From Connector to Discourse Marker: Categorial and Functional Evolution of Mandarin *Ranhou ('Then')*

Shuyang Ye*

1. Introduction. Generally speaking, a *conjunction* (or connector), with both lexical meaning and grammatical status, normally joins two connected segments/clauses together but should be independent from each part (e.g., 'and', 'but', 'or'). *Discourse marker*, on the other hand, only functions as mediating the flow of discourse rather than touching upon the real "content" of the clauses themselves (e.g., 'you know', 'I mean'). Schiffrin (1987) pointed out that unlike conjunctions/connectors, which are required for the manifestation of semantic meanings and relations, discourse markers are never obligatory, which means that removing those markers cannot change the meaning of the following utterances and the inter-sentential logical relations. However, both conjunctive expressions (or connectors) and discourse markers can be regarded as "discourse glue," making the clauses and texts hang together well (Fraser, 1990; Williams, 2012).

Unlike the English language, which tends to use explicit cohesive devices, the flexibility of Chinese discourse organization (i.e., parataxis) (Zhu, Zheng, & Miao, 2001: 98–102) allows its conjunctions to develop semantically reduced "discourse-marker" usages with various discourse-pragmatic functions. Fang (2000) listed a series of semantically reduced conjunctions used as discourse markers in natural spoken Mandarin discourse; among them, *suoyi ('so')*, *buguo ('but/yet')*, and *ranhou ('then/and then')* were ranked as three highest conjunctions in the proportion of the *non-truth value* usage (i.e., without lexical/propositional meaning, corresponding to the *discourse-marker* usage). As one of the most representative and frequently used Mandarin conjunctions, *ranhou ('then/and then')* seems to carry richer discourse-pragmatic functions (ranging from temporal to causal relations) than *suoyi ('so')* and *buguo ('but/yet')*, which makes it stand out. *Ranhou* has therefore been widely explored for its classification, discourse functions, and mechanism of grammaticalization in Chinese syntax, pragmatics, and discourse studies. However, these works have not adequately addressed both *categorial evolution* (i.e., evolution across different classifications/linguistic categories) and *functional development* (i.e., evolution across different layers of discourse-pragmatic functions) of *ranhou*. Thus, this paper aims to contribute to the literature by constructing a unified account of discourse-pragmatic functions of *ranhou* in accordance with its categorial evolution from connector to discourse marker. More specifically, my research questions can be summarized as follows:

* University of Wisconsin–Madison (sye47@wisc.edu)

(1) As for *categorial evolution*, what would be the developmental stages of *ranhou*? How could we precisely describe the paths of lexicalization (from compound phrase to connector) and/or grammaticalization/pragmaticalization (from connector to discourse marker) regarding *ranhou*?

(2) How could we categorize functions of *ranhou* throughout its development both diachronically and synchronically? What would be the detailed pathway of its *functional evolution* in accordance with its categorial changes?

2. Literature Review

2.1. DISPUTE ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF MANDARIN *RANHOU*. Mandarin *ranhou* is roughly equivalent to "and/then/and then/after that/what is next/and next" in English. There is, however, dispute about the classification (word class) of *ranhou* among Chinese linguists. Lü (1980) marked *ranhou* as a conjunction and interpreted it as "indicating the succession of two actions/events." Fang (2000) also marked *ranhou* as a conjunction, in parallel with other similar (semantically) reduced conjunctions/discourse markers.

On the other hand, scholars have noted the *adverbial* attribute of *ranhou* as well. For example, Li & Thompson (1981) referred to these inter-clausal connectors (including *ranhou*) as "*adverbial* backward-linking elements" which provide links with preceding texts and contexts in order to achieve discourse coherence. Lu (1982) pointed out that in some contexts *ranhou* can be used with the sentence-final particle *ne* to form a question sentence (*Ranhou ne?*) to ask the hearer to add more information on the issue being discussed. *Ranhou*, in this case, is an adverb which can be used alone to form a short sentence.

This controversy can be nonetheless addressed by Chao's (1968) earlier argument that conjunction could be further divided into *prepositional conjunction* or *adverbial conjunction*, and that *adverbial conjunction* should carry both functions of *connection* and *modification (or qualification)* serving as a combination of adverb and conjunction. According to Schiffrin (1987), since discourse markers involve "syntactic diversity", it is also possible that the syntactic distinction between the *adverbial* and *conjunctive* attribute of those *reduced conjunctions* has been completely "neutralized" at discourse levels.

2.2. MECHANISM OF GRAMMATICALIZATION OF *RANHOU*. In the literature, the categorial evolution of *ranhou* is mostly reflected in the mechanism of its grammaticalization. Ma (2010) used a cognitive approach to analyze the psychological mechanisms and rhetorical intentions behind *ranhou*'s grammaticalization from *conjunction (connector)* through *discourse marker* to *pet phrase*. Wang & Zhou (2005) claimed that there is a possibility that the grammaticalization of Mandarin *ranhou* might be influenced by the high-frequency use of *ranhou* in television series

and film discourse in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Beyond regular grammaticalization paths, attention has also been paid to the over-generalization/over-use of *ranhou* in daily verbal communication and/or formal writings (Qi 2009; Wei 2008).

As for terminologies, there is a longstanding debate on the notional differences between *grammaticalization* and *pragmaticalization*. Opinions have always been divided upon the question of whether the evolution of conjunction (from connector to discourse marker) should be viewed as grammaticalization or pragmaticalization. In this study I will adopt the term *pragmaticalization* (independent of grammaticalization) to indicate the categorial development of *ranhou* (following Aijmer 1997, 2002; Arroyo 2011; Beeching 2012; Onodera 2004).

2.3. DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF *RANHOU*. Regarding discourse functions, Fang (2000) introduced both *discourse organizing* and *speech acting* functions of "reduced conjunctions" (as discourse markers) used in Mandarin Chinese natural conversations. He & Sun (2010) diachronically and synchronically investigated grammatical and discourse functions of *ranhou*, and summarized its cognitive mechanism of grammaticalization. Their paper provided evidence of the functional ambiguity of *ranhou*, enhancing the possibility of *ranhou* being a combination of connector and discourse marker during its process of grammaticalization. Wang (2016, 2017) put aside the discourse-organizing functions [e.g., Halliday & Hasan's (1976) cohesion-based discourse functions] of *ranhou*, but rather focused on *ranhou*'s functions within the structure of conversational turns.

2.4. RESEARCH GAP. According to the literature review, there is still no unified account of specific discourse-pragmatic functions of *ranhou* in accordance with its categorial evolution (i.e., lexicalization, grammaticalization, and/or pragmaticalization) across various discourse genres. In other words, the correlation between *categorial* and *functional* evolution (pathways) of the reduced conjunction *ranhou* has not yet been constructed and justified. Therefore, a data-driven, diachronic, and functional analysis of *ranhou* may need to be conducted.

3. Data and Methodology. The database in this study is built on a wide variety of data sources across written/spoken and classical/literary/modern Chinese text types (discourse genres). Classical/Literary Chinese[1] texts (as the representatives of the written discourse for diachronic examinations) are extracted from the existing Chinese-language online corpora (*BCC Corpus of*

[1] I use the term "Classical/Literary Chinese" because I will not include any data from the Late Shang and Western Zhou periods which belong to Old Chinese. The periods for our data will start from the Spring and Autumn period (Classical Chinese) and go through Literary Chinese periods later (as a continuation for Classical Chinese).

Mandarin Chinese and the website of *Yuliaoku Zaixian*), involving some famous Chinese collections/classics of different historical stages. Modern Standard Chinese (Mandarin) speech corpora are mainly in the form of conversational interactions with different usages of *ranhou*, extracted from Chinese social media platforms (Sina Weibo and WeChat), and from popular Chinese (mainland and Taiwanese) TV dramas/sitcoms/interview programs including *Huanlesong* ('Ode to Joy'), *Feichang Jing Juli* ('Close Meeting with Li Jing'*)*, and *Kangsi Coming* (Taiwanese talk show). These self-collected speech data are mainly first-hand, with very few corpora being cited from previous studies as second-hand sources. I use this selective method of data collection mainly because the present study does not aim to examine the frequency/tendency of functions quantitatively.

In terms of data-analysis methods, this study employs a *qualitative and descriptive* method of induction for the functional categorization/analysis of *ranhou* in both synchronic and diachronic dimensions. Such details as the contextual cues reflecting speaker-hearer relationships and the socio-cultural contexts for the change of language use are analyzed in an interpretive way following the methodological tradition of *discourse analysis*. The framework of *historical linguistic analysis* (i.e., lexicalization/grammaticalization/pragmaticalization) is also applied to the analysis of *ranhou*'s categorial evolution.

4. Results and Data Analysis

4.1. LEXICALIZATION IN THE PRE-QIN PERIOD: *RAN+HOU* (TWO WORDS) → *RANHOU* (SINGLE WORD). In Classical Chinese, *ranhou* originally served as a "compound phrase" composed of two independent words—*ran* and *hou*, each of which had its own lexical meaning and grammatical status, representing 'thus/so/in this way' for *ran* and 'after that/and then' for *hou* respectively. The whole phrase, therefore, was used as a conjunctive expression (connector) to connect clauses in succession, meaning 'like this, and then'. However, unlike other typical classical Chinese compound phrases (e.g., *ke-yi* 'be able to do something by the means of...') in which the degree of cohesion between the elements of the compound was relatively low (Norman, 1988: 86), *ranhou* was already highly lexicalized into a single word even in the pre-Qin period (771 BC – 221 BC). Consider the following example:

(1) 故曰, 国人杀之也。　　如此, ***然后***可以为民父母。

Gu yue guoren sha zhi ye.　Ruci ***ranhou*** ke-yi　　wei　min　fumu.

thus then able-by the means become people parents

'Therefore, we can say that people all over the state killed him. *In this way, and then,* (the ruler) can be common people's parental official.'

(*Mencius* "Liang Hui Wang" Part II · Pre-Qin)

In this example, the word *ruci* ('in this way; thus') is already used at the boundary of these two adjacent sentences. Thus, the lexical meaning of *ran* ('thus/so') in the phrase *ranhou* has been backgrounded, whereas the word *hou* in *ranhou* has been foregrounded. Further, the whole phrase has gradually become a single word whose semantic meaning has been focused more on *hou* ('after that/and then'). This reflects a high degree of lexicalization as well as semantic integration of *ranhou* at an early stage in Classical Chinese.

4.2. CONDITIONAL RELATIONS AS A CONNECTOR. After lexicalization in the very early stage, the cases where *ranhou* is interpreted as a single conjunction/connector indicating logical/sequential relations could be observed in both classical and modern Chinese texts. First of all, as a connector in Classical Chinese, *ranhou* could be used to indicate the **conditional relations**. Consider the following example:

(2) 岁寒,　　***然后***知松柏之后凋也。

Sui　han　***ranhou*** zhi　songbai　　zhihou　diao　ye.

year　cold　then　know　pine and cypress　after　wither　PARTICLE

'Only after the winter comes do we know that the pine and cypress are the last to wither.'

(*Lunyu* [Confucius Analects] "Zihan" · Pre-Qin)

Example (2) is representative of *ranhou*'s conditional sense in Classical Chinese. Though *ranhou* had already been highly lexicalized at a very early stage as mentioned above, the *anaphoric* discourse-pragmatic function of the element *ran* ('thus/if so') was still maintained to some extent. *Ranhou*, therefore, could be broken down into the sentence pattern "*if so…then...*," indicating that without the action/event described in the preceding clause, the following action/event will not occur. In detail, the prior texts *suihan* ('when the winter comes') can be considered as the condition/premise which is hypothetical, whereas *ranhou* serves as a single conjunction (connector) to introduce the possible consequence once the condition/premise is met.

Note that unlike other kinds of functions of *ranhou* as a connector, this conditional-relation function has not been observed in contemporary modern Chinese data.

4.3. TEMPORAL RELATIONS AS A CONNECTOR. Later on, there was a continuing trend where the meaning of *ran* had been partially backgrounded and the meaning of *hou* had been further foregrounded, so that the original conditional relations might have become **temporal relations**, especially with the use of other temporal adverbs like *xian* in the preceding clause. This usage has been seen from the pre-Qin period through the Old Mandarin period (e.g., Yuan dynasty, 1279 –1368 AD) all the way to the present. Consider the following diachronic data:

(3) 先交了钱，　　***然后***吃酒。

Xian jiao-le qian ***ranhou*** chi jiu.

first pay-PFV money then eat wine

'Pay the money first, *and then* (you) can drink wine.'

(*Yuan Qu Xuan* · Yuan)

Following this continuing trend, the semantics of the element *hou* ('then/after that') in the conjunction *ranhou* has been foregrounded, with the use of a preceding temporal adverb [e.g., 先 'first' in example (3)]. The conjunction *ranhou* together with the preceding temporal word forms a *temporal-sequential chain* indicating the time sequence where the actions/events occur one after the other. The sentence pattern "*xian* (first)…, *ranhou* (then)…" in this case is also frequently used to describe temporal relations between actions/events in modern Chinese contexts.

4.4. LOGICAL/CAUSAL RELATIONS AS A CONNECTOR. Then, with the conditional-relation and temporal-relation usages still frequently occurring, during the stage of Classical Chinese period (by Yuan dynasty), another usage of *ranhou* had also been developed: the **logical/causal sequence**, which could have been cognitively developed from the time sequence (temporal relations). Consider the following examples:

(4) 知其所以同，又知其所以异，　***然后***可以论性矣。

Zhi qi suoyi tong you zhi qi suoyi yi ***ranhou*** ke-yi lun xing yi.

then able-by the means discuss nature PTCL

'We know why they are the same and why they are different; *therefore,* we can talk about the nature.'

(*Zhuzi Yulei* · Southern Song)

In Example (4), the conjunction *ranhou* is used in sentence-initial position to present the causal relationships between the current clause and the prior discourse, introducing a conclusion or a moral lesson about the discourse topic. Even though this set of clauses may still involve temporal relations (for actions/events completed one after the other), the exact time sequence for the given actions/states have already been obscure, so that the logical relations embedded between different actions/states have been highlighted especially in the cognitive and psychological sense.

Note that the temporal-relation and the logical/causal-relation usages/functions of *ranhou* could also be observed in the following dynasties and in synchronic modern Chinese data. The examples selected above are only to make the detailed path/development of *ranhou*'s functions (as a connector) more manifest.

4.5. DISCOURSE MARKER OF ADDITIONAL LISTING / INFORMATION SUPPLEMENTING. In addition to the lexicalization and functional evolution across conditional, temporal, and logical/causal relations, the connector *ranhou* has further been experiencing *pragmaticalization* to become a discourse marker with its lexical meaning gradually being dropped. These discourse marker usages firstly appeared in Literary Chinese (especially in Old Mandarin and Middle Mandarin), but they are mainly used in modern standard Chinese especially in naturally-occurring conversations. These discourse functions can in turn reflect the degree of pragmaticalization of *ranhou* varying from a lower level to a higher level.

First, the **additional-listing usage** seems less pragmaticalized – it appeared in the history of Chinese language by Ming dynasty (1368 – 1644 AD) at the earliest. Here is an example from *Jin Ping Mei* ('The Plum in the Golden Vase') produced during the Ming dynasty:

(5) 桌上摆设许多肴馔: ……两碟炖烂鸽子雏儿, ***然后***又是四碟脏子、血皮、猪肚、酿肠之类。

Zhuo shang baishe xuduo yaozhuan liang die dun lan gezi chur
ranhou youshi si die zangzi xiepi zhudu niangchang zhilei.
then also four dish viscera blood and skin pork tripe pig intestines etc.
'Many different kinds of dishes are placed on the table: two dishes of stewed newborn pigeons, *and in addition*, four dishes of animals' viscera, blood, skin, pork tripe, and brewed pig's large intestines and such like.'

[*Jin Ping Mei* ('The Plum in the Golden Vase') · Ming]

By this time *ranhou* could have already been used beyond its original conjunction/connector usage (with conditional-/temporal-/logical-sequential relations) as a **supplemental-information marker** to mediate the flow of discourse, which is equivalent to 'in addition' in English.

In modern standard Chinese conversations *ranhou* is more frequently used as this type of marker of addition. Since presenting new/additive objects with *ranhou* normally still remains within the same discourse topic in a given context, this discourse marker usage turns out to reach a relatively low degree of pragmaticalization in this case. Consider the following example:

(6) 奇点：来条鱼，***然后***二人份冬阴功汤。

Qi Dian: Lai tiao yu ***ranhou*** er ren fen dongyingong tang.
order MW fish then two people MW Tom Yam Kung soup

'(Ordering food) some fish please, *and also* Tom Yam Kung soup served for two people.'

[Chinese TV drama *Huanlesong* ('Ode to Joy') · Modern]

Ranhou in (6) is used to introduce additional listings on the dishes the speaker wants to add when ordering food in a restaurant. Here *ranhou* can be translated as 'and also, additionally.' Since its original lexical meaning ('and then') indicating sequential relations has been reduced, it is more like a pure discourse marker whose discourse function is mainly to introduce the new information at the position of "rheme" (as opposed to "theme" or "topic"). In other words, the discourse topic ('ordering food') continues to proceed even though some new information has been added under the same topic.

4.6. DISCOURSE MARKER OF TOPIC SHIFTING. In this study the term "topic" in the "topic-shifting function" refers to Giora's (1985, 1997, 1998) notion of *discourse-topic* for achieving textual coherence, rather than the simple *sentence-topic* within the information structure. Thus, the discourse marker usage would become much *more* pragmaticalized when *ranhou* functions in this way. This is different from the discourse marker which is only used to mark the supplemental information/additive relations at the sentential level. In other words, "topic shifting" may be a rather special case of "information adding" since it could be used to shift such information for the entire discourse-topic at its highest level. The case of discourse-topic shifting, therefore, may have also appeared later in the history of the language, i.e., probably mainly in the modern standard Chinese texts/contexts. From the TV interview program data, we have found Example (7) where *ranhou*, together with a typical Mandarin placeholder/filler—*nage 'that'*, functions as a discourse marker of topic shifting:

(7) 董璇：其实那个时候佟大为就是小孩儿，给人感觉小孩儿不懂事……***然后***那个……对，他不会看（这个节目）。

Dong Xuan: Qishi nage shihou tongdawei jiushi xiaohair gei ren ganjue xiaohair bu dongshi

ranhou *nage* dui ta bu hui kan.

then that yes he not will watch

'In fact at that time Tong Dawei was just like a child; (I) feel like he was a thoughtless guy…*and then/and*…Yes, (I guess) he would not watch (this interview program).'

[*Feichang Jing Juli* ('Close Meeting with Li Jing') · Modern]

This context-specific usage makes the meaning/function of *ranhou* get closer and closer to that of *nage* (more like a pure discourse marker), leading *ranhou* to a higher level of pragmaticalization. However, this **topic-shifting marker** (or new-topic marker) cannot be completely removed. According to Giora (1985, 1997, 1998), in order to achieve a higher degree of textual coherence, a marker/signal of digression (i.e., a marker of topic shifting) is required to be there especially when the discourse topic needs to be shifted within the flow of discourse. Therefore, *ranhou* still largely retains its topic-shifting function here because the entire discourse topic gets shifted abruptly from the discussion on the impression of Tong Dawei, the prior discourse topic, to the "worry" that Tong Dawei might also be able to watch this current program, with the introduction/transition of *ranhou*. Nevertheless, in this case *ranhou*'s co-occurrence/clustering with the typical Mandarin discourse marker/floor holder *nage 'that'* still indicates a sign of *ranhou*'s pragmaticalization, or at least could be treated as an important momentum for the inception of its pragmaticalization process (Biq 2001).

4.7. PLACEHOLDER/FILLER AS A DISCOURSE MARKER. The last function of *ranhou* as a discourse marker is the **placeholder/filler**. Unlike the discourse marker of a new topic (topic-shifting) and that of additional listing, the function of placeholder/filler can be activated with the *highest* degree of pragmaticalization. In this case, it is normally used as a conversational strategy to hold the turn within the given conversational structure. In terms of textual coherence (esp. discourse topic), this function is always associated with *topic continuation* instead of topic shifting. Also, this newly-developed discourse-marker usage has only been observed in modern Chinese conversational data.

Based on our data, when *ranhou* co-occurs with another Mandarin conjunction/connector containing additive, temporal, or logical/causal sense (e.g., *haiyou* 'furthermore', *erqie* 'in

addition', *houlai* 'later on', *suoyi* 'therefore', etc.), *ranhou* is more likely to reach the highest degree of pragmaticalization. The reason might be that in this case *ranhou* could be more easily generalized by the speaker into a pure placeholder/filler, together with the other conjunction/connector (in the pair) bearing much more concrete discourse-cohesive functions. Consider Example (8) below:

(8) 关悦：《奋斗》刚播完嘛那个时候……

Guan Yue: *Fendou* gang bo-wan ma nage shihou

'Just after the TV series *Struggle* was broadcast for the first time…'

李静：所以***然后***爆出你们俩恋爱、结婚，肯定很多人就会甩出一些话来。

Li Jing: *Suoyi* ***ranhou*** baochu nimen-lia lian'ai jiehun

therefore then burst out you-two be in love be married

kending henduo ren jiu hui shuaichu yixie hua lai.

'*Therefore (and then)* the fact that you were in love and married were made public; certainly many people would start circulating some rumors.'

[*Feichang Jing Juli* ('Close Meeting with Li Jing') · Modern]

Example (8) contains the connector pair *suoyi*+*ranhou*. Since the other conjunction *suoyi 'so'* in the pair already carries its own meaning/function for the most part, *ranhou* is more likely to serve as a pure discourse marker with the placeholder/filler function. However, because the two conjunctions are used in succession, they may also be influenced by each other and thus overlapped in the functional type depending on other factors such as intonation/prosody.

More specifically, here *ranhou* serves as only a placeholder/filler with its lexical meaning completely dropped, because *suoyi*, as the semantic focus, already appears before *ranhou*, indicating a logical/causal relationship between the current utterance and the previous one. *Ranhou*, on the other hand, could be removed without semantic attrition. In addition, according to the interpretation of the context, *ranhou* is NOT used as a self-repair here, so its main discourse function (within the conversational structure) might be to hold the place, or to avoid the long pause or communication breakdown. This example can be treated as a sign of pragmaticalization, mainly because in this clustering context the semantic meaning of *ranhou* gets overshadowed by the prior conjunction. Then, this momentum seems to force the usage of *ranhou* to "become a linguistic element more and more significant at the textual/discourse/pragmatic level" (Biq 2001: 71).

5. Discussion and Conclusion. Through a detailed functional analysis and historical linguistic analysis of both classical and modern Chinese data, we now have a much clearer vision of *ranhou*'s lexicalization, grammaticalization, and/or pragmaticalization processes as well as its pathway of functional evolution across various types of discourse-pragmatic functions.

The detailed pathways of both categorial and functional evolution of *ranhou* could be illustrated respectively in the figures below:

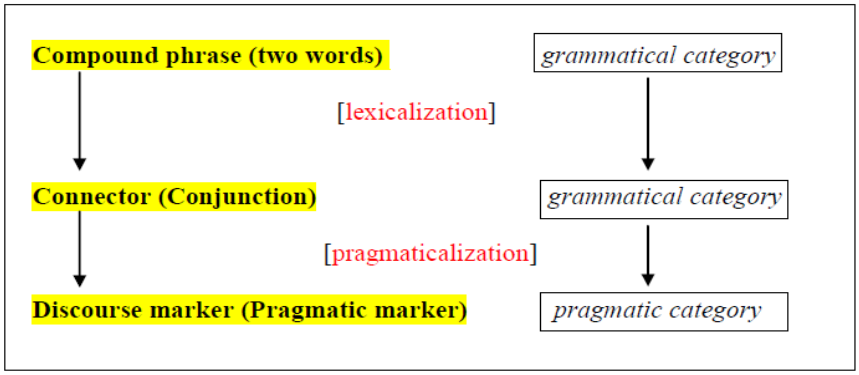

Figure 1. Path of categorial evolution of *ranhou*

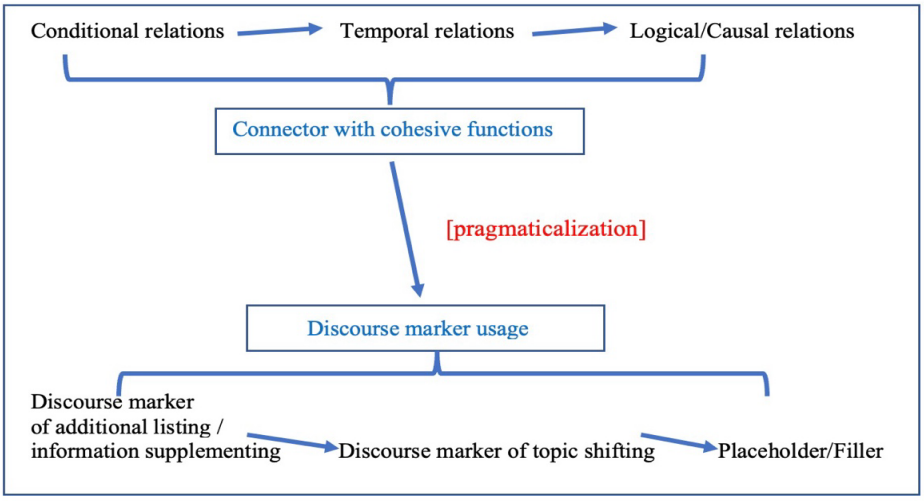

Figure 2. Path of functional evolution of *ranhou*

As we can see in Figure 1, the path of **categorial evolution** of *ranhou* could be described like this: *Ranhou* first evolved from a compound phrase (two independent words *"ran"* and *"hou"*) to a single conjunction (i.e., lexicalization), and then developed directly towards the discourse-marker usages within the pragmatic category (i.e., pragmaticalization, *not* grammaticalization). Here, echoed with the longstanding debate, I argue that pragmaticalization

is independent of grammaticalization because it reflects the evolution of "discourse markers" (pragmatic category) from "connectors" (grammatical category).

Figure 2 shows that in terms of **functional evolution**, first, within the connector *ranhou*, the conditional sense may have been its prototypical function and then this prototype developed into the temporal relations (for events happening in succession) which further developed into human's cognitive sequence (logical/causal relations). Then, within discourse-marker usages, discourse marker of additional listing / information supplementing, discourse marker of topic shifting, and placeholder/filler have been placed from the lowest degree of pragmaticalization to the highest, though in some cases these purely discourse-marker usages/functions might also be overlapped with the cohesion-based functions (with conditional, temporal, and/or logical/causal relations) of the connector *ranhou*.

This paper, by closely examining the paths of categorial and functional evolution of Mandarin connector/discourse marker *ranhou ('then')*, sheds new light on the historical development of Mandarin conjunctions frequently used in daily speech, especially the development of one particular grammatical/pragmatic category. The study may also generate further thoughts on the underlying motivations for the categorial evolution of *ranhou* (esp. pragmaticalization) in both synchronic and diachronic dimensions from socio-cultural/socio-pragmatic perspectives (language contact, language standardization, communicative strategies, etc.).

References

Aijmer, Karin. 1997. *I Think* – an English Modal Particle. In T. Swan and O. Westvik (eds.), *Modality in Germanic Languages: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, 1–47. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Aijmer, Karin. 2002. *English Discourse Particles: Evidence from a Corpus.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Arroyo, José Luis Blas. 2011. From Politeness to Discourse Marking: The Process of Pragmaticalization of *muy bien* in Vernacular Spanish. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(3): 855–74.

Beeching, Kate. 2012. Semantic Change: Evidence from False Friends. In L. Peter, V. Gudrun & S.Verleyen (eds.), *Pragmatic Markers and Pragmaticalization: Lessons from False Friends*, 139–65. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Biq, Yung-O. 2001. The Grammaticalization of "Jiushi" and "Jiushishuo" in Mandarin Chinese. *Concentric: Studies in Linguistics* 27(2): 53–74.

Chao, Yuen Ren. 1968. *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of

California Press.

Fang, Mei. 2000. Ziran Kouyu zhong Ruohua Lianci de Huayu Biaoji Gongneng. 自然口语中弱化连词的话语标记功能 [Reduced conjunctions as discourse markers]. *Zhongguo Yuwen [Studies of the Chinese language]* 5: 459–470.

Fraser, Bruce. 1990. An Approach to Discourse Markers. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14(3): 383–98.

Giora, Rachel. 1985. Notes towards a Theory of Text Coherence. *Poetics Today* 6(4): 699–715.

Giora, Rachel. 1997. Discourse Coherence and Theory of Relevance: Stumbling Blocks in Search of a Unified Theory. *Journal of Pragmatics* 27(1): 17–34.

Giora, Rachel. 1998. Discourse Coherence Is an Independent Notion: A Reply to Deirdre Wilson. *Journal of Pragmatics* 29(1): 75–86.

Halliday, M.A.K., and Hasan Ruqaiya. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

He, Hongfeng, and Sun Lan. 2010. *Ranhou* de Yufahua Jiqi Renzhi Jizhi. “然后”的语法化及其认知机制 [The grammaticalization and cognitive mechanism of *ranhou*]. *Yunnan Shifan Daxue Xuebao (Duiwai Hanyu Jiaoxue yu Yanjiu Ban) [Journal of Yunnan Normal University (Teaching & Studying Chinese as a Foreign Language Edition)]* 8(5): 15–21.

Li, Charles N., and Thompson Sandra A. 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lu, Jianming. 1982. Xiandai Hanyu Fuci Duyong Chuyi. 现代汉语副词独用刍议 [A tentative proposal for adverb being used alone in modern Chinese]. *Yuyan Jiaoxue yu Yanjiu [Language Teaching and Linguistic Studies]* (2): 27–49.

Lü, Shuxiang (ed.). 1980. *Xiandai Hanyu Babai Ci [800 Words in Modern Chinese]*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.

Ma, Guoyan. 2010. Huayu Biaoji yu Koutouchan: Yi *ranhou* he *danshi* Weili. 话语标记与口头禅：以“然后”和“但是”为例 [Discourse markers and pet phrases: Take *ranhou* and *danshi* as examples]. *Yuyan Jiaoxue yu Yanjiu [Language Teaching and Linguistic Studies]* (4): 69–76.

Norman, Jerry. 1988. *Chinese*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Onodera, Noriko O. 2004. *Japanese Discourse Markers: Synchronic and Diachronic Discourse Analysis*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Qi, Yan. 2009. Kouyu zhong *ranhou* Zhengzai xiang Shumianyu Kuosan. 口语中“然后”正在向书面语扩散 [*Ranhou* in spoken language is spreading to written language]. *Daqing Shifan Xueyuan Xuebao [Journal of Daqing Normal University]* 29(2): 120–22.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wang, Wei. 2004. Shilun Xiandai Hanyu Kouyu zhong *Ranhou* Yici de Yufahua. 试论现代汉语口语中“然后”一词的语法化 [On the grammaticalization of the word *ranhou* in modern spoken Chinese]. *Journal of Beijing International Studies University* (4): 69–76.

Wang, Wei. 2016. Prosody and Discourse Functions of *ranhou* 然后. In *Integrating Chinese Linguistic Research and Language Teaching and Learning,* ed. by Hongyin Tao, Vol. 7, 145–67. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company

Wang, Wei. 2017. *Prosody and Functions of Discourse Markers in Mandarin Chinese Conversation: The Cases of ranhou, wo juede, and meiyou.* Doctoral dissertation, UCLA.

Wang, Wei, and Zhou Weihong. 2005. *Ranhou* Yici zai Xiandai Hanyu Kouyu zhong Shiyong Fanwei de Kuoda Jiqi Jizhi. “然后”一词在现代汉语口语中使用范围的扩大及其机制 [On extension of the word *ranhou* in modern spoken Chinese and its mechanism]. *Hanyu Xuexi [Chinese Language Learning]* (4): 31–39.

Wei, Yu. 2008. *Ranhou* Xianxiang de Shifei Quzhi. “然后”现象的是非曲直 [Rights and wrongs of the phenomenon of *ranhou*]. *Yaowen Jiaozi [Pay Excessive Attention to Wording]* (6): 10–12.

Williams, Howard. 2012. Cohesion and Pragmatic Theory in Second-Language Writing Instruction. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 6(12): 768–76.

Zhu, Yongsheng, Zheng Lixin, and Miao Xingwei. 2001. *Ying Han Yupian Xianjie Shouduan Duibi Yanjiu [A Contrastive Study of Cohesion in English and Chinese]*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.