Mandarin Adverbial *Jiu* In Discourse*

Fuhui Hsieh
Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Taiwan University
hsiehfh@ms64.hinet.net

1.0. Introduction
I was motivated to conduct this study by an almost omnipresent, multi-functional, and sometimes semantically illusive marker *jiu* in verbal interactions. Almost all the linguists who study *jiu* put *jiu* and *cai* together and investigate the contrastive semantic meanings, pragmatic functions and conversational implicatures of these two markers in contrastive perspective. But such a comparative study cannot help us understand the behavior of *jiu* in conversations.

If we pay a little attention to the daily conversations around, we may get an impression that the frequency of the occurrence of *jiu* is much higher than that of *cai*. In Liu’s (1993) study, the total number of occurrences of *jiu* in her 255-minute spoken corpus is 291, whereas that of *cai* is only 29.1 I do not intend to argue against their theoretical approaches; to the contrary, their detailed and theoretically consistent accounts of these two markers provide me with a solid base to investigate the behavior of *jiu* in our verbal interactions.

2.0. Literature Review
Biq (1984) and (1988) are the most detailed studies on identifying adverbial functions of *jiu* and *cai*. She exemplifies a well-organized study that is carefully defined along the lines of modern linguistic theories. She consistently identifies and distinguishes the different usages in terms of one descriptive parameter (i.e. the scope of focus), and contrasts the two markers with one explanatory principle (i.e. scalar implicature based on Gricean maxims). She categorizes the various occurrences of *jiu* and *cai* into four types of usage: parametric usage, limiting usage, emphatic usage, temporal usage. In each usage, *jiu* and *cai* place a different type of focus on some element involved in speech. *Cai/jiu* can have four different kinds of focus: (1) temporal setting of the narrated event. (2) parametric: the circumstances determining the actuation of the event; (3) the emphatic: the event itself; (4) limiting: some element internal to the event. And *cai/jiu* are distinguished from each other by the implicatures they carry.

In addition to further exploring the adverbial functions of *jiu* and *cai* in spoken discourse, Liu’s study also extends the grammaticalization processes of the two markers, including the

---

1 I wish to thank Prof. Shuanfan Huang and two anonymous reviewers for their useful comments and suggestions. Needless to say, all the errors and inadequacies remaining in this paper are my own.

1 There are only 37 *cai* in my 135-minute spoken corpus. All my data come from the Mandarin Spoken Corpus by NTU; for a detailed description of the texts I chose for this study, please see the Appendix.
source, pathways, and endpoint functionality.

3.0. The Database

3.1. Comparison of Liu's and Hsieh's database

|                  | Liu's | Hsieh's |
|------------------|-------|---------|
| Texts            | 5     | 15      |
| Durations        | 255 mins | 135 mins |
| The number of occurrences of JIU | 291 | 667² |
| The number of JIU per minutes | 1.14 | 4.94 |

From the table above, we can see that the number of occurrences of jiu is much higher in the present data, about five times as many as those in Liu's data. In average, Mandarin speakers utters five tokens of jiu per minute. And I follow Liu's study and categorize jiu according to the function and summarize the distribution in Table 2. Before that, I give a brief description of the categorization of jiu.

3.2. The categorization of jiu

3.2.1. As a linking element

According to Liu (1993), there are main functions of jiu: as a linking element and as a limiting element. As a linking element, jiu relates two propositions in an antecedent-consequent relation and always occurs with the consequent clause, as in A, jiu B (A and B are two different propositions). Without making further sub-categorization here, Liu recognizes the dependency of A-C can be of any semantic type, but that the jiu-marked consequent proposition clauses are directly resultative of the antecedent.

As the following examples reveal, however, not all jiu-marked propositions in such relations are a consequence of the event indicated in the antecedent clauses. Based on the data I have, I therefore sub-categorize such an A-C linking usage into three types:

1. CONDITIONAL. In this usage, jiu usually cooccurs with the following phrases: zhiyau...jIU “只要...就”; yaushi...jiu “要是...就”; ruguo...jiu “如果...就”; na(...)jIU. “那(...)就”; (na/ruguo)dehua.jiu “(那/如果)的話...就”; buran.jiu “不然...就”. For example:

   (1) Basketball 103 B:...zhiyau you henduo ren
       只要有很多人
       104 .. jiu keyi cangdau
       就可以搶到
       “As long as we have lots of persons, we can get (the basketball field).”

2. CONSEQUENTIAL: In this usage, jiu marks the consequent clause as a consequence of

² In my data, I did not take into account the use of jiu in the phrase of jiushishuo, which is routinized as a discourse marker.
the event indexed by the antecedent clauses, and usually co-occurs with the following phrases: yinwei...jiu “因為...就”; jieguo...jiu “結果...就”; (suoyi/na)...jiu (juede/xing) (shuo) “（所以/那）...就（覺得/想）（說）”; suoyi...jiu “所以...就”.

For example:

(2) Basketball 410 .. suoyi wo ye jiu yizhi da

所以我也就一直打

411 .. ranhou pingchang jiu yizhi tiau

然後平常就一直跳

412 .. yizhi tiau

一直跳

→ 413 .. jiu bian gau le

就變高了

“(At the beginning of this semester, everyone was playing the basketball;) therefore, I also started playing the basketball. And in usual time with nothing to do, I just jumped and jumped; as a result, I became taller.”

3.SEQUENTIAL: In this usage, jiu marks the temporal sequence of two propositions, as in A, then jiu B. It usually co-occurs with such phrases as houlai...jiu “後來...就”; ranhou...jiu “然後...就”; na...jiu “那 ...就”. For example:

(3) Basketball 200 B: ...ranhou

然後

201 .. zhou ren yihou

找人以後

→ 202 .. jiu yau ji qingchu shi shei

就要記清楚是誰

“Then, after you’ve found someone, you have to remember who you did find.”

3.2.2. **As a temporal linking element**

When jiu is used as a temporal linking element, it relates an event/state to a temporal frame, be it a temporal phrase or a temporal clause. The essential function of jiu is to assert a direct, or immediate relation between an event/state and a temporal reference point, by signaling an extremely short interval. It implies a time span between a temporal reference point and the event/state, and excludes all but the beginning of the span. jiu as a temporal linking function to mark “immediate future” (Biq 1988: 83) the event is described relative to the speech act time or to some assumed nominative reference point. For example:

(4) Match 408: na-mo zau jiu kai-shi zuo-mei

“(You) started making matches at that early age.”

3.2.3. **As a limiting element**

Jiu can also be used as a sentential particle to limit, usually in an emphatic manner, the referential or predicational scope of a subsequent constituent. As a limiting element, jiu does not indicate relations across two propositional entities; instead, it is relevant only to one following constituent. The limiting jiu is usually considered to be ‘emphatic’ (Biq 1988. Li & Thompson 1981), and Liu (1993) attributes such emphatic reading to its scope limiting character: highlight a selected member out of a general set. For example:
3.2.4 As a concessive conditional marker

In this usage, jiu always combines with either shi ‘be’ or suan ‘count’ as in就算 / 就是. Such a usage is rare in our data; I found only two examples:

(7) Homo 134 A... na suoyi ni jiusuan zhenzheng you

那所以你就算真正有

ni dagai ye buhui tai ganjue dau

你大概也不會太感覺到

“Therefore, even if you do have (that kind of propensity), you probably wouldn’t be aware of it.”

(8) MCON1 445.. na zue zhuyau shi yinwei zheli feng da

那最主要是因爲這裡風大

ranhou women zheli shi di de

然後我們這裡是低的

447.. jiu shi women gang sau-guo

就是我們剛掃過

keshi

可是

ta yi cue

它一吹

ye cue dau

也吹到

“The most important is that the wind here is rather high and then (the ground) here is low; even if we just finish sweeping, the wind will still blow the dirt (and the trash) here.”

3.2.5 jiu in prepositional phrases

Another use of jiu is the occurrence of jiu in a prepositional phrase, as in the phrases of jiu...reyian / jiu...cengmian “就...而言/就...層面”, in which jiu introduces the topical frame for the following proposition. For example:

(9) Assig 318.. ta ciji you dingwei

她自己有定位

319.. ranhou zai xuejiau

然後在學校

jiu zemo

就怎麼

zemo

怎麼

zemo gen tongxue hudong de cengmian

怎麼跟同學互動的層面

jiu dau nali

就到那裡

“She has located herself in a clear position. With regard to the relationship between classmates in school, she would never exceed the assumed relation.”
3.2.6. The identificational use

In her thesis, Liu also discusses the identificational use of *jiu*, as in *jiushi* ‘就是’, *jiushuo* ‘就說’, or the reduced form *jiu*, which she views as a convergence of its linking and limiting functions. In this usage, *jiushi* or *jiu* functions as an equating or identificational marker that attaches a preceding NP with a structurally parallel NP or relative type of clause. Though she gives examples to illustrate the usage, she does not indicate the number of occurrences in her distribution table (Liu 1993:81&138).

Following are Liu’s examples (p.138):

(10) *ta shuo ta jihu dou meiyou shenmo tiezhe le*

她說她幾乎都沒有什麼鐵質了，

*jiushi pin-xue pin de hen yanzhong.*

就是貧血貧得很嚴重。

“She said she barely has any iron (in her blood); in other words, she has serious anaemia.”

(11) *tong-sheng-nan, ta hai keyi la, Jiushuo ta men-zhe tou zuo la, ren man quianxu de.*

就說，他說著頭做啦，人蠻謙虛的。

“Tong Sheng Na is alright; that is, he is hardworking and modest.”

From the examples, we can clearly see that the two tokens of *jiu* here are more like paraphrasing than identificational usage. Furthermore, the use of *jiushuo* as an identificational (or paraphrasing) marker does not occur in my data.

4.0 Results and Findings

Table 2 summarizes a comparison of the distribution of *jiu* in Liu’s and Hsieh’s results.

|                 | Liu’s | Hsieh’s |
|-----------------|-------|---------|
| Linking         |       |         |
| A-C linking     | 114   | 324     |
| Temporal linking| 47    | 23      |
| Limiting        | 122   | 158     |
| Concessive      | 6     | 2       |
| Prepositional   | 0     | 1       |
| Verbal          | 2     | 0       |
| Total           | 291   | 667     |
| **Total**       | 308   | 737     |

What calls my attention is the obviously outnumbering of the linking usage, identificational usage and the limiting usage of *jiu*. I will give a detailed account of each usage in my data in the following sections.

4.1 The linking usage of *jiu*

What strikes me more is that when I was analyzing the data, some of linking *jius* were

---

1 Since *jiushishuo* has been routinized as a discourse marker, I did not take into account such usage in my data.
so devoid in the semantic content and so illusive in its pragmatic function that it was sometimes a rather difficult task to identify its categorization, especially those combined with temporal connectives ranhou and houlai. For example:

(12) MCON3  174: Y:...dong jun-yan xian-zai zai gau na-ge daxuefa
董俊彦現在在搞那個大學法
→  175...ranhou ta jiu shuo
然後他就說
→  176...ta jiu shuo women xi tai baoshou le
他就說我們系太保守了
177...dou meiyou dau
都沒有到
→  178...(1.1)ta jiu zai na-bian
他就在那邊
179..ho ta xianzai hau-xiang mingjindang oh
他現在好像民進黨哦

“Dong Jun-yen now is making the college bill; and then he said...He said our department was too conservative and (none of the faculty) attended the meeting. He was just there....Oh, he is rather like a member of Mingjindang.”

(13) fami  258 ..zhenghau yau qu bang woba mai yige dianzi
正好要去幫我爸買一個墊子
259 ..pa ta
怕他
260 ..zaoshang ta hua-yi-jiau
早上他滑一跤
261 B:.oh
.哦
→  262 A:.ranhou
.然後
→  263 ..wo jiu shuo
我就說
264 ..women jia yijin jiudian le
我們家已經九點了
265 ..jiu-dianban le
九點半了

A: “(No, that was because) we were going to buy a mat for my father; he slipped and fell down that morning.” B: “Oh.” A: “Then, I said. It was nine o’clock when we were leaving our home; nine-thirty.”

Many scholars who study connectives have found that connectives in discourse often lose their semantic content in conjoining two propositions but are used as discourse markers (Schiffrin 1985; 1986; 1992) or verbal fillers (Huang 1993). Huang’s study regards Mandarin temporal connective ranhou as a “hesitation marker” rather than a “linking word” which reflects speakers’ “conceptual planning operation” that is translated into linguistic form. Following Schiffrin’s (1994) lists theory, Su (1998) illustrate the nonpropositional use of ranhou, which is used to maintain textual coherence rather than the temporal order of events. She calls such use of ranhou interactional usage, since it is not necessarily to link anaphorically a previous proposition (event time), but simply to denote the temporal sequence of speech behavior (discourse time); furthermore, it can be used as a topic initiator, a
floor-holding device or a floor-taking device. (Su 1998)⁴

In this regard, the linking *jiu* acts more like an utterance-connective, even when it does not combine with such connectives as *ranhou, hou-lai* and *shuo-yi*. In my data, about half, more than fifty, of the sequential *jius* do not mark any antecedent-consequent relation of the two propositions, but simply denote the temporal sequence of speech behavior for the purpose of accomplishing conversational coherence (Craig & Tracy 1983). As Extract (14) and (15) illustrate:

(14) Assig B: ..hm
   → 354 A: ..xiang wo jin-tian jiu xie a
   → 355 .. ranhou jiu zai na han shuo
       然後就在那喊說
   356 <Q ou dou meiyou zhuyi guo eh
       《Q 都沒有注意過 eh
       B: “hm.” A: “Just like while I was writing today, and then I cried out, ‘Ou, I have never noticed that…””

(15) KTV 489 B: .. <@ ni you-me you kan zuotian de chaujingqitian @>
       <@ 你有沒有看昨天的超級星期天 @>
   490 .. [H] @@@
   491 A: ..[meiyou a]
       [沒有啊]
   492 .. jiu zai bianyan
       就在表演
   493 B: .. <@ zuotian nage @>
       <@ 昨天那個 @>
   494 A: ..zeyang
       怎樣
   → 495 B: ..lan-xin-mei ta jiu shang nage jizhehui
       藍心湄她就上那個記者會
       B: “Did you watch Super Sunday yesterday? A: “No, I was performing.” B: “Yesterday, that…” A: “What?” B: “Lan Xin-mei showed up in the Ji-zhe-hui.”

4.2 Identificational usage of *jiu / jiushi*

As Liu (1993) points out, the identification use of *jiu* or *jiushi* is to identify or characterize the referent of a previously mentioned NP as in an equation sentence, as Extract (16) & (17) illustrate:

(16) Theft 37 L:..(0.8) nage yau <E dialogue E>
      那個要 dialogue
   38 .. suo-wei <E dialogue E>
      所謂 dialogue
   → 39 .. jiushi yau ting liang fang
      就是要聽兩方
      “That needs dialogues. The so-called dialogue refers to the two-party conversation.”

(17) KTV 169 B: (0)shang-xiau shi ta baba ma
      上校是她爸爸嗎

⁴ As Su points out, “everyday talk is the accomplishment of conversational coherence (Craig and Tracy 1983); it is the joint creation and display of connective between utterances, such that what one speaker says can be understood to follow sensibly from what the other has said.” (Su 1998:177)
Table 3 The distributions of identificational jiù and jiu

| Category                  | Occurrence |
|---------------------------|------------|
| External facts/An entity’s ID | 71         |
| Assessments               | 58         |
| Concessive                | 1          |

Nevertheless, as the data in Table 3 reveal, we may find that the identificational jiù is not only used in equation sentences to give an objective description to identify or characterize an entity, but also used to report speaker’s thought, subjective opinions, evaluations or assessments. The most striking is that it can appear as verbal filler. In Extract (18), the two speakers are talking about their mutual friend, Lan-xin, and getting worried about Lan-xin’s recent depression and conflict caused by her rather busy career. Lan-xin feels rather perplexed because on the one hand she wants to transfer to the department of translating editors to gain more free time, but on the other hand, she also wants to stay in the original post as a reporter to write “something”, a goal which a translating editor can never reach. When Speaker S utters bianyi jiushi zheyangzi “編譯就是這樣子” (A translating editor is just like this)” in Line 175, it is pretty hard for the addressee to understand what exactly a translating editor is like unless she knows the speaker’s preference and subjective assessment on this job.

(18) repo 171: ...ta qishi
她其實
172 ...lan-xin ta zi ji ye xiang xie xie
蘭馨她自己也想寫些
173.xie dian dongxi a
寫點東西啊
174 S...bianyi shi
編譯是
→ 175...bianyi jiushi zheyangzi
編譯就是這樣子
C: “In fact, Lan-xin also wants to write and has her own products.” S: “A translating editor is just like that.”

In Extract (19), the speakers are talking about a heavy snowstorm that forces the Dallas airport closes and one speaker’s father is thus stuck in the Dallas airport. Moreover, the Dallas airport does not provide any food or hotel for the passengers and just let the passengers sit and wait in the airport lobby. Then Speaker B asks a question in Line53, and Speaker A provides a confirming answer followed by a negative assessment on Dallas City, which is not directly related to the question.

(19) fami 52 B: ...zemo namo
怎麼那麼
53 (1.8) dalesi shi yi qian dagu zhu de difang
達勒斯是以前大姑住的地方
54 A...duei a
對啊
And in Extract (20) Speaker L's utterance in Line 122 conveys strong negative emotional reaction toward the entity they are talking about. His description of that woman is solely based on his subjective opinions rather than on external facts or objective evidence.

4.3. The limiting usage of jiu

According to Liu, the limiting jiu occurs with almost all kinds of constituents. Although it renders slightly varying meanings when combined with different constituents, its major function is to place focus on a subsequent element by limiting the scope of possible candidates to the particular one. But in my data, I have found that in addition to conveying emphatic meaning, jiu can also denote a decision or a suggestion, as the following example illustrates:

(21) G&M 305: women jiu shier-dian

“Let’s say twelve o’clock.”

5. Discussions

From Table 1, we can clearly see that the frequency of the occurrence of jiu in verbal interactions is much higher now than that in Liu’s 1993 study, whereas that of cai does not change much as time changes. Furthermore, as a linking element, jiu is gaining its epistemic meaning as a discourse marker. The linking jiu is not only to mark an antecedent-consequent relation of two propositions, but also to denote a temporal sequence of speech behavior. As an identificaitonal element, jiu can be used in equation sentences to identify or characterize a previously mentioned entity; such an identification can go from those based on external facts or objective statements to those based on speaker’s personal preference and subjective evaluations or assessments and to those without any semantic content but serving as verbal
fillers.

The high frequent occurrence of *jiu* in verbal interactions accelerates the change of the meaning and the behavior of Mandarin *jiu*. On the other hand, the *cai* behaves extremely conservatively in this aspect. A possible explanation for such a difference in these two adverbial items might be that *jiu* originates as a verb and *cai* a noun in the Early Stage of Old Chinese. Research by Gentner (1981) and by Gentner and France (1988) suggests that if the comprehension system is looking for a possible metaphor, it would try the verb first, because verbs are inherently more mutable than nouns. They found that nouns tend to refer to fixed entities, while verb meanings bend more readily to fit the context.

But how do we explain the behavior of limiting *jiu* that speakers use to denote their decision or suggestion after their negotiation in the interaction? In her 1993 study, Liu also explores the grammaticalization process of Mandarin adverbial marker *jiu*, states that the development of *jiu* has followed more than one path/channel of grammaticalization and thus can be represented as a poly-grammaticalization chain; that is, one and the same morpheme provides the source of more than one chain. (Liu 1993:216-218)

*Jiu* originates from a spatial motion verb in Early Old Chinese; the essential meaning of *jiu* is ‘to bring oneself to the deictic center of the GOAL’, with focus more on the TOWARDS-THE-GOAL part. (Liu 1993:221) And through metaphorical and contextual manipulations, the verbal *jiu* is allowed to be used in a wide range of contexts. Therefore, on the basis of the metaphorical concept ACTION IS PATH or ACTION IS MOVEMENT, that speakers make a decision after negotiation with others through verbal interactions can be perceived as taking action ‘to accomplish a certain task’ or ‘to achieve certain goal’, which can both be perceived as moving in space towards a definite location.

6. Concluding Remarks

This study starts out with my little curiosity about the seemly over-flooded use of *jiu* in our daily verbal interactions and turns out to be an account of the further grammaticalization process of Mandarin adverbial marker *jiu* after Liu’s 1993 study.

As what many functional linguists and CA experts believe, grammar emerges out of response to verbal interactions. The high frequency of *jiu* in verbal interactions accelerates the change of the meaning and the behavior of Mandarin *jiu*.

References

Biq, Yung-O. 1984. The semantics and pragmatics of CAI and JIU in Mandarin Chinese. Ph.D. dissertation. Cornell University.

---------. 1988. From focus in proposition to focus in speech situation: *cai* and *jiu* in Mandarin Chinese. JCL 16.72-108.

---------. 1990. Conversation, continuation and connectives. Text 10(3).187-208.

Gentner, D. 1981. Some interesting differences between verbs and nouns. Cognition and brain theory
Heine, Bernd, U. Claudi, and F. Hunnemeyer. 1991. Grammaticalization: a conceptual framework. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hopper, Paul. 1987. Emergent grammar. Berkeley Linguistics Society 13:139-157.

Huang, Shuanfan. 1993. Pause as a window on the mind and the grammar—evidence from spoken Chinese discourse. Paper presented at the Workshop on Interfaces and the Chinese Language, June 30-August 6, 1993, Ohio State University.

Liu, Mei-chun. 1993. Discourse, grammar, and grammaticalization: synchronic & diachronic analyses of Mandarin adverbial markers JIU & CAI. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Colorado at Boulder. UMI.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1985. Conversational coherence: the role of well. Language 61(3).640-667.

---. 1986. The function of and in discourse. Journal of Pragmatics 10(1).41-66.

---. 1992. Anaphoric then: aspectual, textual and epistemic meaning. Linguistics 30(4):753-792.

Su, Lily I-wen. 1998. Conversational coherence: the use of ranhou in Chinese spoken discourse. Selected papers from the Second International Symposium on Language in Taiwan, ed. by Shuanfan Huang, 167-182. Taipei: The Crane

Traugott, Elizabeth. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: an example of subjectification in semantic change. Language 65.31-55.

---

**Appendix**

| TEXT      | SPEAKERS                                      | TOPIC       | TYPE           | DURATION | IU's |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------|------|
| Hong Kong | C, 33, female, social worker in a church      | Hong Kong  | Face-to-face   | 8'27"   | 446  |
|           | Y: male, clergyman in the church              |             |                |          |      |
|           | Z: male, clergyman in the church              |             |                |          |      |
|           | W: the transcriber                            |             |                |          |      |
| G & M     | G: female college teacher about 34            | Treating    | Face-to-face   | 6'11"   | 379  |
|           | M: female college teacher teaches about 39    |             |                |          |      |
| Match     | H: a junior college teacher and amateur       | Matchmaking | Face-to-face   | 10'00"  | 706  |
|           | matchmaker, female, about 50                  |             |                |          |      |
|           | I: a junior college teacher, female, about 33|             |                |          |      |
|           | M: a college teacher, female, about 39        |             |                |          |      |
| Actor     | M: male, student                              | Actor       | Face-to-face   | 10'05"66" | 498 |
|           | F: female, student                            |             |                |          |      |
| Basketball| T: female, 29, teacher                        | Basketball  | Face-to-face   | 9'05"   | 414  |
| Repo | Reporters | Face-to-face | 19'20" | 835 |
|------|------------|--------------|--------|-----|
| S: female, a translating editor in a magazine | C: female, social worker in a church | W: female, the transcriber | B: junior high school student, 14 |
| Assignment | Assignment | Face-to-face | 11'22" | 758 |
| A: female, college student, 22 | B: female, college student, 29 | Assignment | |
| Theft | Theft | Face-to-face | 8'51" | 584 |
| L: a female graduate student about 27 | J: a female teaching assistance about 28 | I: a female junior college teacher about 33 | M: a female college teacher about 39 |
| MCON1 | Department | Face-to-face | 9'06" | 504 |
| F: female, librarian, 40 | M: male, assistant, 30 | |
| KTV | KTV | Face-to-face | 9'17" | 532 |
| A & B: female college students | A & B: roommates at a girl's dormitory in NTU | |
| Homo | Homo | Face-to-face | 10'34" | 385 |
| A & B: female college students | A & B: roommates at a girl's dormitory in NTU | |
| Family talk | Family talk | Face-to-face | 6'41" | 333 |
| Fami | A: female, middle age, housewife | B: female, college student | C: female, college student | O: female, child |
| Ping-pong | Ping-pong | Face-to-face | 5'03" | 260 |
| MCON3 | Y: female, college lecturer, 33 | H: female, vice professor, 40 | J: female, janitor, 65 |
| Election | Election | Face-to-face | 6'18" | 299 |
| C & L: male, college students | C & L: male, college students | |
| Friends | Friends | Face-to-face | 5'36" | 251 |
| MCON5 | B: female college student, 21 | J: female college student, 21 | L: female, housewife, 43 |