

PARATONE AS A DISCOURSE MARKER

KEN-ICHI KADOOKA
(Ryukoku University)

ABSTRACT: The goal of the analysis is to examine the function of the expressiveness of intonation from the viewpoint of three metafunctions of Systemic Grammar. One of the findings in this paper is that the Ideational metafunction in tone languages is functionally limited because of the pitch movement reserved for lexical distinction. In the Textual metafunction, especially for certain phenomena such as low and high paratones, on the other hand, tone languages are similar to non-tone languages, e.g. English and Japanese. The situation with those aspects related to the Interpersonal metafunction seems to be between those of the Ideational and Textual metafunctions; in tone languages sentence intonation is phonetically restricted, hence connoting interpersonal nuances will depend on other phonological aspects such as tone of voice, loudness, and/or tempo.

We will focus on the function of paratone as a discourse marker. It will be shown that high paratone is a marker of the change of topics, and that this may be universal even among the tone languages such as Chinese.

KEYWORDS: paratone; change of topics; discourse marker; functional linguistics.

1. Introduction

Apart from a general cover term *Discourse Marker* such as *well*, *I mean* in English, paratone may be a highly phonological phenomenon which would be familiar for those who specialize the meaning and function of intonation. Paratone is an equivalent of 'paragraph' in written language, and carries implicit and/or unconscious meaning. From the functional viewpoint, paratone is similar to clause intonation as observed in Halliday (1967, 1970, 1994). When we consider its semantic and pragmatic aspects, however, paratone is extremely interesting as a Discourse Marker. There are two variations of paratone: high and low. As a hypothesis, it will be postulated that paratone is a universal phonological phenomenon including tone languages.

This paper is based on the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as outlined in Halliday (1994), pursuing a typological comparison. Kadooka (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004 a, b, 2006) suggests the tripartite categories

as for the semantic and pragmatic function of clause intonation systems: tone languages, pragmatic and non-pragmatic intonation systems. In tone languages typified by Chinese, pitch is distinctive in the lexical level, hence clause intonation is highly restricted. The opposite inclination is observed with the languages of pragmatic intonation system such as English. The clause intonation system of Japanese is not so pragmatic as the English counterpart. In the following sections, the examples from these three languages will be contrasted. In section 2, the definition of paratone is given based on the English examples. In section 3, it will be shown that similar examples are observed in Japanese. Instead of verifying authentic data of paratone in Chinese, translation will be adopted in section 4. To exemplify the conformity of the theme of the conference held in Lisbon in November, 2006, some discussion will be made in section 5.

2. Paratone

In this section, as a starting point of the contrast in the following sections, the definition and examples of paratone will be given.

Wennerstrom (2001) introduces *paratone* as one of the typical means of the discourse functions of intonation. Tench (1996: 24) lists the following six characteristics as the guide to paratone:

- (1) 1. The high pitch on the onset syllable of the initial intonation unit.
2. The relatively high ‘baseline’ of that initial unit; this means that the low pitches are relatively high, compared to the low pitches in the final unit of the paragraph.
3. There is a gradual lowering of that baseline until the final unit is reached.
4. The depth of fall in the final unit is the lowest in the whole paragraph.
5. There is usually a slowing down process in the final unit.
6. There is a longer pause in normally allowed between intonation units.

These six conditions are considered to match other languages, including pitch-accent (see section 3 below for the discussion in Japanese) and tone languages (see the Chinese examples in section 4).

Below is the examples of High (a) and Low (b) Paratone (*ibid.*, 24-25) with the notation of phonological transcription:

- (2) a. DUCKS that had a LÓWER PLÚMAGE RÁTING TÉNDED ÁLSO TO
HAVE A LÓWER BEHÁVIORAL RÁTING. (2.1)
v Let’s SKIP FOR RIGHT NOW onto the NEXT PLOT

- b. And the QUÉSTION that was being ADDRÉSSÉD by this
PARTÍCULAR STÚDY~ was whether δ CRÓSSBREEDS~ (.4)
 π so DUCKS that had a- ONE MÁLLARD PÁRENT and
 ONE PÍNTAIL PÁRENT~ (.4)
 v if you LOOK at THEM~

Notation CAPITALS: high pitched nucleus UNDERLINED CAPITALS:
 low preceding high
 SUBSCRIPTED CAPITALS: low pitched nucleus –: incomplete
 thought
 (2.1): pause of 2.1 second
 ~: low-rise τ: plateau v: high paratone
 π: low paratone

The high paratone signals the beginning of a new topic in the discourse. In (a), the introduction of a new topic is also recognized by a rather long pause of 2.1 seconds. The low paratone, on the other hand, marks an aside or parenthetical topic, besides the main one in the discourse. Thus, paratone controls the turn of the topics, or can be defined as ‘a kind of intonational “paragraphing” to mark topical junctures’ (*ibid.*, 24). It is of highly textual nature in that it spreads over more than one clause, organizing several topics. The longer a discourse is, the more salience is needed among the context in order to mark the change of the topic or the deviation from the main subject matter. In this respect, paratone will be a major instrument in the pitch-accented languages such as Japanese and in the tone languages like Chinese.

When compared with the variation of the meaning of intonation, paratone seems more consistent among languages. Such typological differences have been investigated in Kadooka (2000, 2001, 2002). As a result, the classification into three categories has been made: tone languages, pragmatic intonation and non-pragmatic intonation. To testify the hypothesis that there is less variation of the function of paratone across languages is one of the purposes of this paper.

3. Paratone in Japanese

Following the definition of paratone in the previous section, we will look at the paratone phenomenon in Japanese.

As examined in Kadooka (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004 a, b, 2006), Japanese is classified as non-pragmatic intonation system. That is to say, clause intonation functions not so pragmatically as in English, mainly because of the pitch-accent system in the lexical level. Though pragmatically restricted, the clause intonation system in Japanese is positive, which makes sense when contrasted with tone languages such as Chinese.

The first instance is that of a high paratone, changing of a topic. This citation is from a Diet session. The inquirer is the LDP Diet member, Tarô Asô, in the morning session of the Budget Committee of the House of

Representatives, on February 12, 2002. In the first half of the citation, he concludes his question to the Foreign Minister, and in the latter half he begins questioning the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. This change of topics is signaled by the high paratone. The method of transcription is after Wennerstrom (2001).

(3) line	Japanese	gloss
1	kono ten-ni tuitet	this regard-about
2	kasane-tet	repeatedly
3	go-doryoku, go-zinryoku, go-sidou-wo~ effort,	contribution, instruction- -ACCUSATIVE
4	o-negai-itasi-masuo. (1.0)	ask-POLITE
5	v sokode tugi-ni	then, next
6	kyouiku-ni tuite	education-about
7	Tooyama-daizin-nit	Toyama Minister-DATIVE
8	ukagai-tai to omoi-masuo.	inquire (polite)-want COMP think-POLITE

‘With this regard, I will ask you for more effort and instruction. Then, I should like to inquire of Minister Toyama concerning education.’

In lines 1-4, the addresser terminates the first half of his question session, signaling by the low, suppressed tone. Notice that there is a pause of 1.0 second between lines 4 and 5, which signals that the former topic has ended. Then, in line 5, he suddenly changes the tone of voice (high paratone), together with a loud volume, indicating the turn of a topic. Besides this intonation signal of high paratone, the change of a topic is lexically manifested with *sokode tugi-ni* (then, next). In the case of high paratone, it is often the case not only in Japanese but also with other languages including tone languages, that lexicogrammar, in the sense that Halliday (1994) suggests, helps make a change of topic more salient. High paratone should be interpreted as the combination of change of the tone and voice, pause from the old topic to a new one. These phonetic elements strongly suggest the organization of the text to the hearer(s).

The next instance is an exemplification of the low paratone, also from a Diet session. The inquirer in this citation is Taichirô Nishikawa, a member of the Conservative Party which was a party in the ruling coalition. The session is again the Budget Committee in the Lower House, in the afternoon, on February 12, 2002.

(4) line	Japanese	gloss
1	souiu zittai-ga	such actual-condition
2	π watasi-wa yotou-desu yo	I-TOPIC ruling-party AFFIRMATIVE Phrase- -Final- Particle

3	watasi-wa (sic) yatou mitai- -ni kan-tigai sareru to komaru kedo	I-TOP opposite-party like be-mistaken feel- -embarrassed though
4	yotou da (0.2)	
5	v yotou demo desu-ne (0.1)	
6	kore-wa (0.1)	this-TOPIC
7	watasi-wa desu-ne yappari (0.1)	as for me, after-all
8	sikkari yatte-itadaka-naku- -te-wa komaru to omou-n- -desu	properly do-make-should feel-embarrassed I-think

‘The actual situation must be – I should like to emphasize that I AM the member of the ruling parties, not one of the opposition parties – dealt with properly.’

The low paratone in lines 2-4 can be regarded as a complementary explanation to emphasize that the addresser is a member of the ruling coalition, rather than as a deviation of a topic from the main stream. When we consider these eight intonation groups as one chunk of a clause, the subject is in the first line: *sou-iu zittai* (the actual condition). *Kore* in line 6, a pronoun whose antecedent is in line 1 (*sou-iu zittai*), is the direct subject of the predicate in line 8. The seventh line is an insertion which is redundant from a grammatical point of view, but the addresser definitely wanted to add this line as part of the demonstration of his self-assertion. The subject of *omou* in line 8 is *watasi-wa*, topically emphasizing the speaker himself, and an adverb *yappari* (‘after all’). Grammatically speaking, the particle here must be the nominative *ga*, instead of the topic marker *wa* as in the transcript. This usage of *wa* by the speaker may indicate that ‘*watasi-wa kan-tigai sareru*,’ leading to a possible misunderstanding that the questioner’s intention ‘*watasi-wa komaru*.’ The core idea of this message is, however, that the current situation surrounding Japan must be dealt with properly by the government. Notice that under the current parliamentary system in Japan, the ruling party must command a majority in the House of Representatives, but his party is a smaller one in the coalition, and he is afraid that its status is not known generally. This is why the questioner is purposefully emphasizing his position with the low paratone as an insertion. The deviation signaled by the low paratone is an addition as the addresser’s personal appeal.

The third variation of paratone, which is tentatively assumed for the first time here in Japanese, is a subtype of a low paratone. As tentative it is, the universality of this subtype is subject to future exemplification. This subtype is observed in the punch line of Rakugo, a traditional art of telling stories by one person on stage. The ultimate origin of Rakugo goes back to some 400 years ago when story-tellers entertained their *samurai* feudal lords. During the second half of the seventeenth century in Kyoto and Osaka (*‘Kamigata’*: literally, *upper-region*), Rakugo originated in the public spaces

such as in shrines and temples, while in Edo (the former Tokyo) it was performed in the tatami rooms. In those days, there used to be only shorter anecdotes which had lasted a few minutes. About 300 years ago, the format of Rakugo resembled that of the current style. The stories had become longer and longer, with the improvement added one after another. The longest ones takes more than one hour nowadays. A series of a journey, e.g. ‘*Higashi no tabi*’ (a journey to the east), consists of nearly ten stories that are separately told nowadays.

In the course of the development of Rakugo in these three or four hundred years, it has taken various styles from the state of the art. From Kabuki, for example, *o-hayashi* or musical accompaniment by shamisen, drums is inherited. In Joururi, on the other hand, the story-teller’s recitation only entails the accompaniment of shamisen. This is in contrast with Kabuki in which actors tell their own words. Some of the stories or Rakugo are brought from Joururi and Kabuki, but many have been added as the originals. One of the typical instances of the borrowing from Joururi is *Chūshin-gura* (literally *The Storehouse of Loyal Subjects*) a story of the revenge by samurai warriors. Its origin had been established in Joururi, then Kabuki had imported.

The punch line low paratone, tentatively dubbed here, is realized to indicate the end of the story in Rakugo. Though the phonetic realization is similar to ordinary paratone examined up to now, the function of the punch line paratone is different. It is to signal the end of the story. Such stylistic indication became necessary as the stories got longer and longer, it seems. First, it is examined whether this subtype of low paratone is applicable or not in shorter anecdote – *kobanashi* (literally: short story; these short stories are told before the main long stories begin. Such beginning is dubbed as ‘*makura*,’ literally *pillow*):

(5) line	Japanese	gloss
1 Kiroku:	Ano yokomachi-wo na,	Listen, around that lane
2	tooru-no kowai nen.	passing by is terrible.
3 Seihachi:	Dai-no otona-ga,	A grown-up
4	sonai-na nasakenai koto ii-na.	may not say such a shameful thing.
5 Kiroku:	Soukate, kowai inu-ga otte,	Say, because there is a fearful dog
6	jiki-ni hoe-kakaru no ya-ga-na.	it always barks at passers- by.
7 Sehachi:	Son-nara, majinai-wo shitara.	Then, I will give you an incantation.
8	Tenohira-ni tora-to-iu ji-wo kaiet-yaru sakai,	I will write a Chinese character symbolizing a tiger,

9	inu-ga hoete-kitara sono ji-wo miste-tare	when the dog barks at you, let it see the character. (then the dog will be afraid of a tiger and cease barking; littel while after)
10 Kiroku:	Akan, kikime nai de.	No good, it was meaningless.
11	Yappari hoete-kita sakai,	It barked at me as usual,
12	tora-no ji-wo miseta kedo na,	I showed it the tiger character,
13	zen-zen kikime nakatta de.	it was useless at all.
14 Seihachi:	Uumm, sono inu-wa muhitsu ya na.	Let me see.... the dog must be illiterate.

The whole story consists of only 14 intonation phrases, with a pause inserted in order to suggest that the former half of the lines 1 through 9 and the latter half of lines 10 through 14 take place differently in the chronological order. The last line 14 is the punch line. Here the teller lowers the voice and tells more slowly than the other lines. Such technique seems to add the variation in the course of the narrative text. The effect of the punch line low paratone is explicit in short stories like (5). If the punch line is told similarly to the other lines, the listeners may find the punch line with some difficulty.

To be examined next is one of the typical *Kamigata* stories — those inherited in Osaka and Kyoto, ‘*Neko no Tadanobu*’ (The Cat Tadanobu). This story is a parody of a Joururi or a Bunraku (dramas performed with puppets, and story told by a *Tayuu* accompanied by a shamisen) story ‘*Kitsune Tadanobu*’ (The Fox Tadanobu). Its fourth act is highlighted as Yoshitsune Sembon-zakura (literally *Yoshitsune* (a tragic general of the twelfth century) and *one thousand cherry trees*), and more often performed than other acts. As these titles show, the Rakugo story utilized the Joururi original, adding many laughs. After some 20 minutes’ preparation or introduction of the story, the climax comes with the revealing of the cat that had taken the form of Tsunekichi, one of the leading roles of the story. The following lines come after the cat’s lengthy monologue. The sudden change of the topics from the cat’s monologue to the expectation of the presentation of Joururi may embarrass the listeners:

(6) line	Japanese	gloss
1 Jiro:	Soyakedo Tsune-yan, os-shohan,	Then, Tsune-yan, Mistress,
2	korede kondo-no kai,	our coming presentation

3	oo-atri, machigai nashi ya.	will surely be successful.
4	Tsune: Nande ya?	Why?
5	Jiro: Sou-kate,	Because
6	Sembon-zakura no yakuwari-ga	all roles of <i>Sembon-zakura</i> are
7	sorouta-aru ya nai-ka.	here
(omission)		
8	Tsune: Kanjin-no Shizuka- gozen wa?	Who is Shizuka-gozen, the title role?
9	Jiro: Aho-rashii,	Silly!
10	kiryō to ii, namae to ii,	as for her beauty and her name,
11	Oshizu-san, os-shohan- ga	Oshizu-san or our mistress will be
12	Shizuka-gozen ni pittari ya ga-na.	Suitable for Shizuka- gozen.
13	Oshizu: Nan-no,	Well, well,
14	watashi-mitai na otafuku ni	me as a flat-faced woman
15	Shizuka-gozen ga niai- masu kai-na.	is far from Shizuka- gozen.
16	Cat Niau.	You suit. / Meaow.

Jiro: "Then, Tsune-yan, Mistress, oru coming presentation (of Joururi) seems to be a sure success."

Tsune: "Why?"

Jiro: "Because all the roles in (Joururi) *Sembon-zakura* are here. ..."

Tsune: "Who is the title role, Shizuka-gozen?"

Jiro: "Silly, you! Oshizu-san, our mistress, is suitable considering her beauty and name."

Shizu: "Well, I don't think I am suitable for that role."

Cat: "You are."

The punch line (16th line) is a typical pun; 'niau' in Japanese is a verb (to suit) and mimicking of a cat's sound. When this story is actually told on stage, this punch line is uttered with low tone, suggesting that this is the very end of the story. Toward this end, the first half of the story is lengthy and rather dull, and then suddenly becoming strained when the cat revealed its real figure. Then, the cat told the reason of taking the form of Tsunekichi. The pun 'niau' in the punch line releases the tension all of sudden. The punch line low paratone is effective in multiplying such conversion of mood.

As well as the punch line low paratone, there is another means to inform the listeners the end of the story: *sage-bayashi*, or the performance of

drums. After finishing the story, the teller leaves the stage with *sage-bayashi*. This makes a pair with *de-bayashi* or music performance during the appearance of the story-teller.

To conclude, it is certified that paratone is an effective method in topic change (high paratone) and deviation from the main subject (low paratone) not only in English but also in Japanese. In addition, a subtype punch line low paratone is suggested in a specific environment. Whether this is universal or peculiar to Japanese is a future subject to be examined. Tench (1996: 25) notes that ‘You should also be able to detect them [phonological paragraphs: KK] in story-telling, and even in jokes.’

4. Tone Language. The case of Chinese

In this section, the existence of paratone will be exemplified in tone language such as Chinese. Before the contrast of paratone clauses with English or Japanese as done in the previous sections of this paper, we must briefly review the function of clause intonation in tone languages.

Yip (2002: 260ff) considers intonation as variation of phrase-level tones, which is reflected in the title of section 4 in chapter 9 of her book on tone languages (*Intonation as phrasal-level tone*). Yip (*ibid.*, 260) first asserts that “[i]ntonation in tone languages is *only slightly* more limited than it is in non-tonal ones” (italics added). She then lists four major mechanisms of intonation at the phrasal level: the entire pitch register, the pitch range, boundary tones and downstep. From her description, it can be deduced that there is some difference in the function of phrasal intonation in tone and non-tonal languages.

Matthews and Yip (1994: 27), on the other hand, contrast the function of intonation between Cantonese and English as follows:

- (7) As Cantonese is a tonal language where pitch is used to differentiate words, *intonation at the level of sentence is restricted*, at least by comparison with English. The lack of sentence intonation patterns is of crucial importance to the pronunciation of Cantonese tone. If an English intonation pattern is superimposed on a Cantonese sentence, the tone of individual words may be obscured or *even changed completely and may result in incomprehensibility*. (italics added)

It is evident from this declaration that the authors are rather negative regarding the function of sentence intonation in Cantonese, which contrasts with Yip (2002)’s view. It will be meaningful to explore whether or not a similar observation is made in tone languages other than Cantonese.

Here I would like to emphasize that if a given tone language has some function of clause intonation, it should be shown with falsifiable examples. To make it clear that the phrasal intonation is phonologically distinctive in a

given tone language, the contrast must be shown with and without sentence intonation.

Mandarin is the most important dialect of Chinese, its position being symbolized with the popular name ‘*putonghua*’ or, ‘common language.’ As a typical tone language, pitch variation is fixed on the lexical level, and the function of clause intonation system is highly restricted compared with non-tone languages. For example, it is virtually impossible to adopt a raising tone in interrogative clauses. In non-tonal languages, on the other hand, it is generally quite common to suggest an interrogative nuance with a rising intonation; in English, “This is a book?” with a steep rise would surely be interpreted as a question toward the hearer(s). In that sense, the analysis of the function of clause intonation for Cantonese (7) is also valid for Mandarin.

Though the best way to verify paratone will be to collect authentic data in Chinese, we will adopt a method of translation here for the analyses of paratone. The Chinese equivalent of the examples (3) and (4) above in section 3 is as follows (my translation). Tones 1 through 4 are indicated by clitics above the nuclear vowels: Tone 1 with a horizontal straight line, Tone 2 with an acute accent, Tone 3 with a circumflex accent, and Tone 4 with a grave accent. Instead of intonation phrases, each line is marked off mainly by pauses:

(8) line	Chinese	gloss
1	Guānyú zhège wèntí	about this problem
2	hái yidiǎr	more
3	qǐng nǚlì, jìnlì, zhǐdǎo.	ask effort, help, instruction
4	Ránhòu	then
5	guānyú jiàoyù	about education
6	xiàng Yuǎnshān bùzhǎng	to Tōyama Minister
7	qǐngwèn (yíxià)	ask-interrogate (a bit)

For the sake of consistency with the Japanese original (3), the Chinese translation is basically made line by line. Still, there are some differences between (3) and (6) due to the difference of word order between Japanese and Chinese. For example, the verb ‘qing’ in line 3 precedes the object word, while the predicate ‘o-negai-itasi-masu’ is in the clause-final position in (3). In line 7, ‘qingwen’ (*inquire-ask*) is clause final, the word order being consistent with Japanese. This word order is possible because the object word of this verb phrase is directly marked by ‘xiang Yuanshan buzhang’ (toward Toyama Minister).

It will be in line 4 that is likely to have high paratone, if we follow the Japanese pattern in (3). Before moving to a new topic, the whole tone will be lowered in lines 1 through 3. Then, a new topic is marked off by high paratone in line 4 together with the explicit declaration of ‘ranhou’ (and then). It would sound natural when the speaker intends to indicate the change

of the topics. Thus, it is highly likely that Chinese has high paratone as a new topic marker.

Next to be explored is the existence of low paratone in Chinese. Again, we will investigate the translation from Japanese. Below is the translation of the Japanese version (4):

(9) line	Japanese	gloss
1	Nàyáng shíjì...	such situation
2	wǒ shì yǔdǎng...	I be ruling-party
3	yàoshi mǒurén cuòwù wǒ shì yědǎng de huà, wǒ kùnhuò	if anyone mistake I be opposite-party DE presupposition, I embarrassed
4	wǒ shì yǔdǎng	I be ruling-party
5	shì yǔdǎng, kěshì	be ruling-party, but
6	zhège	this
7	wǒ xiǎng	I think
8	yīnggāi héshìde chūlǐle.	must properly deal

Again, some modification is made as line-to-line translation from (4): the verb ‘xiang’ is put into line 7, while the Japanese counterpart ‘omou-n-desu’ is in the clause-final position. In other lines, the line-to-line translation is basically kept.

Ideologically, it will be difficult for the Chinese people to understand that there are ruling parties and opposite parties in the congress. In the present analysis, we have to ignore such ideological difference and concentrate on the linguistic comparison.

The deviation from the main topic occurs from line 2 to line 6. When we follow the Japanese pattern (4), there will be low paratone in line 2 and high paratone in 5. By the combination of the low and high paratones, the insertion of the deviation is suggested, as in English and in Japanese.

Roughly speaking, it has been testified that both high and low paratone are possible to occur in Chinese. This is in good contrast with the restriction in the applicability of clause intonation. Because of the lexical pitch in Chinese, clause intonation is limited in pragmatic nuance. The pursuit of the subtype punch line low paratone must be made in another occasion, including the comparison of the Chinese equivalent of monologue entertainment.

5. Discussion

In this section, various aspects of paratone will be analyzed based on the nature of discourse markers which was the main subject of the conference in Lisbon, November 2006. The analyses have been based on the observation of three languages: English, Japanese and Chinese.

- (10) The contribution of paratone to utterance interpretation:
 Paratone carries the function of marking off the flow of topics in the discourse. This kind of function is defined as *Textual* in the framework of Systemic linguistics (Halliday 1967, 1970, 1973, 1994). Though unconsciously uttered by the speakers, paratone contributes to make the discourse more coherent and systematic.
- (11) Characterization of the semantic identity (core meaning) of a unit and description of the variation in relation to its distribution:
 As for high paratone, it marks off the change of topics. Hence, high paratone is observed in the beginning of a new topic.
 Low paratone, on the other hand, occurs in the middle of the utterance, as a deviation from the main topic. It is not a planned style of speech, but rather whimsical in the sense that the speaker happens to change the topic tentatively. In other words, it is lowly textualized, and finally returns to the main topic after a few intonational phrases' deviation. Its most peculiar point is that the speaker stops the main topic in the middle of the speech and begins another topic.
- (12) The scope, the position and the prosody of paratone:
 One of the prosodic peculiarities of paratone is that it is always realized with pause. In the case of high paratone, enough pause is indispensable between the old and the new topics. Other wise, the change of the topics is confusing for the hearer(s). The scope of high paratone is shorter than that of low paratone. The reason is that the change of the topics is immediately recognized by the hearer(s) as the new topic is marked off by high paratone, together with a pause. Hence the scope of high paratone need not so long.
 The scope of low paratone must cover the whole through the deviated topic. It is often the case that the deviation lasts for a few minutes.
- (13) The role / semantic contribution of paratone in discourse structuring:
 As stated in (9) above, high paratone marks the beginning of a new topic, while low paratone signals the deviation from the main topic. Both contribute to discourse structuring, which belong to Textual metafunction in the SFL framework
- (14) The meaning and the functions of a unit based on a comparative linguistic study of translation:
 The function and meaning of high and low paratone are consistent in English and Japanese.
 As far as the translation from Japanese into Chinese is concerned, high paratone and low paratone are copied, though partly modified.

This is due to the universality of the function of topic-change (high paratone) and the deviation from the main topic (low paratone). Methodologically, it is shown that translation is valid to compare languages to a certain extent.

To summarize, paratone can be regarded as ‘implicit’ discourse marker (DM) in the sense that it functions not as explicitly as lexical DMs such as *well, I mean, you know*, do. Seen from the functional perspective, however, it is doubtless that paratone or phonological paragraph controls the progression of the dialogue or the narrative between speakers and listener(s). Since paratone is implicit because of the reason stated above, it is more unconsciously done by the speakers than the lexical discourse markers.

6. Concluding Remarks

From the consideration up to the previous section, several findings have been made with regard to paratone as a discourse marker. First, it has been clarified that paratone is a phonological discourse marker functioning somewhat differently from the lexical markers. Though paratone is a kind of intonation patterns, it covers longer range in discourse than clause intonation. When there are more than one intonation phrases in one clause, intonation phrases are shorter than clauses definitionally. Paratone covers more than two clauses, hence necessarily longer than intonation phrases.

The second finding is that paratone is universal, even among tone languages. This is because paratone ranges over longer units than sentence intonation does. This is in good contrast with the limitedness of clause intonation systems in tone languages and languages with non-pragmatic intonation systems. Clause intonation is not applicable to tone languages in some cases; for example, rising tone is impossible in interrogative clauses. In non-pragmatic intonation languages such as Japanese, minute nuance cannot be carried by intonation. Instead, final particles *ne, yo, da* carry such nuance. In next occasions, analyses of genuine Chinese texts should be necessary, instead of examining the translation from other languages.

To conclude this paper, we will focus on the difference between the function of clause intonation and paratone. Paratone seems to be universal among three types: tone languages, pragmatic and non-pragmatic intonation systems. Semantic and pragmatic meaning of clause intonation differs among these three types, on the other hand.

References

- Halliday, M.A.K. 1967. *Intonation and Grammar in British English*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1970. *A Course in Spoken English: Intonation*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Halliday, M.A.K. 1973. *Explorations in the Functions of Language*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. (second edition) London: Edward Arnold.
- Kadooka, Ken-Ichi. 2000. A Contrastive Study of Function in Intonation Systems (part I). *Ryukoku Studies in English Language and Literature* 18. pp. 10-36.
- Kadooka, Ken-Ichi. 2001. A Contrastive Study of Function in Intonation Systems (part II). *Ryukoku Studies in English Language and Literature* 19. pp. 33-44.
- Kadooka, Ken-Ichi. 2002. How Intonation Works in Tone Languages? *The Ryukoku Journal of Humanities and Sciences* Vol. 23, n.º 2. pp. 13-27.
- Kadooka, Ken-Ichi. 2004a. A Systemic approach to the typology of functions in intonation systems. In Taro Kageyama & Hideki Kishimoto (eds.) *Festschrift for Professor Masayoshi Shibatani's sixtieth birthday*. Tokyo: Kurosio. pp. 389-404.
- Kadooka, Ken-Ichi. 2004b. On the Multi-Layer Structure of Metafunctions. *JASFL* (Japanese Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics) *Occasional Papers*. N.º 3. pp. 43-62.
- Kadooka, Ken-Ichi. 2006. Systemic Account on Strata and the Meaning of Intonation. *The Ryukoku Journal of Humanities and Sciences* Vol. 27, n.º 2. pp. 43-58.
- Kraft, Charles H. & A.H.M. Kirk-Greene. 1973. *Hausa*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Matthews, Stephen & Moira Yip. 1994. *Cantonese*. London: Routledge.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1990. *The Languages of Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tench, Paul. 1996. *The Intonation Systems of English*. London: Cassell.
- Yip, Moira. 2002. *Tone*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wennerstrom, Ann. 2001. *The Music of Everyday Speech*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.