

A DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF MAA 'WELL' IN
JAPANESE SPONTANEOUS CONVERSATION

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1. Introduction

Previous studies have shown that a speaker uses the adverb/interjection maa 'well' before an assessment to weaken the force of the assessment (Mizutani and Mizutani 1981, Nakada 1991), to emphasize a request of the listener, and to indicate that the speaker accepts his/her limitations in a given situation (Morita 1989). The use of maa to emphasize the speaker's willingness to settle for a less preferable choice serves to express a compromising attitude (Morita 1989). I have found that a speaker also uses maa to involve the listener in his/her compromising assessment. The speaker justifies his/her assessment by asserting the temporary appropriateness of the assessment given the situation at hand. I also demonstrate that an assessment prefaced by maa often functions to end a topic, thus providing a solution that ends the current discussion.

Building on Morita's analysis of the use of maa to indicate the speaker's willingness to accept a less preferable choice, I propose that a speaker also uses compromising maa when he/she tries to get the listener to admit that the speaker's assessment of the situation is temporarily the most appropriate choice. By implying that the choice is temporarily the most appropriate given the situation at hand, the speaker justifies his/her judgement as an appropriate one. I also suggest that a speaker uses compromising maa even when the most preferable choice or a limitation on the situation cannot be identified from the real context, such as before reporting a fact. In this case, maa does not function to soften the assessment as suggested by Mizutani and Mizutani (1981) and Nakada (1991), but rather emphasizes the appropriateness of the speaker's assessment based on a false sense of compromise implied by maa. I demonstrate that maa's implication of temporary appropriateness allows a speaker to justify his/her assessment when the assessment involves the listener, e.g., in situations where the speaker is providing a solution to a problem that affects the listener.

2. Previous research on *maa* 'well'

Mizutani and Mizutani (1981: 134) claim that the use of *maa* before an expression of the speaker's judgement functions to express the speaker's hesitation to make the judgement. The speaker uses *maa* in (1) because he/she "does not want to sound too sure about" the judgement *daizyoobu desyoo* 'it (should) be all right' (Mizutani and Mizutani 1981: 134, translation mine).

- (1) Ano hito nara *MAA* daizyoobu desyoo.
If it's that person *well* it should be all right.
(Mizutani 1981: 134, translation mine)

Nakada (1991) also claims that speakers preface their utterances with *maa* in order to soften them as in (2).

- (2) Genki na no wa ii kedo, itazura mo *MAA* hodo hodo ni sinai to.
Although it is all right to be energetic, mischief *well* if you don't do it in moderation.
(Nakada 1991: 89, translation mine)

Morita (1989: 1037-1038) claims that *maa* can be used 1) to emphasize a speaker's request of the listener and 2) to accept a speaker's limitation given the situation at hand and display the speaker's willingness to settle for a less preferable choice given this limitation. Although he does not provide any examples, Morita points out that when the action emphasized is directed toward the speaker rather than the listener 2) is a special case of 1). In this case, the speaker accepts his/her limitations and indicates a willingness to settle for a less preferable choice.

The speaker's use of *maa* in (3) and (4) to preface his/her request of the listener functions to emphasize the request and encourage the listener to leave what he/she is currently doing and respond (Morita 1989: 1037).

- (3) *MAA*, soo ossyarazu ni, hito-tu onegai-simasu yo.
Well, I humbly request that you just do (it) for me without saying so.
(Morita 1989: 1037, translation mine)
- (4) *MAA* otuitte.
Well, (please stop being upset, and) relax.
(Morita 1989: 1037, translation mine)

Thus, the speaker uses *maa* before a variety of requests ranging from a humble entreaty for the listener's help as in (3) to a direct command of the listener as in (4).

Morita claims that a speaker also uses maa 'well' to display his/her willingness to accept the limitations on the situation at hand and to settle for a less preferable choice. In these cases, the speaker makes a moderate judgement, implying that although a better alternative exists, he/she is willing to settle for a less favorable one at the time of utterance. Morita characterizes the speaker's compromising attitude expressed by maa into three types.

a. the speaker's willingness to accept a situation which is not ideal.

- (5) MAA muri o sinai de kyoo wa kono hen de yamete okoo.
Well, I guess I'll stop (my work) here today (because) I don't want to push myself too much.
 (Morita 1989: 1037-1038, translation mine)

b. the speaker's willingness to make an effort to go beyond his/her ability limit to improve a situation which is not ideal.

- (6) Sonna ni ossyaru nara MAA kangaete mimasyoo.
 If you say (it) to that extent, well, I guess I'll try to reconsider (the situation and seek a better solution for you.)
 (Morita 1989: 1038, translation mine)

c. the speaker's accepting but dissatisfied feeling toward a situation which is not ideal.

- (7) Kawari no hito wa MAA nan to ka ate ga tuite imasu.
 I already have well someone in mind as an alternative.
 (Morita 1989: 1038, translation mine)

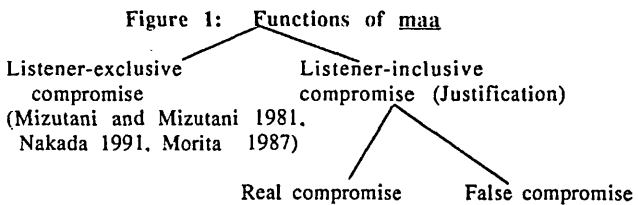
The speaker's feeling of compromise in (5) through (7) is based on his/her understanding of existing limitations on his/her ability to achieve the ideal situation. In (5), for example, Maa muri o sinai de kyoo wa kono hen de yamete okoo 'Well, I guess I'll stop (my work) here today (because) I don't want to push myself too much', the speaker accepts existing limitations on his/her ability to complete more work than what he/she has completed up until this point being fully aware that it would be better if he/she could complete more of the work. Thus, in all of Morita's examples, the speaker compromises and settles for a situation which is not ideal in contexts where his/her limitations are identifiable.

Morita's (1989) use of maa to indicate that the speaker accepts his/her limitations in a given situation and to emphasize his/her willingness to settle for a less preferable choice can be related to

Mizutani and Mizutani (1981) and Nakada's (1991) analyses of *maa* as a softener. It is because *maa* indicates the speaker's awareness of his/her limitations that *maa* functions to weaken the force of the following assessment. Thus, in (1) repeated below, by prefacing his/her assessment with *maa*, the speaker implies that although he/she realizes that it is not all right in an ideal sense, it is all right in light of the limitations on the speaker given the context at hand.

- (1) Ano hito nara *MAA* daizyoobu desyoo.
If it's that person *well* it should be all right.
(Mizutani 1981: 134)

I will refer to the uses of *maa* analyzed by Mizutani and Mizutani (1981), Nakada (1991), and Morita (1989) as "listener-exclusive compromise" because they focus on cases that express the speaker's personal feelings exclusive of the listener. In contrast, I demonstrate uses of compromising *maa* that involve the listener which I will refer to as "listener-inclusive compromise". The use of *maa* for "listener-inclusive compromise" displays the speaker's justifying attitude and can be used in situations of real compromise and false compromise as shown in Figure 1.



3. Analysis of *maa* used for listener-inclusive compromise

Building on Morita's (1989) study, I propose that the uses of *maa* which indicate the speaker's awareness of his/her limitations and display his/her willingness to compromise function to make the listener admit that the speaker's assessment is temporally the most appropriate given the situation at hand. By involving the listener in the speaker's assessment, the speaker changes the orientation of the previous conversational flow. Thus, the speaker's compromising assessment prefaced by *maa* often ends the current discussion by presenting a different perspective¹ from previous assessment(s) made in the conversation. I also demonstrate that when the speaker's compromising assessment prefaced by *maa* offers a solution, the current discussion often involves a disagreement between the

speaker and the listener. In these usages of maa, the speaker is not weakening his/her assessment, but rather enforcing it. He/she implies that his/her choice is temporarily the most appropriate and the only choice for both the speaker and the listener given the circumstances, while showing that he/she is fully aware that the choice is not ideal. Finally, I demonstrate that a speaker uses Morita's compromise maa in contexts where real compromise is not required, that is, in contexts where there is neither a limitation on the speaker's assessment nor other alternatives available, e.g., when the speaker is reporting a fact. The speaker's use of compromise maa in contexts where real compromise is not expected allows the speaker to justify and assert the appropriateness of his/her assessment.

3.1. Justification based on real compromise by the speaker

Maa can be used for listener-inclusive compromise when the speaker justifies him/herself based on real compromise. In this usage, the best or worst alternative and existing limitations on the speaker's assessment can be identified in the context. In the conversation in (8), A, an interviewer, prefaces her assessment with maa in a situation where the alternatives and the speaker's limitations actually exist in reality. The worst alternative is to be killed in the war and the best alternative is not to have any bad experiences in the war. Using maa in 5A and 10A, A tries to convince B of the appropriateness of her assessment, i.e., that compared to being killed, B's entire experience during the war period was not so bad. Thus, A uses maa in 5A and 10A to try to get B to share her compromising assessment.

(8) (A=a female TV interviewer; B=a male, Japanese traditional play actor)

- 1A: Osorosii.
 2A: iti-meetoru tikaku made teki ga kityatta n desu ne.
 3B: Ee.
 4B: Moo sugu, soba made mukoo no zangoo ni kite,
 5A: Demo MAA,
 6B: Kotti ga sipparu to,
 7B: mukoo mo siku to.
 8B: Moo ryooohoo de sipparu.
 9A: Ryooohoo de keekikanzyuu o hippariatta to.
 10A: Demo MAA, ikite okaeri ni natta no de nee,
 11B: Ee.
 12A: nan de mo odeki ni natta wake de.
 (The interviewer A starts to end the talk show.)

- 1A: (It is) scary,
 2A: it's (that) the enemies came (up) one meter in front of
 you, did they?
 3B: Yes,
 4B: they came to the trench near us right there and
 5A: But, well,
 6B: When we pulled (our light machine guns),
 7B: they also pulled (them).
 8B: So, both we and the enemies pulled (our) guns.
 9A: You both pulled (your) light machine guns.
 10A: But, well, since you returned alive (from the war),
 11B: Yes.
 12A: you have been able to do whatever you want (since then).
 (The interviewer A starts to end the talk show.)

In 1A and 2A, A comments on how frightening B's war experience must have been and confirms a detail from B's story about the enemy being 1 meter away from B at the time. In 3B, B assures A that this was so and gives more details about the event in 4B and 6B through 8B. A begins an utterance in 5A Demo maa 'But, well', but allows B to continue speaking. After summarizing B's story in 9A, A finally succeeds in making her assessment of B's overall experience in the war with her utterance in 10A that begins with maa. By prefacing her assessment with maa, A implies that although B's overall experience was neither perfect nor terrible, he has to admit that he was lucky to have survived the war. With this claim implied by maa A justifies her assessment and tries to get B to admit that her assessment is appropriate.

A's assessment in 10A and 12A functions to end the talk about B's specific experience. The interviewer A moves from the shared perspective which she and B co-created in 1A-4B and 6B-9A to a more general perspective which is not directly related to B's specific narrative about B and the enemies pulling their guns together. Maa functions to involve B in A's general assessment and in turn allows A to successfully end B's narrative.

(9) is an example where E, a car company representative, uses maa in a situation where the best possibility is identifiable from context. E uses maa in 8E in an attempt to persuade his listener to agree with his compromising assessment, emphasizing the fact that his assessment is the most appropriate for the time being and the only choice given the circumstances. With full knowledge that the ideal situation would be to continue current car prices, E maintains that he had no choice but to raise the price given the continuing decline in the value of the yen.

(9) (E=a male car company representative; F=a male interviewer)

- 1E: Maa syooziki ni iimasite,
 2E: kono mama //no desu nee,
 3F: Ee.
 4E: enyasu keekoo ga aa tuzuite iku to iu koto ni narimasu to ne,
 5E: kanari no kosutodaka ni narimasu n de,
 6E: ee ima no kakaku o desu ne,
 7E: izi-suru to iu no wa,
 8E: kaisya to site wa kanari, MAA kibisii to
 9E: MAA iu koto ga ieru n desu kedomo...
- 1E: Well, honestly speaking,
 2E: given the present tendency
 3F: Yes.
 4E: as the price of yen continues to fall,
 5E: it's that our costs rise, and (so),
 6E: uhh, the present price,
 7E: in order to maintain it at least
 8E: for the company at least it is well quite hard
 9E: it's that well it can be said (like that) but...

E uses maa in 8E and 9E to justify his conclusion and involve the customers in his decision. It is as if he were saying "we (you the customers and other car company employees and I) should accept this less than ideal situation because it is the only choice for us". He emphasizes that the decision to raise car prices was made after giving due consideration to all the possibilities available keeping the customers in mind. By using maa, he implies that his decision is reasonable and acceptable because he has considered things from the customer's perspective.

Maa is also used before a compromising assessment to offer a solution from a different perspective than that of a previous assessment. By offering a solution, the speaker tries to end the current talk which is often confusing and may involve a disagreement between the speakers.

Pomerantz (1984) claims that English speakers often preface their disagreements with expressions such as "uh's," "well's" and the like" (1984: 72) in situations where agreeing with the previous speaker's assessment is preferred. Turn prefaces such as "well" delay the speaker's turn and function to display the speaker's "reluctancy or discomfort" (1984: 72). She provides some examples of turns which contain pre-disagreement prefaces such as (10). In (10),

A prefaces his/her disagreement with "well, uh" to indicate hesitation.

- (10) (SBL: 1.1.10.-4)
 B: Oh, how sad.
 B: And that went wrong.
 (1.0)
 A: Well, uh --
 B: That surgery, I mean.
 A: I don't-
 (Pomerantz 1984: 99)

What I refer to as a solution is an assessment that presents a different perspective that helps to resolve the current discussion. This differs from Pomerantz's disagreeing assessment because a solution does not necessarily contradict a previous assessment. While the pre-disagreement preface "well" displays a speaker's reluctance or discomfort (Pomerantz 1984: 72) the pre-solution preface *maa* functions to involve the other participant in the speaker's compromising solution or assessment, as if saying "let's take this compromising perspective together."

In the conversations in (11) and (12), C, a Japanese language instructor, tries to persuade her teaching assistant D to do a class activity that she has proposed for the following day's lesson plan. Prior to the conversation in (11), C has explained the classroom activity.

- (11) (C=a female Japanese language instructor, twenties; D=a female Japanese teaching assistant, thirties.)
- negative assessment 1D: "Soo desu ka" to "soo desu nee" to ryooohoo aru desyo?
 2C: Ee, ee.
 negative assessment 3D: Nanka, "soo desu ne" tte no o kangaeru to,
 negative assessment 4D: tyotto wakannaku natte kite.
 shared assessment 5C: Soo desu yo nee.
 shared assessment 6D: Uun.
 shared assessment 7C: Uun.
 positive assessment 8C: MAA dakara sonoo rensyuu de wa sonoo mite iru hoo wa zisin ga aru
 positive assessment 9C: koto ni simasyoo ka.
- 1D: There are (the expressions) "Soo desu ka." ('Is that so.') and "Soo desu ne." ('That is so, isn't it.'). right?
 2C: Yes, yes.
 3D: Somehow, when I think about (the expression) "Soo desu ne." ('That is so, isn't it.').
 4D: it starts to become a bit confusing.
 5C: That is so, isn't it.

- 6D: Uh huh.
 7C: Uh huh.
 8C: Well, so, shall we suppose that in that activity the students who are watching are confident (know what's going on)?

In 1D, 3D and 4D, D indicates that she is confused about C's previous explanation of the class activity assessing the activity that C has proposed negatively. C agrees with D in 5C Soo desu yo nee. 'That is so, isn't it'. After D's and C's minimal responses Uun, 'Uh huh.' in 6D and 7C, which are pronounced with a low tone which suggests they are having trouble thinking what to do, C offers a positive and compromising solution prefaced with maa in 8C Maa dakara sonoo renyuu de wa sonoo mite iru hoo wa zisin ga aru koto ni simasyoo ka. 'Well, so, shall we suppose that in that activity the students who are watching are confident (know what's going on)?'. C's use of maa in 8C functions to involve D in C's solution, implying that they can still use the activity in the context of the limitations that she has proposed, i.e., assuming that there are students who will be able to follow.

D's negative assessment, i.e., her statement that the activity that she has proposed is confusing in 1D, 3D and 4D is subsequently shared by both C and D in 5C-7C. While agreeing with D's negative assessment, in 8C, C introduces a new perspective that allows both C and D to assess C's original proposal positively. Because C's use of maa in 8C indicates that C is aware of D's perspective and has a compromising implication, C is able to make a positive assessment of her original proposal without directly disagreeing with D. Thus, using 8C, C tries to provide a remedy for D's confusion.

(12) is a continuation of the conversation in (11). C again uses maa in 3C to preface a compromising solution and tries to involve D in this solution. Prior to (12), C has explained more details about the activity C and D discussed in (11).

(12)(C=a female Japanese language instructor, twenties; D=a female Japanese teaching assistant, thirties.)

- 1D: Uun.
 2 (0.8)
 3C: Dakara MAA saisyoo waa,
 4C: sono, siisii no kakunin no toki nanka wa, Un.
 5D:
 6C: moo wake wannai xx-go toka watasite, Un.
 7D:
 8C: "Soo desu ka." tte
 9C: aa, uun to
 10C: wakatte morau sika nai desu ne.

- 1D: Uh huh.
 2 (0.8)
 3C: So, well, at first, at least,
 4C: that, when we check the core conversations and such,
 5D: Uh huh.
 6C: (we) give them (a visual aid) which is totally incomprehensible such
 as (something written in) xx-language, and,
 7D: Uh huh.
 8C: (having them) say "Is that so.",
 9C: uhm, uhm.
 10C: (this) is the only way we can have them understand (it),
 isn't it.

In 1D, D responds to C's explanation with the minimal response Uun 'Uh huh' pronounced in a low and reluctant tone, which suggests that D is still confused and reluctant to comply with C's proposal. This suggests that D's assessment of C's activity is still negative. After the 0.8 second pause in 2, which suggests that there is a conflict between C and D, C makes a second assessment prefaced by Dakara maa 'So, well' in 3C. C insists that if they set the context the activity she has proposed can be used as an initial classroom activity at least, and then asserts that this is the only way that they will be able to get students to understand it. C's positive assessment prefaced by maa, shows her compromising attitude. It presents C's positive assessment as the only choice available although C acknowledges that this activity is not ideal.

Hasunuma (1991: 152) claims that the connective, dakara 'so' is often used when there is a misunderstanding or disagreement between the speaker and the addressee. This use of dakara is based on the speaker's assumption that "his/her knowledge of the subject is shared by the addressee" (Hasunuma 1991: 153). C's use of dakara in 3C before she asserts that D should admit that this is the only way that they can use this activity indicates C's irritation at D's misunderstanding and confusion. She is irritated because she assumes that D should be able to understand her point since she has already explained it several times previously. C's assessment in 3C shows her compromising attitude, i.e., that although C knows that the activity that she suggested is not perfect, it is the only choice for C and D. Thus, maa in 3C functions to involve D in C's compromising assessment and allows C to end the confusion and the momentary confrontation between C and D.

3.2. Justification based on false compromise

Speakers can also use maa in situations such as before reporting a fact where the best or worst alternative cannot be identified and there are no limitations on the speakers. In these cases, I conclude that the speaker is using maa to display a false compromising attitude which justifies the appropriateness of his/her subsequent utterances.

(13) is a conversation between G, an officer of the Japanese Economic Planning Agency, and a TV interviewer. G uses maa in 4G and 5G in a situation where there are no actual limitations on or alternatives to his judgement.

(13)(G=a male officer of the Japanese Economic Planning Agency)

- 1G: Ee Nihon keezai ni wa desu ne,
 2G: ee doko mo warui tokoro wa nai to,
 3G: hito no karada de iu to desu ne,
 4G: MAA mattaku no kenkootai da to,
 5G: koo iu huu ni MAA watasidomo wa desu ne,
 musiro, iikitte kita wake desu keredomo desu nee,
- 1G: Uhh, in the Japanese economy
 2G: uhh there are no bad places.
 3G: If I compare it to the human body,
 4G: well, the economy is a completely healthy body.
 5G: well, it is that rather we have expressed it definitively in this way all along, but...

In using maa, G implies that for the time being, given the present situation, his judgement that the Japanese economy resembles a completely healthy body is justified. However, in reality, there are no other alternatives with which to compare this judgement. G's use of maa suggests that under the present circumstances, his assessment is the only choice available to evaluate the Japanese economy. Thus, by using maa, G asserts that his assessment is the most appropriate given the limits of the present situation and at the same time, demonstrates his ability to compare other possibilities with his choice. He thus presents himself as a moderate, mature evaluator and an authority on the Japanese economy.

Examples (14) and (15) are taken from TV news reports. In these examples, maa is used before a report of fact. In (14), the newscaster H explains that there was a rise in the exchange rate of the yen in 1988 in 1H and 2H and continues describing what happened at that time in 3H through 5H. In 5H, H claims that because of the high exchange rate, some things could be bought at a

lower price at that time and supports his claim with examples of these lower price commodities in 5H prefaced by *maa*.

(14) (H=a male newscaster)

- 1H: De ototosi hatizyuu hati-nen no iti-gatu ni wa,
 2H: iti-zi iti-doru hyakunizyuu-en yonzyuugo-sen made,
 en wa agatta n desu.
 3H: De sono toozi endakasaeki no, oo kangen to iu koto ga
 sakan ni iwaremasite,
 4H: e zissai ni wareware ga aa aru teedo yasuku kaeru yoo ni
 natta mono ga arimasu.
 5H: MAA denkidai mo oo yasuku natta si, MAA gaisya mo
 sukosi yasuku nattaari simasita.
- 1H: Then, in January of 1988 the year before last,
 2H: it's that the dollar rose to one hundred and forty eight yen for a
 short time.
 3H: And, at that time, the subject of returning the profit of the expensive
 yen (to the market price) was intensely discussed, and
 4H: uh, actually, there were some things that we could buy cheaply.
 5H: Well, the electricity bill became cheaper and
well, the imported cars also became a little cheaper.

In (15), the newscaster announces that he will show the current situation of the exchange rate of yen as of last month. He shows a graph which indicates the trend in the rate of the yen and the dollar on the Tokyo market from last month to the present. Then, he uses *maa* in 2H maa, sengetu nizyuu hati-niti no en, doru sooba no Tookyoo sizyoo owarine wa iti-doru hyaku yonzyuu hati-en gojuu ni-sen desita 'Well, the closing price on the 28th of last month was 148.52 yen per dollar on the Tokyo Market'.

(15) (H=a male newscaster)

- 1H: Genzaizyookyoo desu.
 Pause. (The newscaster, H shows a graph which indicates the trend in the exchange rate of the yen and the dollar on the Tokyo market from last month to now.)
 2H: MAA, sengetu nizyuu hati-niti no en, doru sooba no
 Tookyoo sizyoo owarine wa iti-doru hyaku yonzyuu
 hati-en gojuu ni-sen desita.
- 1H: This is the current situation.
 Pause. (The newscaster, H shows a graph which indicates the trend in the exchange rate of the yen and the dollar on the Tokyo market from last month to now)
 2H: Well, the closing price on the 28th of last month was
 148.52 yen per dollar on the Tokyo Market.

In (14) and (15), the newscaster uses *maa* to report the facts, i.e., the fact that some things could be bought at a lower price in 1988 in (14), and the closing price of the yen on the 28th of the

previous month in (15), as if he had evaluated them based on a comparison with some other possibilities. Because the content of his utterances are real facts, there are neither limitations nor other possibilities which affect them. By presenting himself as an evaluator who has the ability to compare the facts with other choices, the newscaster demonstrates his expertise and knowledge of the news.

4. Conclusion

In the present study, I pointed out that Mizutani and Mizutani (1981), Nakada (1991), and Morita's (1987) analyses of maa 'well' for hesitancy, softening and compromise are limited to examples where the speaker is expressing his/her own personal feelings about a situation. I referred to this usage as "listener-exclusive compromise". I demonstrated that a speaker can also use maa to present a compromising attitude in a situation which involves the listener. In these cases, which I refer to as "listener-inclusive compromise," the attitude presented by maa can indicate the speaker's justification for his/her subsequent utterances in 1) situations of real compromise to end the discussion and 2) situations of false compromise. When maa is used to end the current discussion it is often used before an assessment that presents a different perspective from the previous conversational flow. In this case, the speaker uses maa not to weaken but rather to enforce his/her assessment, implying that for the time being given the circumstances, his/her choice is the most appropriate and the only choice available to both the speaker and the listener although it is not ideal. In situations of false compromise, i.e., in situations where there are no limitations on the speaker or other alternatives available and no real compromise is required, a speaker uses "listener-inclusive compromise" maa to justify and assert the appropriateness of his/her subsequent utterances and give him/her an air of authority.

NOTES

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[1] This was first pointed out to me by Eriko Ishida. A similar claim is made by Owen (1983) and Schiffrin (1987) about English "well". In English, Owen (1983) claims that "well" can preface a response to the question, "where the response cancels a presupposition of the question" (Owen 1983: 41). Schiffrin (1987) also states the following.

...*Well* is a response marker: *well* anchors its user in a conversational exchange when the options offered through a prior utterance for the coherence of an upcoming response are not precisely followed. (Schiffrin 1987: 127)

A comparison between *maa* and "well" is beyond the scope of this paper.

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