously answered sister questions, but *naman* is already licensed such a case by virtue of the move to a sister question. These two uses are precisely the ones that Rojas-Esponda 2014a claims the German *überhaupt* (English 'at all' often provides a good gloss) is specialized for.

(24) Infelicitous in transition to superquestion:

    a. Kailan mo   pinatay   si   Fred?
        when   2sg.Indir kill.Pfv.PV Dir Fred
        'When did you kill Fred?'

    b. Hindi ko   (#?naman) siya   pinatay
        Neg 1sg.Indir naman   3sg.Dir kill.Pfv.PV
        Intended: 'I didn't kill him at all.'[5]

The third and final class of cases are non-sequiturs and other attempts to change the QUD structure altogether. One might think that *naman* would be quite natural here since the speaker is quite ostentatiously closing the impolitic Imm-QUD in (25a) and marking what is quite clearly a shift in topic in (25b). While these cases have the speaker conveying the prior QUD to longer be appropriate, they are in fact making a more drastic shift in both cases, one which would require non-monotonic revision to the overall QUD structure rather than merely transitioning between different nodes within a single well-formed D-tree. As in the transition to superquestion cases, then, it is the general default constraints on QUD traversal

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[5]This example has a marginal 'degree use' meaning I didn't exactly kill him (i.e. I didn't go that far). See §5.2 on such uses with gradable adjectives.

which prevent the use of *naman* in these examples.

(25)   Infelicitous in non-sequiturs:

   a.   **Context:** A has stated that Professor Smith is a jerk. B tries to change the
        topic:
        #Maaraw naman ngayon.
        sunny   naman today
        Intended: 'What a beautiful day! (Implic: I want to change the topic)'
   b.   **Context:** A has just stated that José is from Manila. B says:
        #Alam mo   naman ba na   ang Manila ay   ang
        know   2SG.INDIR   naman Q   COMP DIR Manila TOP DIR
          pinakamalaking siyudad sa   Pilipinas?
          biggest.LNK   city   OBL   Philippines
        Intended: 'By the way, did you know Manila is the biggest city in the Philip-
        pines?'

One final case which is a bit more tricky is the infelicity of *naman* in cases
of parallelism, such as (26). On the face of it, such cases appear to be just like se-
mantic opposition cases above, only the particular lexical items happen to prevent
such opposition from occurring. Since these examples do not conventionally con-
strain IMM-QUD (e.g. through the use of focus), the values for IMM-QUD are in
principle free. So while the account rules out the possibility that such an example
would be felicitous in a context where IMM-QUD$(m-1)$ = IMM-QUD(m) = 'Who
is studying?', nothing rules out the alternative D-tree where IMM-QUD$(m-1)$ =
'What is Linda doing?' and IMM-QUD(m) = 'What is Carmen doing?'.

(26)   #Nagaaral   si   Linda. Nagaaral   naman si   Carmen.
        learn.AV.IMPF DIR Linda play.AV.IMPF   naman DIR Carmen
        'Linda is studying. Carmen is studying #(too).'

While we leave more detailed exploration of this point to future work, we
believe the answer lies not in *naman* itself but in more general properties of paral-
lelism and additive particles like Tagalog *din/rin* and English *too*. In particular, it
seems to be a robust fact across a variety of languages that such particles are often
more or less obligatory in discourses of exactly this sort. Moreover, it has been sug-
gested in Krifka 1999 that such particles force the higher level QUD, in this case
'Who is studying?', in order to avoid giving rise to what he dubs the 'distinctiveness
constraint'. So, while a more fleshed out account along these lines is needed to rule
out such cases, I hope to have shown that they plausibly can be explained by appeal
to more general principles regarding the expression of discourse parallelism plus the
previously established infelicity of *naman* in cases with identical, open immediate
QUDs.

5. **Extending the analysis to other sentence types**

While space prevents detailed treatments of either case, we turn now to briefly explore the prospects of extending the account to other sentence types which S&O describe as having quite different functions.

5.1. Imperatives

Recall from the introduction that Schachter and Otanes (1972) describe *naman* in imperatives as conveying "politeness together with mild reproach". One potential way to extend the account here is by seeing a decision to choose a particular action of a set of possible actions as being the same sort of formal object as a QUD (see, e.g. Davis (2009)). *naman* in imperative move m, then, would be predicted to signal that the decision to perform the action should already be settled by $CG(m)$. Preliminary support from contrasts like (27):

(27) ✓ **Context:** You can see that my foot is stuck and that I am in pain.
       # Context: Unbeknownst to you, my foot is stuck under a table.
       Tulung-an   mo   naman ako.
       help.IMPER-PV 2SG.INDIR naman 1SG.DIR
       'Please help me. (Don't just sit there.)'   Schachter and Otanes (1972)

The 'mild reproach' part of S&O's characterization, then, arises as an implicature stemming from the fact that the speaker feels the need to utter the imperative at all, given that the CG should, in their view, lead the addressee to perform the action in question. As for the politeness side of the coin, the basic idea is that the imperative with *naman* is more polite in a way since it draws on the conversational participants' prior shared goals, rather than the speaker's own individual goals. That is, it conveys something like 'Given what we both know about your goals, you should help me', whereas imperatives more generally can be used to change the goals of other agents: 'Given what I want, you should help me'.

5.2. Predicate adjectives

Regarding predicate adjectives, S&O claim that the addition of *naman* expresses "critical or negative attitude", giving (28) as examples supporting this claim.

(28) {Marumi/mahal} naman ito.
       dirty/expensive   naman this
       'This is expensive/dirty (and I am unpleased).'

However, the examples they choose have adjectives which are naturally negatively valenced. When we move to consider positive antonyms of these, the opposite

inference appears to emerge:

(29) {Malinis/mura} naman ito.
      clean/affordable naman this
      'This is clean/affordable (and I am pleased).'

While we of course cannot rule out the possibility that a unified account will not be possible and that *naman* is best analyzed as being polysemous, there are at least two plausible ways one might try to extend the account. First, we might claim that *naman* in these cases signals a transition to a sub-question about the *degree* to which the predicate holds. This option might also be appealing for exclamative cases (not shown here), which S&O include in their generalization as well. Second, we might claim that *naman* signals that a prior decision problem/QUD (here, 'Can I buy/use it?') is resolved. These two possibilities are not mutually exclusive, both in the sense that they could each be right for different cases and in the sense that they naturally go together, somewhat similar to the contribution of *too* in alternative English translations like 'This is too dirty/expensive.'. The speaker's attitude then, would arise either directly from the exclamative semantics or from inferences about the decision problem the addressee has chosen to invoke. For example, if I want to buy an item, but then find out the it exceeds the maximal amount which I would pay, it is not hard to infer my attitude about this, especially if I choose to point this out to you.[6] As in the case of imperatives, the discussion here should be taken merely as suggestions of future ways the account here might be extended beyond simple declaratives (i.e. those without predicate adjectives).

6.   Conclusions

To sum up, we have argued that *naman* in declaratives conveys that the prior QUD is or should be entailed by the CG prior to the utterance containing *naman*. Based on this, we have shown that different uses of *naman* are due to different current immediate QUDs: sister IMM-QUDs in cases of contrast, identical IMM-QUDs in obviousness uses, and sub-issues in yet other cases. Beyond providing a unified account of *naman*, the account contributes to the broader cross-linguistic picture by placing *naman* within the context of other QUD-related discourse particles, intonation, and other related elements.

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[6]In many cases, there of course may also be other elements–in particular intonational ones including paralinguistic ones–which help convey the addressee's emotion/attitude.

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