Clause and verbal group systems in Chinese: a text-based functional approach

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Summary

This study sets out to explore the relationship between grammatical patterning and the organisation of discourse in Modern Standard Chinese. Chapter 0 lays the groundwork for the theoretical framework and the descriptive methodology of the thesis. Chapter 1 discusses the questions of what constitutes a text, and how a text relates to the context in which it is produced. It introduces the three functional components or metafunctions of systemic functional theory according to which language use may be understood - the textual, the interpersonal, and the experiential - and shows how these metafunctions can be used in the description of a text to make connections between its context of situation (register), its overall organisation as a text (discourse-semantics) and the form of its wording (lexicogrammar). It describes the lexicogrammar of a single Chinese text in terms of the basic grammatical systems which build up the meaning of the clause, and the functional clause elements which realise those systems. Chapter 2 reviews the grammatical description put forward in Chapter 1 in terms of the different structures constituted by the textual, interpersonal and experiential elements of the clause in Chinese. It discusses the relationship between the central lexicogrammatical unit of clause and the other units of which it is constituted, and shows how the different functional components of the lexicogrammar define structures whose scope does not always coincide with the clause. It then examines how clauses are joined together, analysing the text in terms of a further functional structure - the logical, and shows how these four types of grammatical structure come together to express the meanings of the whole text. Chapter 3 examines the grammatical systems that lie behind the different function structures of the clause. It compares the single text used in Chapter 1 with other Chinese texts which contrast with it in terms of their textual, interpersonal, experiential or logical patterning, and discusses the ways in which a grammatical description is influenced by features of the texts chosen as data. It then contrasts the parameters of this systemic functional description of Chinese grammar with other descriptive frameworks.

Chapter 4 sets out the systemic meaning options available in the verbal group in Chinese and the structures through which they are realised, and shows the relationship of the verbal group systems to the clause systems already described in previous chapters. It traces the changes in verbal group marking through the unfolding of a particular Chinese text by describing the meanings that are taken up from verbal group systems at different points in the text, and identifying the various factors that trigger this marking. Chapter 5 sums up the issues raised throughout the thesis in setting up a framework for describing Chinese clause and verbal group systems through their contribution to the organisation of text. It characterises the relationship between the different layers of meaning in text - the grammatical meanings embodied in clauses and groups, and the semantic meanings realised over the text as a whole - and shows how grammatical description needs to be both top-down, i.e. in terms of the contexts of grammatical structure, and bottom-up, i.e. in terms of its realisations. In putting forward this small-scale functional description of the grammar of a number of Chinese texts, it is concerned to develop a text-based process of grammatical description which can be applied for purposes, such as language teaching, which depend on interpreting the meaning and wording of texts.

The following work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution. All results contained herein are my own work, and whenever the work of others has been utilised, the sources of such information have been clearly indicated.

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Chapter 0:   Aims and organisation of the study

0.0   Grammar and discourse in Chinese

The basic issue this study sets out to explore is the relationship between grammatical patterning and the organisation of discourse in Modern Standard Chinese. It is increasingly being recognised among linguists working in a functional perspective (e.g. Tsao 1979, 1990; Li & Thompson 1981; Chen 1984, 1986; Chu & Chang 1987; Tao 1996) that the description of grammatical systems in Chinese depends on placing them in their discourse context. This is partly because of the often indeterminate nature of the boundaries between grammatical and discourse units (Tao 1996), partly because of the great economy in the use of grammatical marking in Chinese with the consequent dependence on context for its interpretation (cf Li & Thompson 1978). Both of these tendencies make it difficult, if not impossible, to restrict the explanation of grammatical patterning to its traditional domain of the sentence.

If the interdependence of grammar and discourse is taken as a *sine qua non* in the analysis of Chinese, how can the relationship between them be theorised? The traditional tripartite division of labour between syntax, semantics and pragmatics (cf Carston 1996, Seuren 1996) posits three levels of quite distinct modes of organisation, which are difficult to reconcile with each other within a single description. Such a model, furthermore, tends to be applied piecemeal, revealing many significant patterns of language in context, but not showing how the system of language as a whole is utilised for the various demands placed on it.

Explaining grammar via discourse also raises the problem of the status of the description vis-a-vis the data: that is, if the analysis is attempting to account for grammatical patterning in authentic discourse, on what basis are descriptive categories derived from the data, and where are the explanatory generalisations to be sought? The notion of "motivation" in discourse studies is often located in some vague space inside the heads of language users (e.g. Tai 1989), or somewhere out in the world which they inhabit (e.g. Huang 1994) - anywhere, in fact, but embodied within the language they use.

The present study grounds the description of grammar and discourse in the **text**, that is, within a stretch of discourse that has an overall unity of purpose and which is both cohesive within itself and coherent with respect to its context of use. The conception of "a text", i.e. a complete unit of cohesive and coherent discourse, or "text", i.e. a stretch of

cohesive and coherent discourse (cf Halliday & Hasan 1976; de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981), is thus contingent on a number of factors, and so its identification is a matter of degree rather than kind. Working with this notion, however, does enable the analyst to keep the focus of the analysis equally on the observable patterns in the language and on the context in which those patterns make sense. Text thus has a two-way implication of language in context, with the relationship between them understood not causally, but semiotically, with language both realising (expressing) and constituting (creating) context (cf Martin 1992).

0.1   The theoretical framework of the present study

Placing the text at the centre of the description calls for a conception of language quite different from the modularized syntax-semantics-pragmatics model, a model which theorises an interdependent relationship between the context in which a text is used and the language through which it is expressed (Halliday 1978). The theory known as systemic functional linguistics (SFL), an offshoot of the London School or Firthian functional tradition in linguistics, has always been concerned with accounting for texts within their contexts of use. Linguists working within this theory have developed a text-based model of language in context by positing three levels of increasing degrees of abstraction, linking the wordings of a text - the level of **lexicogrammar**, to the meanings of the text as a whole - **discourse-semantics**, and to the context of situation in which the text takes place - **register** (Martin 1992) [1].

This model differs from the syntax-semantics-pragmatics one in two important respects. Firstly, it ties the description of these levels to specific linguistic units: the description of lexicogrammar to clauses in text, that of discourse semantics to the text in its own context as text, and register to the text in its context of situation. Secondly, this model motivates patterns at these different levels in terms of three generalised functions of language in context: **textual**, creating relevance to context; **interpersonal**, negotiating social relationships; and **experiential**, construing experience (Halliday 1994: 36). Situation, text and clause can all be analysed in these three ways, with each kind of functional organisation at the more abstract level being expressed by the equivalent kind of functional organisation at the less abstract level.

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[1] The conception of the relationship between strata as it will be applied in the present study is taken from Martin 1992; in other versions of SFL (e.g. Halliday & Hasan 1976, Halliday 1978), the relationship between semantics and register, for example, is conceived of as the latter being a "skewing" of the meanings of the former.

Such a model, which allows explicit and principled links to be drawn between grammatical and discourse patterning, also puts commensurately greater demands on the analyst, in that the description of the grammar of a language is likely to involve aspects of text organisation and contextual features. Perhaps for this reason the bulk of work within the SFL framework has so far dealt with English (e.g. Halliday 1967-68, 1985/94; Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1989; Fawcett 1980; Martin 1992; Matthiessen 1995), the language on which the major descriptive work has been carried out, and for which there exist many descriptions of both grammatical and discourse organisation in other frameworks. Within SFL, a clear distinction is drawn between theoretical categories, the basic parameters of the model of language intended to be applicable to all languages, and descriptive categories, derived from a particular language and intended to be specific only to that language (Halliday 1993: 4-6). However, in practice, the descriptive categories of English tend to be used as a guide in the description of other languages, a procedure which is perfectly defensible as a heuristic, but which rather begs the question of the influence of the descriptive categories derived for English on the theoretical categories of SFL as a whole.

Historically the development of a theory of grammar in SFL (e.g. Halliday 1961, 1967-68, 1985/94; Matthiessen 1995) preceded that of a theory of discourse (e.g. Halliday 1973, 1978; Halliday & Hasan 1976; Ventola 1987; Martin 1992), and studies in SFL on the relationship between grammar and discourse in English have tended to take for granted a highly-developed description of English grammar. Such studies usually proceed by identifying features of the grammar which can be systematically related to features of the text and / or situation. Thus, although the relationship between the three levels of register, discourse-semantics and lexicogrammar is theorised as a semiotically interdependent one, in actual descriptive practice the other two levels are largely characterised in terms of the description of the lexicogrammar.

0.2   Applying a systemic functional framework to Chinese

Applying the SFL framework to the description of Chinese texts therefore runs the risk of merely refracting the patterns of Chinese through an existing lens shaped for English. The problem of adapting to the description of Chinese a framework originally derived from the description of other languages is of course not confined to SFL: in some ways, this has been *the* problem of Chinese grammatical studies since the beginnings of European-influenced descriptions of Chinese grammar in the late 1800s (cf Norman 1988: 152-154). However, the clear distinction in SFL between theoretical and descriptive

categories, as well as the strong emphasis on accounting for texts suggests a way in which the theory could be applied to Chinese to produce a description that was made truly accountable to the data.

In many theoretical enterprises, the notion of applying the theory could be characterised as a process of finding equivalents of certain basic notions or "categories" such as sentence, verb, subject, etc in the language under description. The categories themselves are often treated as unquestioned givens, and much energy is put into ensuring that the linguistic evidence can be used to justify the (pre-existing) category, without questioning whether that category is actually needed. For example, in her comparison of the category of "sentence" in Chinese and English, Cummings reacts with bewilderment to a proposal by another linguist to do away with this category in English, at least for conversational data, because "it would involve the abandonment of a unit which has been universally assumed by linguists for centuries to be the basis for linguistic organisation" (Cummings 1984: 371).

Many such studies involve a confusion between what Halliday terms "descriptive" and "theoretical" categories, with the basic categories of the theory actually deriving from the descriptive tradition of one language or a group of related languages. In the medieval European tradition, Latin was the yardstick by which all other languages were compared; in modern linguistics English seems to have taken its place. As Halliday points out, a so-called "universal category" is not in fact theoretical categories but rather a "descriptive category that is said to be present in every language" (Halliday 1993: 6). Even in a functional tradition such as SFL, there often seems to be confusion about what applying the theory to a range of different languages actually involves. This confusion seems unfortunately to have been perpetuated by a misunderstanding of the title of Halliday's magnum opus on English grammar, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Halliday 1994), as though the grammar he sets out there is somehow equivalent to the theory as a whole. The present study does not set out to **apply a functional grammar** to Chinese, in the sense of taking the categories Halliday has developed for English and forcing them on the Chinese data; rather it seeks to **apply systemic functional theory** to Chinese, in other words, to see how the theoretical categories of SFL can be used to develop descriptive categories for the lexicogrammar of Chinese, in order as much as possible to describe it on its own terms.

Of course, as Halliday points out, it is perfectly defensible to "use the descriptive categories of one language as a guide when working on another", as long as a particular descriptive category "is redefined in the case of each language" (Halliday 1993: 5). There

will therefore be a number of descriptive categories used for Chinese in the present study
that have close counterparts with those developed in SFL descriptions of English.
However, each category will be carefully justified in terms of the Chinese evidence, and a
number of familiar terms from the English descriptions may not be present, or may be
defined quite differently: for example, the terms "Subject" and "Predicator" are used in
the present study for categories realised in Chinese very differently to their English
counterparts.

The other issue, often glossed over when applying theories to different languages, is the
question of **accountability**: in other words, what is it that a description developed in a
particular theoretical framework is actually describing? For linguists working with text
data, and particularly now that computer technology has enabled analysts to process large
amounts of authentic data in the form of corpora, this is an issue that can no longer be
avoided. The present study is based on a small corpus of Chinese texts: four spoken and
one written. They form a corpus only in the restricted and non-representative sense of a
body of texts chosen as the basis for the description (compare a more formal corpus-
based study such as Tao 1996). All examples used in the description are taken from these
texts, modified in only a few cases; I have not used any invented examples. The
description put forward in this thesis makes no claim, therefore, to be describing the
"Chinese language" as a whole. Rather it takes the idea of accountability very seriously,
particularly in Chapter 1 & 2, by ensuring that descriptive categories are directly and
exclusively derived from the text.

0.3   The nature and organisation of the present study

The present study is based on only a small number of spoken and written texts in Modern
Standard Chinese, and thus the description of Chinese grammar presented here makes no
claims to be representative. Instead it concentrates on making as explicit as possible what
it is the description is accounting for. In order to maintain this focus on the text, this
study builds up both the descriptive framework and the description itself in progressive
stages. It starts with a broad characterisation of the clause lexicogrammar of a single
spoken text, contextualising this description by way of the register variables and
discourse-semantic patterns of the text, and organising the description at all three levels
according to the three functional types of textual, interpersonal and experiential. It then
focuses on modelling the structure of the clause, suggesting that these three types of
meaning call for distinct models of grammatical structure, and bringing in a fourth type of

meaning - the logical [2] - to characterise relationships between clauses. It then goes on to compare the description of this text with that of other texts which contrast with it in terms of their textual, interpersonal, experiential or logical meaning, and finally applies this descriptive framework to a complete written text, focussing on the grammar of the verbal group, and showing how grammatical marking is conditioned by and contributes to the organisation of the text as a whole.

If the scope of this description seems rather narrow, it is because the present study is concerned not simply with applying a particular framework to the description of Chinese grammar, but also with problematising the nature of grammatical description itself. The earlier part of this study, Chapters 1 & 2, reverses the usual deductive methodology of setting up the descriptive categories first and then applying them to the data. Instead it proceeds **inductively**, deriving the descriptive categories from the text, and at every stage of the description making explicit the evidence on which particular categories are based, and the purpose for which they are posited. It is for this reason that the initial description of the grammar is based on a single text: a fixed body of data, whose organisation as a whole relationship to its context of situation can be determined with reasonable certainty. It is also for this reason that these two chapters do not seek to justify the description by contrast with previous studies, but rather concentrate on maintaining the internal consistency of the description of this specific text, as if no other texts in the language existed.

Such a procedure is, of course, a descriptive fiction. All description is based on implicit or explicit comparison: comparison of the data under focus with that outside the scope of the description, and comparison of the descriptive framework being developed with alternative frameworks. Chapter 3 addresses both these kinds of comparison. In comparing the description derived from the initial text with that derived from a number of other texts, it shows that descriptive categories are conditioned equally by the availability and form of the data and by the state of development of the descriptive framework. In comparing the theoretical categories of SFL with those of other theoretical frameworks that have been applied to Chinese, it shows that the sorts of grammatical patterns highlighted depend on the model of language being used, and the kinds of explanations defined as theoretically significant.

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[2] In many SFL accounts (e.g. Halliday 1970, 1994) the experiential and the logical perspectives are referred to collectively as the **ideational** metafunction; I will not be using this cover term here because the experiential and logical lexicogrammar relate to the organisation of the text in quite distinct ways (see below, sections 1.4.2-1.4.3, 2.3.1).

With the status of the present description of Chinese grammar and the theoretical assumptions of SFL thus clarified, Chapter 4 then applies this framework **deductively** to one of the major descriptive problems in Chinese grammatical studies, the role of the verb in grammatical structure, by examining changes in verbal group marking through the unfolding of a text. This description, like that in Chapters 1 & 2, is based on a single text, but in this case draws on the full descriptive potential of the SFL framework, in order to reverse the direction of explanation: not motivating grammatical patterning in terms of the text but rather motivating text patterning in terms of the grammar.

The final chapter sums up the implications of this approach to grammatical description by linking it to yet another type of context - the context of application. Many of the problems to do with the presentation of the data, the relationship of description to data, and the nature of descriptive generalisations and explanations, are raised most sharply in the context of the overall purpose to which the description is put. The context of application most directly related to the present study is that of language teaching, but the issues raised here are relevant to any area in which texts are a focus, and where analysts must deal with the vexed question of how language form relates to language use.

Chapter 1:   The grammar of a Chinese text: developing a descriptive framework

1.0.   The description of grammar: system and text

Any description of a language must mediate between the patterns observable in the data and the meaningful contrasts which those patterns embody. In the terms of the present study, this may be expressed as the problem of deriving the **system** from the **text**. Given this requirement, there are two basic approaches that may be taken, as exemplified below by two major studies of the lexicogrammar of Chinese:

>   a. focus on the text, and derive the system from the text:
>
>   *The Language of the Chinese Secret History of the Mongols* (Halliday 1959)
>
>   b. focus on the system, and use the text as source of examples
>
>   *A Functional Study of Topic in Chinese: the First Step towards Discourse Analysis* (Tsao 1979)

The present description of the lexicogrammar of Modern Standard Chinese takes the first approach, one which highlights what I see as the essential relationship between grammatical systems and the text data. The implications of this approach will continue to be explored throughout this study. It must be acknowledged, however, that the second approach is far more common in descriptive work. What might be called the "standard discourse" of linguistic description very much follows this kind of progression: first setting up the theoretical / descriptive framework, usually in explicit contrast with previous descriptions, and then classifying the data according to the relevant parameters of the framework.

I have chosen not to follow this standard progression for two main reasons. Firstly, going from system (framework) to text (data) tends to cast the system as primary and the text as secondary, even with studies based on actual textual data, where the researcher usually feels free to modify or even invent examples to show up some aspect of the system which is not exemplified in the text. Secondly, such a procedure tends to gloss over the crucial difference between the system of the language itself and the descriptive system set up to account for it (this point will be examined in more detail in Chapter 3 below), and thus ignores or downgrades contingent factors such as the purpose of the description and its relationship to the data.

In order to keep the text in the centre of focus, the first two chapters build up the descriptive framework in stages, in tandem with an increasingly detailed and theoretically

informed exploration of patterns in the text, attempting as much as possible to keep the focus of attention on the text itself, and restricting examples almost exclusively to the actual text data. In these two chapters, therefore, I have adopted some of the features of a pedagogical discourse, exemplified for SFL in textbooks such as Eggins 1994 and Lock 1996, as opposed to the standard academic discourse normal for a study of this type. Thus rather than proceeding from general to specific, stating theoretical generalisations and then providing evidence for those generalisations, I have adopted a "spiral progression" from most specific to more and more general. Such generalisations as I do make, rather than being explicitly framed as building on previous research (they do of course draw on a large body of previous research, both in systemic functional linguistics and other frameworks), have been justified only in relation to the text data, leaving detailed comparison with other descriptions for Chapter 3, when the complete descriptive framework of the current study has been elaborated. In this way, I can progressively contextualise both the increasingly detailed understanding of the text and the increasingly sophisticated framework.

Since the description unfolds in stages, I will therefore be careful to note significant points that may reemerge in later discussion, and to identify areas of the description that may be subject to change with a larger data set or a more elaborated descriptive framework (these issues will be discussed fully in Chapter 3). I will initially set up the basic theoretical categories (Halliday 1993) of SFL according to which the description will be organised - stratification and metafunction, and give a definition of text, its relationship to its context of situation, its own context as text and the wording of the clauses which make it up - corresponding to the strata of register, discourse semantics and lexicogrammar respectively. The description will be carried out separately at each of these strata according to the three metafunctions, starting with the textual, then the interpersonal, and finally the experiential.

The description of the clause built up in Chapters 1 and 2 revolves around the two poles of the paradigmatic, in terms of the clause **systems**, and the syntagmatic, their realisation in clause structural **functions**. Chapter 1 will emphasise the system as the descriptive interpretation of patterns in the data, with functions as the realisation of systemic features. Chapter 2 will then examine the concept of function in more detail, discussing the different types of structure which clause functions make up, and how the different metafunctional meanings correspond to different structural mechanisms (cf Halliday 1979) - cumulative for the textual, prosodic for the interpersonal, constituent for the experiential, and recursive for a further type, the logical, introduced to characterise relations between clauses.

Chapter 3 returns to the system, exploring its potential for grammatical description along a number of dimensions. Firstly it reemphasises the link between system and text by comparing systems derived from two different texts, the original text and other texts contrasting with it in terms of their textual, interpersonal, experiential or logical meaning. Then it theorises the link between system and structure by setting out realisation statements that explicitly relate systemic features to their structural realisations. Finally it compares the main features of the description as a whole with comparable descriptions in other theoretical frameworks. This completes the account of clause systems and structures, Chapter 4 then moving on to a similar examination of the verbal group.

Such an exposition reverses the normal method of presentation in order to explore the relationship between system and text from a number of different points of view, emphasising at all times the two way nature of the relationship between them. The present description might thus be regarded not only as a description of a text, or a number of texts, but also as a description of a description: that is, as a critical evaluation of the description carried out in the process of setting it up. This type of self-critical and reflective approach is necessary in order to make absolutely clear the relationship between the system and the text, and between the language and the description (on this latter point, see section 3.0 below).

1.1   Contexts of the grammar: text and its relationship to context

I will begin the examination of the grammar of a single Chinese text by contextualising it stratificationally, i.e. by examining it at different levels of abstraction relevant to the observable patterns in its wording. In order to understand the wording of a particular text, i.e. how it is expressed in grammatical and lexical items and structures, we first need to define the nature of text itself, and the relationship of the text to its different **contexts**. In the following sections I will first introduce the text. I will then analyse this text in terms of two different types of context: the **context of situation** in which the text appears, and the context created by the text itself - its **cotext**. The emphasis throughout will be on characterising the nature of these contexts in ways that will enable us to make principled links with the wording of the text.

1.1.0 The text presented: *Memory*

The text for which I will progressively build up a grammatical description in these two chapters is a short dialogue taken from an episode of the television program *Dragon's*

Tongue (Chang et al. 1991), a set of video materials designed to "assist learners in communication skills" (Preface, p.i) using Modern Standard Chinese, and dealing with contemporary life in mainland China. This particular text, entitled *Memory*,[1] is taken from a segment of the program known as *Beijing Dynasty*, "a kind of small-scale soapie drama" (p.i) set and filmed in the city of Beijing, the area whose dialect forms the basis for the standard language. The items that make up this drama are "self-contained short stories...each has the same main characters, members of the Wang family" (p.i).

The text is a dialogue involving three members of the Wang family [2]: Dad, an engineer aged 46, Mum, an accountant aged 45, and their son Xiaoming, a high-school student aged 15. The general situation in which this text is embedded may be summarised as follows:

> The action takes place one Saturday afternoon after work (at the time this series was filmed,
> Mainland Chinese commonly worked a five and a half day week). As the title *Memory* suggests,
> it hinges on a disagreement between Mum and Dad in regard to their differing recollections of the
> morning's events: specifically whether Dad had asked Mum to borrow a book for him from the
> library. Dad accuses Mum of forgetfulness; and the two of them wrangle over this point for some
> time, trying to establish the precise time when Dad claimed he had made the request, of which
> Mum has no recollection. Finally they decide, with some frustration on both sides, that there's
> nothing to be done about it. At this point Xiaoming enters, and reveals that it was *him* his father
> had asked to borrow the book, not Mum after all, who is then able to turn the accusation of
> forgetfulness back on her husband.

For the purposes of the description, it was important to choose a spoken dialogic text, both because of the relevance of intonational patterns to the description of the textual and interpersonal lexicogrammar (see sections 1.2.3 and 1.3.3 below) and because of the importance of dialogic exchange for exhibiting certain interpersonal features (see sections 1.3.2 and 1.3.3 below). This type of text, which may be characterised as "scripted spoken", has been chosen over genuine conversational texts for practical reasons: i.e. the very problematic and time-consuming nature of the collection and transcription of spoken texts - particularly dialogic ones. Although this text is not an actually occurring conversation, it has been constructed as an imitation of ordinary casual conversation - like some kinds of play script - and may therefore be taken as reasonably "authentic" for the aims of the present study.

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[1] Originally entitled "Memories", a title which was however felt to have misleading connotations.
[2] The fourth member, their daughter, Xianqing, does not appear in this episode.

The full text is presented below. In its original form, the text is audio-visual, though obviously derived from a previous written script. In transcribing this for the purposes of analysis, I have used as a guide a version of the script provided by the authors of the course, making some slight changes according to the audio-visual recording. For the purposes of grammatical analysis, the text has been divided into clauses, numbered from 1 to 75. This division may be taken as given at this stage, since the recognition of clause units in Chinese is somewhat problematic; the relevant criteria are discussed later in this study (see sections 2.2 and 2.3 below). The identity of the speaker is indicated by a capital letter (M for *Mum*, D for *Dad*, and X for *Xiaoming*) preceding the number of each clause; this is understood as remaining constant for following clauses until changed.

Each clause is set out on three separate lines. The top line represents the Chinese text given in the alphabetic script *hànyǔ pīnyīn*, the official romanisation in use in the People's Republic of China. This orthography was chosen over Chinese characters (a version in characters appears in Appendix 3) for the reason that it distinguishes word boundaries, and thus is more useful for grammatical analysis (specific spellings follow those set out in Wu 1986). The middle line represents a "literal" translation into English, glossed word for word, with grammatical items indicated by abbreviations in small capitals; a key to these abbreviations is given on at the beginning of the thesis. The bottom line represents a "situationally equivalent" translation, enclosed in single quotes ' , intended to indicate how the meaning of the Chinese clause might be expressed in an equivalent context in English. For the purposes of analysis this keeps fairly close to the literal translation, and has been supplemented where necessary by further information, enclosed in brackets ( ), in cases where the Chinese original omits information essential for a normal English equivalent. This most commonly involves cases of certain clause elements that have been omitted as presumed information (see sections 1.2.2 and 1.2.4 below), or of logical links between clauses that have been left implicit (see section 2.3.1 below).

M:1.   Āiyā,   jīntiān máng-si   le!
        oh-dear   today   busy die   ASP
        'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

D:2.   Á,   máng   shénme   ya?
        oh   busy   what   MOD
        'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'

M:3.   Āiyā,   shàng   bān,
        oh-dear go-to   work
        'Oh, going to work,'

4.   xià   bān,
        finish   work
        'finishing work,'

5.   mǎi   cài;
        buy   food
        doing the shopping;'

6.   huí-lai,
        return come
        '(now that I've) come home,'

7.   hái   děi   zuò   fàn.
        still   must   cook   meal
        'I still have to do the cooking.'

8.   Zhōngwǔ   dào   yóujú
        midday   reach   post-office
        'At lunchtime (I) went to the post-office

9.   jì   le   yì fēng xìn,
        post   ASP   one MEAS letter
        'and posted a letter,'

10.   jīngguò   càishìchǎng,
        pass-by   market
        '(and as I) went past the markets,'

11.   hái   mǎi   le   diǎn   cài.
        still   buy   ASP   little food
        '(I) did some more shopping.'

D:12.   Hài,   xiàwǔ   xià bān   yǐhòu,
        hey   afternoon   finish work   after
        'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

13.   càishìchǎng   hái   kāi   mén   ma!
        the markets   still   open   door   MOD
        'the markets would still be open!'

M:14. Āiyā   nǎr   yǒu   shíjiān   ne?
        oh-dear where exist   time   MOD
        'Oh, where would (I) have had the time?'

15.   xià   le   bān
        finish   ASP   work
        'Having finished work,'

16.   wǒ   hái   děi   qù   bǎihuòdàlóu
        I   still   must   go   department store
        'I still had to go to the department store'

17.   gěi Xiǎomíng   mǎi qiúxié.
        for Xiaoming   buy sandshoe
        'to buy sandshoes for Xiaoming.'

D:18. Éi, wǒ yào de   nèi běn shū,   nǐ   gěi wǒ jiè-lai   le   ma?
       oh, I want SUB   that MEAS book   you   for me borrow come   ASP   MOD
       'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

M:19. Shénme?   shénme shū?
       what   what book
       'What? What book?'

D:20. Nǐ   zěnme   zhème   jiànwàng?
       you   how   so   forgetful
       'How could you be so forgetful?'

M:21. Jiànwàng?
       forgetful
       'Forgetful?'

22.   nǐ   shénme shíhou   gēn wǒ   shuō guo?
       you   what   time   with I   speak ASP
       'When did you mention (it) to me?'

D:23. Chī zǎofàn   de shíhou   shuō de.
       eat breakfast   SUB time   speak MOD
       '(I) mentioned (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'

M:24. Wǒ   méi   tīng-jiàn...
       I   NEG:perf   listen perceive
       'I didn't hear...'

25.   Nǐ   zěnme   bú   zìjǐ   qù   jiè?
       you   how   NEG   self   go   borrow
       'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?'

D:26. Wǒ   shàngwǔ   shàng   bān,
       I   morning   go-to   work
       'In the morning I went to work,'

27.   zhōngwǔ   péi   wàiguó   kèhù,
       midday   escort   foreign   client
       'At lunchtime (I had to) look after a foreign client,'

28.   xiàwǔ   kāi   huì...
       afternoon   hold   meeting
       'In the afternoon (I) had a meeting...'

29.   Nǎr   yǒu   shíjiān?
       where   exist   time
       'Where would (I) have had the time?'

M:30. Wǒ   bù   zhīdào,
       I   NEG   know
       'I didn't know,'

31.   nǐ   méi   gēn wǒ   shuō.
       you   NEG:perf   with I   speak
       'you didn't tell me.'

D:32. Zǎoshang   yī   qǐ   chuáng
       early-morning   once   rise   bed
       'First thing this morning as soon as (I) got up,'

33.   jiù   tí -   qi   guo   zhè shì'r.
       then   mention up   ASP   this matter
       '(I) mentioned this matter.'

M:34   Wǒ   ya,   yī   qǐ   chuáng
       I   TEXT   once   rise   bed
       'As soon as *I* got up'

13

35.   jiù   gěi   nǐmen   zuò   zǎofàn...
        then   for   you PL   make   breakfast
        '(I) made breakfast for you both...'

D:36.   Wǒ   chī zǎofàn   de shíhou   hái   shuō   le!
        I   eat breakfast   SUB time   still   speak ASP
        'I also spoke of (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'

M:37.   Nà   míngtiān   qù jiè   ma!
        well   tomorrow   go borrow   MOD
        'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'

D:38.   Míngtiān   túshūguǎn   bù   kāi   mén.
        tomorrow   library   NEG   open   door
        'Tomorrow the library's not open.'

M:39.   Nà   jiù   hòutiān   qù   jiè!
        well   just   day-after tomorrow   go   borrow
        'Well borrow (it) the day after tomorrow then!'

D:40.   Wǒ   jīntiān wǎnshang   yào   yòng.
        I   today evening   need   use
        'I need to use (it) this evening.'

M:41.   Nà   méi   bànfǎ.
        then   NEG-exist   means
        'Well (it) can't be helped.'

D:42.   Ài,   zhēn   tǎoyàn!
        oh-dear really   annoying
        'Oh, how annoying!'

M:43.   Shénme?
        what
        'What?'

44.   Nǐ   shuō
        you   say
        'Did you say'

45.   wǒ   tǎoyàn?
        I   annoying
        'I'm annoying?'

D:46.   Bù,   bù...   wǒ   shi   shuō
        no   no   I   be   say
        'No, no...I *said*"

47.   méi yǒu   nèi běn shū   zhēn   tǎoyàn.
        NEG exist   that MEAS book really   annoying
        'not having that book is really annoying.'

M:48.   À
        ah
        'Ah!'

X:49.   Bà,   Mā...
        Dad   Mum
        'Dad, Mum...'

M:50.   Shàng nǎr   le?
        go-to   where   ASP
        'Where have (you) been?'

51.   Zěnme zhènme wǎn   a?
        how   so   late   MOD
        'Why are (you) so late?'

X:52.   Jīntiān xīngqīliù,
        today   Saturday
        'Today's Saturday,'

53.   xià   le   kè
        finish ASP   class
        '(when we) finished class'

54.   hái   yǒu   kèwài   huódòng.
        still   exist   class-outside   activity
        'then (we) had after-class activities.'

M:55.   Qiáo   nǐ   mǎn -   tóu -   dà -   hàn   de!
        look   you   full   head   big   sweat   MOD
        'Look at you all covered in sweat!'

56.   Ò,   nǐ yào de   qiúxié,   wǒ   gěi nǐ   mǎi   le.
        oh   you want SUB   sandshoes   I   for you   buy   ASP
        'Oh, those sandshoes you wanted, I got (them) for you.'

X:57.   Āiyā,   tài   hǎo   le!
        oh   too   good   ASP
        'Oh, great!'

58.   Wǒ   hái   pà
        I   still   fear
        'I was afraid'

59.   nǐ   wàng   le   ne.
        you   forget ASP   MOD
        'you'd forgotten.'

60.   Zài   nǎr?
        be-at   where
        'Where are (they)?'

61.   Wǒ   kàn kan.
        I   look look
        'I'll have a look.'

M:62.   Yìhuǐr zài   kàn,
        a-while further look
        'Look at (them) in a while,'

63.   nǐ   xiān   qù   xǐ   yi xi.
        you   first   go   wash   one wash
        'go and have a wash first.'

X:64.   Èi.
        okay
        'Alright.'

65.   Huódòng   jiéshù,
        activity   conclude
        '(By the time) the activities were over'

66.   yǐjīng   wǔ diǎn   le,
        already   five o'clock   ASP
        '(it) was already five o'clock,'

67.   wǒ   hái   qù   le   túshūguǎn
        I   still   go   ASP   library
        'then I went to the library'

68.   gěi bàba   jiè   shū.
        for Dad   borrow   book
        'to borrow a book for Dad.'

15

D:69.   Ó?
       oh
       'Oh?'

M:70.   Shénme?
       what
       'What?'

X:71.	Bà,	nǐ ràng wǒ	gěi nǐ	jiè	de shū,	wǒ jiè - hui - lai	le.
	Dad	you get I	for you	borrrow	SUB book	I borrow return come	ASP

'Dad, that book you got me to borrow for you, I got (it) for you.'

72.	Túshū-guǎnlǐyuán	zhǎo	le	bàntiān...
	library attendant	look-for	ASP	half-day

'The library attendant spent ages looking for (it).'

D:73.   Ó...
       oh
       'Oh...'

M:74.	Hái	shuō
	still	say

'And (you) say'

75.	wǒ	jiànwàng	ne!
	I	forgetful	MOD

'I'm forgetful!'

Text 1:   *Memory*

1.1.1 The nature of text

A commonsense understanding of the concept of text would be to equate **text** with **wording**, specifically the wording of a written document, as reflected in the Chambers' Twentieth Century Dictionary definition below (quoted in Halliday & Hasan 1989: 52):

> the actual words of a book, poem, etc., in their original form or any form they have been transmitted in or transmuted into...

Such an understanding provides the basis for a preliminary definition of text as "a stretch of discourse", but fails to account for two other, perhaps less obvious, aspects of our commonsense understanding of text: 1. that it has **unity**, in other words, it "hangs together" as a whole (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 52), and 2. that it is **functional**, i.e. it is "doing some job in some context" (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 10). In discourse studies of the last twenty or thirty years (cf de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981, Coulthard 1985), these features have come to be seen as the defining characteristics not only of written language but also of spoken language. In other words, all language use is in the form of text.

What is the significance of this conception of text for grammatical analysis? First of all, when we use language, what we actually produce are not isolated sentences, the traditional domain of grammatical study, but rather texts, that is, unified instances of language functioning in context. In this sense, then, analysing texts is descriptively more

valid, in that what we are examining is the language that people actually produce, not examples made up to exemplify a theoretical point [3]. However the use of texts has a deeper significance than just as a mine for examples; after all, most linguistic traditions have always used and continue to use texts in this way. In the theory of language being applied in the present study, systemic functional theory (SFL - see Halliday 1967-68, 1978 1994; Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1989; Martin 1992), a text is in the first instance defined as a meaningful whole, i.e. as a "semantic unit" (Halliday & Hasan 1989:10). While this semantic unit must obviously be "expressed, or coded in words and structures" (Halliday & Hasan 1989:10), regarding a text as primarily a unit of meaning allows us to systematically relate the meanings of a text to its context.

1.1.2 The relationship of text to context

If a text in this sense is a collection of meanings expressed in either spoken or written wordings, how then do we define **context**? Etymologically, the term context referred to the " 'con [i.e. 'with'] - text'; that is to say, the words and sentences before and after the particular sentence that one was looking at" (Halliday & Hasan 1985: 6) - a conception reflected in the Chinese equivalent *shàngxiàwén* [4], literally the "text above and below". In common usage, this original meaning has been metaphorically expanded to include the surroundings or environment, not just of language, but of actions and interactions in the material world (in Chinese, *huánjìng*).

In analysing texts as semantic units, we can draw on both of these conceptions of "context", redefining them in a way that reflects this double link between context and wording, in other words redefining them both as "language contexts" - as in the abbreviated Chinese form, *yǔjìng*(from **yǔyán huánjìng** "language context"). Context in the sense of "environment", perhaps the most common usage of the term in current parlance, can be more closely defined as the **context of situation** (Chinese *qíngxíng yǔjìng*) of a text, i.e. the "total environment, including the verbal environment, but also including the situation in which the text was uttered" (Halliday & Hasan 1985: 6). This conception of context of situation characterises features of the text which reflect its situation of use, such as the purpose for which language itself is being used, the role relationships between the people involved in using language, and the activity within which language use is taking place.

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[3] As noted above, the scripted text in this study does not fall into the category of invented examples.

[4] The Chinese equivalents of these terms are mostly taken from Hu. et al. 1989.

Context in the sense of "surrounding text" can be more precisely formulated as the context created by the language of the text as it unfolds, the way in which its separate parts are linked together into a whole. In the SFL framework, this may be referred to, using a slight modification of the original term, as its **cotext** (the original Chinese term *shàngxiàwén* fits very well here), and covers such aspects of the text as how the information in the text is kept track of, how the meanings in the text are negotiated between the people involved, and how the text is related to its subject area. Describing a text in terms of these two contexts emphasises the double nature of text as a semantic unit linked both to its situation and to its wording. In the following sections I will briefly characterise the text *Memory* from these two points of view.

1.1.2.1   Text and its context of situation

The concrete situation in which any particular instance of language use takes place may of course be bafflingly complex. If we take the case of the opening scene of *Memory* (as seen in its original audio-visual form), we could describe the physical setting (the courtyard house), the actions being performed by the interactants (Mum wheeling her bike, Dad watering the plants), the appearance of the interactants (the clothes they are wearing, the expressions on their faces, their body language), the weather, and so on.

The conception of context of situation is more abstract than this, however, in that it concerns only those "aspects of context [that] make a difference to how we use language" (Eggins 1994: 52). In the systemic functional framework these different aspects of context are analysed according to three broad functional principles or **metafunctions** that govern language use, as set out below (adapted from Halliday 1994: 36):

1. textual: creating relevance to context
2. interpersonal: enacting social relationships
3. experiential: construing a model of experience

These three metafunctions can be used to characterise the context of situation of *Memory* in the three ways set out below (definitions adapted from Eggins 1994: 52; a fuller version of this analysis is given in sections 1.2.1, 1.3.1 and 1.4.1):

1. Mode: the role language is playing in the situation

The text is **dialogic**, i.e. created by the interaction of two or more speakers; it is **information-oriented**, i.e. it focuses on the exchange of information between the speakers rather than the performance of some activity; and it is highly **context-dependent**, i.e. things like the identity of the speaker can only be interpreted by reference to the immediate context.

2. Tenor: the role relationships between the interactants

> The interactants in the text play two roles of **equal status** - husband and wife, and two roles of **unequal status** - mother and son. Due to these differences in status, interactions between husband and wife are largely **reciprocal**, whereas those between mother and son are systematically **non-reciprocal**.

3. Field: what the language is being used to talk about

> The text covers two main subject areas or **topics**: the first to do with "daily activities"- going to work, shopping, cooking, going to school, and school activities; the second to do with the more specific area of "borrowing books".

The context of situation of the text as characterised in terms of these three metafunctions can be shown to be systematically reflected in the language of the text itself. The first stage in doing this is to look at the context of the text as a text, i.e. its **cotext**.

1.1.2.2   *Text and its cotext*

The cotext of a text can be understood as its " 'intratextual' context" (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 49), that is, the context the text itself creates as it is being produced. As we saw above, this is closer to the traditional idea of context as "preceding and following text" (Chinese *shàngxiàwén*), but in the light of our definition of a text as a meaningful whole, i.e. as a semantic unit, we can define cotext in terms of the meanings created over the text as a whole, i.e. the semantic relationships that "weave" the text together.

These semantic relationships within the text can also be characterised in terms of the three metafunctions (definitions adapted from Eggins 1994: 109; a detailed analysis of the text in these terms is given in sections 1.2.2, 1.3.2, and 1.4.2 below):

1. textual: how interactants identify and keep track of the information put

> forward in the text as either **presented**, i.e. introduced for the first time; or **presumed**, mentioned before or understood from the situation

2. interpersonal: how interactants negotiate the exchange of meanings in

> dialogue by adopting roles in each of their individual contributions or **moves**, e.g. asking questions (demanding information), making statements (offering information) etc, and organising groups of such moves into meaningful sequences or **exchanges**

3. experiential   how interactants relate the text consistently to its area of focus

> by talking about different sorts of things in the text and developing particular relations between these things

Characterising the cotext of the text in this way allows us to describe the meanings created by the text as expressed through the wordings over the text as a whole. However, there is

one further step we need to take in order to complete our understanding of the link between context and wording, that is, to look at the form of the wording itself.

1.1.3   Text as a bridge between context and wording

In setting out in the preceding sections the ways through which this text relates to its contexts, I have been drawing on the SFL model of language (Halliday 1970, 1994; Matthiessen 1995) in which language is divided into different levels or **strata**. The traditional terms for the strata of language are semantics (meaning), grammar or morpho-syntax (wording) and phonology (sound) - neatly captured in their Chinese equivalents *yǔyì* 'language meaning', *yǔfǎ* 'language rules' and *yǔyīn* 'language sound'. These terms are modified in SFL to bring out a broader conception of both meaning and wording and to relate these strata to specific units of language. In this model, a text is the basic unit of the highest stratum of language, known as meaning or **discourse-semantics** (Martin 1992), (Chinese *yǔpiān yǔyì*) which is expressed or realised by units on the stratum of wording, in turn realised by units on the stratum of sound. The term "discourse-semantics" is meant to imply that patterns on this stratum of language face in two directions at once: both "outwards" across the text as a whole and beyond that to its context of situation, and "inwards" to its wording.

We saw above how a text, as the basic unit of discourse semantics, can be analysed according to two kinds of "outward" context: its **context of situation**; and its **cotext**. Once we move further "inwards", into the nuts and bolts, as it were, of the wording itself, we need to break the text into smaller units which exhibit different kinds of patterns from those found over the text as a whole. These units, known as **clauses**, are the basic units of the stratum of **lexicogrammar** (Chinese *cíhuì yǔfǎ*) renamed to show that lexis and grammar form a continuum, rather than being dicreet modules (i.e. "(morpho)syntax" and "lexicon") as in many other models. Once we have reached this point we are back in the traditional domain of grammatical studies. The difference is that, in the SFL framework, the same sort of connections that hold between a text and its context of situation can also be traced between a text and the clauses making up that text. In other words, the basic metafunctional principles - textual, interpersonal, and experiential - can also be recognised at the stratum of lexicogrammar by interpreting the structure of each clause in three distinct ways, as set out below (definitions adapted from Halliday 1994: 34; a detailed analysis of the text in these terms is given in sections 1.2.3, 1.3.3 and 1.4.3 below):

1. textual:	the clause as a message, i.e. as a quantum of information;
2. interpersonal	the clause as an exchange, i.e. as a symbolic giving or demanding of commodities;
3. experiential	the clause as a representation, i.e. as a construal of experience.

When we move further "inwards" from the stratum of lexicogrammar to the innermost stratum of sound or **phonology**, this tri-functional principle cannot be applied in the same way. I will therefore not discuss this stratum in any more detail at this stage, although we will see in sections 1.2.3.2 and 2.1.2.1 below that certain kinds of sound patterns do have a functional interpretation. Fig. 1.1 below summarises this conception of language and context.

level of abstraction	context of situation *qíngxíng yǔjìng*	context of text (cotext) *shàngxiàwén)*	wording of text *cuòcí*	sound *shēngyīn*
stratum	register *yǔyù*	discourse-semantics *yǔpiān yǔyì*	lexicogrammar *cíhuì yǔfǎ*	phonology *yǔyīn*
unit of analysis	text as communicative event	text as cohesive unity	clause as function structure	syllable (not examined here)

<u>Figure 1.1:</u>   <u>Strata and units of analysis</u>

In the following sections I will give a detailed characterisation of the text *Memory*, moving "inwards" from its context of situation, to the patterns of its cotext at the stratum of discourse-semantics ("semantics" for short), and finally to the structure of its clauses at the stratum of lexicogrammar ("grammar" for short)[5]. I will show how these three levels of organisation are related to each other metafunctionally, as revealed through the following correlations (adapted from Eggins 1994: 78):

1. textual

> The textual organisation of a text is reflected in the role the language is playing in its context of situation, how information through the text is identified and kept track of, and how this information is expressed as messages.

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[5] In some versions of SFL (e.g. Martin 1992), strata are also recognised within context: namely, register (context of situation) genre (context of culture), and ideology. In a contrasting model, Halliday (1995) defines register as a (contextually-motivated) subsystem within the system of the language as a whole, and genre as an "instance type" of the semantics, i.e. a set of like texts. Since context per se is not the main concern of the present study, I will not explore these issues further here.

2. interpersonal

> The interpersonal organisation of a text is reflected in the role relationships between the interactants in its context of situation, how the interactants negotiate the exchange of roles, and how moves are expressed as a symbolic exchange of commodities.

3. experiential

> The experiential organisation of a text is reflected in the activity in which language is involved in its context of situation, how this activity is organised through language, and how individual experiences are expressed.

As noted above, my emphasis at this stage will be on building up a basic description of the text as much as possible on its own terms - that is, largely without reference to other texts or other descriptions. I will attempt to highlight the sorts of things a text-based grammatical description of Chinese must take account of. In building up this description of the lexicogrammar of Chinese, I will implicitly be taking as a guide not only previous work on Chinese in an SFL framework (e.g. Hu 1981; Long 1981; Zhu 1985; Fang 1989; McDonald 1992, 1994; Fang et al. 1995; Zhou 1997) but also a large body of SFL work on the grammar of English (e.g. Halliday 1967-68, 1985/1994; Martin 1992; Matthiessen 1995) as well as more preliminary work on other languages: e.g. Tagalog (Martin 1981, 1990, in press), French (Caffarel 1992, 1995), Vietnamese (Thai 1998), and Japanese (Teruya 1998). Shared terms will of course be redefined specifically for Chinese (cf discussion in section 0.2 above), but the reasons for choosing particular terms will not be elaborated at this stage.

1.2 Functional organisation (i): Textual

Since this study is concerned with tracing the relationship between the context and the wording of a particular text, it makes sense to start the discussion with the very systems whose function is that of "creating relevance to context" (Halliday 1994: 36) - the textual ones. The textual context of situation of the text, i.e. the role the language is playing, is expressed through the following patterns in the strata of language:

- discourse semantics: identifying and keeping track of information
- lexicogrammar: organising information into messages

I have chosen to lead into the discussion of grammar from a textual viewpoint, rather than dealing first with the more familiar type of grammatical organisation (i.e. in terms of the present study, the experiential - see section 1.4 below). The aim of this is to emphasise the equal importance of all three types of functional meaning in the interpretation of

grammatical patterning in text. In this section on textual organisation, and the following section on interpersonal organisation, I will show how much is "going on" in the grammar even before we come to what is commonly considered to be its central (i.e. experiential) component.

1.2.1 The role the language is playing: textual situational variables in *Memory*

We can look first at the text *Memory* from the point of view of the role language is playing in the text's context of situation. This can be understood as involving the following variables (Halliday 1989: 12):

> ...what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or a combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic...

From this point of view, the text has the following characteristics:

a. it is **information-oriented**, i.e. it focuses on the exchange of information between the speakers rather than the performance of some activity; although the speakers are interacting face to face in a concrete situation, the main thrust of the text is not towards their interaction with this situation but rather their interaction with each other, relating and discussing other situations removed from the present

b. it is highly **context-dependent**, i.e. it cannot be interpreted without reference to its context of situation: for example, the identity of the speaker and addressee is left implicit through most of the text

c. it is **dialogic**, i.e. it is created by the interaction of two or more speakers, and much of the forward movement of the text is created through interaction (and argument!) between the speakers

d. it is **persuasive**, i.e. it involves the interactants attempting to bring each other round to their own point of view.

Some of these features, especially (b) context-dependent and (c) dialogic, are common to many spoken uses of language, and *Memory*, as a scripted dialogue, is obviously attempting to mimic some of the features of normal casual conversation. These variables of the text's context of situation provide a profile of the role language is playing in this

text which can be used to guide an exploration of the textual meanings expressed in the text and how they are realised in wordings.

1.2.2 Identifying and keeping track of information: textual semantics in *Memory*

The situational variables of the text as set out in the previous section identify certain links between the text and its context of situation. In this section, we can begin to see how these variables are reflected in the **meanings** of the text, specifically, how the **information** in the text is organised. We are concerned here not so much with *what* the interactants are talking about, but *how* they keep track of what they are talking about. We could summarise the main types of information in the text by arranging them under the following headings:

*   interactants in dialogue
*   times of day
*   work
*   shopping
*   borrowing books
*   school and extra-curricular activities

In terms of their status as information, these kinds of information may be either **presented**, i.e. introduced for the first time, e.g. as in Xiaoming's first mention of 'activities' (in this and following examples, the relevant items of information are indicated in italics):

54.　hái　　yǒu　　kèwài　　　*huódòng.*
　　　still　　exist　　class-outside　　activity
　　　'(I) had after-class *activities.*'

or **presumed**, i.e. already known about, e.g. the subsequent mention of 'activities' by the same speaker:

65.　*Huódòng*　　jiéshù,
　　　activity　　　　conclude
　　　'(By the time) *the activities* were over'

Information may be presumed in a number of ways apart from simply being mentioned before, as in the above example. It can also be presumed from the situation, e.g. 'Xiaoming' in the following example:

17.　gěi *Xiǎoming*　mǎi qiúxié.
　　　for Xiaoming　　buy sandshoe
　　　'to buy sandshoes for *Xiaoming.*'

Even though Xiaoming has not been previously mentioned in the text, both speakers, as members of the Wang family, are aware of his identity; he is of course their son.

Information can be also presumed from other information already present in the text, as in 'the library' in the following example:

38.　Míngtiān　*túshūguǎn*　bù　kāi　mén.
　　　tomorrow　　library　　　NEG　open　door
　　　'Tomorrow *the library* isn't open.'

There has been no previous mention of *túshūguǎn* 'library' in the text, but in the context of borrowing books, which *has* been mentioned, the identity of the library can be presumed by both the interactants. Finally, information can be presumed by introducing new information along with the necessary details for it to be identified precisely, as in Dad's first mention of 'book':

18.　Ái, *wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,*　nǐ　gěi wǒ jiè-　lai　le　ma?
　　　oh, I want SUB that MEAS book　you　for me borrow come　ASP　MOD
　　　'Oh, *that book I wanted,* did you borrow (it) for me?'

Here Dad, in order to specify exactly which book he means, indicates that it is the one 'he wanted' or 'had asked for' (this specification of course becomes a point of some controversy in the following exchanges).

The different statuses of the information in the text can be generalised as the semantic system of REFERENCE[6], as set out in Fig. 1.2 below. In the sense used here (cf Halliday 1967-68, 1978, 1994: xxvi), a **system,** in the first instance, is a collection of alternative options or **features** stemming from a point of choice. A number of systems may be organised into a **network** that follows on from an initial **entry condition** specifying the unit within which the systems operate. This network of systems may be regarded as forming a **system** in a broader sense, i.e. a general area of meaning, in this case the system of REFERENCE (system labels in SFL are conventionally indicated by small capitals), understood as "ways of introducing and keeping track of information".
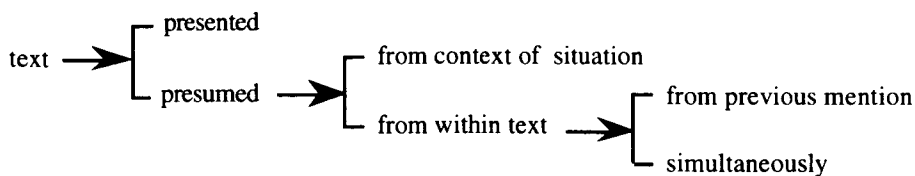
Figure 1.2:　The semantic system of REFERENCE

We can thus read the formalism in Fig. 1.2 from left to right as follows. Our initial condition is that we are examining whole or part of a **text**. The initial choice is between

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[6] The more delicate (i.e. specific) features in this system are commonly given technical terms as follows (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Martin 1992): from context of situation, exophoric ("outside referring"); from within text, endophoric ("inside referring"); from previous mention, anaphoric (upward referring"), simultaneously esphoric ("referring to"); the feature cataphoric ("referring downwards") for prospective reference which is also included is not exemplified in this text. Since semantic systems are not the main focus of the present study, I have used instead more easily interpretable equivalents.

presented or **presumed**, with this "either - or" choice symbolised by a square right-facing bracket. If we choose the feature [presented] (feature labels in running text are conventionally enclosed in square brackets) there are no further feature options (for this text, or perhaps at this state of the description - see discussion in section 3.1.1 below). However if we choose [presumed], there are two different ways in which information can be presumed: [from context of situation], or [from within text]. This last feature leads into a further choice between information [from previous mention] in the text and that which is identified [simultaneously] with its mention.

There are four main ways in which these types of reference are realised in the wording of the text (in the examples below, the relevant items are indicated in italics, the type of reference and a brief gloss are given in brackets):

1.　　by repetition: e.g.

10.　　jīngguò *càishìchǎng*,
　　　　pass-by market
　　　　'(and as I) went past *the markets*,'　　　　(i.e. presented: first mention, particular markets not specified)

13.　　*càishìchǎng*　　hái　　kāi mén　　ma!
　　　　the markets　　still　　open door　　MOD
　　　　'*the markets* would still be open!'　　　　(i.e. presumed from within text: second mention, understood as referring to same markets as previous mention)[7]

2.　　by omission, i.e. leaving out information that can be presumed from the context (omitted items in parentheses): e.g.

M:1.　　Āiyā,　　jīntiān　　(*wǒ*)　　máng-sǐ　　le!
　　　　oh-dear today　　I　　busy die　　ASP
　　　　'Oh, today (*I*)'ve been really busy!'　　　　(i.e. presumed from situation: speaker referring to herself)

D:2.　　Á,　　(*nǐ*)　　máng shénme　　ya?
　　　　oh　　you　　busy what　　MOD
　　　　'Oh, what have (*you*) been busy with?'　　　　(i.e. presumed from situation: speaker referring to addressee)

3.　　by using expressions that uniquely identify a piece of information: e.g.

16.　　*wǒ*　　hái děi　　qù　　bǎihuòdàlóu
　　　　I　　still must　　go　　department store
　　　　'*I* still had to go to the department store'　　　　(i.e. presumed from situation: speaker identifies herself as doer of action)

17.　　gěi *Xiǎoming*　　mǎi qiúxié.
　　　　for Xiaoming　　buy sandshoe
　　　　'to buy sandshoes for *Xiaoming*.'　　　　(i.e. presumed from situation: the speaker identifies her son as beneficiary of action)

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[7] Although *càishìchǎng* is translated as 'the markets' in both cases, information at the end of the clause in Chinese is normally understood as "indefinite", that at the beginning of the clause as "definite" (Chao 1968: 76) - see also section 1.2.3.2 below. The "definite" English translation in (10) would probably be understood as indicating "generic reference" (Martin 1992: 105).

4.   by using expressions that conditionally identify a piece of information in relation to something else in the text: e.g.

33.   wǒ jiù tí -   qi   guo   *zhè jiàn shì'r.*
      I then   mention up   ASP   this MEAS matter
      'I mentioned *this matter*.'
                                         (i.e. presumed from text from previous mention: Dad's previous request for Mum to borrow the book)

D:18.   Ái, *wǒ yào de nèi běn shū*,   nǐ   gěi wǒ jiè-lai   le   ma?
       oh, I want SUB that MEAS book you   for me borrow come   ASP   MOD
       'Oh, *that book I wanted*, did you borrow (it) for me?'
                                         (i.e. presumed from text simultaneously: the book Dad (claims that he) asked Mum to borrow)

Using these kinds of evidence, we can identify patterns of reference running throughout the text. Those in the opening section of *Memory* (clauses 1- 17) are presented below in Table 1.1 (the reference analysis of the whole text is given in Appendix 2). Items of information in different clauses linked by some type of reference pattern are arranged under each other in columns: this occasionally means that the order of elements within each clause (reading across the page) has been modified. Omitted information is supplied in brackets ( ). In order to save space, presented information which is not taken up later in the text is omitted from the analysis.

1.	jīntiān today	(wǒ) I	máng-si busy die		
2.		(nǐ) you	máng busy		
3			shàng bān go-to work		
4.			xià bān finish work		
5.			mǎi cài buy food		
7.		(wǒ) I			zuò fàn cook meal
8.	zhōngwǔ midday	(wǒ) I			
9.		(wǒ) I			
10.		(wǒ) I	càishìchǎng market		
11.		(wǒ) I	mǎi diǎn'r cài buy a-little food		
12.	xiàwǔ afternoon		xià bān finish work		
13.			càishìchǎng market	kāi mén be open	
15.		(wǒ) I	xià bān finish		
16.		wǒ I			
17.		(wǒ) I	mǎi buy	gěi Xiǎomíng for Xiaoming	qiúxié. sandshoes

Table 1.1:   Reference chains in the opening section of *Memory*

As we can see from this table, there are a number of reference patterns running over this stretch of the text - we may refer to the information in these patterns as forming **reference chains** (Halliday & Hasan 1976; Hu 1981; Chen 1984; Martin 1992: 140). The most consistent reference chain, both in this initial section of the text and through the rest of the text is set out in the second column from the left, representing the interactants in the dialogue, i.e. *wǒ* 'I, me' and *nǐ* 'you', since the majority of clauses in the text either explicitly or implicitly identify either or both of these interactants. Another consistent reference chain, both in this section and through much of the text is that to do with the times of day, which is set up at the start by Mum's mention of *jīntiān* 'today' (1). Both speakers keep referring back to this by specifying *zhōngwǔ* 'midday'(8), *xiàwǔ* 'afternoon'(17), and so on. We know from the context that these still refer to *jīntiān* 'today' as set up in (1) - i.e. *(jīntiān) zhōngwǔ* 'midday (today)' in clause (8), *(jīntiān)*

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xiàwǔ '(this) afternoon' in clause (18) - but this is presumed in the following instances. Other shorter chains have to do with the specific activities of the interactants, e.g. *shàng bān, xià bān* 'going to / finishing work', (3-4, 12, 15), *mǎi cài, càishìchǎng* ' shopping, the markets' (5, 10, 11, 15).

Similar reference chains can be identified in the rest of the text. A long-running chain which begins just after this extract, is that to do with *shu* 'book', introduced by Dad in (18), repeated by Mum in (19), picked up again by omission in (25), (37) & (39-40), and restated explicitly by Dad in (47). A fairly short chain in terms of number of mentions, but which stretches over almost the whole text, is that to do with *jiànwàng* 'being forgetful', introduced by Dad in (20) as an accusation against Mum, and then thrown back in his face by Mum in the very last clause of the text (75). Such long-running reference chains show what kinds of information are most prominent in the text - times of day, the interactants in the dialogue, the main point of contention ("who borrowed the book?") and the speakers' judgement on each other in this regard - thus reflecting fairly closely the text's main concerns. More localised chains have to do with the specific activities the interactants engage in: e.g. the 'work' and 'shopping' chains identified in the text extract above (the former picked up by Dad in (26)), and other activities discussed later in the text: e.g. 'class and after class activities' (53-54, 65).

As for the types of reference represented by these chains, the majority of information in the text is presumed from the situation rather than from within the text. The most common reference type is that represented by the speech interactants *wǒ* 'I, me' and *nǐ* 'you' which by definition point outside the text, since they must be interpreted by reference to whoever is speaking at the time (in other words the reference of *wǒ* 'I' and *nǐ* 'you' keeps changing according to the speaker). The next most common type, that represented by the times of day, could also be seen to be presumed as much from the situation as from within the text itself - i.e. from the initial mention of *jīntiān* 'today' in (1) - since in a normal conversational context an expression like *shàngwǔ* 'morning' would usually be understood as referring to 'this morning', in other words the time closest to the time of speaking. Both these kinds of reference, therefore, just keep on renewing the connection of the text with its situation, rather than binding the text itself together to any great degree.

The only long-running reference chain that is presumed strictly from within the text is that to do with 'borrowing books'. All subsequent instances of this (19, 25, 37, 39-40, 47) clearly refer to Dad's original mention in (18) since, for Mum at least, this is something that can definitely *not* be presumed from the situation! The reintroduction of this information by Xiaoming in (68) may be regarded as starting a new chain, since he was

not present for the previous conversation between his parents, but here again the two subsequent mentions (71-72) are clearly presumed from his initial mention. As for the more localised reference chains dealing with the interactants' daily activities, they again fall halfway between being presumed from within the text and presumed from the situation, since they deal with information already familiar to all the interactants. For example, while Dad's mention of *shàng bān* 'go to work' in (26) is clearly an echo of Mum's earlier mention in (3), since he is concerned to prove that his day has been at least as busy as hers, it is again a piece of information which Mum would have had no trouble interpreting if it had been mentioned in isolation.

Generally speaking, then, we could say that the predominant patterns of reference are those identifying information from the situation rather than within the text itself. This fits well with the characterisation of this text in the previous section as both context-dependent - i.e. needing to be interpreted from the situation, and dialogic - i.e. created through the interaction of different speakers. Thus the **textual cotext** of the text, as revealed by an analysis of the reference chains, shows how the situational variables of the text are reflected in the meanings woven through the text as a whole.

Although such an analysis of the reference chains in the text enables us to explain a lot about how the information in the text is introduced and kept track of, there are clues in the wording of the text itself that this is not the whole story. Firstly we notice a lot of "gaps", where presumed information is omitted, and these gaps seem to follow a consistent pattern, that is, they occur mostly at or near the beginning of each clause. Secondly we notice that most reference items also appear in this clause-initial position. Thirdly we see a number of examples of a pattern whereby new information is presented at or near the end of a clause and then repeated in initial position in a following clause; for example, *càishìchǎng* 'the markets' which appears first in final position in clause (5) and then reappears in initial position in clause (10). In order to explain the significance of these patterns, we need to examine the structure of each individual clause, i.e. the textual organisation at the stratum of lexicogrammar, looking at the way in which the information in each clause is organised, what Halliday (1994: Ch. 3) characterises as the "clause as message".

1.2.3   Organising information into messages: textual lexicogrammar in *Memory*

In the previous section, we saw how information can be organised over a whole text through various chains of presented and presumed reference. In this section we will begin

to see how the information in each individual clause is organised into a **message**. By examining the ordering of elements in the clause and what sort of elements may be omitted , as well as the point of prominence in the intonation contour attached to each clause or part of a clause, the clause can be interpreted as organised around 2 main points:

1. point of departure (Theme)
2. focus point (New)

Such an interpretation can be generalised as defined by the two grammatical systems of THEME and INFORMATION, which I will discuss in sections 1.2.3.1 and 1.2.3.2 below

1.2.3.1 The point of departure for the message: the system of THEME

If we examine the clauses in *Memory* from the point of view of the information they contain, i.e. as messages, the initial position in the clause seems to be significant. Information often appears here:

* if repeated from an earlier mention: e.g. *càishìchǎng* 'markets' in (13)

10. jīngguò *càishìchǎng*,
    pass-by market
    '(and as I) went past *the markets*,'

13. *càishìchǎng*   hái   kāi mén   ma!
    market   still   open door   MOD
    '*the markets* would still be open!'

* if treated as known to speaker and listener: e.g. *túshū-guǎnlǐyuán* 'the library assistant' in (72) presumed to be someone working in the library from which Xiaoming is trying to borrow the book (mentioned in previous clauses):

72. *Túshū-guǎnlǐyuán*   zhǎo   le   bàntiān...
    library attendant   look-for ASP   half-day
    '*The library attendant* spent ages looking for (it).'

* or if left out because understood from a previous mention: e.g. *wǒ* 'I' in (35)[8]

34. *Wǒ* ya,   yī   qǐ chuáng
    I TEXT once   rise bed
    'As soon as *I* got up'

35. (*wǒ*)   jiù   gěi nǐmen   zuò   zǎofàn...
    I   then   for you PL   make   breakfast
    '(*I*) made breakfast for you both...'

Information in this position can be interpreted as the "point of departure" (Chinese *chūfādiǎn*) of the message in each clause[9]. Borrowing the terminology of Prague School linguistics (see Vachek 1964: 89), this point of departure can be called the **Theme** (Greek *thēma* "that which is laid down"), with the remainder of the clause called the **Rheme** (Greek *rhēma* "that which flows on"). A similar distinction, more common in the literature on Chinese, is that between "Topic" and "Comment" (Chao 1968, Tsao

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[8] See section 2.2.1 below for a discussion of ellipsis in the textual structure of the clause in Chinese.
[9] For a discussion of this metaphor and how it may be grounded in the organisation of the text, see Matthiessen 1992; for Chinese text examples, see Fang et al. 1995.

1979, 1990; Li & Thompson 1981)[10]. Halliday (1994: 37) defines Theme and Rheme for English as follows:

> The Theme is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned. The remainder of the message, the part in which the Theme is developed, is called...the Rheme.

We could then tentatively identify Theme in Chinese as the initial element in the clause (cf the similar definition of "Topic" in Li &Thompson 1981 - see Fang et al. 1995 for a discussion of the varying usages of equivalent terms), with the Rheme being the rest of the clause following the Theme, as in the following example:

	Theme	Rheme		
16.	wǒ	hái děi	qù	bǎihuòdàlóu
	I	still must	go	department store

'I still had to go to the department store'

What evidence is there for regarding initial position in the clause in Chinese as textually significant? Firstly, a Theme may be marked off by a pause between it and the Rheme, as in the example (18) below, signalled in the spoken original by a slight pause between *shū* 'book' and what follows:

	Theme	Rheme				
18.	Éi, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,	nǐ	gěi wǒ jiè-lai		le	ma?
	oh, I want SUB that MEAS book	you	for me borrow come		ASP	MOD

'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

Secondly, the Theme, for emphasis, may be separated from the Rheme by a textual particle such as *ya* in the following example: e.g.

	Theme	Rheme		
34.	Wǒ ya,	yī	qǐ	chuáng
	I TEXT	once	rise	bed

'As soon as *I* got up'

A particular Theme, once established explicitly, may be ellipsed or implicitly presumed in following clauses, as in the above example, where the Theme of (34) *wǒ ya* 'I, as for me' may be taken also as the Theme of the following clause (35). The left out element in (35) can be "replaced" on two grounds: firstly the clause needs to be interpreted as containing such a meaning; secondly this element must be able to appear in this position if the clause is used in isolation.

	Theme	Rheme	
34.	Wǒ ya,	yī	qǐ chuáng
	I TEXT	once	rise bed

'As soon as *I* got up'

---

[10] "Topic", however, is usually defined more narrowly than I define Theme here: specifically, it covers only the experiential kinds of Theme (cf Halliday 1994: 38)

	Theme	Rheme			
35.	(wǒ)	jiù	gěi nǐmen	zuò	zǎofàn...
	I	then	for you PL	make	breakfast

'(I) made breakfast for you both...'

If we take such an analysis to its logical conclusion, by analysing everything in first position as a possible Theme, we find that we need to include not only information referring to persons or things, like *wǒ* 'I' (16) or *càishìchǎng* 'markets' (13) but also information referring to time, e.g. *zhōngwǔ* 'midday' (16) and even exclamations like *āiyā* 'oh dear' (1) or *nà* 'well then' (37). We must therefore broaden our conception of what may serve as the starting point of the message, to include all these kinds of elements. These may also be interpreted according to the three metafunctional principles - textual, interpersonal and experiential (see section 1.1.2. above). In other words, while the Theme of a clause has an overall textual function, within this it may be differentiated according to whether it relates simply to the clause as a message (textual), or to the clause as an exchange (interpersonal), or to the clause as a representation (experiential), or a combination of the three types.

Most clauses will have one element of **experiential** meaning that is singled out as the starting point of the message; this may be a person, thing, place or time: e.g. *càishìchǎng* 'the markets' in the following clause:

	Theme: experiential	Rheme		
13.	càishìchǎng	hái	kāi mén	ma!
	market	still	open door	MOD

'the markets would still be open!'

If there is no suitable experiential element present, we may usually understand the experiential Theme as presumed from a preceding clause, or from the situation: e.g. in order to make sense of the following exchange, *nǐ* 'you' must be understood as Theme:

	Theme: experiential	Rheme		
50.	(nǐ)	shàng	nǎr	le?
	you	go-to	where	ASP

'Where have (you) been?'

The starting point may also include an **interpersonal** element, like *āiyā* 'oh dear' in (14) below that expresses the speaker's emotion or attitude to the situation: :

	Theme: interpersonal	Theme: experiential	Rheme		
14.	Āiyā	nǎr	yǒu	shíjiān ne?
	oh-dear	where	exist	time	MOD

'Oh, where would there be the time?'

Finally, the starting point may also include a purely **textual** element, usually something like *nà* 'well' in (37) that serves to link the clause to the preceding text:

	Theme: textual	Theme: experiential	Rheme	
37.	Nà	míngtiān	qù jiè	ma!
	well	tomorrow	go borrow	MOD

'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'

Occasionally, a clause may have an textual without an experiential Theme, as in the following example, a common idiom which could be understood here as having an implicit experiential Theme *nǐ* 'you', but is usually used without:

	Theme: textual	Rheme	
41.	Nà	méi	bànfǎ.
	then	NEG-exist	means

'Well there's no way of doing (it) - i.e. it can't be helped.'

We can generalise about these different types of Theme as defined by a system of THEME, (small capitals are used to indicate the whole system as opposed to an initial capital for the clause element), i.e. different types of information serving as the point of departure for each clause. The distinctions introduced so far are summed up in Fig. 1.3 below:
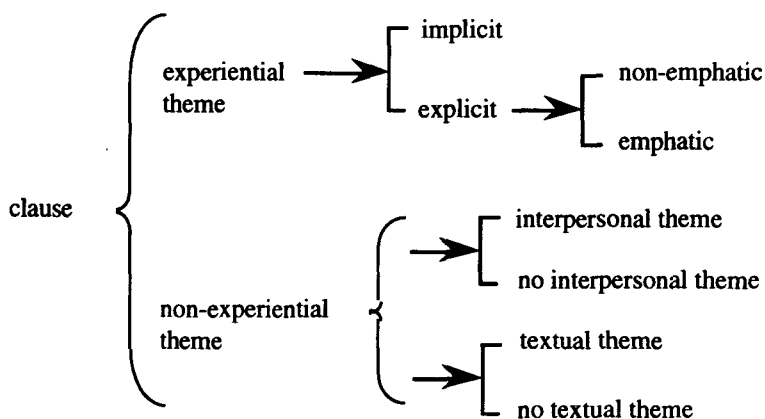
Figure 1.3:   The system of THEME in Memory

The formalism in Fig.1.3 may be interpreted as follows. Each clause contains an element of information which forms the starting point of the message of that clause. This starting point, or Theme, can contain both [experiential] and [non-experiential] elements. The equal role of these choices in the system as a whole is marked by their being joined by a curly brace, { , indicating a "both-and" choice, as opposed to the "either-or" choice of the square bracket, [. An [experiential] Theme may be either [implicit], i.e. presumed from the text or the situation, or [explicit] in the structure of the clause. An [explicit] Theme can be either [non-emphatic], i.e. carrying no special emphasis, or [emphatic], for contrast or some other rhetorical effect. A non-experiential Theme can be either of two kinds (the "both-and" choice again marked by the curly brace) both of which may or may *not* be present (the "either-or" choices marked by the square brackets). In other words, a clause

may have: (a) an [interpersonal Theme] *and* a [textual Theme]; (b) an [interpersonal Theme] and [no textual Theme] *or* a [textual Theme] and [no interpersonal Theme]; or (c) none of the above, i.e. [no interpersonal Theme], [no textual Theme].

With this insight into how the information in each clause of the text is organised, we can go back to the whole text and begin to examine the relationship between the information in a particular clause and that in the preceding and following clauses. A common pattern we see here is that whereby information is introduced in the Rheme of a preceding clause and then re-stated as the Theme of a following clause (there may or may not be other clauses intervening); for example:

	Theme	Rheme		
10.	(wǒ)	jīngguò càishìchǎng		
	I	pass-by market		
	'(I) went past *the markets*'			

	Theme	Rheme		
13.	càishìchǎng	hái	kāi mén	ma!
	market	still	open door	MOD
	'*the markets* would still be open!'			

In order to fully understand the significance of such patterns, we need to go on and look at the another system which complements that of THEME, i.e. the system of INFORMATION.

1.2.3.2   The focus point of the message: the system of INFORMATION

The fact that information is commonly introduced in the Rheme of one clause and then picked up as Theme of a following clause may alert us to the fact that this position is also textually significant. The following clauses (both spoken by Xiaoming) also exhibit this pattern:

	Theme	Rheme			
54.	_____	hái	yǒu	kèwài	huódòng.
		still	exist	class-outside	activity
	'(I) had after-class activities.'				

	Theme	Rheme	
65.	Huódòng	jiéshù,	
	activity	conclude	
	'(By the time) the activities were over'		

Can we then take final position as the standard one for introducing new information? The first section of the text (clauses 1-7) certainly seems to exhibit this pattern, with the starting point of each clause giving the time of day and / or the speaker / addressee (ellipsed) followed by the information as to the activities Mum has been engaged in. However, the Rheme of each clause commonly contains more than one piece of information; should all of this be taken as New, or do we need to single out a particular piece of information? The second analysis would be suggested by the organisation of

clauses (1-2) where the Rheme in both cases contains the information *máng* 'be busy'. In clause (1) this is obviously new information; in clause (2) it cannot be, since it has just been mentioned; what *is* new, however, is the request for details, *shénme* 'what', by its very nature signalling new information:

topic

Theme			Rheme		
1.	Āiyā,	jīntiān	máng-si	le!	
	oh-dear	today	busy die	ASP	
	'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'				

Theme		Rheme		
2.	Á,		máng	shénme	ya?
	oh		busy	what	MOD
	'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'				

How then do we identify the piece of new information, what we may call the **focus point** (Chinese *jiāodiǎn*) or New in each clause? We saw above that the Theme can be identified because it may be marked off by a pause, by a particle, or by being ellipsed. There does not seem to be any comparable type of marking for the New. However, if we go through the text in its original spoken version, identifying pieces of new information on semantic or contextual grounds, we find that in many cases these correlate with a particular recurring feature of the natural intonation contour, what we might call the **tonic prominence** (cf Halliday 1967, 1994: 296), i.e. syllables with greater than ordinary length and intensity.

When we examine the opening of the text from this point of view, we find the following pattern (tonic prominence in italics):

M:1.	Āiyā,	jīntiān	*máng*-si	le!
		oh-dear	today	busy die	ASP
	'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'				

D:2.   Á,   máng *shénme*   ya?
         oh   busy   what   MOD
         'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'

M:3.   Āiyā,   shàng *bān*
         oh   go-to work
         'Oh, going to work,'

prominent, must be
contrastive

4.   xià *bān*,
   finish work
   'finishing work,'

5.   mǎi *cài*,
   buy food
   going shopping,'

6.   huí-lai,
   return come
   '(now that I've) come home,'

7.   hái   děi   zuò *fàn.*
      still   must   cook meal
      '(I) still have to do the cooking.'

If we take each tonic prominence as marking a New, such a pattern seems to suggest that, while every clause has a Theme (explicit or implicit), not every clause has a New (e.g. clause (6)), and some clauses have more than one (e.g. clause (3)). If we examine the intonation contour more closely, we find that it is actually broken into a number of units, which we may call tone groups, each potentially separated by a slight pause [11], and characterised by a continuous contour with one point of tonic prominence. If we assume that this sort of chunking of the text into tone groups has semantic implications, we can begin to explore what these implications might be, in other words, to interpret these patterns meaningfully.

We saw in the previous section that the break between Theme and Rheme, identifiable by (potential) pause, particle, or omission, could be interpreted as marking a transition from the starting point of the message to the development of the message. For the semantic interpretation of the tone group, Halliday in his early work on Chinese (1956: 188-9) suggested that the relevant opposition was one between "given" and "new" information. In more recent work on English (1994: 298), he characterises the opposition as follows:

> The significant variable is: information that is presented by the speaker as recoverable (Given) or not recoverable (New) to the listener. What is treated as recoverable may be so because it has been mentioned before; but that is not the only possibility. It may be something that...the speaker wants to present as Given for rhetorical purposes....Likewise, what is treated as non-recoverable may be something that has not been mentioned; but it may be something unexpected, whether previously mentioned or not.

Thus in the following example, Dad uses as his point of departure information already introduced by Mum in a previous clause (*càishìchǎng* 'the markets'), and then indicates that they would still be open (*kāi mén'r*) as the information that he wants her to attend to (in this and following examples the New is indicated in italics):

	Theme		New		
13.	càishìchǎng	hái	*kāi*	mén	ma!
	market	still	open	door	MOD

'the markets would still *be open!*'

Now the fact that the markets are open in the afternoon is presumably just as well (if not better) known to Mum as to Dad. The point of Dad treating this as New has to do with the previous clauses (8-11) where Mum has been describing how she had to rush around at

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[11] In this text, which for pedagogical reasons is spoken more slowly and carefully than naturally occurring conversation, the majority of tone groups are in fact separated by a pause; there would doubtless be a much smaller proportion of pauses at normal conversation speed (see Tao 1996).

lunchtime; Dad's unsympathetic reaction is to imply she could have done all this after work.

Both the position and frequency of New depends on the speaker's judgement as to which elements of information are non-recoverable, or at least should be treated as such. In the original spoken version of *Memory*, a tonic prominence, and therefore New, can be identified not only in a single clause, as in the following example:

1. Āiyā, jīntiān *máng*-si   le!
    oh-dear today   busy die   ASP
    'Oh, today (I've) been really *busy*!'

but also in a combination of two clauses (in the following example, the tonic prominence comes at the end of clause (7), there is no tonic prominence in (6)):

6. huí-lai,
    return come
    '(now that I've) come home,'

7. hái   děi   zuò *fàn*.
    still   must   cook meal
    '(I) still have to do the cooking.'

or in something less than a clause:

18. wǒ yào de   nèi běn *shū*...
     I want SUB   that MEAS book
     '...that *book* I wanted...'

or something almost not really part of a clause at all, such as the interjection at the beginning of clause (18):

18. *Éi*,
     oh,
     "*oh*... (that book I wanted...)"

A clause like (18) therefore corresponds to three separate tone groups, each separated by a slight pause, and each with its distinct tonic prominence (the double slashes mark the boundaries of each tone group):

18. //*Éi* // wǒ yào de nèi běn *shū* //   nǐ gěi wǒ   *jiè*-lai   le ma//
     oh,   I want SUB that MEAS book   you for me   borrow come   ASP MOD
     'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

We could interpret this succession of tonic prominences as three separate News, i.e. three focus points of the message, which we could gloss as follows:

1. Éi 'Oh':   listen, I've got something to say to you

2. (nèi běn) shū '(that) book':   I want to know about the book

3. jiè-(lai) 'borrow':   did you manage to get it for me?

With the New usually appearing at the end of the clause, the Given is therefore commonly in the earlier part of the clause. We thus have a correlation between Theme (starting point of message) and Given (recoverable information) on the one hand, and between Rheme

(continuation of message) and New (focus point of the message: non-recoverable information) on the other, as below (in this and following examples, the syllable carrying the tonic prominence is indicated by italics):

Theme		Rheme	
interpersonal	experiential		
Given		New	
1.	Āiyā,	jīntiān	*máng*-si	le!
	oh-dear	today	busy die	ASP

'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

However, since the meaning of Theme-Rheme is distinct from that of Given-New , and they are realised in different ways, there is the possibility for the opposite correlation, i.e. of Theme with New, and Rheme with Given:

Theme		Rheme		
interpersonal	experiential			
	New	Given		
14.	Āiyā	*nǎr*	yǒu	shíjiān ne?
	oh-dear	where	exist	time MOD

'Oh, where would there be the time?'

The tonic prominence may in principle fall on any (stressed) syllable in the clause, so it is therefore possible for the New to coincide with any element of the clause for the sake of emphasis. In the second clause of the following exchange, the New *méi* '(you) didn't (tell me)' is perfectly predictable from the previous clause as well as from the context as a whole. However, Mum chooses to make a point of it here, because her whole argument rests on her (justified) claim to ignorance of Dad's request (in cases like this, where the New comes in the middle of the clause, the rest of the clause may be regarded as Given):

Theme	Rheme		
Given	New		
30.	Wǒ	bù	*zhīdào*,
	I	NEG	know

'I didn't know,'

Theme	Rheme		
Gi-	New	-ven	
31.	nǐ	*méi*	gēn wǒ	shuō.
	you	NEG:perf	with I	speak

'you didn't tell me.'

We can generalise about these different features of the New as defined by a system of INFORMATION, i.e. different types of focus point for the information in each clause. The distinctions introduced so far are summed up in Fig. 1.4 below. In describing the nature of the New, we are really describing its interaction with the Theme. After the entry condition [tone group] (different from the THEME system's entry condition of [clause] as I noted above) the New can either fall within some part of the clause ([thematically equivalent]), or outside the structure of the clause([thematically non-equivalent]), like a [clause fragment] or an [interjection]. If it does fall within the clause, it does so along two

dimensions: whether it exactly corresponds to a [clause], or is larger than a clause i.e. [clause complex], or smaller i.e. [part of clause]; and whether it falls [within the Rheme] or [within the Theme].
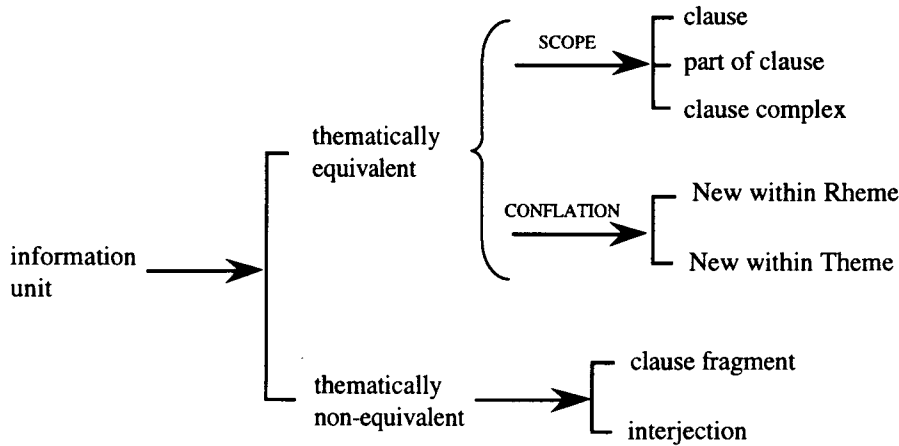
<u>Figure 1.4</u>:   The system of INFORMATION in *Memory*

The combination of these two message points of Theme and New, as defined by the systems of THEME and INFORMATION, determines the "flow of information" in each clause and through the text, in other words, how the information is introduced, referred to, elaborated on, and so on. The opening section of the text (clauses 1-17) (see Appendix 2 for an analysis of the whole text) is analysed in Table 1.2 below according to its Theme-Rheme and Given-New patterning. The two columns indicate the boundary between Theme and Rheme, implicit Themes are supplied in brackets ( ). The New of each information unit is indicated in italics (for convenience the whole of the word containing the tonic prominence syllable is taken as New), with the Given then corresponding to everything except the New. If the information unit is larger or smaller than a clause, its boundaries are indicated by double slashes // (in all other cases it can be assumed that the boundaries of the information unit coincide with those of the clause).

The flow of information in this section of the text could be characterised as follows. Mum sets up three pieces of information as her initial point of departure or Theme in (1): an interpersonal expression of emotion, *Āiya* 'oh dear', an experiential indication of time, *jīntiān* 'today', and an (implied) experiential indication of herself as speaker (*wǒ*) 'I'. Looking downwards to the Themes of following clauses, we find similar pieces of information being 'recycled' by both speakers. Interpersonal Themes, expressing similar emotional reactions, recur whenever Mum resumes talking, in clauses (3) and (14); while textual Themes, i.e. introducing "follow-up" information, occur whenever Dad starts talking, linking his responses to Mum's previous talk, in clauses (2) *Á* 'Oh (tell me more) and (12) *Hài* 'Hey (but despite what you just said...).

	Theme		**Rheme**				
1.	Āiya jīntiān oh dear today	(wǒ) I	*máng-si* le! busy die ASP				
2.	Á, oh	(nǐ) you	máng busy	*shénme* ya? what MOD			
3.	Āiyō, oh		shàng *bān* go-to work				
4.			xià *bān* finish work				
5.			mǎi *cài* buy food				
6. //		(wǒ) I	huí-lai				
7.		(wǒ) I	hái still	děi must	zuò *fàn.* cook meal		//
8. //	zhōngwǔ midday	(wǒ) I	dào reach	yóujú post office			
9.		(wǒ) I	jì post	le ASP	yì fēng one MEAS	*xìn,* letter	//
10. //		(wǒ) I	jīngguò pass-by	càishìchǎng market			
11.		(wǒ) I	hái mǎi le still buy ASP	diǎn *cài.* a-little food			//
12.	Hài, xiàwǔ hey afternoon		xià bān finish work	*yǐhòu,* after			
13.		càishìchǎng market	hái still	*kāi* mén'r open door	ma! MOD		
14.	Āiyā *nǎr* oh-dear where		yǒu exist	shíjiān time	ne? MOD		
15. //		(wǒ) I	xià le finish ASP	bān work			
16.		wǒ I	hái děi still must	qù go	*bǎihuòdàlóu* department store		//
17.		(wǒ) I	gěi Xiǎoming for Xiaoming	mǎi buy	*qiúxié.* sandshoes		

Table 1.2: Flow of information between Theme & New in a section of *Memory*

Mum's initial experiential Theme indicating the overall time, *jīntiān* 'today', is picked up again by herself as the experiential Theme (indicating a more specific time) in (8) *zhōngwǔ* 'midday (today)', and likewise by Dad as the experiential Theme (indicating another specific time) in (12) *xiàwǔ* '(this) afternoon'. Mum's other experiential Theme in (1), indicating herself as speaker, i.e. (wǒ) 'I', is reversed by Dad in the following clause, switching to Mum as addressee, i.e. (nǐ) 'you' - both of these being implicit. This implicit experiential Theme indicating the speaker is recycled again in clauses (6-11) and

(15) where Mum is detailing her activities; it is explicitly stated in (16), i.e. *wǒ* 'I' and is then again implicit in (17).

Looking across now from the main experiential Theme indicating location in time, *jīntiān* 'today', to the focus point, i.e. the New of the first clause, we see a general summary of how Mum regards her role in the activities of that day, *máng-si* 'really busy'. This summary is questioned by Dad in the New of the following clause, *(máng) shénme* '(busy with) what', and then exemplified by Mum in the News of clauses (3-4) *(shàng / xià) bān* '(starting / finishing) work' and (5) '*(mǎi) cài* '(buy) food'. Similarly, when Mum goes on to detail specific activities, it is the distinguishing feature of these activities that is treated as New in following clauses: e.g. *fàn* 'meal' in (7), *xìn* 'letter' in (9), and *cài* 'food' in (11). The clauses immediately preceding each of these clauses - (6), (8) and (10) - form a single information unit with them, since in each case these clauses simply introduce background information that can be predicted from the following clause where the New occurs.

One item of this background information, *càishìchǎng* 'markets' in (10), is however picked up by Dad in a following clause. Dad first introduces an alternative possible time for Mum's actions as Theme of (12), *xiàwǔ* '(this) afternoon', stressing that this would be 'after (finishing work)' *(xià bān) yǐhòu*, i.e. New of (12). He then reintroduces *càishìchǎng* 'markets' as the experiential Theme of (13), finally moving on to his conclusion as New of this clause, *kāi (mén)* i.e. that they 'were open' at that time also. Mum then challenges this alternative by a rhetorical question (14) in which the starting point of her message, the experiential Theme *nǎr* 'where' (i.e. indicating the (metaphorical) location of her time), is also its focus point, i.e. New (i.e. querying the existence of any time). Mum then goes on to detail further actions, starting from identifying herself as speaker, i.e. as experiential Theme, focussing on a different location for buying, i.e. *bǎihuòdàlóu* 'the department store' as New of the following two clauses (15-16), and then focussing on a different type of goods, i.e. *qiúxié* 'sandshoes' as the New of clause (17).

1.2.4 Textual organisation from to text to clause: the relationship between textual semantics and textual lexicogrammar in *Memory*

In the previous two sections, I examined the textual organisation of the text *Memory* at the strata of discourse-semantics and lexicogrammar, i.e. in terms of the meanings of the text as a whole and the wordings in each individual clause. In this section, I will try to summarise the textual patterns at these two strata and re-emphasise their connection with the situational variables set out in section 1.2.1.

Table 1.3 below analyses the same opening section of the text, i.e. clauses (1-17), this time showing how the main textual semantic features of [presented] and [presumed] defined by the system of REFERENCE are related to the main textual clause elements of Theme and New defined by the systems of THEME and INFORMATION respectively. The experiential Theme of each clause is set out in the left hand column (non-experiential Themes do not correlate with the REFERENCE features and so have been omitted); implicit Themes are indicated in brackets ( ). The New of each clause is set out in the right hand column (except of course in cases like (14) where it is also Theme) and indicated by italics; other information in this column can be taken as part of the Given.

What this analysis shows very clearly is a strong correlation between the REFERENCE choices in this section of the text, on the one hand, and the THEME and INFORMATION choices in individual clauses on the other. **Presented** information tends to correlate with the **New** in each clause, whereas **presumed** information tends to correlate with the **Theme** of each clause. In other words, over this section of text, the presented information is normally grammaticalised as the focus point of the information in each information unit, while presumed information is grammaticalised as the starting point of the message in each clause. There are of course exceptions to this tendency - one exception, in clause (14) has been explained above, but this correlation is a very significant aspect of the meaning of the Theme and New in this text.

	Theme / Presumed			**New / Presented**			
1.	jīntiān today	(wǒ) I		máng-si le! busy die ASP			
2.		(nǐ) you		máng busy	shénme what		
3.				shàng bān go-to work			
4.				xià bān finish work			
5.				mǎi cài buy food			
6. //		(wǒ) I		huí-lai			
7.		(wǒ) I		hái still	děi must	zuò fàn. cook meal	//
8. //	zhōngwǔ midday	(wǒ) I		dào reach	yóujú post office		
9.		(wǒ) I		jì post	le ASP	yì fēng one MEAS	xin, // letter
10. //		(wǒ) I		jīngguò pass-by	càishìchǎng market		
11.		(wǒ) I		hái mǎi le still buy ASP	diǎn cài. a-little food		//
12.	xiàwǔ afternoon			xià bān finish work	yǐhòu, after		
13.			càishìchǎng market	hái still	kāi mén'r open door		
14.	Āiyā nǎr oh-dear where			yǒu exist	shíjiān time	ne? MOD	
15. //		(wǒ) I		xià le bān finish ASP work			
16.		wǒ I		hái děi qù still must go	bǎihuòdàlóu department store		//
17.		(wǒ) I		gěi Xiǎomíng for Xiaoming	mǎi buy	qiúxié. sandshoes	

Table 1.3:   Correlations between the semantic system of REFERENCE and the grammatical systems of THEME & INFORMATION in *Memory*

This correlation can be represented formally in the expanded systems of THEME and INFORMATION in Fig. 1.5 and Fig. 1.6 below. In Fig. 1.5 I have renamed the original theme system THEME TYPE, and supplemented it with another system, THEME IDENTIFIABILITY, showing the interaction of the THEME system as a whole with the semantic system of REFERENCE (in other words, both these two systems must now be chosen from in order to characterise the Theme of a clause).
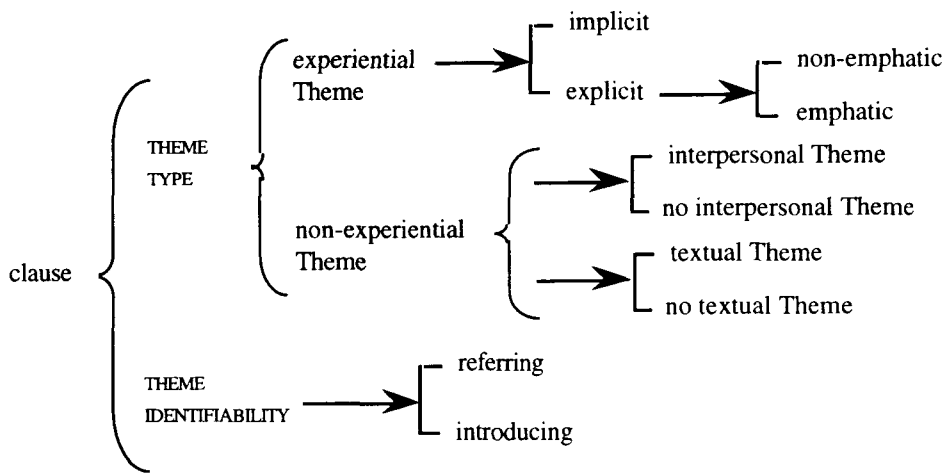
Figure 1.5: The expanded system for THEME in *Memory*

As we saw in the analysis in Table 1.3 there is a very strong correlation between [presumed] reference and Theme, but since this correlation is not absolute - in other words since the Theme of a clause is not invariably [presumed] information in a text - I have "renamed" the semantic features [presented] and]presumed] as the grammatical features [introducing] and [referring] respectively, in order to show that the normal correlations may be reversed, i.e. that we may have an [introducing] Theme, as in (14).
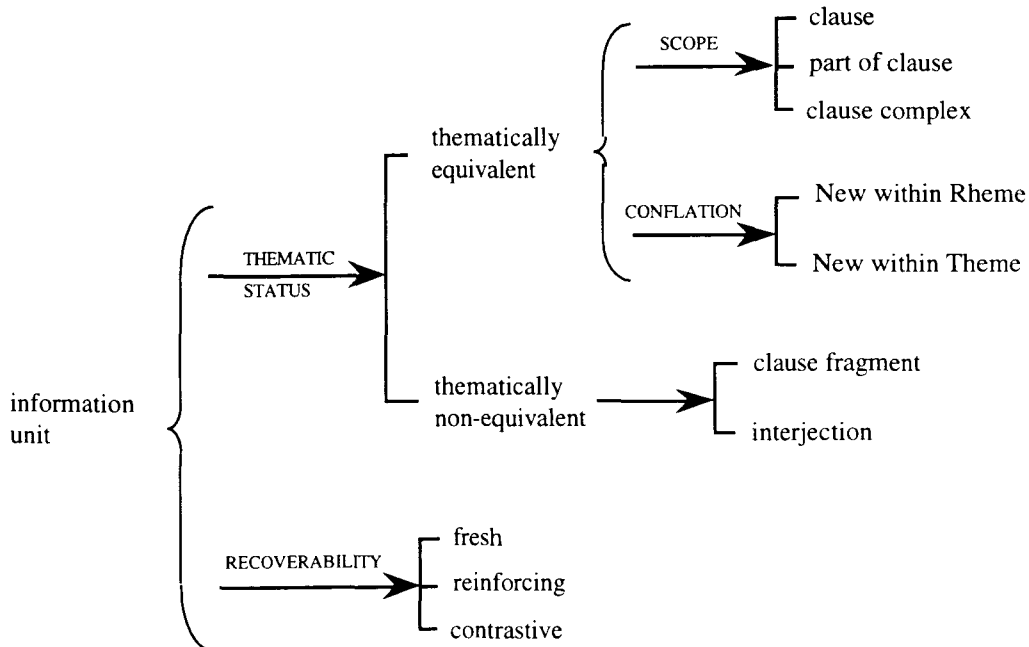
Figure 1.6: The expanded system of INFORMATION in *Memory*

Similarly in the expanded INFORMATION system in Fig. 1.6, we have two separate and equal systems: that concerned with the interaction of the New with the Theme-Rheme

structure, THEMATIC STATUS; and that concerned with its correlation with the reference system, RECOVERABILITY. In other words, in order to characterise the nature of the New in each clause, we need to choose options *both* from the system of THEMATIC STATUS *and* from the system of RECOVERABILITY. The New is by definition **presented** information; however, as we saw in Table 1.3, this may be presented in a number of ways: either by being introduced for the first time, i.e. [fresh] e.g. *bān* 'work' in clause (3), or by being reintroduced, i.e. [reinforcing] e.g. *bān* 'work in clause (4), or else introduced in comparison to something else i.e. [contrastive] e.g. (in a later section of the text) Mum's aggrieved *wǒ (ya)* 'As for me' in clause (34) - as noted above this is also [emphatic] Theme.

This kind of description of the textual lexicogrammar of this text was based on a meaningful and contextual interpretation of certain patterns of wording and sound. Two layers of textual meaning were recognised: the semantic one defined by the system of REFERENCE and identified by the reference chains extending over the text, and the grammatical one defined by the systems of THEME and INFORMATION and identified by the Theme-Rheme structure of each clause, and the Given-New structure of each tone group. Since I was mainly concerned to show how such a description could be built up by approaching the grammatical patterning through features of the context of situation and cotext, I have not attempted to subject the description to any rigorous analysis at this stage. In Chapter 2, I will come back to take a closer look at the textual functions of Theme, Rheme, Given, and New in terms of the structures they make up (section 2.2.1), and in Chapter 3, to examine the systems of THEME and INFORMATION in more detail (section 3.1.1). In the meantime, in the following section, I will show how a similar methodology can be applied to a description of the interpersonal meanings and wordings of the text.

1.3   Functional organisation (ii):   Interpersonal

Now I turn to the second main functional way in which the context and the wording of this text are related, through the interpersonal systems which have to do with "enacting social relationships" (Halliday 1994: 36). The interpersonal context of situation of the text, i.e. the relationships between the interactants, is expressed through the following patterns at the strata of language:

- discourse-semantics: negotiating the exchange of roles
- lexicogrammar: the symbolic exchange of commodities

1.3.1 The relationships between the interactants: interpersonal situational variables in *Memory*

If we look at the text in terms of the role relationships between the interactants, these can be understood as involving the following variables (Halliday 1989: 12):

> ...who is taking part,...the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved...

From this point of view, we can identify three interactants who contribute to the text *Memory*, all of them having their roles clearly defined by family relationships. The interactions involve two roles of equal status - husband and wife, and two roles of unequal status - mother and son (the interaction between father and son is negligible in this text and so will not be considered here). An interesting mark of these differences in status is that Mum and Dad neither greet each other by name, nor exchange any sort of standardised greeting, whereas their son Xiaoming, when he appears on the scene, very explicitly greets both of his parents by title.

In terms of the interactions themselves, both Mum and Dad take up similar options: they ask questions as well as answer them; they also challenge each other quite openly - again a mark of their equal status. Mum in addition at one stage issues a series of commands (25), (37) & (39), which Dad obviously feels quite able to reject - as he does, through providing a string of countervailing reasons (26-28), (38), (40). In contrast to Mum and Dad's very reciprocal exchanges, those between Mum and Xiaoming are marked by a systematic lack of reciprocity: Mum asks questions (50-51), Xiaoming answers them (52-54); Mum issues commands (62-63), Xiaoming accedes to them (64). Xiaoming's one offer, *Wǒ kàn kan* 'I'll have a look' (61), is flatly overridden by a further command from Mum, *Yǐhuǐr zài kàn* 'Look at (them) later' (62). The one place where Xiaoming seems to be actively providing information on his own account (65-66) is actually a prelude to his avowal that he has fulfilled his father's earlier command to borrow the book (67-68), and is quickly followed by the explicit acknowledgment itself (71).

The reciprocal nature of Mum and Dad's exchanges is matched by an emotional level that is at times highly charged, particularly during the explicit conflicts over time (32-40) and over Mum's misapplication to herself of Dad's frustrated comment on the whole situation *Ài, zhēn tǎoyàn!* 'Oh, that's really annoying!' (42) (because the experiential Theme here is implicit (see section 1.2.3.1 above), an equally possible interpretation of this would be

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'Oh, *you're* really annoying') where Dad is forced to explicitly clear up the ambiguity (46-47).

These variables of the text's interpersonal context of situation provide a profile of the relationships between the interactants involved in the text which we can use to guide our exploration of the interpersonal meanings expressed in the text and their realisations in wordings.

1.3.2   Negotiating the exchange of roles: interpersonal semantics in *Memory*

The situational variables of the text as set out in the previous section identify certain links between the text and its interpersonal context of situation. In this section we can begin to see how these variables are reflected in the **meanings** of the text, in other words, how the text works as an **exchange** between speaker and hearer. Let us examine the section of text consisting of the initial conversation between Mum and Xiaoming (clauses 49-64 - see Table 4 below), in terms of the roles taken on by the speakers; the ways in which one speaker's lead provokes the other's response; whether they co-operate or disagree, and so on.

We can see that this section of the text consists of a number of interactions between Mum and Xiaoming. Xiaoming's initial greeting (49) immediately sparks a series of questions from Mum (50-51), which he answers by giving an account of his afternoon (52-55). Mum comments briefly on this recital (55), before going on to proffer information about the sandshoes (56), to which Xiaoming reacts delightedly (57-59), asking to see them (60-61). Mum, however, staves off this course of action by suggesting (or really ordering) an alternative course of action (62-63), to which Xiaoming agrees (64). If we abstract out what the speakers are doing here, we can explain their interaction in terms of:

        a. the roles they adopt in each individual contribution or **move**

        b. how each speaker's moves are related to the other's

The first of these can be generalised as the **speech function** (Halliday 1994: 68-71) of each move, in other words (Eggins 1994: 109):

> how the speaker and hearer...take on and assign roles through the speech functions...like offer, command, statement, question.

The second can be generalised the **exchange** by which different moves are related (Martin 1992: 46-49), that is (Eggins 1994: 109)

> [how] these speech functions are organised into exchanges (minimally two moves) like offer + accept or question + answer.

The combination of the speech function of each individual move and the exchange in which it occurs determines "how interactants negotiate the exchange of meanings in dialogue" (Eggins 1994: 93). I will go on to examine these two aspects of the interpersonal meanings of this text in the following sections.

1.3.2.1 *Assigning roles in each move: speech function*

In the text extract discussed above, the speakers take on roles which define the nature of the interaction between them. As Halliday (1994: 68) explains:

> In the act of speaking, the speaker adopts for himself a particular speech role, and in so doing assigns to the listener a complementary role which he wishes him to adopt in his turn. For example, in asking a question, a speaker is taking on the role of seeker of information and requiring the listener to take on the role of the supplier of the information demanded.

This role can be understood as the combination of two variables:

- the speaker's role proper in the interaction - i.e. whether he or she is giving or demanding
- the "commodity" involved in the interaction - some concrete object / action (characterised by Halliday as "goods-&-services") or information

The combination of these two variables defines four basic **speech functions**, as set out in Fig. 1.7 below (taken from Halliday 1994: 69):

Commodity exchanged Role in exchange	(a) goods-&-services	(b) information
(i) giving	'offer'	'statement'
(ii) demanding	'command'	'question'

Figure 1.7:   Basic speech functions

Now we can try to characterise each **move** of the interactants in this section of the text in terms of these four categories, as set out in Table 1.4 below (the speech function of each move is given on the right; moves which do not seem to fit into this classification are given tentative descriptions in brackets). From this analysis, we can see that the interactants in this section of the text are largely concerned with exchanging information, in other words, with asking questions and making statements. Only in the final few clauses (61-64) do they attempt to exchange goods-and-services, e.g. Xiaoming making an offer to Mum, Mum issuing a countervailing command to Xiaoming, and even so this attempted exchange is not acted upon straight away. We can note also that while the exchange of information is two-way, both demanding (questions) and giving

(statements), the exchange of goods-&-services is only one way (demanding: i.e. commands), and that these latter are performed only by Mum not by Xiaoming (this point will be taken up in the next section).

This framework can be used to characterise the majority of moves in this extract; however there are moves that seem to fall outside the speech function classification. The very first move of Xiaoming, a greeting, can be explained as not being a full move in the terms described above; it is merely a preparatory move which "sets the ground" for the following moves (I noted above that this preparatory move is omitted by both Dad and Mum in their initial interaction). Xiaoming's final interjection in (64) *Èi* 'okay' may be understood as acknowledging that he has heard his mother's command without explicitly agreeing to carry it out, in other words, without committing himself to the actual exchange of goods-&-services demanded by Mum (he in fact goes on to talk about something completely different).

Xiaoming's exclamation, i.e. his reaction to Mum's news about the shoes in (57), can perhaps be thought of as a heightened statement, one which offers information but does not necessarily do so in a truly "informative" way, while Mum's exclamation, as in her comment on Xiaoming's appearance in (55), can be thought of as a weakened command (i.e. "look at yourself = I'm telling you what you look like") both functioning as expressions of the speaker's emotions.

X:49.	Bà, Mā... Dad Mum 'Dad, Mum...'					(greeting)
M:50.	Shàng nǎ'r le? go-to where ASP 'Where have (you) been?'					question
51.	Zěnme zhème wǎn a? how so late MOD 'Why are (you) so late?'					question
X:52.	Jīntiān xīngqīliù, today Saturday 'Today's Saturday,'					statement
53.	xià le kè finish ASP class 'when (I) finished class'					statement
54.	hài yǒu kèwài huódòng. still exist class-outside activity '(I) had after-class activities.'					statement
M:55.	Qiáo nǐ mǎn - tóu - dà - hàn de! look you full head big sweat MOD 'Look at you all covered in sweat!'					(exclamation)
M:56.	Ò, nǐ yào de qiúxié, wǒ gěi nǐ mǎi le. oh you want SUB sandshoes I for you buy ASP 'Oh, those sandshoes you wanted, I got (them) for you.'					statement
X:57.	Āiyā, tài hǎo le! oh too good ASP 'Oh, great!'					(exclamation)
58.	Wǒ hái pà I still fear 'I was afraid'					statement
59.	nǐ wàng le ne. you forget ASP MOD 'you'd forgotten.'					statement
60.	Zài nǎ'r? be-at where 'Where are (they)?'					question
61.	Wǒ kàn kan. I look look 'I'll have a look.'					offer
M:62.	Yìhuǐ'r zài kàn, a-while further look 'Look at (them) in a while,'					command
63.	nǐ xiān qù xǐ yi xi. you first go wash one wash 'go and have a wash first.'					command
X:64.	Èi. okay 'Alright.'					(interjection)

Table 1.4: Basic speech functions of moves in a section of *Memory*

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1.3.2.2   Interacting with other moves: exchange

In taking on a role in a move, a speaker is not simply doing something him or herself; he or she is simultaneously requiring something of the listener. As Halliday puts it (1994: 68):

> ...an 'act' of speaking is something that might more appropriately be called an 'interact': it is an exchange, in which giving implies receiving and demanding implies giving in response.

Thus, when we look at a text, we can see how speakers in taking on roles (and assigning complementary roles to listeners) are not just doing so on a one-off or monologic basis; typically a speaker's move is part of an **exchange**. In other words, a speaker is **initiating** a certain course of verbal action, and the listener, becoming speaker in his or her turn, is typically **responding** to the speaker's initiating move. These initiating and responding roles are of course continually being switched in the course of the interaction, with the speaker becoming the listener and the listener becoming the speaker in his or her turn. This gives us the following expanded set of speech functions, as set out in Fig. 1.8 below (adapted from Halliday 1994: 69):

role + commodity	*initiating*	*responding (expected)*	*responding (alternative)*
give goods-&-services	offer	acceptance	rejection
demand goods-&-services	command	undertaking	refusal
give information	statement	acknowledgment	contradiction
demand information	question	answer	disclaimer

Fig. 1.8:   Initiating and responding speech functions

We could now examine the same section of the text (clauses 49-64) in terms of the sequence of initiating and responding moves which keep the dialogue moving forward. In Table 1.5 below, moves are characterised according to the nine types set out in Fig. 1.8; in addition, they are noted as either *init*(*iating*) or *resp*(*onding*) - the moves falling outside this classification are noted as either *prep*(*aring*) or *react*(*ing*). Through this kind of analysis, we get a very vivid sense of how the interactants "throw the ball" of conversation back and forth, for example Mum's questions (50-51) prompting Xiaoming's answers (52-54), or Mum's statement (56) prompting Xiaoming's acknowledgment (57-59). Of course the expected response is not always the one that actually appears; Xiaoming's offer to his mother in (61) is followed not by an undertaking, but by a command that is in effect a refusal (62), and then by an alternative command (63).

X:49.	Bà,	Mā...					(prep.	greeting)
	Dad	Mum						
	'Dad, Mum...'							

M:50. Shàng nǎr le?
  go-to where ASP
  'Where have (you) been?'
  init. question

51. Zěnme zhème wǎn a?
  how so late MOD
  'Why are (you) so late?'
  question

X:52. Jīntiān xīngqīliù,
  today Saturday
  'Today's Saturday,'
  resp. answer

53. xià le kè
  finish ASP class
  'when (I) finished class'
  answer

54. hài yǒu kèwài huódòng.
  still exist class-outside activity
  '(I) had after-class activities.'
  answer

M:55. Qiáo nǐ mǎn - tóu - dà - hàn de!
  look you full head big sweat MOD
  'Look at you all covered in sweat!'
  (react. exclamation)

M:56. Ò, nǐ yào de qiúxié, wǒ gěi nǐ mǎi le.
  oh you want SUB sandshoes I for you buy ASP
  'Oh, those sandshoes you wanted, I got (them) for you.'
  init. statement

X:57. Āiyā, tài hǎo le!
  oh too good ASP
  'Oh, great!'
  (react. exclamation)

58. Wǒ hái pà
  I still fear
  'I was afraid'
  resp. acknowledgment

59. nǐ wàng le ne.
  you forget ASP MOD
  'you'd forgotten.'
  acknowledgment

60. Zài nǎr?
  be-at where
  'Where are (they)?'
  init. question

61. Wǒ kàn kan.
  I look look
  'I'll have a look.'
  init. offer

M:62. Yìhuǐr zài kàn,
  a-while further look
  'Look at (them) in a while,'
  resp. command / refusal

63. nǐ xiān qù xǐ yi xi.
  you first go wash one wash
  'go and have a wash first.'
  init. command

X:64. Èi.
  okay
  'Alright.'
  (resp. quasi-undertaking)

<u>Table 1.5:</u>   <u>Initiating and responding moves in a section of *Memory*</u>

The meanings involved in characterising moves in an exchange can be generalised as the system of NEGOTIATION [1] (adapted from Martin 1992: 44), as set out in Fig. 1.9 below. Thus, in characterising the speech function of a move in an exchange, we have first of all a double choice of *either* [greeting] (like Xiaoming's in (49) above) *or* [negotiating], i.e. an exchange of information or goods-&-services; and *either* [preparing] *or* [initiating] *or* [responding]. If [greeting], then a move is automatically also [preparing]: this is indicated in the network by adding a superscript "i" and "t" (for "if" and "then") to these two features. If [negotiating] the speaker can *either* be letting off emotional steam, i.e. [reacting], *or* genuinely [giving] or [demanding] [goods-&-services] or [information].
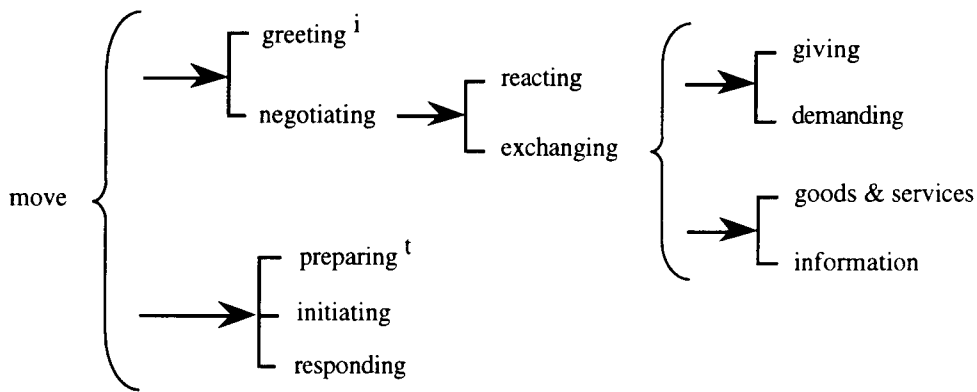
Figure 1.9: The semantic system of NEGOTIATION in *Memory*

If we analyse the whole text using this framework, we can see how it is shaped by sequences of initiating and responding moves; in other words that each exchange itself takes its place in a related series of exchanges which are also initiating and responding in relation to each other. We could then group these related exchanges into **phases** (Eggins 1994: 48) through which the text proceeds. The phases of the whole text are summarised in Table 1.6 below (the full analysis is given in Appendix 2). Such an analysis, even at the rather crude level attempted here (for further discussion see Martin 1992: Ch.2, Eggins 1994: 4.54) enables us to better understand how the text hangs together interactively.

---

[1] Martin actually names his equivalent system SPEECH FUNCTION (in an expanded sense), reserving the term NEGOTIATION (p.49) for an even more expanded system that accounts for extended exchanges.

Phase	*Exchange types*	*Summary of moves*

I. **What a busy day I've had!**

(1) initiating: Mum's exclamation about her busy day

(2-17) responding: Dad's request for clarification and Mum's providing of clarification

II. **Did you borrow that book?**

(18) initiating: Dad's question about whether Mum has borrowed the book

(19-24) responding: Mum's request for clarification and Dad's providing of clarification

III. **Why didn't you borrow it yourself?**

(25) initiating: Mum's challenge to Dad as to why he didn't borrow it himself

(26-29) responding: Dad's explanation

IV. **When did you tell me about it?**

(30-31) initiating: Mum's denial that Dad had asked her to borrow it

(32-36) responding: Dad's challenge and Mum's response

V. **Go and borrow it yourself!**

(37) initiating: Mum's command to Dad to borrow it the next day

(38-41) responding: Dad's refusal (through stating reasons)

VI. **How annoying!**

(42) initiating: Dad's exclamation of frustration

(43-48) responding: Mum's misinterpretation and Dad's clarification

VII. **Where have you been?**

(49) preparatory: Xiaoming's greeting

(50-51) initiating: Mum's request for details of his movement

(52-55) responding: Xiaoming's supplying of details

VIII. **I got you those sandshoes.**

(56) initiating: Mum's supplying of information about sandshoes

(57-64) responding: Xiaoming's reaction and Mum's subsequent commands

IX. **Who did borrow the book?**

(65-68) initiating: Xiaoming's avowal of information

(69-75) responding: Mum and Dad's request for clarification, Xiaoming's supplying of clarification and Mum's reaction

Table 1.6: Phases of exchanges in *Memory*

In the discussion of the textual cotext of this text in section 1.2.2 above, we saw that the patterns of reference were directed more towards renewing the text's connection with its situation rather than to binding the text together itself. Having examined the exchange

patterns of the text, we might then say that the cotext of this text is in fact more **interpersonally** oriented, i.e. that it relies on phases of exchanges made up of initiating and responding moves to bind it together.

1.3.3   The symbolic exchange of commodities: interpersonal lexicogrammar in *Memory*: the system of MOOD

In the previous section I characterised moves in the text in terms of their speech function (the role adopted by the speaker), with the four basic types of statement, question, offer, and command. When we look at the interpersonal patterning of each clause, i.e. at the stratum of lexicogrammar, we cannot find distinct realisations of each of these four types. If we re-examine the above dialogue between Mum and Xiaoming (49-64) looking for elements in each clause that give clues as to its speech function , we can identify (leaving out the speech function offer, which is not exemplified in this part of the text) the following features:

- questions either have a word that indicates the type of information being sought: e.g.

50.   Shàng *nǎr*   le?
       go-to   where   ASP
       '*Where* have (you) been?'

   or a word at the very end of the clause that implies a yes or no answer: e.g.

18.   Éi, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,   nǐ   gěi wǒ jiè-lai   le   *ma*?
       oh, I want SUB that MEAS book you   for me   borrow come   ASP   MOD
       'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

- commands tend to address the listener as *nǐ* 'you': e.g.

63.   *nǐ*   xiān   qù   xǐ   yi xi.
       you   first   go   wash   one wash
       '*you* go and have a wash first.'

- offers tend to identify the speaker as *wǒ* 'I': e.g.

61.   Wǒ   kàn kan.
       I   look look
       'I'll have a look.'

- statements don't seem to have any special marker: e.g.

53.   xià   le   kè
       finish ASP   class
       'when (I) finished class'

54.   hài   yǒu   kèwài   huódòng.
       still   exist   class-outside   activity
       '(I) had after-class activities.'

These grammatical differences between statements, questions and commands reflect differences in the way each clause is set up as a "symbolic exchange of commodities" (Matthiessen 1995: 93). This may be generalised as the grammatical system of MOOD, with the basic features of [declarative], [interrogative] and [imperative] corresponding to the speech functions statement, question, and command & offer, respectively (see

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Halliday (1994: 68-71) for this semantic reinterpretation of the traditional concept of mood). This system is set out in Fig. 1.10 below. Only one of these features, that of [interrogative] may seem to be clearly realised grammatically, by the presence of one or other type of "question word". The difference in realisation between [declarative] and [imperative] is more subtle; basically it hinges on the fact that words specifying the interactants, i.e. *wŏ* 'I', *nĭ* 'you', are more likely to be explicitly realised in an imperative clause than in a declarative (other grammatical differences will be discussed in sections 3.1.2 and 3.2.2 below).

```
                  ┌─ declarative
                  │
clause  ─────►────┤─ interrogative
                  │
                  └─ imperative
```
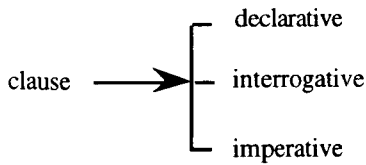
Figure 1.10:   The basic MOOD system in *Memory*

The opening exchange of the text contains two clauses, realising two moves, with a single element that is repeated: *máng* 'busy':

M:1.   Āiyā,   jīntiān   *máng*-si   le!
       oh-dear today   busy die   ASP
       'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

D:2.   Á,   *máng*   shénme   ya?
       oh   busy   what   MOD
       'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'

A similar pattern can be seen in a later exchange, where the repeated element is *shuō* 'say':

M:22. nĭ   shénme shíhòu   gēn wŏ   *shuō* guo?
       you   what   time   with I   speak ASP
       'When did you mention (it) to me?

D:23. Chī zǎofàn de shíhòu   *shuō* de.
       eat breakfast SUB time   speak MOD
       'I mentioned (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'

We can note that in both cases the speech function changes between moves: from statement to question in (1-2), and from question to statement in (22-23). This seems to suggest that the element that remains constant has some interpersonal significance. Reinterpreting a traditional term, we could refer to this element as the **Predicator** (Halliday 1994: 79), since it indicates what is being *predicated* or put forward for discussion in the exchange (cf the equivalent Chinese term *shùyŭ* 'stating word'), as in Mum's recital of her actions in (8):

                      Predicator
8.   Zhōngwŭ   *dào*   yóujú
       midday   reach   post office
       'At lunchtime (I) *went to* the post-office

57

If the clause contains a Predicator indicating what the speaker is putting forward for discussion, it is also open to the speaker to deny that the particular exchange took place, using an element preceding the Predicator:

			Predicator
30.	Wǒ	*bù*	zhīdào,
	I	NEG	know

'I didn't know,'

The speaker may also explicitly affirm what is being predicated, usually for contrast or some other kind of emphasis, as in Dad's hasty clarification in (46) using a similar element preceding the Predicator : e.g.

					Predicator
46.	Bù,	bù...	wǒ	*shì*	shuō
	no	no	I	be	say

'No, no...I *said* - i.e. what I said was...'

This kind of element may be termed a **Polarity** (cf Halliday 1994: 75), since it places what is being predicated at one of the two poles of deny, e.g. *bù* 'not' or affirm e.g. *shì* 'be'. If there is no explicit Polarity, the Predicator may be taken as affirmed, as in (8) above.

There are, however, certain clauses where what is being predicated seems to be neither simply affirmed nor denied, but rather assessed as somewhere between certain and uncertain. This is indicated by an element coming at the very end of the clause, as in the following example of a declarative clause, where the element *ma* indicates that Dad regards the statement he is making as an obvious one:

13.	càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén	*ma*!
	market	still	open	door	MOD

'the markets would still be open!'

In a similar example with an imperative clause, the element *ma* adds the meaning that Mum regards her command to Dad as recommending an obvious course of action:

37.	Nà	míngtiān	qù jiè	*ma*!
	well	tomorrow	go borrow	MOD

'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'

This element may be termed the **Negotiator** (cf Caffarel 1992), since it is used by the speaker to negotiate with the addressee on the certainty of what is being predicated. Such elements are commonly defined either from the speaker's point of view, e.g. as functioning to express "the speaker's mood or tone of voice" (Fang 1992: 601); or from the listener's, e.g. they serve to "relate [the utterance] to the conversational context in various ways ...and to indicate how this utterance is to be taken by the hearer" (Li & Thompson 1981: 317). Both of these definitions fail to bring out what can be clearly seen in the current analysis as their basically interactive nature (for a further discussion on the

nature of these elements and their relationship to the meanings expressed by other interpersonal functions such as Polarity and Modality, see section 2.2.2 below).

In some types of interrogative clause, a Negotiator may simply mark the clause as asking for the exchange to be affirmed or denied. In the following example (18) of Dad's initial question about the book, the Negotiator *ma* signals that he wants to know whether Mum borrowed the book or not, in other words, the clause is functioning as a **polar** interrogative (cf Halliday 1994: 43), polar in the sense of asking for a choice between the two poles of "this is the case" (affirm) and "this is not the case" (deny) (compare the common Chinese classification of such clauses as *shì-fēi* "yes-no" (Zhu 1982: 202)):

							Negotiator
18.	Éi, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,	nǐ	gěi wǒ jiè-lai	le	*ma?*
	oh, I want SUB that MEAS book	you	for me borrow come	ASP	MOD

'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

Mum's reply to this, in which she declines either to affirm or deny Dad's question but rather asks another question in return (19), is a different kind of interrogative clause containing something we may term an **Element**, i.e. which signals that a specific piece of information is being required (compare the common Chinese classification of such clauses as *tèzhǐ* "referring specially (to)" (Zhu 1982: 202)), in other words, the clause is functioning as a **elemental** interrogative (Halliday 1994: 43)

	Element	
19.	*Shénme?*	*shénme* shū?
	what	what book

'What? What book?'

There may also be another function preceding the Predicator which "modulates" the purport of the clause in some way, for example by attaching to it a meaning of obligation. Again adapting a traditional term, this may be referred to as a **Modality** (Halliday 1994: 75), as in the following example:

			Modality		
16.	wǒ	hái	*děi*	qù	bǎihuòdàlóu
	I	still	must	go	department store

'I still had to go to the department store'

In some clauses there may be an interjection at the very beginning, indicating, in a very general way, the attitude or emotion of the speaker. This element, borrowing a term from the speech function which it often realises, may be termed an **Exclamation**, as in the following example

	Exclamation			
1.	*Āiyā,*	jīntiān	máng-si	le!
	oh-dear	today	busy die	ASP

'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

Of all these interpersonal elements, it is the Predicator that may be regarded as the central one, since it appears in the majority of clauses. In the case of some elemental interrogative clauses, however, i.e. those asking a question about a specific element of information, the Predicator may be omitted: e.g.

```
          Element
19.       Shénme?        shénme shū?
          what           what book
          'What? What book?'
```

With this one exception, the presence of a Predicator in the clause indicates that there is an exchange going on; i.e. if there is no Predicator, the clause, while it may have a speech function, is not acting as a symbolic exchange of commodities (it will of course in most cases still be functioning as part of the *exchange structure* at the stratum of discourse-semantics - see section 1.3.2 above). We could generalise this as a distinction between **major** clauses (with Predicator) and **minor** clauses (without Predicator) (compare Halliday's (differently realised) distinction for English, (1994: 95-96), as in the following clause:

```
X:64.   Èi.
        okay
        'Alright.'
```

Fig. 1.11 adds these features to the original system of Mood to include this feature, also including the further choice, within [interrogative], of [polar] (asking to affirm or deny) *or* [elemental] (asking for a specific piece of information):
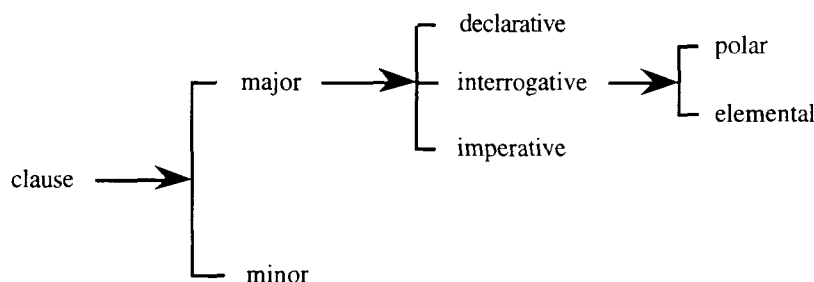
Figure 1.11:   The MOOD system in *Memory*: major and minor clauses

The addition of a Polarity element to the Predicator indicates that the exchange expressed by the clause is either being denied, as in (30), or is being strongly affirmed, as in (46); a Predicator without a Polarity marks the exchange as simply affirmed. We could then generalise a further distinction in major clauses of *either* **positive simple** (affirmed), **positive emphatic** (strongly affirmed), *or* **negative** (denied). This extra part of the system is given in Fig. 1.12:
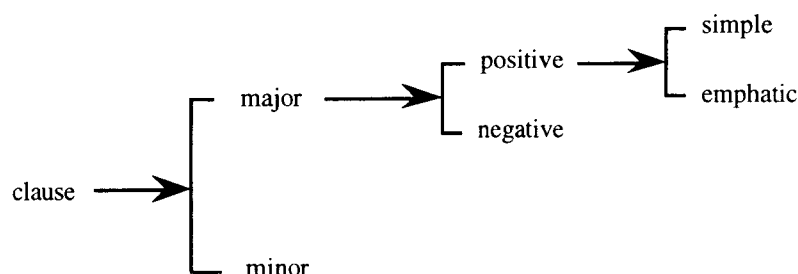
Figure 1.12: The MOOD system in *Memory*: positive and negative clauses

The addition of a Negotiator element at the end of the clause indicates that the exchange is being **assessed**, i.e. placed on a scale somewhere between **certain** and **uncertain**. Towards the certain end of the scale, an exchange may be **established** as definite, as in (23) below:

			Negotiator
23.	Chī zǎofàn de shíhòu	shuō	*de.*
	eat breakfast SUB time	speak	MOD

'I mentioned (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'

or else **asserted** as obvious, as in (13) and (37) above. Towards the uncertain end of the scale, an exchange may be assessed as **open-ended**, as in (14) below:

					Negotiator
14.	Āiyā	nǎr	yǒu	shíjiān	*ne?*
	oh-dear	where	exist	time	MOD

'Oh, where would there be the time?'

or as **softened**, as in (2) below

			Negotiator
2.	Á,	máng shénme	*ya?*
	oh	busy what	MOD

'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'

In polar interrogative clauses, the Negotiator explicitly indicates that the speaker is calling for the exchange to be affirmed or denied, and its presence is therefore essential to indicate that the clause *is* a polar interrogative (and not say a declarative). With this exception, however, the presence of a Negotiator is optional; in other words, the clause may be **neutral** in regard to whether it is being assessed or not. These extra distinctions are set out in Fig. 1.13 below:
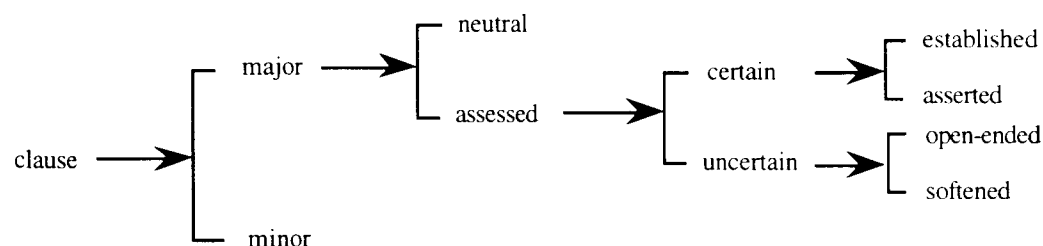
Figure 1.13: The MOOD system in *Memory*: assessed clauses

Finally, another interpersonal distinction that occurs occasionally in the text has to do with the speaker explicitly modulating the force of the exchange. In the following example, the Modality *děi* 'must' before the Predicator indicates that some degree of obligation is attached to what is being predicated:

		Modality		
7.	hái	*děi*	zuò	fàn.
	still	must	cook	meal

'I still have to do the cooking.'

In a similar example below, the Modality indicates that a degree of willingness or need is attached to what is being predicated:

			Modality	
40.	Wǒ	jīntiān wǎnshang	*yào*	yòng.
	I	today evening	want / need	use

'I need to use (it) this evening.'

The presence of this element indicates that the exchange has been **modalised**, in other words that the basic roles of the speaker and hearer in the exchange - as indicated by the basic mood features of declarative, interrogative, imperative - have been modulated in some way, either by an expression of obligation or of willingness. As with the choice of marking a clause as assessed or not, it is also possible here for a clause not to be modalised, and in fact the great majority of the clauses in this text are **neutral** in this regard.

All of the interpersonal options in the clause discussed so far are brought together in the expanded MOOD system in Fig. 1.14 below. This shows that only major clauses are open to the full range of mood features, and of these features, each major clause *must* be specified for its basic mood type - [declarative], [interrogative], etc - and as [positive] or [negative]; it *may* also be [assessed] as [certain] or [uncertain], and/or [modalised].
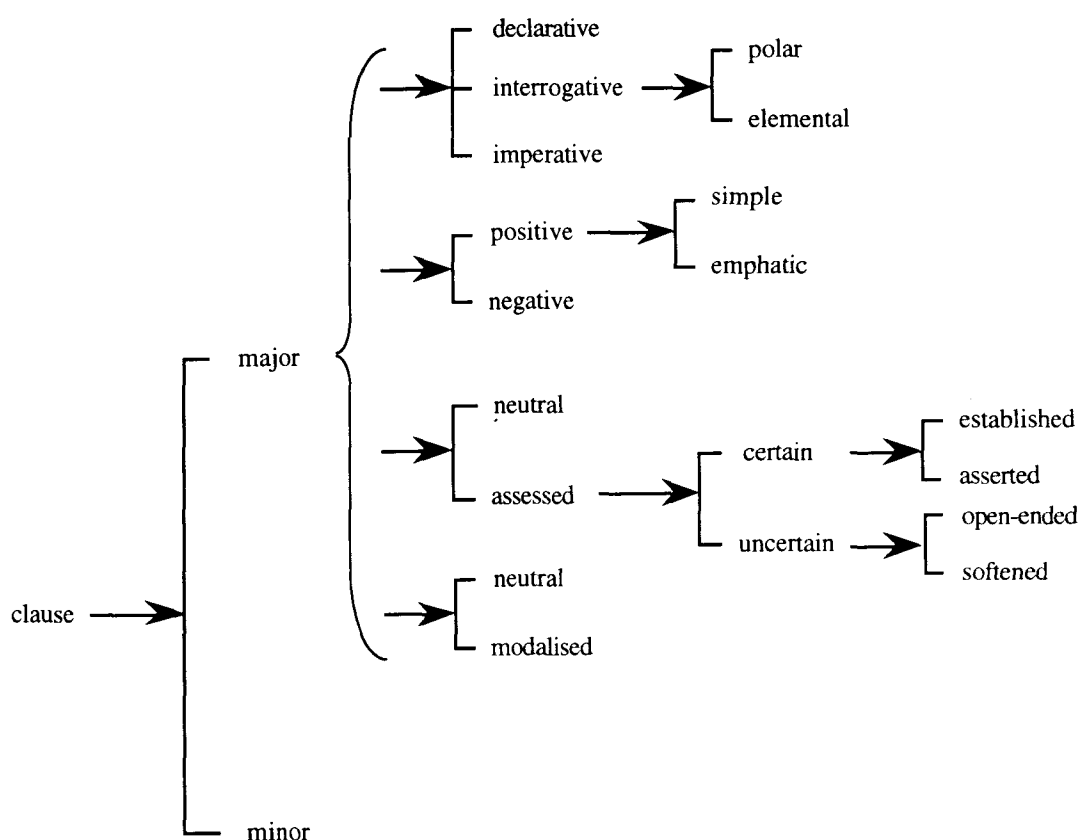
Figure 1.14: The expanded MOOD system in *Memory*

1.3.4 Interpersonal organisation from text to clause: the relationship between interpersonal semantics and interpersonal lexicogrammar in *Memory*

In the previous two sections, I examined the interpersonal organisation of the text *Memory* at the strata of semantics and lexicogrammar, i.e. in terms of the meanings of the whole text and the wordings of each individual clause. In this section, I will show the relationships between the interpersonal patterns I have identified at these different strata. Table 1.7 below brings together the analyses of the same section of the text in terms of the basic classification of each clause as defined by the grammatical system of MOOD, and the speech function and exchange type of each move as defined by the semantic system of NEGOTIATION.

Phase Mood type		Speech function	Exchange type
VII.	**Where have you been?**		
X:49.	minor	_____	preparing: greeting
M:50.	interrogative: elemental	question	initiating
51.	interrogative: elemental	question	initiating
X.52.	declarative	statement	responding: answer
53.	declarative	statement	responding: answer
54.	declarative	statement	responding: answer
M: 55.	imperative	statement	reacting: exclamation
VIII.	**I got you those sandshoes.**		
M:56.	declarative	statement	initiating
X:57.	declarative	statement	reacting: exclamation
58.	declarative	statement	responding: acknowledgment
59.	declarative	statement	responding: acknowledgment
60.	interrogative: elemental	question	initiating
61.	imperative	offer	initiating
M:62.	imperative	command / refusal	initiating
63	imperative	command	initiating
X:64.	minor	_____	responding: quasi-undertaking

Table 1.7:   Correlations between the grammatical system of MOOD and the semantic system of NEGOTIATION in a section of *Memory*

From the combined analyses in Table 1.7, we can see how the relationship between Mum and Xiaoming is built up, i.e. how the interpersonal variables of the text's context of situation are expressed through the meanings and wordings of this part of the text. If we start from the exchange type of each move (in the right hand column of the table), we can see that it is Mum who makes the majority of initiating moves, e.g. as in (50-51) and (56), while Xiaoming's only initiating move, in (61), is immediately blocked by another initiating move from Mum in (62-63). As expected, Xiaoming makes the majority of responding moves, e.g. in (52-53), (58-59) and (64). As has been noted above while Xiaoming makes the preparatory move of greeting in (49), at no stage in this part of the text or at any other point do either of his parents respond with a similar greeting.

Moving on to the speech functions, we see that again it is Mum who makes the majority of "demanding" moves, i.e. questions and commands, and Xiaoming who makes the majority of "giving" moves, i.e. statements (there are no offers in this section of the text). The relation between the speech function of each move and the mood type of the clause that expresses it is also significant in indicating the relationship between Mum and

Xiaoming. For example, it is interesting to note that while both interactants make reacting moves in the form of exclamations, i.e. quasi-statements, Mum's is expressed as an imperative ("Look at yourself"), while Xiaoming's is expressed as a declarative ("that's great").

In this small section of text, we can see how the expected or unexpected combination of choices at the strata of lexicogrammar, i.e. the mood type of each clause, and discourse-semantics, i.e. the speech function and exchange type of each move, work together to build up the fundamentally unequal relationship between parent (Mum) and child (Xiaoming). In other sections of the text , different patterns of correlations between the choices at these strata build up a much more equal relationship between wife (Mum) and husband (Dad).

This kind of description of the interpersonal lexicogrammar of this text was based on a meaningful and contextual interpretation of certain patterns of wording. Two layers of interpersonal meaning were recognised: the semantic one defined by the system of NEGOTIATION and identified by the exchange structure of the moves in the text; and the grammatical one defined by the system of MOOD. In contrast to the textual systems of THEME and INFORMATION which identified two positions in the clause as textually significant, the features of the mood system characterise the clause as a whole as a predication, i.e. something put forward by the speaker for the listener's benefit, with the function of Predicator as the central element. Other functions such as Polarity, Negotiator, Modality, and Exclamation modify that central Predicator in various ways. Chapter 2 will revisit these interpersonal clause functions from the point of view of the type of structure they make up, while Chapter 3 will focus on the system of MOOD in more detail. In the meantime, in the next section, I will use a similar methodology to interpret the experiential meanings of the text and their realisation in wordings.

1.4 Functional organisation (iii): experiential

I turn in this section to the third main functional way in which the context and the wording of this text are related, through the experiential systems "construing a model of experience" (Halliday 1994: 36). The experiential context of situation of the text, i.e. the activity in which language is involved, is expressed through the following strata of language:
- discourse-semantics: constructing the activity through language
- lexicogrammar: representing types of experience

1.4.1 The activity in which language is involved: experiential situational variables in Memory

If we look at the text *Memory* in terms of the activity in which language is involved, this can be understood as involving the following variables (Halliday 1989: 12)

> ...what is happening...the nature of the social action that is taking place: what... the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component...

The text *Memory* covers two main **domains** of experience; the first has to do with what we might call "daily activities": going to work, shopping, cooking, going to school, and school activities. The initial part of the text (clauses 1- 17), and then again when Xiaoming appears (clauses 52- 64) belong to this area. The middle part of the text (18 - 47) has to do with the more specific area of "borrowing books", which also finishes off the text (clauses 65 - 75). These two areas are not completely separate of course; particularly in the section where husband and wife are arguing over times (22 - 36), the two are mixed to a certain extent.

As pointed out in section 1.2.1 above, a significant aspect of the textual situation of this text, i.e. the role language is playing in its context of situation, is that it is oriented towards exchanging information rather than performing any particular action. In characterising the experiential situation of this text in terms of the "nature of the social action taking place" (cf quote from Halliday 1989 above) I should therefore re-emphasise here that this is not essentially linked to the physical setting or the concrete actions of the speakers as they are speaking. The features of this situation as described above show very clearly that although much of the talk is about "daily activities", none of the interactants say anything about the activities they are actually performing as they speak - Mum putting her bike away, Dad watering the plants - these are too obvious and accepted a part of the general situation to need mentioning. The picture of experience the speakers *do* build up as they talk, i.e. "the nature of the social action...in which language figures as some essential component", is captured by the variables of the text's experiential context of situation, providing a profile of the activity created by the language of the text. Using this as a guide, we can now go on to see how the experiential context of situation is reflected in the meanings and wordings of the text.

1.4.2 Constructing the activity through language: experiential semantics in *Memory*

The situational variables of the text as set out in the previous section identify certain links between the text and its experiential context of situation. In this section we can begin to

see how these variables are reflected in the **meanings** of the text, specifically, how the text is organised to build up a picture of the **activity**. We can understand this in two ways: as the sorts of things that get talked about in the text, and the kinds of relations that are developed between these things (Halliday & Hasan 1976: Chapter 6; Eggins 1994: 103-104). Semantically, these can be identified as the relationships set up between the lexical, or **content items** in the text, that is between those wordings with relatively concrete meanings that form open sets (as opposed to the more abstract grammatical wordings which form closed sets - see Halliday 1966: 5-6; Matthews 1981: 61). We can recognise two main types of relationship between content items:

a.   "vertical" relations between content items through the text that form a **taxonomy**: i.e. a set of items related as subtypes of a broader type or as parts of a whole;

b.   "horizontal" relations between content items at the same place in the text - in the same clause - that are in a relationship of mutual **expectancy**, i.e. that are predictable components of the same experience, such as an action and the doer of that action or an action and the entity affected by that action.

In analysing the text *Memory*, these relations can be brought out by constructing **lexical strings**, i.e. " a diagram of all the lexical items that occur sequentially in a text that can be related...either taxonomically or through an expectancy relation" (Eggins 1994: 103). The particular lexical strings running through a text reveal the following things about the experiential organisation of that text (adapted from Eggins 1994: 103-4):

1. what is being talked about in the text...

2. how many different things get talked about in the text...

3. what kinds of lexical relations operate between items in strings..

The lexical strings in the opening section of *Memory* (clauses 1 - 17) are set out in Table 1.8 below (see Appendix 2 for an analysis of the whole text). Lexical items related taxonomically are arranged in columns, and those related by expectancy are set out on the same line linked by +; the same item may of course enter into both taxonomic and expectancy relations. Identifying the lexical strings in the text gives us a clear picture of the topics this part of the text is concerned with, as set out in the description of the field variables in the previous section. The main lexical strings in this section of the text deal with the times and daily activities described by Mum as she presents her account of the day: e.g. time, 'today - at lunchtime - in the afternoon'; working, 'go to work - finish work'; and shopping, 'buy food - market - department store - buy sports shoes'. In the immediately following section (from clause 18 onwards - see Appendix 2) we find a string to do with "borrowing books": this is started in (18), continued in (19), picked up again briefly in (25), re-opened at more length in clauses (37 - 40), touched on again in (47) and finally wound up in (68 - 72).

1.	jīntiān today	máng-si busy		
2.		máng busy		
3		shàng + bān go-to work		
4.		xià + bān finish work		
5.			mǎi + cài buy food	
7.			zuò + fàn cook meal	
8.	zhōngwǔ midday			yóujú post-office
9.				jì + xìn post letter
10.			càishìchǎng market	
11.			mǎi + cài buy food	
12.	xiàwǔ afternoon	xià + bān finish work		
13.			càishìchǎng + market	kāi mén be open
14.	shíjiān time			
15.		xià + bān finish work		
16.			bǎihuòdàlóu department-store	
17.			mǎi + qiúxié. buy sandshoes	

Table 1.8:   Lexical strings in the opening section of *Memory*

Another significant string, to do with "speaking" and "hearing", covers that section of the text where Mum and Dad are arguing over whether he told her to borrow the book or not: this has mentions in clauses (22 - 24), (31), (36), (44), and (46). As we would expect, the "borrowing books" string is the most extensive in that it stretches across the major portion of the text (18 - 72). However, in terms of number of mentions, the richest string is that to do with "time". This has two variants. The first, already mentioned above, has to do with times of the day; this reappears in clauses (26 - 28) and then again in (37 - 40) (the further mention by Xiaoming in clause (52) 'today -Saturday' is not counted as part of this string because he has only just arrived on the scene, and therefore this occurrence is not following on from previous mentions). The second time string has to do with activities taking place at particular times of the day: e.g. in clauses (22 - 23), and again in

(36) '(the time) when I was eating breakfast'. This suggests that with both the "daily activities" string and the "borrowing books" string, time is a crucial factor. Other strings, either less extensive or less frequent, tend to consist of simple repetition: e.g. 'forgetful' appears in clauses (20), (21) and is picked up again in Mum's retort in clause (75); and'annoying' appears in clauses (41), (45) and (47). In both these cases these strings indicate a summing up by one interactant of the other's behaviour, or of the general situation.

In terms of the types of lexical relation represented by these strings, taxonomic relations are the most significant. If we just look again at the opening section of the text, as analysed in Table 1.8 above, both the "daily activities" and the "time" strings form obvious taxonomies. At the very beginning of the text, the lexical item *máng* 'busy' starts the main string by providing a type of summary of the whole of the interactants' daily activities, whose parts are then specified in two sub-strings *shàng / xià bān* 'go-to / finish work' and *mǎi cài* 'buy food'. This second sub-string is extended in two different ways: firstly by adding a related activity, i.e. *zuò fàn* 'cook meal'; and next by specifying other locations where the action of 'buying' takes place: *càishìchǎng* 'the (food) market', and *bǎihuòdàlóu* 'the department-store'. The "time" string is also clearly taxonomic, with the initial lexical item *jīntiān* 'today' serving as the whole of which *zhōngwǔ* 'midday' and *xiàwǔ* 'afternoon' form a part.

Expectancy relations in this section of the text are fairly easily predictable and therefore not particularly informative, for example, the relationship between *jì* 'post' and *xìn* 'letter' in (9). In the section immediately following this one, the expectancy relation between *jiè* 'borrow' and *shū* 'book' in clause (18) is very predictable, so much so that after Mum's initial puzzled repetition of *shū* 'book' in (19), it is not stated again explicitly until clause (47).

The relations between content items in the text, as revealed by the lexical strings running through it, can be generalised as the system of CONTENT RELATIONS, as set out in Figure 1.15 below:
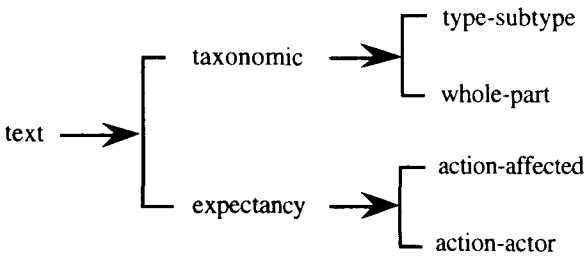
Figure 1.15:   The system of CONTENT RELATIONS in *Memory.*

This system of CONTENT RELATIONS defines how the topics which make up the field of this text are related. Although the analysis of lexical strings based on this system is superficially similar to the analysis of the reference chains given in section 1.2.2 above, it brings out a quite different aspect of the organisation of the text. Whereas the reference chains analysis picked out those parts of the text that build up the text *as text*, the lexical strings analysis picks out those parts of the text that build up the text *as experience*. Both these kinds of semantic organisation are of course part of the cotext of the text, i.e. they both contribute to how the text "hangs together" as a whole, but they do so from different standpoints.

However such an analysis still leaves gaps in our understanding of the activity created by the text. Although it summarises the main content of the text and the relationships between the different aspects of this content, it does not specify exactly how these relationships are expressed, nor how the more concrete lexical meanings picked up by the lexical strings analysis are supplemented and modified by the more abstract grammatical meanings. To understand this aspect of the experiential patterning of the text, we need to look more closely at its wording, i.e. how each clause represents an experience.

1.4.3   Representing experience in language: experiential lexicogrammar in *Memory*: the system of TRANSITIVITY

In the previous section, we saw how the activity represented by the text *Memory* is built up through the text as a whole. In this section we will begin to see how a picture of a specific type of experience is represented in each clause, in other words, the organisation of the "clause as representation" (Halliday 1994: 36) at the stratum of lexicogrammar. If we examine the opening clause of the text (1) from this point of view, we can see that it consists of three main elements:

    a. what is going on: i.e *máng-sǐ* 'being busy to death'

    b. who/what are taking part: i.e. the speaker Mum (*wǒ* 'I' ellipsed)

    c. features of the setting in which it is going on: i.e. the time *jīntiān* 'today'

These elements can be generalised as three main types of clause element (adapted from Halliday 1994: 107-108):

    (i) the **process**: in general terms "what is going on" i.e. the "happening" of the clause, including not only material actions, but also mental activities and more abstract relations between entities

    (ii) one or more **participants**: those persons or objects involved in what is going on, including those instigating as well as those affected by the happening

    (iii) one or more **circumstances**: features of time, place, manner, etc associated with what is going on

We could then provisionally analyse the first few clauses of the text in these terms as set out in Table 1.9 below. Participants that have been ellipsed as presumed information (see section 1.2.2 and 1.2.3.1 above) are supplied in brackets ( ); interpersonal elements such as the *Āiyā* 'oh dear' in (1) or *děi* 'must' in (7) are omitted from the analysis. From this brief analysis, we can see that of these three elements, only the Process is present in every clause. The central role of the Process in the clause as representation is also implied in the definitions quoted above, where Participant and Circumstance are defined in relation to the Process. I will therefore examine it first below.

	Circumstance	Participant	Process		
		Participant	Process		
1.	Āiyā, jīntiān oh-dear today	(wǒ) I	máng-si busy die	le! ASP	
		Participant	Process	Participant	
2.	Á, oh	(nǐ) you	máng busy	shénme what	ya? MOD
			Process	Participant	
3.	Āiyō, oh		shàng go-to	bān work	
			Process	Participant	
4.			xià finish	bān, work	
			Process	Participant	
5.			mǎi buy	cài; food	
		Participant	Process		
6.			(wǒ) I	huí-lai, return come	
		Participant		Process	Participant
7.			(wǒ) I	hái děi still must	zuò cook	fàn. meal

Table 1.9: Experiential clause elements in the opening section of *Memory*

1.4.3.1   What is going on in the experience: types of Process

The Process, as noted above, expresses what is going on in the experience represented by the clause. If we look through the text *Memory*, we find that the processes there are not all of the same kind: some are straightforward actions like *mǎi cài* 'buy food' or *jì xìn* 'post a letter'; some are qualities ascribed to entities like *máng* 'busy'; some are activities of perceiving like *tīng-jian* 'hear'; or activities of speaking like *shuō* 'say'; some are relations between entities of various kinds like *(nǎr) yǒu (shíjiān)* '(where) is there (time)?'. These different types of Process can be directly related to specific changes in the experiential context of situation of the text, i.e. the topics the interactants are talking about. These Processes could be classified according to the following five general types:

- doing or happening: e.g. *mǎi* 'buy'
- describing qualities or states: e.g. *máng* 'busy'
- relating entities: e.g. *yǒu* 'exist'
- perceiving or feeling: e.g. *tīng-jian* 'hear'
- speaking: e.g. *shuō* 'say'

These five **process types** (Halliday 1994: 106-107) form a sort of classification of the different experiences in the text, ranged on a cline from happenings in the outside world, through descriptions of the outside world and relations between things in the outside world, to the inner world of consciousness and the expression of the outside and inner worlds through language. The five main process types are given in Figure 1.15 below. Using this framework, we can, clause by clause, characterise the different kinds of experience being represented in the text. From this point of view, we can see that the text *Memory* is largely one about "doings and happenings" - i.e. the majority of Processes in its clauses fall into the material type. Below I will set out briefly the process-type patterning of the opening section of the text (clauses 1 - 31) (the Process in each clause is indicated in italics).

Clauses (1) and (2) are **ascriptive**, that is, they ascribe or assign a quality to a particular participant, Mum (as speaker in (1) and addressee in (2)):

Process: ascriptive

1. Āiyā, jīntiān *máng-si* le!
   oh-dear today busy die ASP

'Oh, today (I've) *been really busy*!'

Process: ascriptive

2. Á, *máng* shénme ya?
   oh busy what MOD

'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'

Process type	Meaning
material	representing the outside world, i.e. doings or happenings
ascriptive	describing the outside world, ascribing qualities or states to entities or situations
relational	identifying relationships between entities in the outside world
mental	consciously processing the outside world through the inner world of the consciousness
verbal	symbolically expressing the outside or inner world through language

Figure 1.16 : Process types in *Memory*

Clauses (3) to (17) are largely **material**: that is, they describe the actions that went to make up this busy day, as for example in the series of actions in clauses (3-5) and (6-7) :

3.　　　　Process: material
Āiyō, *shàng*　　　　bān
oh　go-to　　　　work
'Oh, *going to* work,'

4.　　Process: material
xià　　　　bān,
finish　　　　work
'*finishing* work,'

5.　　Process: material
mǎi　　　　cài,
buy　　　　food
'*buying* food - i.e. going shopping,'

6.　　Process: material
huí-lai,
return come
'(now that I've) *come home,*'

7.　　　　Process: material
hái　děi　*zuò*　　　fàn.
still　must　make　　　meal
'I still have to *make* meals - i.e. do the cooking.'

The only exception to this series of material processes is the **relational** process in (14), where Mum sums up how busy she is by emphasising her lack of time, using the Process *yǒu* 'exist' to rhetorically treat time as something that can exist in a location:

14.　　　　Process: relational
Āiyā　nǎ'r　*yǒu*　　　shíjiān ne?
oh-dear　where　exist　　　time　MOD
'Oh, where *would there be* any time - i.e. where would I have had the time?'

Dad then uses a material process to question Mum as to whether she carried out the action he (says he) asked her to:

18.　　　　　　　　　　　　Process: material
Ái, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,　nǐ　gěi wǒ *jiè-lai*　　le　ma?
oh, I want SUB that MEAS book you　for me　borrow come　ASP　MOD
'Oh, that book I wanted, did you *borrow* (it) for me?'

Mum's response is an example of a clause without any Process at all; this is because the main function of this clause in an interpersonal one, i.e. to check on the specific piece of information that will form the basis for the following argument.

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(no Process)
19.   Shénme?   shénme shū?
        what   what book
        'What? What book?'

Clause (20) is a further example of an ascriptive process whereby Dad sums up his assessment of Mum's behaviour by assigning (unjustly, as it turns out) a quality of forgetfulness to her:

                        Process: ascriptive
20.   Nĭ   zĕnme zhème *jiànwàng*?
        you   how   so   forgetful
        'How could you *be* so *forgetful*?'

In clause (22) Mum uses a **verbal** process to challenge Dad's assessment of her, by querying whether he had actually made the request :

                                    Process: verbal
22.   nĭ   shénme shíhòu   gēn wŏ   *shuō*   guo?
        you   what   time   with I   speak   ASP
        'When did you *mention* (it) to me?

Mum then introduces the natural concomitant of this type of verbal process: i.e. the **mental** process that should have resulted (but did not, for obvious reasons):

                    Process: mental
24.   Wŏ   méi   tīng-jian...
        I   NEG:perf   listen perceive
        'I didn't hear...'

In clauses (25) - (28) the interactants again use material processes to detail a series of actions: firstly Mum's question as to why Dad did not perform the action (i.e. borrow the book) himself, and then Dad's recital of the actions that were keeping *him* busy:

                        Process: material
25.   Nĭ   zĕnme bú   zìjĭ   *qù*   *jiè*?
        you   how   NEG   self   go   borrow
        'Why didn't you *go and borrow* it yourself?'

                    Process: material
26.   Wŏ   shàngwŭ   *shàng*   bān,
        I   morning   go-to   work
        'In the morning I *went to* work,'

                    Process: material
27.   zhōngwŭ   *péi*   wàiguó   kèhù,
        midday   escort   foreign   client
        'At lunchtime (I had to) *look after* a foreign client,'

                    Process: material
28.   xiàwŭ   *kāi*   huì...
        afternoon   hold   meeting
        'In the afternoon (I) *had* a meeting...'

Dad then sums up *his* busy day by mimicking Mum's previous rhetorical question in clause (14) with an identical relational process:

Process: relational

29.   Nǎ'r   *yǒu*   shíjiān?
        where exist   time
        'Oh, where *would there be* any time - i.e. where would I have had the time?'

In clauses (30-31), Mum reinstates her ignorance of the request, this time representing another type of a mental process and then the verbal process from which it should have resulted:

Process: mental

30.   Wǒ   bù   *zhīdào*,
        I   NEG know
        'I didn't *know*,'

Process: verbal

31.   nǐ   méi   gēn wǒ   *shuō*.
        you   NEG:perf   with I   speak
        'you didn't tell me.'

The above analysis gives a fair idea of how the selection of different types of process goes towards creating the particular mix of types of experience that we find in this text (the patterning of the rest of the text is similar to that analysed above, with a majority of material processes). However, in order to get a fuller picture of the way experience is being represented, we need to go on and see how the Process in each clause combines with one or more participants, and optionally circumstances, in order to detail more precisely the experience the clause is representing.

1.4.3.2   Who / what are taking parts in the experience: types of Participant
Identifying the kind of "going on" (Process type) in a clause only gives a partial picture of the experience represented by the clause; we also need to identify who or what are taking part in this going on, in other words, the **Participants**. In the following sections, I will show how the Process combines with different types of participant to define the experience of each clause more closely. I will go through the different Process types in the order of the "cline of experience" set out in Fig. 1.16 above: i.e. material, ascriptive, relational, mental, and verbal.

1.4.3.2.1   Participants in material clauses   Experiences of the outside or material world, i.e. doings and happenings, are expressed in the text by **material** clauses. The patterning displayed by this kind of clause has traditionally provided the model for relations between Process and Participant(s), i.e. what is known as **transitivity**. The term "transitive" literally means "going through to" and reflects a conception of experiential relations whereby the main variable is whether the action extends to another entity (is "transitive") or is complete in itself (is "intransitive") (Matthews 1981:98-99). This distinction defines two main clause structures :

- a structure containing a doer, an action and something affected by the action (in traditional terms, "subject - transitive verb - object"): e.g.

7.　(wǒ)　hái　děi　zuò　fàn,
　　I　　still　must　make　meal
　　'(I) still have to cook the meal' i.e. action of cooking extends from 'I' (Mum) to 'meal'

- a structure containing only a doer and an action (the traditional "subject - intransitive verb"): e.g.

6.　(wǒ)　huí-lai,
　　I　　return come
　　'(I've) come home' i.e. action of returning confined to 'I' (Mum)

While this model seems to work well for these kinds of examples, there are other examples in the text that seem similar, but actually express quite different meanings:

13.　càishìchǎng　hái　kāi mén　　ma!
　　the markets　　still　open door　　MOD
　　'the markets would still be open!'

40.　Wǒ　jīntiān wǎnshang　yào　yòng.
　　I　　today evening　　need　use
　　'I need to use (it) this evening.'

Is clause (13) "transitive" in the same way as clause (5) above? Superficially they look the same (the examples below have been simplified to just Process and Participants):

	"subject"	"verb"	"object"
5.	(wǒ)	mǎi	cài,
	I	buy	food
13.	càishìchǎng	kāi	mén
	markets	open	door

However, clause (13) is more difficult to interpret as one of action passing from the doer to the thing affected: in what sense are the 'markets' doing the 'opening' and how is the 'door' affected by the opening? In fact, as the English translation gives a clue, the meaning here is not one of literally 'opening doors', but rather indicates a state of 'being open'. Under this interpretation, *mén* 'door' merely indicates the scope or range of the action, while *càishìchǎng* 'markets' seems like the entity to which the action is confined, like *wǒ* 'I' in clause (6) above.

Is clause (40) then the same as the "intransitive" (13) (examples simplified as above)?:

	"subject"	"verb"
6.	(wǒ)	huí-lai,
	I	return come
40.	wǒ	yòng.
	I	use

Again as suggested by the English translation, clause (40) seems to be a case of an action that *is* extended ('use *it*'), it is just that the entity to which the action is extended (i.e. *shū* 'the book') has been omitted from the clause. What is going on here is a common textual pattern in Chinese (discussed in sections 1.2.2.1 and 1.2.3.1 above) whereby

"presumed" information, such as *shū* 'the book' in (40), may simply be omitted, rather than replaced by a "filler" word such as *it* in English.

Two things stand out from the above discussion:
* the notion of the action "extending" from the doer of the action to the person or thing affected by the action, as embodied in the traditional conception of transitivity, does not seem to work well for many clauses in Chinese
* the actual concrete structure of any clause (i.e. what elements are or are not present) does not necessarily tell us what sort of action is involved

There is, however, an alternative way of understanding process-participant relations in material clauses, i.e. by seeing the significant variable not in terms of whether the action is represented as extending or not to another entity, but whether it is represented as being caused by an outside entity, or is simply taking place through an entity. In other words, this conception of process-participant relations is one not of **extension**, but rather of **causation** (Halliday 1994: 162-163). Under this conception, a material clause always contains a participant through the medium of which the action takes place. We could thus call this sort of participant a **Medium** (cf Halliday 1994: 163). The following clauses contain a Medium participant (in these and following examples anything that is not either a Process or a participant has been omitted; in cases where a participant has been ellipsed as presumed information, it is supplied in brackets):

	Medium	Process
6.	(wǒ)	huí-lai,
	I	return come

(Now that I've) come home

action of returning takes place through the Medium 'I' (Mum)

	Medium	Process
65.	Huódòng	jiéshù,
	activity	conclude

'(By the time) the activities were over'

i.e. action of finishing takes place through Medium 'activities'

The presence of a Medium participant defines the first main type of material clause, a **middle** clause (cf Halliday 1994: 168) , i.e a clause where the action is represented as taking place without any external cause (whether or not we could reasonably identify an external cause is irrelevant - this is simply the way this particular clause represents it).

Very commonly in middle clauses we find a further participant which specifies the range or scope of the action; we may call this participant a **Range** (cf Halliday 1994: 146). The following clauses contain both a Medium and a Range:

	Medium	Process	Range
26.	(wǒ)	shàng	bān,
	I	attend	work

'I went to work,'　　　　　　　　i.e. action of 'attending' takes place with regard to 'work'

	Medium	Process	Range
13.	càishìchǎng	kāi	mén
	markets	open	door

'The markets would be open'　　　　i.e. action of 'opening' takes place with regard to 'doors' (in a general sense)

	Medium	Process	Range
28.	(wǒ)	kāi	huì...
	I	hold	meeting

'(I) had a meeting'　　　　　　　i.e. action of 'holding, convening' takes place with regard to 'meeting'

	Medium	Process	Range
53.	(wǒ)	xià	kè
	I	finish	class

'(I) finished class'　　　　　　i.e. action of 'finishing' takes place with regard to 'class'

In other types of middle clause, the Range may indicate the general location of the action:

	Medium	Process	Range
10.	(wǒ)	jīngguò	càishìchǎng,
	I	pass-by	market

'(I) went past the markets'　　　　i.e. 'markets' is the location of 'passing by'

or the destination of the action: e.g.

	Medium	Process	Range
8.	(wǒ)	dào	yóujú
	midday	reach	post office

'(I) went to the post-office'　　　　i.e. 'post-office' is the destination of 'reach, arrive at'

or even the source of the action:

	Medium	Process	Range
D:32.	(wǒ)	qǐ	chuáng
	I	rise	bed

'(I) got up'　　　　　　　　　i.e. 'bed' is the source of the action 'rise'

The presence of a Range defines the second type of material clause, a **ranged** clause, i.e. where the action takes place over a certain scope.

Finally we have clauses where, in addition to a Medium, we can also identify a participant causing the action and thus acting on or affecting the Medium. We may call this participant an **Agent** (Halliday 1994: 164). The following clauses contain both an Agent and a Medium:

	Agent	Process	Medium
7.	(wǒ)	zuò	fàn.
	I	cook	meal

'I do the cooking.'　　　　　　　i.e. 'I' (Mum) causes the 'meal' to be 'cooked'

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	Agent	Process	Medium
9.	(wǒ)	jì	yì fēng xìn,
	I	post	one MEAS letter

'(I) posted a letter'   i.e. 'I' (Mum) causes the 'letter' to be
                                          'posted'

	Agent	Process	Medium
11.	(wǒ)	mǎi	diǎn cài.
	I	buy	little food

'(I) bought some food'   i.e. 'I' (Mum) causes the 'food' to be bought

	Agent	Process	Medium
40.	Wǒ	yòng	(shū).
	I	use	book

'(I) use (the book).'   i.e. 'I' (Dad) causes the 'book' to be
                                          'used'

The presence of an Agent defines the third type of material clause: the **effective**, i.e. where an outside causer is bringing about the action.

In summary, material clauses represent experiences of doing or happening. These fall into two main subtypes: middle, and effective, and within the middle subtype, ranged and unranged. These different subtypes and sub-subtypes may be identified by the differing configurations of participants, as exemplified above. However, since certain clauses may superficially look similar though actually represent different clause types (often as a result of one or more participants being ellipsed as presumed information), we can use a number of tests or "probe questions" (Halliday 1994: 110) to identify the presence of specific participants. These probe questions, particularly useful with the material clause type, which exhibits the widest variety of structural variations (see Table 2.6 in section 2.2.3 below), essentially pick up on the basic grammatical meaning of each participant; e.g. the nature of the Medium as the participant through which the process takes place is revealed by its probe question, ...*zěnme le*? 'what happened to...?'. The relevant probe questions are set out below.

The middle subtype always contains a Medium participant, indicating the medium through which the doing or happening takes place - the presence of a Medium may be "tested" or "probed" by the question *X zěnme le*? 'what happened to X', where *X* represents the Medium. It may also contain a Range participant indicating the scope over which the doing or happening takes place - a Range may be recognised by the fact that is usually *not* able to be probed by the question *X zěnme le*? 'what happened to X'. The effective subtype always contains a Medium *and* an Agent, indicating who or what causes the doing or happening - the presence of an Agent may be probed by the question *Y zuò shénme*? 'what is Y doing' where Y represents the Agent, or *Y bǎ X zuò le shénme*? 'what did Y do to X', where X is the Medium. In all subtypes, the Medium and / or the

Agent may be ellipsed if they are presumed information. The distinctions identified so far can be generalised as the system of MATERIAL PROCESS TYPE, as set out in Figure 1.17.
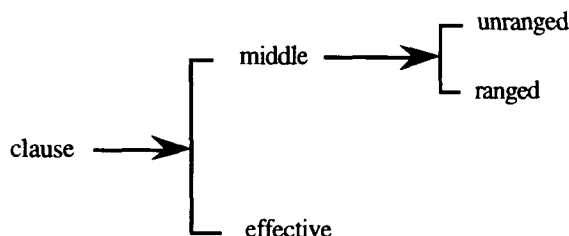
Figure 1.17: The system of MATERIAL PROCESS TYPE in *Memory*

1.4.3.2.2   Participants in ascriptive clauses   Generalisations or interpretations of the experience of the outside world are expressed in the text by **ascriptive** processes, i.e. Processes which ascribe or assign a quality or a state to a participant. For example in the opening clause of the text, the ascriptive Process *máng-si* [2] 'be busy to death' sums up a whole series of actions performed by the participant Mum which she then goes on to detail in following clauses:

1.   Āiyā,   jīntiān *máng-si*   le!
      oh-dear today   busy die   ASP
      'Oh, today (I've) *been really busy!*'

Similarly in the following example, an ascriptive process like *jiànwàng* 'be forgetful' gives Dad's interpretation of a situation which had just been introduced in the immediately preceding clauses, i.e. the fact that he had asked Mum to borrow a book which she said she knew nothing about:

20.   Nǐ   zěnme zhème *jiànwàng*?
       you   how   so   forgetful
       'How could you *be* so *forgetful*?'

A clause with an ascriptive Process normally has only the one participant which takes on or carries that quality or state. We may thus call this participant a **Carrier**. Because of the greater abstractness of ascriptive clauses as compared to material clauses, a Carrier participant, as well as being a single entity, like *nǐ* 'you' (i.e. Mum) in (20) may also be a whole situation, such as *méi yǒu nèi běn shū* 'not having that book' in (47) (in this and following examples, clauses have been simplified to just Process + Participant): e.g.

       Carrier   Process
20.   *Nǐ*   jiànwàng
       you   forgetful
       '*You* are forgetful'

---

[2] The nature of the relationship between the two parts of Processes like máng-si 'busy die - be extremely busy' in (1) and tīng-jian 'listen perceive - hear' in (24) is explained in section 2.1.1 below.

	Carrier	Process
47.	*méi yǒu nèi běn shū*	tǎoyàn.
	NEG exist that MEAS book	annoying

'*not having that book* is annoying.'

In some cases, a clause with an ascriptive Process may also have another participant over the scope of which the ascription extends. Since this is similar in meaning to the Range in some ranged middle clauses, we may also call this participant a **Range**: e.g.

	Carrier	Process	Range
2.	(nǐ)	máng	*shénme*
	you	busy	what

'*what* have (you) been busy with?'

Another feature of the greater abstractness of ascriptive as opposed to material clauses is that they can be **graded**, that is, presented as existing to a certain degree, as in the following example:

42.	Ài,	zhēn	tǎoyàn!
	oh-dear	really	annoying

'Oh, (that's) *really* annoying!'

The clause elements indicating the degree to which the experience is graded, such as *zhēn* 'really' in (42) above, are examples of circumstances (of degree), which I will discuss in section 1.4.3.3.2 below. However, I have included them here as expressing a feature of the clause as a whole since a graded ascriptive clause is in some sense the norm, while an **ungraded** ascriptive clause is likely to be interpreted as indicating a comparison of some kind, as in the last clause of the text, where Mum points out that it is not her but rather Dad who is more correctly described as *jiànwàng* 'forgetful':

				Carrier	Process	
(74.	Hái	shuō	75.	wǒ	jiànwàng	ne!
	still	say		I	forgetful	MOD
	'And (you) say')			'*I*'m forgetful!'		

In summary, ascriptive clauses represent a generalisation or interpretation of the outside world as a quality or state. They generally contain a single participant, a Carrier, which carries or takes on the quality or state ascribed to it by the Process. The presence of a Carrier may be probed by a question such as *X zěnmeyàng* 'what is X like?', where X represents the Carrier. The Carrier may either be an entity (person or thing) or a situation of some kind. Ascriptive clauses may also be ranged, i.e. contain a Range participant indicating the scope of the ascription; a Range may be recognised by the fact that is usually *not* able to be probed by the question *X zěnmeyàng* 'what is X like?'. Ascriptive clauses may also be graded, i.e. indicated as existing to a certain degree; if an ascriptive clause is not graded it usually implies some sort of comparison. The distinctions introduced so far can be generalised as the system of ASCRIPTIVE PROCESS TYPE, as set out in Fig. 1.18.
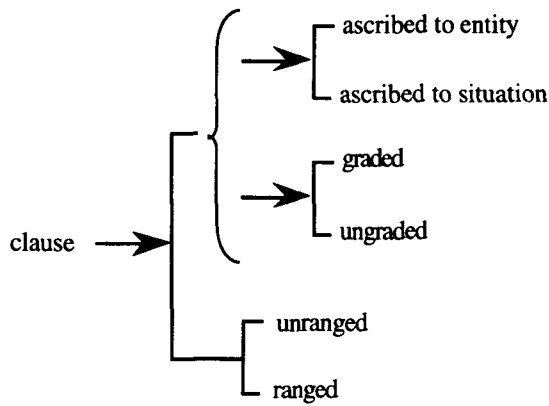
<u>Figure 1.18</u>: The system of ASCRIPTIVE PROCESS TYPE in *Memory*

1.4.3.2.3   Participants in relational clauses   Relations between the different parts of the experience of the outer world are expressed in the text by **relational** processes. Clauses with relational processes have two basic participants between which the relation is drawn. This relation may be of a number of different kinds.

Firstly a relation can be drawn between an entity which is located in a certain place and the place in which that entity is located. These two participants may be termed, respectively, **Existent** (i.e. an entity which exists) and **Location** (cf Long 1981), as in Xiaoming's question about his sandshoes (this and following examples have been simplified to Process and Participants only): e.g.

	Existent	Process	Location
60.	(*Qiúxié*)	zài	*nǎr*?
	sandshoe	be-at	where

'*Where* are (*the sandshoes*)?'

The presence of these two participants in this order defines the first type of relational clause, one that we may call **locational**, i.e. which represents an entity as located in a place. A mirror-image of this first relation can also be drawn, i.e. between the place in which an entity exists (**Location**) and the entity which exists in that place (**Existent**) as in Mum's question (later mimicked by Dad in (29)): e.g.

	Location	Process	Existent
14.	*nǎr*	yǒu	*shíjiān*
	where	exist	time

'*where* would there be *the time*' [3]

---

[3] Although the English translation effaces the distinction between clauses like (60) and (14) because of the requirement in English for the question word *where* to appear at the beginning of the clause, the locational and existential clause types are clearly distinct in Chinese both in the order of clause elements and the choice of Process.

The presence of these two participants in this order defines the second type of relational clause, the **existential**, i.e. one in which an entity is represented as existing in a certain place. When the Location represents a human being, this type of clause, can be interpreted as indicating a meaning of **possession**, i.e. with the participants **Possessor** (corresponding to an abstract Location) and **Possessed** (corresponding to Existent): e.g.

	Possessor (Location)	Process	Possessed (Existent)	
54.	(wǒ)	yǒu	kèwài	huódòng.
	I	exist	class-outside	activity

'(I) had after-class activities.' [4]

More abstract relations can also be drawn, equating or identifying two participants with each other: a person, thing, or time which is being identified and a person, thing, time which identifies the first. These participants can be called the **Identified** (i.e. that which is being identified) and the **Identifier** (i.e. that which serves to identify the first) (cf Halliday 1994: 122) as in Xiaoming's identification of the day of the week in (52): e.g.

	Identified	Identifier
52.	Jīntiān	xīngqīliù,
	today	Saturday

'Today's Saturday,'

It can be seen from the above example that with this type of relational clause, the Process may be omitted, just the two participants Identified and Identifier in that order are enough to establish the relationship. However, if the clause is denying rather than affirming that the relationship exists - i.e. if it has the mood feature of [negative] rather than [positive] - the clause *does* require a Process, the most common being *shi* 'be', as in the following modified example:

	Identified		Process	Identifier
52'.	Jīntiān	bú	shì	xīngqīliù.
	today	NEG	be	Saturday

'Today isn't Saturday.'

The presence of these two participants defines the third type of relational clause, the **identifying**, where one entity is identified with another. In identifying relational clauses, relations can also draw between whole situations, as in the following example where the relationship expressed in the second clause is with the whole of the first clause:

65.	Huódòng	jiéshù,
	activity	conclude

'(By the time) the activities were over'

		Identifier	
66.	yǐjīng	wǔ diǎn	le,
	already	five o'clock	ASP

'(it) was already five o'clock,'

---

[4] Cf the more idiomatic translation of clause (14) above as 'Where would (I) have had the time?'

In summary, relational clauses represent relations between entities or situations in the outside world. They always involve two participants in a particular order, with the kind and order of participants defined according to the subtype of relation. Relations may be either locational - between an Existent and a Location, or existential - between a Location and an Existent, or identifying - between an Identified and an Identifier. The participants in these subtypes may be probed by the following questions: locational *X zài nǎr?* 'where is X?', where X represents the Existent , and *nǎr* 'where' represents the Location; existential *Nǎr yǒu X?* 'where is there X?', where *nǎr* and X represent Location and Existent (or Possessed), respectively; or with the possessive interpretation, *shéi yǒu X* 'who has X' where *shéi* 'who'; and X represent Possessor and Possessed respectively; and identifying: *X shì shénme?* 'What is X?', where X represents Identified and *shénme* 'what' represents the Identifier. The distinctions introduced so far can be generalised as the system of RELATIONAL PROCESS TYPE, as set out in Fig. 1.19.
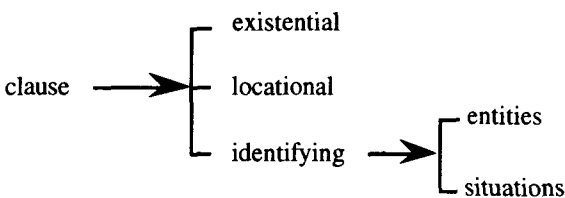
Figure 1.19: The system of RELATIONAL PROCESS TYPE in *Memory*

1.4.3.2.4   Participants in mental clauses   The interactants' consciousness of the material world outside themselves and of the inner world of their own consciousness itself is expressed in the text by mental clauses, i.e. processes of perceiving or thinking. Mental clauses that represent an interactant becoming aware of something in the outside world contain two participants: the conscious entity itself, and that which it is conscious of. We may call these two participants **Senser** and **Phenomenon** (Halliday 1994: 117), respectively. The following clause shows an example of this kind:

	Senser	Process	Phenomenon
61.	Wǒ	kàn kan	(qiúxié).
	I	look look	sandshoes

'I'll have a look at (the sandshoes).'

The Senser usually represents a human being. The Phenomenon may be an entity, as in clause (61) above, but it may also be a whole "chunk" of experience, such as *nǐ mǎn-tóu-dà-hàn* 'you all covered with sweat' in the following example:

	Senser	Process	Phenomenon				
55.	(nǐ)	qiáo	nǐ	mǎn -	tóu -	dà -	hàn
	you	look	you	full	head	big	sweat

'(You) look at you(rself) all covered in sweat!'

The presence of these two participants defines the first type of mental clause, which we may call the **phenomenal**: i.e. where a conscious entity is represented as conscious of another entity or chunk of experience.

Mental clauses may also represent an outside experience being explicitly processed or "reported" through the inner world of consciousness. In this case there are two clauses, the first containing one participant, the conscious entity which is doing the reporting, i.e. the **Senser**, and a second clause detailing the experience which is being reported. This experience may lie anywhere on the cline of experience given in Fig. 1.15 above, in other words be of any of the five process types; in the example below the second clause also contains a mental Process:

	Senser		Process
58.	Wǒ	hái	pà
	I	still	fear
	'I was afraid'		

	Senser	Process		
59.	nǐ	wàng	le	ne.
	you	forget	ASP	MOD
	'(that) you'd forgotten.'			

The presence of a reporting and a reported clause defines the second type of mental clause, the **reporting**, i.e. that which processes or reports another experience.

In summary, mental clauses represent a conscious being's awareness of the external world and of the inner world of his or her own consciousness. Mental clauses always contain a Senser participant, i.e. the conscious being. Since this participant is obligatory in all mental clauses, there is no general probe question that would pick it out, apart from using a specific process. It can, however, normally be identified as the participant that precedes the Process; semantically, it is normally animate (i.e. "endowed with consciousness" (Halliday 1994: 114)). They may be phenomenal, i.e. representing the entity on which the Senser's consciousness impinges, in which case they contain a Phenomenon participant. This Phenomenon may either be another entity, or a whole chunk of experience. Again there is no easy probe question to pick this out; it may normally be identified as the participant that follows the Process. Mental clauses may also be reporting, i.e. report another experience, expressed by a separate clause, through the consciousness of the Senser. In this case, the reported clause, of whatever process type, normally follows the reporting mental clause. The distinctions introduced so far can be generalised as the system of MENTAL PROCESS TYPE, as set out in Fig. 1.20.
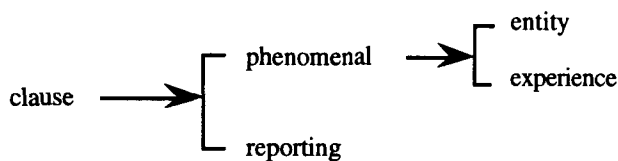
Figure 1.20:   The system of MENTAL PROCESS TYPE in *Memory*

1.4.3.2.5   Participants in verbal clauses   The symbolic expression through language of the interactants' consciousness of the external and inner world is represented in the text by **verbal** processes, i.e. processes of saying. Verbal clauses may represent this symbolic expression of consciousness - the saying - as passing from one interactant to another: i.e. the entity which produces the saying, and the entity which receives this saying. These two participants may be called the **Sayer** and the **Receiver** (cf Halliday 1994: 140), respectively:

	Sayer		Receiver	Process
31.	nǐ	méi	gēn wǒ	shuō.
	you	NEG:perf	with I	speak

'you didn't tell me.'

The presence of these two participants defines the first type of verbal clause, the **received**, where the saying is explicitly received by one entity from another.

Verbal clauses may also represent the saying itself in abstract form, and thus contain two participants: the entity which produces the saying, and the saying itself. We may call these participants the **Sayer** and the **Verbiage** (cf Halliday 1994: 141), respectively:

	Sayer	Process			Verbiage
33.	wǒ	tí -	qi	guo	zhè jiàn shì'r.
	I	mention up		ASP	this MEAS matter

'I mentioned this matter.'

The presence of these two participants defines the second type of verbal clause, the **verbalised**, i.e. where the verbalisation is expressed by an entity. A verbal clause may be simultaneously verbalised and received, i.e. represent *both* the saying *and* the entity by which the saying is received, as in the modified example below:

	Sayer	Receiver	Process			Verbiage
33'.	wǒ	gēn nǐ	tí -	qi	guo	zhè jiàn shì'r.
	I	with you	mention up		ASP	this MEAS matter

'I mentioned this matter to you.'

In a similar way to reporting mental clauses, verbal clauses may also represent an experience of the inner or outside world being expressed through a saying. In this case there are two clauses, the first containing the entity which quotes the saying, i.e. the **Sayer**; and a second clause representing the experience that is being quoted, which again

may be any one of the five process types. In the example below the second clause is an
ascriptive one:

	Sayer	Process
44.	Nǐ	shuō
	you	say

'Did you say'

	Carrier	Process
45.	wǒ	tǎoyàn?
	I	annoying

'I'm annoying?'

The presence of a quoting clause and a quoted clause defines the third type of verbal
clause, the **quoting**, where an entity makes a symbolic expression of another experience.

In summary, verbal clauses represent the symbolic expression by a conscious entity of
the outside world or the inner world of the consciousness. All verbal clauses contain a
Sayer participant representing the conscious entity who produces the saying; this
participant normally precedes the Process. This saying may be represented as passed
from one interactant to the other, i.e. as received, with the Receiver participant normally
preceding the Process introduced by a word such as *gēn* 'with' or *duì* 'towards'. This
saying may at the same time be represented itself in abstract form, i.e. as verbalised, with
the Verbiage participant normally following the Process. Alternatively the saying may be
quoted in the form of another clause, with this quoted clause, of whatever process type,
normally following the quoting verbal clause. The distinctions introduced so far can be
generalised as the system of VERBAL PROCESS TYPE, as set out in Fig. 1.21 below.
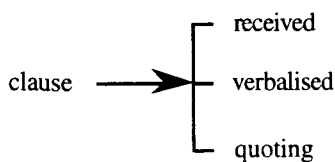
Figure 1.21:   The system of VERBAL PROCESS TYPE in *Memory*

1.4.3.3   The setting associated with the experience: types of Circumstance
While all of the clauses in the text provide a basic model of the experience they are
representing in terms of what is going on (the Process) and who/what are taking part,
(one or more participants), there are a number of clauses that also specify features of the
setting in which the going on takes place, i.e. **Circumstances**. If we think of the
process and participant(s) as providing the "foreground" of the going on, in other words
as the necessary elements for an experience to be represented at all, circumstances are
more like the "background", optional elements indicating time, degree, manner and so on,
which may be absent in any one clause without that clause being at all incomplete. Going
along with this, circumstances are less closely tied to the Process than are the participants,

i.e. they are less defined by any one process type. A particular type of circumstance, e.g. of time, can appear in a number of different clause types , as in the following examples (circumstances indicated in italics):

	Time	Process: ascriptive	
1.	Āiyā, *jīntiān*	máng-si	le!
	oh-dear today	busy die	ASP

'Oh, *today* (I've) been really busy!'

	Time	Process: material	Range
8.	*Zhōngwǔ*	dào	yóujú
	midday	reach	post office

'*At lunchtime* (I) went to the post-office'

	Sayer	Time	Receiver	Process: verbal	
22.	nǐ	*shénme shíhòu*	gēn wǒ	shuō	guo?
	you	what time	with I	speak	ASP

'*When* did you mention (it) to me?'

However, each clause type in this text does tend to pattern with a particular "blend" of types of circumstance. We can classify the relationship between the type of clause and its accompanying circumstances according to the "cline of experience" introduced in section 1.4.3.1 above; these patterns are shown in Fig. 1.22.

process type	material	ascriptive	relational	mental	verbal
circumstance type	time	time		time	time
		degree			
	manner	manner		manner	
	benefit				
	other		other	other	other

Figure 1.22: Circumstances according to clause type in *Memory*

As can be seen from this table, it is material clauses that contain the largest number of different types of circumstance, while relational clauses contain the least. This could be seen to reflect the greater abstractness of relational clauses, i.e. clauses which draw relations between parts of the outside world, as opposed to material clauses, at one end of the cline, and to verbal clauses, at the other. In other words, relational clauses are less concerned with the "setting" than either material clauses, which directly represent parts of the outside world, or than verbal clauses, which represent different experiences in speech.

As shown by the above examples, circumstances tend to appear at or near the beginning of the clause, before the Process, i.e. they are used to establish the setting before what is going on is specified in the rest of the clause. In the following sections, I will discuss the different types of circumstance appearing in the text and how they supplement the representation of experience built up by the Process and participants.

1.4.3.3.1   Circumstances of time   The greatest number of circumstances in this text refer to time, they appear in four out of the five clause types. There are two types of circumstances of time. The first, more common type, indicates **location** in time, and occurs at or near the beginning of the clause as in the following ascriptive clause:

	Time	Process: ascriptive	
1.	Āiyā, *jīntiān*	máng-si	le!
	oh-dear today	busy die	ASP

'Oh, *today* (I've) been really busy!'

In this example, and in the examples of circumstances of time in material and verbal clauses in (8) and (22) respectively given above, the circumstance refers to a point in time at which the Process takes place. In the following example of a mental clause, the circumstance, in contrast, indicates a length of time at the end of which the Process should take place:

	Time	Process: mental	
62.	*Yìhuǐr*	zài	kàn,
	a-while	further	look

'Look at (them) *in a while*,'

The other type of circumstance of time in the text also indicates a length of time, but in this case the **duration** through time of the Process. Unlike circumstances of location in time which set up a feature of the setting (whether a point or a length of time) before the Process itself is specified, circumstances of duration through time indicate how long the Process itself persists, and thus occur following the Process, as in the following example of a material clause:

	Agent	Process: material		Time
72.	Túshū-guǎnlǐyuán	zhǎo	le	*bàntiān...*
	library attendant	look-for	ASP	half-day

'The library attendant looked for (it) *for ages*.'

1.4.3.3.2   Circumstances of degree   Circumstances of degree are found in the text in ascriptive clauses, where they indicate the degree of the quality or the state being ascribed, as in the following example:

	Carrier	Degree	Process
20.	Nǐ	zěnme *zhème*	jiànwàng?
	you	how so	forgetful

'How could you be so forgetful?'

The majority of ascriptive clauses in the text contain a circumstance of Degree such as *zhēn* 'really' (42), *tài* 'too, very' (57). As pointed out in section 1.4.3.2.2 above, this "graded" feature is actually part of the general meaning of ascriptive clauses, the only exceptions being where there is an implicit contrast drawn, in which case the lack of degree implies comparison, as in clause (45) in the following example:

(44.	Nǐ	shuō	45.	Carrier wǒ	Process tǎoyàn?
	you	say		I	annoying
	'Did you say')			*'I'm* annoying?'	

1.4.3.3.3   Circumstances of cause

Circumstances of Cause indicate the reason why (or more precisely *query* the reason why, since all the instances in this text are represented by the question word *zěnme* 'how (come)') a particular state exists, as in the following ascriptive clause:

	Cause	Degree	Process	
51.	*Zěnme*	zhème	wǎn	a?
	how	so	late	MOD
	'Why are (you) so late?'			

or the reason why (or why not) a particular action is to be undertaken, as in the following material clause:

	Agent	Cause			Process	
25.	Nǐ	*zěnme*	bú	zìjǐ	qù	jiè?
	you	how	NEG	self	go	borrow
	'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?'					

1.4.3.3.4   Circumstances of benefit

Circumstances of Benefit indicate the person for whose benefit the action is being performed, and are found in a number of material clauses in the text such as the following example (slightly simplified):

	Medium	Agent	Benefit	Process	
18.	wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,	nǐ	*gěi wǒ*	jiè-lai	le ma?
	I want SUB that MEAS book	you	for me	borrow come	ASP MOD
	'that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) *for me?'*				

1.4.3.3.5   Other circumstantial elements

All of the circumstances described in the previous sections can be seen fairly clearly as filling out the basic model of the experience provided by the Process and Participant(s) of each clause. There are however further elements which indicate meanings similar to those of some of the circumstances described above, but do not seem to have exactly the same role in the clause as these circumstance elements, for example the time element *yǐjīng* 'already' in the relational clause (66):

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	Medium	Process
65.	Huódòng	jiéshù,
	activity	conclude

'(By the time) the activities were over'

	?	Identified	
66.	yǐjīng	wǔ diǎn	le,
	already	five o'clock	ASP

'(it) was *already* five o'clock,'

This element does refer to time; however, unlike the elements discussed in 1.4.3.3.1 above, it indicates neither location in time or duration through time, rather it places the action or situation in relation to other events (I noted in section 1.4.3.2.3 above that this identifying clause draws a relation with the whole of the previous clause).

Another example involves performing two actions in a particular sequence:

	Time	?	Process
62.	Yìhuǐ'r	zài	kàn,
	a-while	further	look

'Look at (them) in a while,'

	Agent	?	Process		
63.	nǐ	xiān	qù	xǐ	yi xi.
	you	first	go	wash	one wash

'go and have a wash *first*.'

The elements *zài* 'further, again' (not represented in the English translation) and *xiān* 'first' put the two actions of 'looking' and 'washing' in a definite sequence of the first after the second. A similar example indicates the relationship of one action to a series of previous actions:

	Process		Range
15.	xià	le	bān
	finish	ASP	work

'Having finished work,'

	Medium	?		Process	Range
16.	wǒ	hái	děi	qù	bǎihuòdàlóu
	I	still	must	go	department store

'I *still* had to go to the department store'

The element *hái* 'still, also' in clause (16), implies that there have been a whole series of actions previous to going to the department store.

The role of these elements is to link the experience of one clause with that of preceding or following clauses; in other words, they represent one of the ways of joining clauses together (a topic that will be examined in more detail in section 2.3 below). In terms of how they relate to the other experiential elements of the clause, these elements are unlike other circumstances in always appear in the position immediately preceding the Process. Still other elements indicating meanings of time also serve to join clauses together, but appear at the very end of the clause, *after* the Process. In the following example, the

element *yǐhòu* 'after' indicates that the second action happens after the first, while the element *hái*, as in clause(16) above, signals that this particular action comes at the end of a series of actions:

	Time		Process	Range	?
12.	xiàwǔ		xià	bān	*yǐhòu,*
	afternoon		finish	work	after

'in the afternoon *after* finishing work,'

	Medium	?	Process	Range
13.	càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén'r
	market	still	open door	MOD

'the markets would still be open'

Since these elements express meanings of sequence in time, I will term them circumstances of sequence. This analysis, however, is only provisional, since such elements cannot be explained fully in terms of the experiential organisation of each clause, but rather in terms of the relationship between clauses, something I will come back to in the next chapter (section 2.3.1).

1.4.3.3.6   Summary of types of Circumstance   The types of circumstance in the text can be generalised as the system of CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE, as set out in Fig. 1.23 below. The features of this system show the choices taken up in this text in indicating features of the setting of each experience. It can be seen that circumstances of time, and quasi-circumstances of sequence (in time) are most prominent, as we would expect from a text that is so focussed on recounting the actions of the participants during their individual busy days.
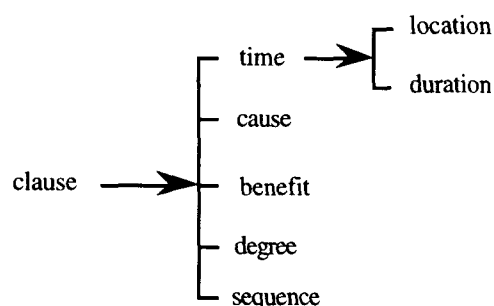
Figure 1.22:   The system of CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE in *Memory*

1.4.4   Experiential organisation from context to text to clause: the relationship between experiential semantics and experiential lexicogrammar in *Memory*

In the previous two sections, I examined the experiential organisation of the text at the strata of discourse-semantics and lexicogrammar, i.e. in terms of the meanings of the

whole text and the wordings of each individual clause. In this section, I will show the relationships between the experiential patterns I have identified at these different strata. Firstly, I will briefly summarise the experiential features of the lexicogrammar, i.e. the system of TRANSITIVITY.
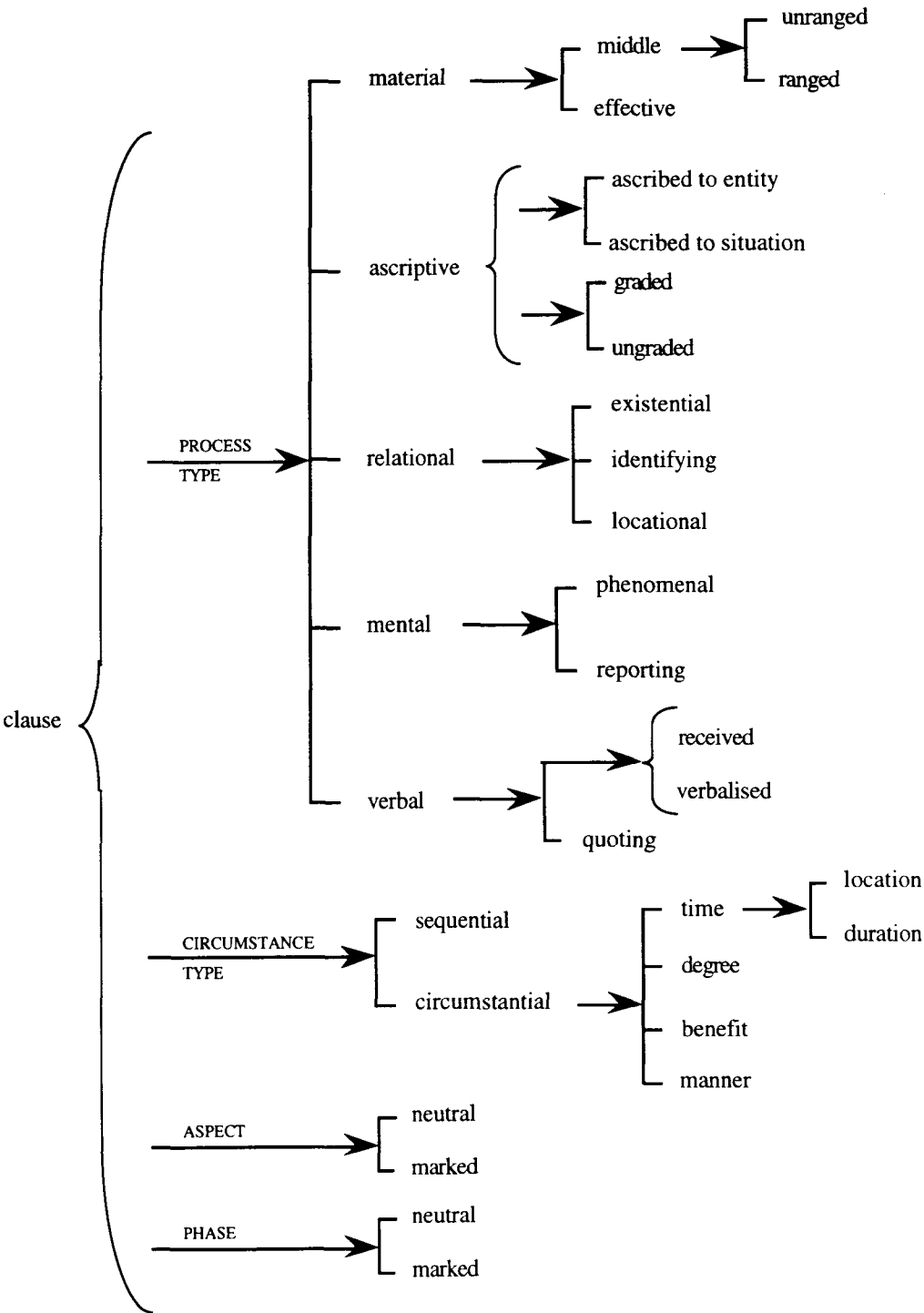
<u>Figure 1.24</u>:   The system of TRANSITIVITY in *Memory*

Fig. 1.24 above brings together the distinctions recognised so far, dividing them into two main simultaneous systems: the system of PROCESS TYPE, with its main choices of

[material], [ascriptive], [relational], [mental], or [verbal], and the system of CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE, with its main choices of [time], [cause], [degree], [benefit] or [sequence].

How do the grammatical choices in each clause of the text relate to the semantic choices over the text as a whole? Tables 1.10 and 1.11 below set out the choices from the two systems of CONTENT RELATIONS and TRANSITIVITY respectively, in the opening section of the text (clauses 1-17).

1. *whole* jīntiān *type* máng-si
   type today   busy to death

2. *type* máng
   busy

3 <u>action</u> shàng + <u>affect</u>. bān
  subtype go-to   work

4. <u>action</u> xià + <u>affect</u>. bān
  subtype finish   work

5. <u>action</u> mǎi + <u>affect</u>. cài
  subtype buy   food

6. huí-lai
   subtype return come

7. <u>action</u> zuò + <u>affect</u>. fàn
  subtype cook   meal

8. *part* zhōngwǔ   <u>action</u> dào + <u>affect</u>. yóujú
   midday   *subtype* reach *whole* post-office

9. <u>action</u> jì + <u>affect</u>. xìn
   subtype post *part* letter

10. <u>action</u> jīngguò + <u>affect</u>. càishìchǎng
    subtype pass-by *subtype* market

11. <u>action</u> mǎi + <u>affect</u>. cài
    subtype buy   food

12. *part* xiàwǔ <u>action</u> xià + <u>affect</u>. bān
    afternoon *subtype* finish   work

13. <u>affect</u>. càishìchǎng + <u>action</u> kāi mén'r
    subtype market   be open

14. *subtype* shíjiān
    time

15. <u>action</u> xià + <u>affect</u>. bān
    subtype   finish   work

16. <u>actor</u> wǒ <u>action</u> qù + <u>affect</u>. bǎihuòdàlóu
    I   *subtype* go   *subtype* department-store

17. <u>action</u> mǎi + <u>affect</u>. qiúxié
    subtype buy   sandshoes

<u>Table 1.10</u>:   <u>CONTENT RELATIONS choices in the opening section of *Memory*</u>

	Time	*Process: ascr.*
1.	jīntiān	máng-si
	today	busy die

	Process: ascr.	*Range*
2.	máng	shénme
	busy	what

	Process: mat.	*Range*
3.	shàng	bān
	attend	work

	Process: mat.	*Range*
4.	xià	bān
	finish	work

	Process: mat.	*Medium*
5.	mǎi	cài
	buy	food

	Process: mat.
6.	huí-lai,
	return come

	Sequence	*Process: mat.*	*Medium*
7.	hái	zuò	fàn.
	still	cook	meal

	Time	*Process: mat.*	*Range*
8.	Zhōngwǔ	dào	yóujú
	midday	reach	post office

	Process: mat.	*Medium*
9.	jì le	yì fēng xìn,
	post ASP	one MEAS letter

	Process: mat.	*Range*
10.	jīngguò	càishìchǎng,
	pass-by	market

	Sequence	*Process: mat.*	*Medium*
11.	hái	mǎi le	diǎn cài.
	still	buy ASP	little food

	Time	*Process: mat.*	*Range*	*Sequence*
12.	xiàwǔ	xià	bān	yǐhòu,
	afternoon	finish	work	after

	Medium	*Sequence*	*Process: mat.*	*Range*
13.	càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén'r
	market	still	open	door

	Location	*Process: rel.*	*Existent*
14.	nǎr	yǒu	shíjiān
	where	exist	time

	Process: mat.	*Range*
15.	xià le	bān
	finish ASP	work

	Medium	*Sequence*	*Process: mat.*	*Range*
16.	wǒ	hái	qù	bǎihuòdàlóu
	I	still	go	department store

	Benefit	*Process: mat.*	*Medium*
17.	gěi Xiǎomíng	mǎi	qiúxié.
	for Xiaoming	buy	sandshoe

Table 1.11:   TRANSITIVITY choices in the opening section of *Memory*

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Examining first the text-based contents relations analysis in Table 1.10, we can note first of all that it reveals the prominence of the doings of the interactants at different times of the day. The taxonomy relations then show how the different times and doings are related, either as subtypes of a type: e.g. 'busy' - 'go to work', 'finish work', 'buy food', 'cook meals'; or as parts of a whole: e.g. 'today' - 'morning', 'afternoon'. An analysis of the taxonomy relations also picks up relationships between less prominent aspects of the experience such as the place where certain doings go on and the doings themselves: e.g. 'post office' - 'post letters'; 'market' - 'buy food'; and 'department store' - 'buy shoes'. The expectancy relations between actions and those entities causing or being affected by the actions are, as noted in section 1.4.2 above, mostly predictable from the taxonomy relations. It is, however, significant that the main focus here is on the relation between action and affected, with an explicit actor only mentioned once, in clause (16), since the actors are mostly the interactants Mum and Dad, and thus presumed from the context (see section 1.2.2 above).

Turning to the clause-based transitivity analysis in Table 1.11, we find that it gives us a more focussed picture of how each separate experience, as expressed by a single clause, is put together. Only in the transitivity analysis do we get a sense of the different kinds of experience, as expressed by the different types of Process in each clause. Although, as noted in section 1.4.3.1 above, the majority of the clauses in the text contain material Process, i.e. represent doings and happenings, there are exceptions, significant in that they appear at key points in the interaction. At the very beginning of the text, in clause (1), Mum uses an ascriptive process to sum up and comment on her doings of the day, and later in the text when Dad seems to be challenging her on this point, she uses a relational process in clause (14) to stress her absence of time. The transitivity analysis also shows how particular semantic motifs are construed in the text in various ways. For example, the motif of point of time is expressed in clauses (1), (8) and (12) as a circumstance, i.e. as a feature of the setting, but that of duration of time (expressed as a circumstance later in the text in clause (73)) is expressed in clause (14), for rhetorical effect, as an Existent, i.e. as a (metaphorical) entity located in place. In contrast to the expression of time, place is construed not as a feature of the setting but rather as falling within the scope of certain material Processes, i.e. as a Range participant indicating location or destination in clauses (8), (10) and (16).

Various grammatical items, by definition not picked up by the content relations analysis which focuses on lexical items, make explicit the order in time in which certain actions occur, largely implicit elsewhere through the order in which the clauses appear. These are the items described in section 1.4.3.3.5 above as circumstances of Sequence, such as *hái* 'still' in clauses (7), (11) and (16), indicating that the particular action of a clause takes its

place in a series of actions, as well as *yǐhòu* 'after' in (12) and the as yet unanalysed "particle" *le* in (15) (see section 2.1 below), both of which indicate that one action takes place before another happens. A minor semantic motif, indicating the person who benefits from the action, is expressed as a circumstance in clause (17).

The transitivity analysis also reveals a key distinction overlooked by the content relations analysis: that between the two different kinds of affected in material clauses: the entity through which the action takes place, i.e. Medium, and the scope of the action itself, i.e. Range. This section of the text contains almost twice the number of material clauses with Medium and or Range, i.e. middle clauses, as opposed to clauses with Medium and Agent (never explicitly expressed in this part of the text), i.e. effective clauses. Thus what this analysis shows is a predominance of actions construed as taking place or happening without any explicit causer, which again fits in with the picture Mum is building up of herself being overtaken by the swirl of activities. The relationship between the semantic patterning of the text as a whole and the grammatical patterning of each clause can be seen as one of the grammar providing a local expression and interpretation of the various semantic motifs through the text.

This description of the experiential lexicogrammar of this text was based on a meaningful and contextual interpretation of certain patterns in wording. Two layers of experiential meaning were recognised : the semantic one defined by the system of CONTENT RELATIONS, as identified by the lexical strings running through the text; and the grammatical one defined by the system of TRANSITIVITY. In contrast to the textual systems of THEME and INFORMATION, realised by peaks of prominence, and the interpersonal system of MOOD, realised by interpersonal "clusterings" at particular boundaries in the clause, the features of the transitivity system work through the interaction of a central Process with its associated Participant(s) and optional circumstances. These Processes fall into five different kinds, defined by different configurations of participants. The identification of these types is not so much a matter of course as with the textual and interpersonal functions, since particular participants, and sometimes even the Process, may be omitted, and the ordering of participants may vary. We therefore may need to apply "probe questions" to identify particular participants.

Overall in this chapter, I have built up a grammatical description of a single text, not bringing in any other evidence from outside the text, and attempting to link various meaning features of the text with particular realisations in wording and sound. This description is of course only a provisional one, and the process of building it up has raised many questions about both the description itself and the theoretical framework which need to be further explored. It is nevertheless a very valuable exercise to attempt to

be totally accountable to the text data, and make the text itself and the interpretation of its patterns the centre of focus, rather than regarding it merely as a dispensable adjunct to the description.

Chapter 2:   Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

In Chapter 1, I set out a preliminary grammatical description of a single spoken Chinese text in a way that maintained the focus on the text itself, and kept very clear the relationship between the descriptive framework and the data from which it was derived. In this chapter I will turn the focus on to the description, examining the assumptions on which it was based, and bringing out further aspects of patterns in the text that were glossed over. This will be done mainly by examining the notion of **function**, in the sense of a functional element of structure, but will also involve the related notion of **rank** (Halliday 1961: 254-259, 1994: 23), i.e. different levels of constituency, and the complementary notion of **class** (Halliday 1961: 259-263, 1994: 28-29), i.e. the different kinds of units that can fill places in structure.

I will then examine more closely the notion of structure itself, showing how the different metafunctional meanings which link the wording of each clause to the meanings of the text as a whole and the variables of the context of situation define different types of structure (Halliday 1979). We can recognise four different types: the cumulative textual structures that "flow" from point to point of prominence; the prosodic interpersonal structures that "spread" over various stretches of wording; the constituent experiential structures that are made up of units of different sizes which fit into each other; and an extra kind to characterise relationships between clauses, the recursive logical structures that recycle the same variables in open-ended succession.

Such a multifunctional view of structure challenges the notion of the clause as a fixed unit with determinate boundaries; rather we are forced to see it as a unit of unification, the common denominator of a number of different functional structures. It is the interaction of all these different types of functional meaning that determines the actual form of grammatical structures produced in response to varying discourse pressures.

2.0   Grammatical system and grammatical structure

In the analysis of the clauses in one Chinese text in the previous chapter, various elements were identified as filling certain roles in the multi-functional organisation of the clause, i.e. as functional elements or **functions**. These functions could be seen as forming different **structures**, with structure conceived of as *functional structure*: i.e. not merely as a formal assemblage of components, but rather a meaningful reflection and expression of particular semantic features and situational variables. Different function structures

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serve to express features selected from different grammatical **systems** (Halliday 1961: 263-268, 1994: 15), where the notion of system is conceived of as defining the meaningful options open to a grammatical unit like the clause (we saw that there were different options open to a semantic unit like the text). In this multi-functional approach each clause is analysed as composed of a number of different but simultaneous function structures: in other words, the actual structure of a clause is a sort of "mix" of different structures. This type of analysis is summarised in Fig. 2.1 below.

functional type	*system*	*functions*
textual	THEME	Theme, Rheme
	INFORMATION	Given, New
interpersonal	MOOD	Predicator, Negotiator, Polarity, Element, Vocative
experiential	TRANSITIVITY	Process (various types), Participant(s) (various types), Circumstance(s) (various types)

Figure 2.1:   A framework for the multi-functional analysis of the clause in Chinese

This type of framework allows us to identify three separate structures in each clause (one textual, one interpersonal, one experiential) plus an extra structure, also textual, of the tone group, which in the default case corresponds to the clause. The following example has been analysed for these four types of structure, as defined by the four systems of THEME and INFORMATION (textual), MOOD (interpersonal) and TRANSITIVITY (experiential):

THEME	Theme	Rheme			
INFORMATION	Gi-		New	-ven	
MOOD			Predicator		Negotiator

TRANSITIVITY	Medium	Sequence	Process	Range	
13.	càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén'r	ma!
	market	still	open	door	MOD
	'the markets would still be open!'				

From this analysis, it can be seen that different function structures highlight or pick out different elements of the clause (in the following discussion I will for the sake of convenience refer to information structure as being "of the clause" unless considering cases where it is not coterminous with the clause). Some elements, such as the particle *ma* seem to correspond to only a single function, the interpersonal one of Negotiator. Others, like the verb *kāi* 'open' have a double function as Predicator (interpersonal) and Process

(experiential). Furthermore, the different functional systems seem to define different kinds of structure. Textual structures work globally, dividing the clause into two inter-dependent parts (cf Matthiessen 1992); the interpersonal structure picks out only a small number of separated elements (cf Martin 1992); while the experiential structure is the most comprehensive, giving almost every element of the clause its own distinct function. This kind of account makes a number of assumptions about the way clauses are organised, and about the best way to "pick apart" the different strands of grammatical analysis. In the following sections I will examine some of these issues, and set out some of the descriptive and theoretical parameters that enter into this kind of functional account of clause patterning.

2.1 Defining the boundaries for the realisation of grammatical systems: rank and structure

In the description of the clause in Chinese set out in Chapter 1, not every single element of the clause was analysed at one go. Instead four different functional structures were identified which together made up the actual structure of the clause, structures that reflected the different ways in which each clause was related to the text and beyond that to the situation of the text. At the same time, each clause element was not analysed separately, but rather, in many cases, grouped into larger wholes with a distinct role in the clause. This initial assumption lying behind the analyses of clause structure done so far can be summarised as follows:

Assumption 1:   only certain elements or combinations of elements in the clause are relevant to the organisation of the clause as a whole.

Stated more generally, grammatical form is multilayered, or as Halliday puts it (1961: 250-251):

> Language is patterned activity. At the formal [i.e. lexicogrammatical EMcD] level, the patterns are patterns of meaningful organisation: certain regularities are exhibited over certain stretches of language activity. An essential feature of the stretches over which formal patterns is that they are of varying extent.

Halliday goes on to characterise these "stretches...of varying extent" as **units**, i.e. stretches of language exhibiting specific patterns, and to state that "the units of grammar form a hierarchy". The description of the **clause** in Ch.1 above as a grammatical unit did not exhaust the potential patterning of the wording of the text, but only focussed on those patterns which could be directly related to the semantic and contextual features of the text. Thus I did not analyse each clause as made up directly of what would normally be considered its smallest units, i.e. its **words**, but rather grouped these words into intermediate units, which we could thus call (word) **groups** (Halliday 1961: 253) which

were directly relevant to the patterning of the clause. We could think of these different units as a series of boxes fitting inside each other; or to use the more usual two-dimensional metaphor, as a series of steps going from the largest at the top to the smallest at the bottom. This series of units could be thought of forming a grade or **scale** (cf Halliday 1961:268) of larger to smaller, with the individual steps themselves known as **ranks**. Elements at each rank are made up of or constituted by elements at lower ranks; i.e. the relationship between ranks is one of **constituency**. Figure 2.2 below shows the rank scale used here to describe clauses in the Chinese text :

clause

        group
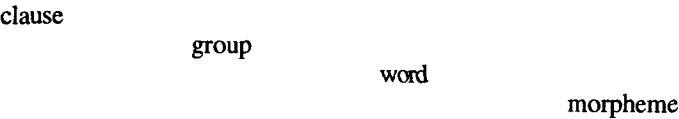
               word

                       morpheme

<u>Figure 2.2</u>:   <u>The rank scale in Chinese</u>

Thus a clause is made up of groups, groups are made up of words, and words are made up of morphemes. Given this hierarchy of units, some form of which (with some slight differences in terminology) would be standard for most descriptions of Chinese grammar, there are two main ways in which relations between the individual units can be analysed. The first, known as "immediate constituent analysis" (see e.g. Matthews 1981: 78), common in slightly modified form in much Mainland Chinese linguistic literature as *céngcì fēnxīfǎ* "level analysis" (cf Wu & Hou 1982), reflects a conception of grammatical structure which successively fits smaller units into larger (or more commonly, in reverse, divides larger units into smaller) in a way that reflects "the order in which [they] are combined" (Halliday 1994: 20).

To take a concrete example from the text, such as (18) below, we can posit the following order of combination (the interjection *éi* 'oh' which is only peripherally part of the structure of the clause (see below), can be disregarded for the purposes of the analysis):

18.   Éi, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,   nǐ   gěi wǒ   jiè-lai   le ma?
      oh, I want SUB that MEAS book you   for me   borrow come   ASP MOD
      'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

stage 1: wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, /   nǐ gěi wǒ jiè-lai   le ma?
             I want SUB that MEAS book   you for me borrow come   ASP MOD

stage 2: nǐ gěi wǒ jiè-lai   le /   ma?
             you for me borrow come ASP   MOD

stage 3: nǐ gěi wǒ jiè-lai /   le
             you for me borrow come   ASP

stage 4: nǐ /   gěi wǒ jiè-lai
      you   for me borrow come

stage 5: gěi wǒ /   jiè-lai
      for me   borrow come

and so on. As can be seen from this simplified demonstration[1], such an approach works best with larger units that split fairly clearly into smaller units. Grammatical words such as *le* or *ma* cause problems for this kind of analysis, since in their meaning they seem to belong rather to the clause as a whole rather than to any one part of it (see the discussion of prosodic structure in section 2.2.2 below).

A contrasting method of analysis, known as "ranked constituent analysis" (Hudson 1967; Halliday 1994: 20), which has been implicitly adopted so far in the present study, combines smaller units only into "sequences that have some function relative to a larger unit" (Halliday 1994: 22), or more specifically, a function relative to the next highest rank. Thus rather than combining units one by one into larger units, we use the rank scale to group sequences of units into functional wholes. Taking the same example from the text, clause (18), we can use this kind of analysis to identify a fairly simple organisation at clause rank, in other words, a fairly small number of groups, each of which has a distinct (transitivity) function:

	Medium	Agent	Circ: benefit	Process	
18.	Éi, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,	nǐ	gěi wǒ	jiè-lai	le ma?
	oh, I want SUB that MEAS book	you	for me	borrow come	ASP MOD

'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

We can identify the following elements in this clause:

- 4 groups, each with a distinct (transitivity) function: i.e. Medium, Agent, circumstance of Benefit, material Process

- 3 additional elements which do not seem to fit into the groups already identified

How do we explain these "additional" elements? The one at the beginning of the clause, the element *éi* 'oh' was explained in section 1.3.3 above as part of the interpersonal structure of the clause, as an Exclamation (attention-getting element). Similar "interjections" like *á* in clause (2) and *èi* in clause (64) are often considered as not really forming part of the main grammatical structure of the clause - Chao (1968: 815) points out that they are often anomalous in other ways as well, for example they may contain sounds not used otherwise in the language - so I will not discuss such elements further here. The final element *ma* was also explained in section 1.3.3 as part of the interpersonal structure of the clause, specifically as a Negotiator marking the clause as a polar interrogative. Structurally then, it seems to belong to the clause as a whole, rather than to any individual group. The element, *le,* not explained in the initial clause analysis, could similarly be considered part of the experiential structure of the whole clause, since it indicates a sort of abstract time meaning to do with the experience as a whole ("this is

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[1] In a level analysis version, function labels such as *zhǔyǔ* 'subject', *wèiyǔ* 'predicate' etc would be applied to each immediate constituent: for details, see Wu & Hou 1982: 1-16.

currently the case"). Such words are traditionally explained as grammatical "helping words" (Chinese *zhùcí*) which perform certain functions in the clause but have no (lexical) meaning of their own. The question of where they fit in the structure of the clause will be taken up below.

In the analysis given in the previous chapter of grammatical organisation at clause rank, in other words the structure of the clauses in the text, only the groups making up each clause were identified, and any internal organisation of the groups themselves, i.e. the words of which they were made up, was ignored. In order to analyse a clause fully, we would need to do several "runs" of analysis: firstly at clause rank, analysing the different groups that make up the clause, and secondly at group rank, analysing the different words that make up each group. (A third run of analysis, at word rank, analysing the morphemes that make up each word, is only peripherally relevant to understanding the grammatical organisation of Chinese - much less than it would be for languages with an elaborated word morphology such as the inflected Russian, or the agglutinative Turkish - and will therefore not be considered in detail here). I will briefly outline the implications of this method of analysis below.

Although, in the conception of constituency relations defined by the rank scale, clauses are made up of groups and groups are made up of words, the nature of this constituency relationship is different within the different ranks. While in the structure of the clause, each group element plays a separate and distinct role, with no one element being more central or important structurally than the other, in the structure of the group, in contrast, there is usually a central word (Chinese *zhōngxīnyǔ*) or **Head** of which all the other elements are an expansion. This means that we should be able to take each group and reduce it to its Head. For instance, a clause like (18) where, with the exception of the element realising Agent, each group contains more than one word, can be turned into the modified (18') below, where most of the groups have been reduced to a single word (the Head of each group in both examples has been underlined):

		Medium	Agent	Benefit	Process	
18.	Éi,	wǒ yào de nèi běn <u>shū</u>,	<u>nǐ</u>	gěi wǒ	<u>jiè</u> -lai	le ma?
	oh,	I want SUB that MEAS book	you	for me	borrow come	ASP MOD

'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

		Medium	Agent	Benefit	Process	
18'.	Éi,	<u>shū</u>	<u>nǐ</u>	gěi wǒ	<u>jiè</u>	le ma?
	oh,	book	you	for me	borrow	ASP MOD

'Oh, the book, did you borrow (it) for me?'

The only group that seems to resist reduction in this way is the circumstance of Benefit *gěi wǒ* 'for me'; that is, neither one of its elements can be understood as the expansion of the other. Although together they realise a single function in the structure of the clause,

internally this group seems more like a little clause itself with two separate functions like Process and Participant.

Thus it seems that, once we start analysing the structure of each group, it is not enough to simply characterise the function of the group as a whole in the clause in order to explain its internal makeup. In fact, the notion of the rank scale, set up to account for different patterns at different levels of structure, predicts that it should not. We can note, however, that the structure of different groups can be broadly divided according to the three-way functional division of participant, process and circumstance: in other words, that the groups filling these three different types of function tend to be characterised by three different kinds of element. We may characterise these groups as differing in **class**, with the notion of class "set up to account for likeness between events of the same rank" (Halliday 1961: 259), in other words, defining the kinds of units that can realise a particular function. The best way to get at these differences is to return to the notion of expansion around a central Head. When we examine the three different kinds of groups we find that they exhibit different kinds of expansion. This brings me to the second assumption made in this kind of analysis:

Assumption 2:   elements in the clause need to be characterised not only by their actual role (**function**) but also by their general grammatical potential (**class**)

In terms of the conception of structure as function structure, i.e. as a concatenation of meaningful elements, the notion of class must also be a meaningful as well as a structural one. Therefore in characterising the class of different groups as indicating their general "grammatical potential" (Halliday 1994: 29), we should be able to identify a particular general meaning - in effect the meaning of the Head - and then different kinds of possible relationships between the Head and the other elements of the group. In the following discussion I will characterise the different types of group identified in this text according to the meaning of the Head, and the relationship of the expanding elements to the Head.

a.   An unexpandable group, i.e. a group in which there is only a Head, commonly represents one of three things:

   i.   an entity or individual identified by their role in the speech exchange, e.g. *nǐ* 'you', *wǒ* 'I'

   ii.   an entity or individual identified by name, e.g. *Xiǎomíng*

   iii.   a single point in time: e.g. *jīntiān* 'today'

b.   A group expandable towards the beginning, i.e. with the Head at the end, commonly represents an entity or individual that can be further identified by:

   i.   specifying it, e.g. *nèi běn shū* 'that book'

   ii.   describing it, e.g. *wǒ yào de shū* 'the book I wanted'

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All of the Heads in groups of types a. and b. have in common that they name an entity of some kind: either concrete, like a person or an object; or abstract, like a point in time. we may thus term this kind of Head a **Thing** (cf Halliday 1994: 180). Collectively Things are traditionally characterised as **nominal** in class, and groups made up of such elements can be called **nominal groups** (cf Halliday 1994: 180). Nominal groups tend to function as either participants or circumstances in the transitivity structure of the clause.

c.   A group expandable towards the end usually represents an action, state, relation etc., and can be further characterised by:

i.   its direction, e.g. *jiè-lai* 'borrow come': i.e. the direction of borrowing is 'towards the speaker' (here used metaphorically to mean 'into the speaker's hands')

ii.   its result, e.g. *máng-si* 'busy die': i.e. the result of the speaker's busyness is her death (also obviously metaphorical!)

The Heads in groups of type c. have in common that they indicate a happening of some kind - what was referred to in section 1.4.3. above as a Process - we may thus rename this kind of Head an **Event** (cf Halliday 1994: 196). Collectively Events are traditionally characterised as **verbal** in class, and groups made up of such elements can be called **verbal groups** (cf Halliday 1994: 196). Verbal groups normally function as Process in the transitivity structure of the clause.

d.   A group with two separate elements, analogous to the process + participant of a clause, usually represents some feature of the setting: i.e. what was referred to in section 1.4.3.1 above as a circumstance. Groups of this kind contain elements of two different types:

i.   an event: e.g. *gěi* 'for' (cf the action *gěi* 'to give')

ii.   and an entity: e.g. *wǒ* 'I', *Xiǎoming* 'Xiaoming'

The first of these elements is similar to the Event in a verbal group, while the second element is identical to the Thing of the unexpandable type of nominal group. Since the verbal element only occurs in a clause which already contains another verbal group we could therefore characterise the class of this group as **coverbial** (i.e. 'with the verb') (cf Li & Thompson 1974) . However, as was pointed out above, this kind of group is not really a group at all, as it does not contain a central Head with other elements expanding that Head, but is structured more like a little clause. Rather than calling this a group (Chinese *cízǔ* 'word group'), we could indicate its mixed status by referring to it as a **phrase** (Chinese *duǎnyǔ* 'short sentence'). I will therefore refer to such elements as **coverbial phrases**.

Each group class can be classified into **subclasses** (the traditional terms for these subclasses given below are mainly adapted from Zhu 1982) by identifying the possibilities for the Head to be expanded, and the relationship between the Head and the expanded elements. Looking first at nominal groups, i.e. those with a Thing as Head, we find several subclasses of Thing that are very rarely expanded: for example, those traditionally known as **pronouns** such as *nǐ* 'you' in clause (18) above, and those traditionally known as **proper nouns** (i.e. names of individuals) such as *Xiǎomíng* in clause (17) . In contrast, the other main subclass of Thing, the elements traditionally called **common nouns**, such as *shū* 'book' in (18) above, have the possibility of being expanded to an enormous extent. The simplest kind of expansion is to add elements that *specify* the Head in some way; for example:

unexpanded Thing   specified Thing
shū 'a book, books'   18.   nèi běn shū 'that book'

In this example, there are two elements that jointly specify the Thing. The first, *nèi* 'that', indicates the location of the Thing in relation to the speaker, and is traditionally called a **demonstrative** element. The second, *běn*, identifies the Thing as belonging to a particular type or class of thing, in this case "reading matter"; this is commonly referred to in the English language literature as a *classifier* (Li & Thompson 1981: 104), but in order to avoid confusion with the notion of grammatical class, I will instead refer to such elements as **measures** (this term corresponds more closely to the accepted Chinese term *liàngcí* 'measure word'), since they normally appear when the Thing is measured by amount , expressed by a **numeral** such as *yì* 'one' with the measure *fēng* in clause (9) below:

unexpanded Thing   specified Thing
xìn 'a letter, letters'   9.   yì fēng xìn 'one letter, a (particular) letter,'

As well as specifying elements, we may also add elements that *describe* the thing in some way (the exact class of these elements will be discussed below); for example:

unexpanded Thing   described Thing
shū 'a book, books'   wǒ yào de shū 'the book I want'

Both specifying and describing elements may occur together, as in the original example from the text:

	describing	specifying	Thing
(18)	wǒ yào de	nèi běn	shū...
	I want SUB	that MEAS	book
	'that book I wanted...'		

In summary, a nominal group is one whose Head is nominal, i.e. represents an entity, and may thus be called a Thing. A nominal group expands towards the beginning, i.e. the Thing is at the end. Within the nominal group are several subclasses, some of which may

function as Thing, others may only function in conjunction with a Thing. Fig. 2.3 below sets out the functions in nominal group structure and the different subclasses that realise them. The function labels are chosen to show their relationship to the subclass of element by which they are commonly realised: e.g. the function **Deictic** ("pointer") realised by the nominal subclass of demonstrative; the function **Numerator** realised by the nominal subclass of numeral; the **Descriptor**, i.e. the function which describes the Thing, is a special case which will be discussed below [2]. However, since this relationship is not one-to-one, in other words the same function is not always realised by the same subclass, it is important to keep the two types of label distinct. In indicating structures, the raised caret, ^, denotes that functions normally appear in that order: thus Deictic ^ Measure ^ Thing means Deictic *followed by* Measure *followed by* Thing.

function structure	meaning	subclass	example
a. Thing	unique interactant unique individual unspecified entity point in time	pronoun proper noun common noun time noun	*nǐ* 'you' *Xiǎomíng* 'Xiaoming' *fàn* 'meal' *jīntiān* 'today'
b. Deictic ^ Measure ^Thing	relation to speaker type of entity pointed out entity	demonstrative measure common noun	*nèi běn shū* 'that book'
c. Numerator ^ Measure ^ Thing	amount type of entity quantified entity	numeral measure common noun	*yì fēng xìn* 'one letter'
d. Descriptor ^ Thing	description described entity	(part of) clause common noun	*wǒ yào de shū* 'the book I wanted'

Figure 2.3:   Nominal group functions in Chinese

In contrast to nominal groups, where expansion invariably occurs before the Head or Thing, in verbal groups expansion normally occurs both following and preceding the Head, i.e. the Event. The role of Event is always filled by an element of the same subclass, that traditionally known as **verb**. The most common type of verbal group expansion after the Event is to add elements that fill out or extend the Event in some way, as in clause (18) where the action *jiè* 'borrow' is extended in a direction:

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[2] These function labels are largely adapted from Halliday's description of English (1994: Ch.6); the term "Descriptor" is my own.

unexpanded Event	extended Event
jiè 'borrow'	18. jiè-lai 'borrow come - borrow so that it comes (to the speaker, i.e. into the speaker's hands)

The Event in clause (1) below contains a different kind of extension, in this case, to a result:

unexpanded Event	extended Event
máng 'be busy'	1. máng-si 'be (so) busy (that I) die' (in a metaphorical sense)

Such elements are traditionally called *complements*, because they fill out or complete the meaning of the Event. However, because the term complement is used to mean a number of quite different things in different linguistic traditions [3], I will instead refer to verbal elements following the Event as **postverbs**: a term adapted from Halliday's "postpositive verb" (1956: 203) to indicate a verbal element that follows the (main) verb (Simon (1958) uses the term "postverb" in a narrower sense than that employed here). Postverbs realise the verbal group function of **Extension** (see sections 4.1.4, 4.2.2.2 below).

There is another type of verbal element that adds meanings indicating such things as the speaker's obligation to perform the action. Compare the unexpanded Event in clause (5) with the expanded Event in clause (7):

unexpanded Event	expanded Event
5. mǎi (cài) 'buying (food)'	7. děi zuò (fàn) 'must cook (the meal)'

Elements such as *děi* 'must, have to' in (7) are traditionally called **auxiliaries** because they "help out", in some abstract sense, the meaning of the verb. These were analysed in section 1.3.3 above as filling the interpersonal clause function of Modality in conjunction with the Predicator; arguments against considering them as part of verbal group structure will be given in section 4.2.1 below.

In summary, a verbal group is one whose Head is verbal, i.e. represents a process, i.e. an action, state, relation, and so on, and so may be called an Event. A verbal group commonly expands towards the end, i.e. the Event is at the beginning. The expanded elements have the function of Extension, i.e. they extend the process represented by the Event to a result, or in a direction. (As noted above, the type of expansion realised by the verbal subclass of auxiliary has not been assigned a group function here.) Fig. 2.4 below sets out the different functions in the verbal group and the subclasses of verbal elements that realise them.

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[3] The different uses of this term are discussed in McDonald 1996: Section 2.

function structure	meaning	subclass	example
a. Event	undifferentiated action, state, relation, etc	verb	*măi* 'buy' *tăoyàn* 'be annoying' *zài* 'to be at' *zhīdào* 'know' *shuō* 'say'
b. Event ^ Extension i. result ii. direction	action, state, etc	verb postverb postverb	*máng-sǐ* 'busy die' *jiè-lai* 'borrow come'
c. (Modality) (Predicator)	obligation to perform action, etc	auxiliary verb	*děi* 'must' *zuò* 'make'

<u>Figure 2.4:</u>   <u>Verbal group functions in Chinese</u>

Another type of verbal element occurs in conjunction with a nominal element in the coverbial phrase, such as *gěi* 'for' in clause (17) and *gēn* 'with' in clause (22):

17.   gěi Xiǎomíng   măi qiúxié.
       for Xiaoming   buy sandshoe
       'to buy sandshoes for Xiaoming.'

22.   nǐ   shénme shíhòu   gēn wǒ   shuō guo?
       you   what   time   with I   speak ASP
       'When did you mention (it) to me?

This kind of element is commonly known as a *preposition* (Li & Thompson 1974) since it is normally preposed to or placed before a nominal element. However, since such elements are often clearly related to verbs, for example *gěi* 'for' and the verb *gěi* 'to give', and always occur in conjunction with the central verb in the clause, I will refer to them here as **coverbs** (Li & Thompson 1974). The function of a coverb is similar to that of the process in a clause. However, since it must always occur in conjunction with a Process elsewhere in the clause, we can refer to its function as that of Minor Process. The participant-like element which always follows it can likewise be called a Minor Participant, the latter being, of course, nominal in class. Figure 2.5 below sets out the functions in coverbial phrase structure and the classes that realise them.

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function structure	meaning	subclass	example
Minor Process ^ . Minor Participant	associated action entity involved in associated action	coverb nominal group	*gěi wǒ* 'for me' *gēn wǒ* 'with me, to me'

Figure 2.5:   Coverbial phrase functions in Chinese

Aside from the two main group classes of nominal and verbal, there are other classes of words that don't seem to form group structures, in other words, they are not expandable in the same way as the Thing in the nominal group and the Event in the verbal group. The main characteristic of these unexpandable classes is that they always appear in conjunction with an element of either nominal or verbal class. These classes, traditionally known as adverbs, particles, and conjunctions, are outlined briefly below.

The class of **adverbs** contains elements whose function is to modify verbal elements: in other words, to specify particular meanings associated with the action, state, relation, etc, and thus with the clause as a whole. We can identify two main subtypes of adverb: **experiential** and **interpersonal**. Experiential adverbs form part of the transitivity structure of the clause, i.e. they modify the Process, indicating meanings of degree, such as *zhème* 'so' in the ascriptive clause (20) below:

20. Nǐ   zěnme *zhème* jiànwàng?
    you   how   so   forgetful
    'How could you be *so* forgetful?'

or sequence, such as *hái* 'still, also' in the material clause (16) below:

15. xià   le   bān
    finish ASP   work
    'Having finished work,'

16. wǒ   *hái* děi   qù   bǎihuòdàlóu
    I   still must   go   department store
    'I *still* had to go to the department store'

Interpersonal adverbs form part of the mood structure of the clause, i.e. they modify the Predicator, and indicate meanings of polarity, i.e positive or negative: e.g. *bù* 'not' and *méi* 'haven't, didn't' in clauses (30) and (31) below (the difference between these two adverbs will be explained in Ch.4):

30. Wǒ   *bù*   zhīdào,
    I   NEG   know
    'I *didn't* know,'

31. nǐ   *méi*   gēn wǒ   shuō.
    you   NEG:perf   with I   speak
    'you *didn't* tell me.'

The class of **particles** contains elements that function as part of either clause structure or of group structure. Clause particles overlay some sort of abstract meaning on the clause as a whole and thus commonly appear at the end of the clause. Like adverbs, clause particles may be either **experiential**, i.e. part of the transitivity structure of the clause, such as *le* indicating a current situation in clause (1) below:

1. Āiyā, jīntiān máng-si *le!*
    oh-dear today   busy die   ASP
    'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

or **interpersonal**, i.e. part of the mood structure of the clause, such as *ma* indicating an obvious statement in clause (13) below:

13. càishìchǎng   hái   kāi mén   *ma!*
    market   still   open door   MOD
    'the markets would still be open!'

Group particles serve to indicate the particular relations existing between the internal elements of a group. For instance, the particle *de* joins the clause and the common noun in clause (18) below, showing that the relationship between them is one of Descriptor and Thing (this relationship is not affected by the presence of intervening elements):

	Descriptor		Deictic	Measure		Thing
18.	wǒ yào	*de*	nèi	běn		shū...
	I want SUB	that	MEAS	book		
	'that book I wanted...'					

The class of **conjunctions** contains elements that are, strictly speaking, part of neither group nor clause structure; instead they serve as linking elements between clauses. For example, the conjunction *yǐhòu* 'after' at the end of clause (12) below indicates a relationship of sequence in time between this and the following clause:

12. Hài,   xiàwǔ   xià bān   *yǐhòu,*
    hey   afternoon   finish work   after
    'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

13. càishìchǎng   hái   kāi mén'r   ma!
    market   still   open door   MOD
    'the markets would still be open!'

Conversely, the conjunction *nà* 'well then' at the beginning of clause (37) links this clause to a whole stretch of preceding text, introducing one possible solution to the problem of not having the book that was raised in previous clauses:

37. *Nà*   míngtiān   qù jiè   ma!
    well   tomorrow   go borrow   MOD
    'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'

All the different types of group classes and word subclasses identified so far in the text are summed up in Fig. 2.6 below, with their Chinese equivalents supplied.

group class	word class	Chinese equivalent
nominal	common noun	*pǔtōng míngcí*
míngcíxìng	proper noun	*zhuānyǒu míngcí*
	pronoun	*dàicí*
	numeral	*shùcí*
	demonstrative	*zhǐshìcí*
	measure	*liàngcí*
verbal	verb	*dòngcí*
dòngcíxìng	postverb	*hòudòngcí*
	auxiliary	*zhùdòngcí*
	coverb	*tóngdòngcí*
_____	adverb	*fùcí*
_____	particle	*zhùcí*
_____	conjunction	*liáncí*

Figure 2.6: Group and word classes in Chinese

From the discussion so far, it may seem as if the types of structure identified using ranked constituent analysis fit neatly into each other from largest to smallest. According to this analysis, every clause would be analysed as made up of groups of a number of different classes, with each group made up of words of the same class, with one of these words functioning as the Head to which the group may be reduced, and the other words functioning as the expansion of the Head. There are, of course, two exceptions to this model that I have already discussed: firstly, the case of word classes like adverbs and particles which do not seem to have any group structure; and secondly, the half-way type of structure represented by a coverbial phrase, which contains two elements of different classes, the phrase as a whole not being reducible to either element.

However, an exception of a different kind is represented in the initial nominal group of clause (18), already given a preliminary analysis above:

```
       Descriptor              Deictic Measure    Thing
18.    wǒ yào        de        nèi     běn        shū...
       I want  SUB   that      MEAS    book
       'that book I wanted...'
```

This was identified above as made up of a describing element or Descriptor (*wǒ yào de* '(that) I wanted'), a specifying element, itself composed of a Deictic (*nèi* 'that') and a Measure (*běn* 'reading matter'), and finally the Thing (*shū* 'book'). The last half of this nominal group, i.e. *nèi běn shū* 'that book', is easily analysed as a nominal group made up of three nominal words: respectively, demonstrative, measure and common noun. The

first half of the group, the elements preceding *de*, i.e. *wǒ yào*, by themselves would mean something like 'I want (it)' or 'I asked for (it)', and thus seem to be part of a clause.

In this case, however, they are not functioning directly as part of the clause structure, but instead being used inside the group whose Thing is *shū*, in order to describe this Thing in more detail. In terms of the model of ranked constituent analysis, this clause has been **downranked** from clause to group (this kind of structural relationship is traditionally referred to as "embedding" - see Matthews 1981), that is, the experience it represents has been used in another clause in order to, in this case, describe a participant in the transitivity structure of that clause. We could indicate this special status by enclosing the downranked clause in double brackets:

	Descriptor			Thing
18.	[[wǒ yào]]	de	...	shū...
	I want	SUB		book

'(the) book (which) I wanted'.

The function of the *de* here then becomes clearer: it is specifically to mark that the clause has been downranked to function as a Descriptor to the Thing. Another example of a rank shifted clause, in which *de* marks an even more complex experience as Descriptor to a Thing is given below:

	Descriptor				Thing
71.	[[nǐ ràng wǒ gěi nǐ jiè]]		de		shū...
	you get I for you borrow		SUB		book

'(the) book you got me to borrow for you...'

A clause may also be downranked, not in order to describe a Thing, as in the above examples, but functioning directly as a group in another clause, i.e. as a whole complex experience functioning as a participant. In the following ascriptive clause, for instance, the participant function of Carrier is realised by the downranked clause *méi yǒu nèi běn shū* 'not having that book':

	Carrier		Degree	Process
47.	[[méi yǒu	nèi běn shū]]	zhēn	tǎoyàn.
	NEG exist	that MEAS book	really	annoying

'not having that book is really annoying.'

In a functionally motivated analysis such as the ranked constituent analysis of the clause carried out in Ch.1, it is important to be able to distinguish what belongs to clause structure from what belongs to group structure, in order to be able to trace as clearly as possible the functional links between clause and text, and ultimately between text and situation. Some of the issues involved in characterising group structure addressed here will be taken up again in Ch.4 when I examine one kind of group, the verbal group, in more detail. I will now turn from group structure to a critical re-examination of the

different functional kinds of clause structure - textual, interpersonal and experiential - and discuss different ways of modelling them.

2.2   Functional structures of the clause

In the previous section I identified the ranks that were relevant in the analysis of grammatical structures - i.e. clause, group (including both group and phrase structures - see above), and word - the different functions of structures at these ranks, and the different classes of group and word that expressed or realised these functions. At clause rank, whose organisation was examined in detail in Chapter 1, I showed there were four distinct types of organisation depending on the functional principle involved: the textual organisation of the theme and information structures, the interpersonal organisation of the mood structure, and the experiential organisation of the transitivity structure. A comparison of these four different kinds of structure showed that it was the transitivity structure that seemed to account for the majority of the elements of the clause, and the examination of how these clause functions were constituted at group rank suggested it was again largely, though not exclusively, the transitivity structure for which this kind of analysis was relevant.

So far I have been assuming a conception of grammatical structure close to a traditional one, in which structures can be divided into a number of discrete elements which may themselves in turn be further divided into other discrete elements. This conception of structure is defined by what are commonly called **constituency** relationships between its elements (Matthews 1981: 73-77). In a constituent structure, elements are parts grouped into larger parts and eventually grouped into a whole, just as in the previous section we saw how words were combined into groups which formed parts of the whole clause, with words having particular functions in the structure of each group and groups having particular functions in the structure of the clause. Using the model of the constituent structure defined by the system of TRANSITIVITY, we can recognise similar constituency relationships in the other function structures defined by the systems of THEME, INFORMATION, and MOOD, as in the following analysis, repeated from section 2.1 above:

THEME	Theme		Rheme		
INFORMATION	Gi-			New	-ven
MOOD				Predicator	Negotiator
TRANSITIVITY	Medium	Sequence	Process	Range	
13.	càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén'r	ma!
	market	still	open	door	MOD
	'the markets would still be open!'				

However, as I pointed out in section 2.1, the other functional structures do not seem to be of exactly the same kind as the part-whole transitivity structure. The theme and information structures have only two parts, which are not always discrete but may overlap (as in the information structure of (13) above); while the mood structure seems to ignore the majority of clause elements, focussing on just two or three in each clause, and including elements, like the Negotiator *ma*, which correspond to nothing in the transitivity structure. The following sections will re-examine the textual, interpersonal and experiential lexicogrammar of *Memory*, to see whether there are other ways in which these different clause structures can be modelled.

2.2.1   Textual structures in *Memory*

We can now examine a section of *Memory* to see how well the analysis introduced in Ch.1 (sections 1.2.3.1 and 1.2.3.2) captures the textual patterning of the clauses in the text. The following extract (clauses 26-29) involves Dad explaining to Mum what he's been doing through the day as an explanation for why he wasn't able to borrow the book himself. A Theme Rheme structure can be identified in each clause, based on the analytical principle put forward in section 1.2.3.1 that the Theme can be recognised as the initial element of the clause:

	Theme	Rheme		
26.	Wǒ	shàngwǔ	shàng	bān,
	I	morning	attend	work

'In the morning I went to work,'

	Theme	Rheme		
27.	zhōngwǔ	péi	wàiguó	kèhù,
	midday	escort	foreign	client

'At lunchtime (I) looked after a foreign client,'

	Theme	Rheme	
28.	xiàwǔ	kāi	huì...
	afternoon	hold	meeting

'In the afternoon (I) had a meeting...'

	Theme	Rheme	
29.	Nǎr	yǒu	shíjiān?
	where	exist	time

'Where would there be the time?'

Interpreting this pattern in the light of the meaning of the THEME system, i.e. to define a starting point for the message of each clause, we find that, naturally enough, most of the clauses start with information indicating either the identity of the speaker, e.g. *wǒ* 'I' in (26), or the times of day, e.g. *zhōngwǔ* 'at lunchtime' in (27). The only exception to this pattern is in clause (29), in which Dad sums up how busy he has been by starting the message from a query about a (metaphorical) place, e.g. *nǎr* 'where'. Singling out the

initial elements of each clause as Themes does therefore seem to identify the important information and reflect the way it is being organised as the starting point of the messages in the text.

However, if we look again at the first clause of this extract, (26), we find that as well as a Theme by which Dad identifies himself as the speaker (*wǒ* 'I'), it also contains information on the time of day (*shàngwǔ* 'in the morning'), and that this information immediately follows the Theme, i.e. comes at the beginning of the Rheme. If we then look at the following clauses, (27) & (28), which contain Themes having to do with the time of day - *zhōngwǔ* 'at lunchtime' and *xiàwǔ* 'in the afternoon', respectively - we find that in order to interpret them correctly we need to assume that the identity of the speaker remains constant. In other words, the information identifying Dad as the speaker (*wǒ* 'I') has been omitted as presumed information (see section 1.2.2 above), in this case, left out because it was already stated in (26).

The organisation of these two kinds of information in this extract seems to imply that: (a) more than one initial element of the clause may be Theme; and (b) information stated as Theme in an earlier clause can be "carried over" to later clauses. This is shown in the amended analysis below, with the "omitted" elements supplied in parentheses:

	Theme		Rheme	
26.	Wǒ	shàngwǔ	shàng	bān,
	I	morning	attend	work

'In the morning I went to work,'

	Theme		Rheme	
27.	(wǒ)	zhōngwǔ	péi	wàiguó kèhù,
	I	midday	escort	foreign client

'At lunchtime (I) looked after a foreign client,'

	Theme		Rheme	
28.	(wǒ)	xiàwǔ	kāi	huì...
	I	afternoon	hold	meeting

'In the afternoon (I) had a meeting...'

According to this analysis, clauses (27-28) contain an **ellipsed** Theme, i.e. an element of structure that has been left out, but can be restored (cf Matthews 1981: 38-45). Such patterns of ellipsis in the theme structures of a sequence of clauses like this are obviously related to the semantic patterns of reference of the text, identified in section 1.2.2 above. We could therefore posit that the Theme contains the whole initial section of the clause, rather than just the initial element, and it is this whole section that is significant in establishing points of departure in each clause and between clauses. Terms like "elements" or "sections" still, however, involve a conception of textual structure as a constituent one. Halliday (1979: 67-68) has suggested that a more accurate description

would be of the Theme as a "peak of prominence" which the message of the clause moves away from. As far as the present analysis is concerned, this implies that rather than being forced to label a single element as Theme, we could think in terms of a gradual lessening of **thematic prominence** from the "peak" at the beginning of each clause. In the example below this conception of thematic prominence has been represented by borrowing the "hairpin" notation used in music to indicate a change of dynamic - from loud to soft or soft to loud - where the open end of the hairpin indicates "louder", i.e. greater prominence, and the closed end indicates "softer", i.e. lesser prominence (cf Catford 1977/82):

thematic
prominence

26.　　　Wǒ　　shàngwǔ　　　　　shàng bān,
　　　　 I　　 morning　　　　　　attend work
　　　　'In the morning I went to work,'
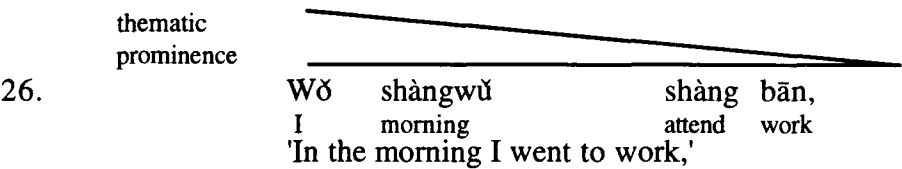
This analysis suggests that the clause as a message starts with the information most likely to orient the message in the context of preceding and following clauses, and ends with information least likely to do so (cf Matthiessen 1988). The element of the clause with the greatest degree of thematic prominence, e.g. *wǒ* 'I' in (26), is prominent enough to be carried over as presumed information, i.e. to be ellipsed from the theme structure, in one or more following clauses, while another element appearing near the beginning of a clause, e.g. *shàngwǔ* 'in the morning' in (26), is prominent enough to form a pattern with similar elements in later clauses. In other words, when we look at the way information progresses from one clause to the next, an element with some degree of thematic prominence in an earlier clause is likely to be related to thematically prominent elements in later clauses, either through being ellipsed as presumed information, like the identity of the speaker in (27-28), or being linked to similar kinds of information, like the times of day in (26-28):

| | thematically prominent information | |
	speaker identity	time of day
(26)	wǒ 'I'	shàngwǔ 'in the morning'
(27)	(wǒ 'I')	zhōngwǔ 'at lunchtime'
(28)	(wǒ 'I')	xiàwǔ 'in the afternoon'

The other textual structure, i.e. the information structure of Given and New, which defines the focus point of the message, can be interpreted as providing another "peak of prominence" in the clause complementary to the Theme, i.e. one of **informational prominence**, with most prominent at the end of the clause and least prominent at the beginning: e.g.

Given   New

informational
prominence

26.   Wǒ   shàngwǔ   shàng   bān,
       I   morning   attend   work
       'In the morning I went to work,'
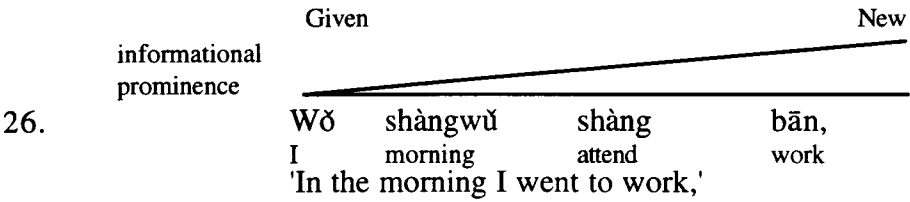
The information structure of the clause proceeds from the information that is the most recoverable, i.e. Given, to that which is the least recoverable, i.e. New (see discussion in section 1.2.3.2 above). If we then combine these two types of textual patterning, we get a "movement" from one peak of prominence to the other. These three clauses have been analysed in this way below:

thematically   informationally
most prominent   most prominent

26.   Wǒ   shàngwǔ   shàng   bān,
       I   morning   attend   work
27.   (wǒ) zhōngwǔ   péi   wàiguó kèhù,
       I   midday   escort   foreign client
28.   (wǒ) xiàwǔ   kāi   huì...
       I   afternoon   hold   meeting
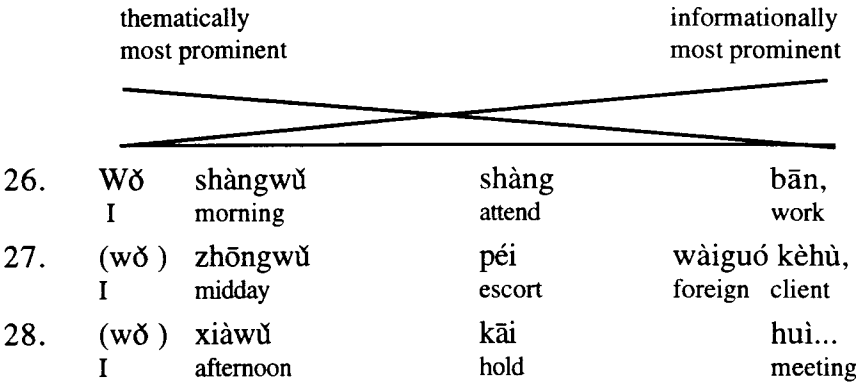
This analysis suggests that the elements which have the greatest degree of thematic prominence are precisely those which have the least degree of informational prominence, and vice-versa: in other words, the information most likely to be the starting point for the message is that which is most recoverable, while the information most likely to be the focus point of the message is that which is least recoverable. The textual organisation of the clause, however, is not always this neat. As we saw in section 1.2.3.2 above, the New, unlike the Theme, is not realised simply by position, although there is a strong tendency, all other things being equal, for it to be at or near the end of the clause. Instead it is realised *intonationally* as the tonic prominence: that is, as the syllable in each tone group which has the greatest length and intensity. For the purposes of analysis, the New in each clause may be regarded as corresponding to the whole group within which the tonic prominence falls. Thus the New may appear in any part of the clause, e.g. at the very beginning as in (29) (the New in each clause is highlighted in italics):

29.   *Nǎr*   yǒu   shíjiān?
       where   exist time
       '*Where* would there be the time?'

or at the very end, as in (30):

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M:30. Wǒ   bù   zhīdào,
     I   NEG know
     'I didn't *know*,'

or anywhere in between, as in (31):

31.   nǐ   *méi*   gēn wǒ   shuō.
     you   NEG:perf   with I   speak
     'you *didn't* tell me.'
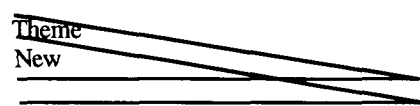
What is the significance of this difference in realisation between Theme and New?
Halliday compares the meaning of each as follows (1979: 68):

> The Theme is speaker-oriented; it is the speaker's signal of concern, what it is he is on
> about...The New is hearer-oriented...it is the speaker's presentation of information as in part
> already recoverable to the hearer (the Given) and in part not recoverable (the New).

If we interpret the above text extract in the light of this explanation, we can better
understand the significance of Theme and New as indicating how the speaker is
"pitching" information to the addressee. In (26-28), the speaker, Dad, is recounting his
day's activities in response to Mum's question in (25) as to why he didn't borrow the
book himself. He organises the information in each message (i.e. clause) in a progression
from the information most recoverable to his hearer, i.e. identifying himself as the
speaker (*wǒ* 'I'), the time of day (e.g. *shàngwǔ* 'in the morning'), to the information less
easily recoverable, i.e. the specific activities in which he was involved (e.g. *bān* 'work').
So far this progression has been an even one from Theme at the beginning of each clause
to New at the end: i.e. from "this is what I am talking about" to "this is what I am telling
you about it". Then in (29) for effect, Dad combines both these message points in a
rhetorical question in which the one piece of information, *nǎr* 'where', is both Theme
and New (in this and following examples, the function labels have been superimposed
on the culminative representation):

Theme
New

29.   Nǎ'r   yǒu   shíjiān?
     where   exist   time
     'Where would (I) have had the time?'

In other words, he simultaneously starts his message by asking about the location of this
time, and focuses his message, through the rhetorical device of seeming to ask where it
is, on the fact that it isn't *anywhere* - in other words, that there *wasn't* any time.

Mum quite reasonably counters in (30) by claiming that she didn't know, progressing
from identifying herself as speaker to her (lack of) knowledge, as shown below:

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```
        Theme                    New
          _____
                      \        /
                       \      /
                        \    /
                         \  /
                          \/
                          /\
                         /  \
          _____/_____
```

30.　　Wǒ　　　　　bù　　　　zhīdào,
　　　　I　　　　　　NEG　　　know
　　　'I didn't know,'
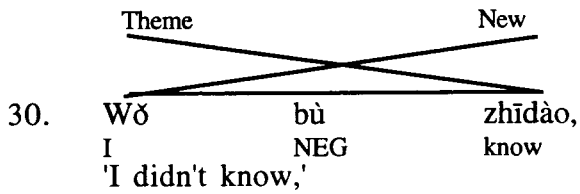
In the following clause, she then switches to an attack on Dad, starting out, naturally by identifying him as the addressee (*nǐ* 'you'). However she doesn't then progress, as we might expect, to the fact of him telling her (*shuō* 'say'), since this piece of information has already been well-established in a previous exchange (clauses 22-23); instead she focuses on his *failure* to tell her, by marking as New the negative *méi* 'didn't':

```
        Theme          Rheme
        Gi-              New              -ven
```

31.　　nǐ　　　　　　　　méi　　　　gēn wǒ　　shuō.
　　　　you　　　　　　　NEG:perf　with I　　speak
　　　'you didn't tell me.'
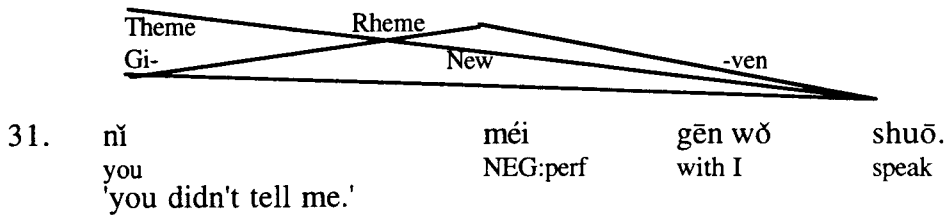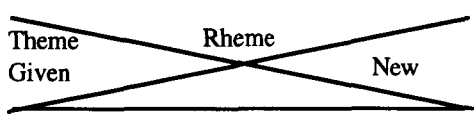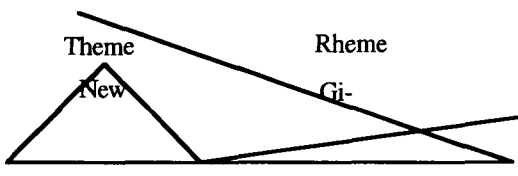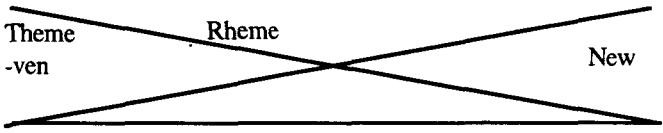
It is important to reemphasise here that the "New" corresponds to *recoverable* information (see section 1.2.3.2 above); in other words, it is not the case that information presented by the speaker as "New" must necessarily be totally new or unknown to the hearer. In (31) the negative *méi* 'didn't' is in fact easily implied from the negative meaning of the previous clause (30), as well as from the preceding discussion in (22-24). However, Mum chooses here to present it as New in order to stress Dad's responsibility for the problem, and as part of her overall strategy to deny that she is at all to blame.

In the preceding discussion, we have seen that the notion of a constituent structure, with discrete parts forming a whole, is not really suitable for the description of textual structures, which rather "progress" between points or "peaks" of prominence. The structures defined by the systems of THEME and INFORMATION can instead be characterised as **culminative** ones, which "organise discourse into a succession of message units or quanta of information, such that each has its own internal structure, provided by [these] two systems of prominence" (Halliday 1979: 68). So far the analysis has assumed that each of these "message units", or "quanta of information" that progress from a starting point (Theme) to a focus point (New), is equivalent to a single clause. In sections 1.3 - 1.4 above the clause was taken as the unit for both the interpersonal structure of MOOD and the experiential structure of TRANSITIVITY, and this certainly also seems to be the case in the stretch of text (26-31) we have just been examining.

However when we look at the immediately following stretch of text (32-26) we can see if this is not always so. While the first two clauses (32-33) do follow this pattern, the following two (34-35) do not seem to (ellipsed Themes supplied in parentheses):

32.   Zǎoshang (wǒ) yī   qǐ   chuáng
        early-morning I once   rise   bed
        'First thing this morning as soon as (I) got up,'

33.   (wǒ)   jiù   tí -   qi   guo   zhè jiàn shì'r.
        I   then   mention up ASP   this MEAS matter
        '(I) mentioned this matter.'

34.   Wǒ ya,   yī   qǐ chuáng
                 I TEXT   once   rise bed
        'As soon as I got up'

35.   (wǒ)   jiù   gěi nǐmen   zuò   zǎofàn...
        I   then   for you PL   make   breakfast
        '(I) made breakfast for you both...'

Here each clause shows a clear theme structure of Theme followed by Rheme, with the Theme of the first clause, *wǒ* 'I', carried over as implied Theme of the second. However the information structure of Given and New does not match up at all neatly, either to the theme structure, or to the boundaries of the clause. The first stretch of information contains only a New which is also the Theme of (34), *wǒ* 'I', and which is emphasised by being following by the textual particle *ya* and by a pause. As we have seen above, the identity of the speaker usually rates very low in information value, and therefore tends to be presented as part of the Given. However, Mum here is drawing a strong contrast between the actions of Dad (who, as speaker, was Theme of the previous two clauses) and her own actions. By making her identity as speaker New, and setting it off as a piece of information all by itself, she therefore stresses this contrast. The rest of clause (34) is an exact repetition of Dad's words in (32), and therefore naturally Given: we do not get any new information until the end of the next clause, (35), and therefore the whole of this forms one stretch of information.

These sorts of patterns can now be understood not only in terms of the flow of information between Theme and New, but also in terms of the contrast between the structural realisation of the Theme by position and that of the New by tonic prominence, i.e. by an intonation pattern. What I have informally been calling a stretch of information can more precisely be characterised as two distinct units: a **message unit** and an **information unit** (for "information unit" see Halliday 1994: Section 8.4; the term "message unit" is my own, based on Halliday's characterisation of "clause as message" (1994: Ch.3)). The message unit contains a peak of thematic prominence, i.e. the Theme, and is realised by a single clause, the Theme being the element or elements of information at the beginning of the clause. The information unit contains a peak of informational prominence, i.e. the New, and is realised by one whole intonation contour or **tone group** (Halliday 1967, 1994: Ch.8), the New being realised by tonic prominence, i.e. by the syllable with the greatest length and intensity in the tone group. This explains why each information unit is not restricted, unlike each message unit, to the boundaries of a clause, but may be smaller than a clause, as in the beginning of (34), or larger than a clause, as in the remainder of (34) plus (35).

We can therefore revise the model of textual structure to include these two culminative structures: a. the message unit, realising the system of THEME and corresponding to a clause; and b. the information unit, realising the system of INFORMATION and corresponding to a tone group. This model is set out in Table 2.1 below, with one example of the two units coinciding exactly (32-33) and another example of the two units not coinciding (34-35):

system					*unit*
THEME	Theme	Rheme			message
INFORM - ATION	Given		New		information

32. Zǎoshang (wǒ)   yī   qǐ   chuáng
    early-morning I   once rise bed
    'First thing this morning as soon as (I) got up,'

THEME	Theme	Rheme			message
INFORM - ATION	Gi-	New	-ven		information

33. (wǒ)   jiù   tí -   qi   guo   zhè jiàn shì'r.
    I   then   mention up   ASP   this MEAS matter
    '(I) mentioned this matter.'

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THEME	Theme		Rheme		message
INFORM - ATION	New		Gi-		information

34. Wǒ ya,   yī   qǐ chuáng
    I TEXT   once rise bed
    'As soon as *I* got up'

THEME	Theme	Rheme			message
INFORM - ATION	-ven			New	information

35. (wǒ)   jiù   gěi nǐmen   zuò   zǎofàn...
    I   then   for you PL   make   breakfast
    '(I) made breakfast for you both...'
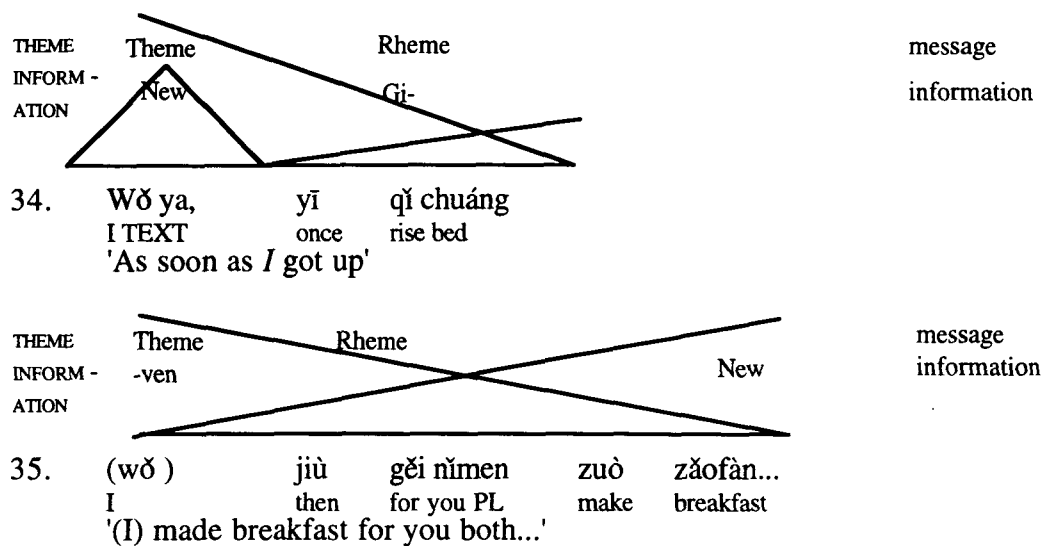
Table 2.1:   Textual structures in *Memory*

2.2.2   Interpersonal structure in *Memory*

In section 1.3.3 above I analysed the text *Memory* from the point of view of the interpersonal organisation of each clause. I identified interpersonal elements or functions that were relevant in characterising each clause according to the grammatical system of MOOD, i.e. the symbolic exchange of commodities between speaker and addressee. In this section I will try to characterise the sort of structures formed by these interpersonal functions. Broadly speaking, they tend to appear at three positions in the clause (leaving aside for the moment the Element function, e.g. *nǎr* 'where' in clause (14) below, whose position is variable): at the very beginning, roughly in the middle, and at the very end, as exemplified in the following clause:

	Exclamation		Predicator		Negotiator
14.	*Āiyā*	nǎr	*yǒu*	shíjiān	*ne*?
	oh-dear	where	exist	time	MOD

'Oh, where would there be the time?'

The function which appears at the end of the clause, which I termed the **Negotiator**, is easy to explain in terms of the symbolic exchange of commodities defined by the system of MOOD: it indicates how the hearer is intended to "take" what the speaker is giving or demanding. In clause (14) above, Mum's use of the Negotiator *ne* directs her (rhetorical) question at Dad by indicating something like "the question I (the speaker) am asking is an open-ended one, and so you (the addressee, Mum) should be able to answer it (or, in this case, shouldn't really need to ask it!)". In a similar way, the us eof the Negotiator *ya* , as when Dad asks for specifics of Mum's busy day in clause (2) below, softens the force of the question, indicating something like: "I want to know this, but I'm not demanding, I'm inviting you to tell me":

2.
			Negotiator
Á,	máng	shénme	*ya?*
oh	busy	what	MOD

'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'

Thus what the Negotiator seems to do is act as a kind of "bridge" between what the speaker says, and how the listener is expected to respond. Viewed in this light, its position at the very end of the clause - i.e. in terms of the exchange, at the end of the speaker's move and just before the hearer's move (see section 1.3.2.2 above) - seems quite natural.

Next, the function at the beginning of the clause, the **Exclamation**, could be characterised as largely peripheral to the other interpersonal functions of the clause, since it does not have much effect on the basic grammatical mood type of each clause. Semantically, it can be understood as adding a [reacting] feature to the basic [negotiating] meaning of a clause (i.e. in terms of the semantic system of NEGOTIATION outlined in section 1.3.2.2 above). Thus a clause containing an Exclamation can be seen as performing two speech functions in one, for example, an exclamation plus a statement in clause (1) below:

1.
Exclamation			
Āiyā,	jīntiān	máng-si	le!
oh-dear	today	busy die	ASP

'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

From this point of view, the structural position of the Exclamation at the very beginning of the clause also seems quite natural, since it is essentially an outburst of emotion from the speaker which precedes the symbolic exchange of commodities expressed in the main body of the clause. The function located around the middle of the clause, the **Predicator**, was explained in section 1.3.3 above as the interpersonal function of the clause that remains constant between moves, and that tends to be present in the majority of clauses. How then can we explain why it is this function that seems to be essential for the clause as exchange? A preliminary understanding of its role can be gained from the fact that it "attracts" other interpersonal functions of the clause. In the following example the Modality *dĕi* 'must' realises the option of [modalised] within the MOOD system, i.e. the speaker's judgement of obligation attached to her action, and comes directly before the Predicator *qù* 'go':

16.
		Modality	Predicator	
wǒ	hái	*dĕi*	*qù*	bǎihuòdàlóu
I	still	must	go	department store

'I still had to go to the department store'

Similarly in the following example, the Polarity function *bù* 'not' realises the option [negative] within the MOOD system, i.e. indicating that the speaker's denial of the validity

of this mental condition, and also in this case comes directly before the Predicator *zhīdào* 'know':

		Polarity	Predicator
30.	Wǒ	*bù*	*zhīdào*,
	I	NEG	know

'I didn't know,'

However, the position of such elements before the Predicator is not always completely predictable. Compare the position of the Polarity functions in relation to their Predicators in clauses (30) and (31) below:

		Polarity	Predicator
30.	Wǒ	*bù*	*zhīdào*,
	I	NEG	know

'I didn't know,'

		Polarity		Predicator
31.	nǐ	*méi*	gēn wǒ	*shuō*.
	you	NEG:perf	with I	speak

'you didn't tell me.'

In (30) the Polarity *bù* 'not' immediately precedes the Predicator, while in (31) the Polarity *méi* 'haven't, didn't'[4] is separated from the Predicator *shuō* 'say' by the coverbial phrase *gēn wǒ* 'with me' (realising a Receiver participant in the transitivity structure of the clause, see section 1.4.3.2.5 above). Another example of a Polarity separated from its Predicator is given in (25) below, where the intensifying element *zìjǐ* '(your)self' comes between the negative *bú* 'not' and the Predicator *qù jiè* 'go borrow':

		Polarity		Predicator	
25.	Nǐ	zěnme	*bú*	zìjǐ	*qù*	*jiè*?
	you	how	NEG	self	go	borrow

'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?'

If interpersonal functions such as Polarity cannot be tied down to a particular position in the clause, how can we explain why they do appear where they do? Halliday has suggested that interpersonal meanings are expressed **prosodically**, i.e. "strung throughout the clause as a continuous motif or colouring" (1979: 66). Rather than being "expressed as configurations of discrete elements", i.e. as constituent structures, interpersonal meanings are instead "associated with the act of meaning as a whole" (1979: 67). If we attempt to apply a prosodic conception of structure to an understanding of the function of the Predicator, we can first of all note that the Predicator seems to mark some sort of **boundary** in the interpersonal organisation of the clause, in that certain interpersonal options are usually realised *before* the Predicator, while other options are realised after it. We could thus posit two **prosodies**, i.e. features that extend over a stretch of the clause rather than just applying to a single element in it: one "pre-Predicator" and one "post-Predicator". The pre-Predicator prosody is where meanings such as [modalised] (realised by the Modality function), or [negative] and [positive] (realised by

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[4] The difference between these two kinds of Polarity relates to ASPECT distinctions: see section 4.2.2.1.

the Polarity function), are expressed, while the post-Predicator prosody is where meanings such as [assessed] (realised by the Negotiator function) are expressed. This type of model is applied below to several examples from the text:

prosody pre-Predicator   post-Predicator
options [modalised], [negative] etc   [assessed]

				Predicator	
16.	wǒ	hái	*děi*	*qù*	bǎihuòdàlóu
	I	still	must	go	department store

		Polarity	Predicator
30.	Wǒ	*bù*	*zhīdào,*
	I	NEG	know

			Predicator	Negotiator
37.	Nà	míngtiān	*qù jiè*	*ma!*
	well	tomorrow	go borrow	MOD

Using this model we can explain the position of the Polarity in (25) and (31) by saying that, although separated from the Predicator, it is nonetheless still within the pre-Predicator prosody. While this kind of analysis is suggestive, it still does not explain the exact positioning of all interpersonal elements, nor why the Predicator should be a significant boundary in the interpersonal organisation of the clause.

In the preliminary discussion of functional structures in section 2.1, I noted a significant fact about the element realising Predicator in example (13), i.e. that it is *both* Predicator in the mood structure *and* Process in the transitivity structure :

MOOD			Predicator		Negotiator
TRANSITIVITY	Medium	Sequence	Process	Range	
13.	càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén'r	ma!
	market	still	open	door	MOD
	'the markets would still be open!'				

From the discussion of transitivity in 1.4.3. above, it is obvious that *kāi* 'open' as Process is a key element of this structure, since it largely defines the experience represented by the clause, and determines the nature of the other transitivity functions present. How then can its interpersonal role as Predicator be understood? In order for the symbolic exchange of commodities expressed by the mood structure to happen linguistically, there needs to be something going on which can form the basis of this exchange: in other words, there needs to be some linguistic *content*, or what from the functional viewpoint put forward here would be called *experiential* meaning. The Process is the centre of the structure expressing this experiential meaning, and this is one reason why the Predicator, the interpersonal counterpart of the Process, is significant: the experiential centre of the clause as something that is going on also functions as the interpersonal centre of the clause as something that is being exchanged.

In terms of the conception of a prosodic structure as "strung throughout the clause as a continuous motif or colouring" (Halliday 1979: 66), we could then see the Predicator as basically an experiential element, the Process, overlaid or coloured with an interpersonal meaning. The Predicator is the centre of what the speaker is putting forward for the hearer's consideration: what we might call the **predication**. The Predicator naturally combines with elements affirming or denying this predication (expressed by the Polarity function) or the speaker's assessment of this predication (expressed by the Negotiator function).

Applying this same conception to other interpersonal elements of the clause, we can also see them as combining a basic experiential meaning with an interpersonal overlay. For example, the Element function, which appears in the elemental subtype of interrogative clauses, i.e. in questions about some specific element of information, can be understood in this way. The nature of the information queried by the Element is basically defined experientially, for instance as a place, e.g. *nǎr* 'where', realised grammatically as a Location participant in the relational clause (14) below:

MOOD		Element			
TRANSITIVITY		Location	Process	Existent	
14.	Āiyā	*nǎr*	yǒu	shíjiān	ne?
	oh-dear	where	exist	time	MOD

'Oh, *where* would there be the time?'

Other types of Element query a particular entity or thing, e.g. *shénme* 'what', normally realised as a participant, e.g. as a Range in the ascriptive clause (2) below:

MOOD			Element	
TRANSITIVITY		Process	Range	
2.	Á,	máng	*shénme*	ya?
	oh	busy	what	MOD

'Oh, *what* have (you) been busy with?'

or a particular time, e.g. *shénme shíhòu* 'what time, when', realised as a circumstance of Time in the verbal clause (22) below:

MOOD		Element		
TRANSITIVITY	Sayer	Time	Receiver	Process
22.	nǐ	*shénme shíhòu*	gēn wǒ	shuō guo?
	you	what time	with I	speak ASP

'*When* did you mention (it) to me?'

or a particular way of or reason for doing something, e.g. *zěnme* 'how', realised as a circumstance of Cause in clause (20) below:

MOOD		Element		
TRANSITIVITY	Carrier	Cause	Degree	Process
20.	Nǐ	*zěnme*	zhème	jiànwàng?
	you	how	so	forgetful

'*How* could you be so forgetful?'

>you　　　how　　　　so　　　forgetful
>'*How* could you be so forgetful?'

This explains the variable position of the Element function in the mood structure, since its position is actually determined according to its corresponding function in the transitivity structure. Its interpersonal meaning is shown by the choice of one of these grammatical items from a small set of "question words" as Element in the mood structure of the clause, thus marking the clause as a whole as an elemental interrogative.

By this analysis, then, two of the functions in the mood structure of the clause, i.e. Predicator and Element, can be understood as experiential functions "coloured" with an interpersonal meaning, while the two other functions, Exclamation and Negotiator, can be regarded as purely interpersonal. The type of structure formed by these functions was characterised above in terms of prosodies, i.e. features which extend across stretches of the clause, or, more specifically, between certain boundaries in the clause. Some further clause examples will show how this kind of prosodic model can be applied (transitivity functions of each clause indicated):

	Time	Process	Range
8.	Zhōngwǔ	dào	yóujú
	midday	reach	post office

'At lunchtime (I) went to the post-office

	Process		Medium
9.	jì	le	yì fēng xìn,
	post	ASP	one MEAS letter

'and posted a letter,'

	Process	Range
10.	jīngguò	càishìchǎng,
	pass-by	market

'(and as I) went past the markets,'

	Sequence	Process	Medium
11.	hái	mǎi le	diǎn cài.
	still	buy ASP	little food

'(I) did some more shopping.'

Clauses (8-11) above have been analysed exhaustively in terms of their transitivity structure: that is, every single element in the clause has been labelled with a transitivity function (with the exception of the particle *le* which will be discussed in section 4.2 below; provisionally it can be regarded as forming part of the Process). Having done this, we can go on to automatically identify the Process in the transitivity structure of each clause as the Predicator in its mood structure. However, since in this case there are no other interpersonal elements in the clause, what is the purpose of making this identification, and how does it help us to characterise the overall mood type of each clause?

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One answer would be to argue from the stratum of semantics: in other words, to identify the speech function of each clause - in this case all "statement" - and thereby deduce that their mood type must be "declarative". This, however, would ignore the fact that there are two separate strata of meaningful patterning here - one semantic, the other grammatical - as suggested by cases where the two can work against each other: e.g. the "rhetorical question" in (29) below, i.e. something that is grammatically [interrogative elemental] (demanding a specific piece of information), but semantically a statement (giving information):

	Element	Predicator	
29.	Nǎ'r	yǒu	shíjiān?
	where	exist	time

'Where would there be the time?, i.e. I don't have any time.'

If we are going to posit a mood type, as opposed to a speech function, for each clause, we need to be able to point to some grammatical feature or features that indicate which mood type has been selected. In order to do this, we need to explore more fully the implications of Halliday's characterisation of prosodic structures as "associated with the act of meaning as a whole" (1979: 67). That is, rather than looking for certain isolated features of each clause, we should take an overall view of the whole clause. When we do this, we can see that, paradoxically, the complete *absence* of marking in clauses (8-11) above is precisely what marks them as declarative. This type of realisation of a grammatical feature is usually referred to as "zero marking": in other words, what tells us that these clauses must be declarative is the fact that there is nothing indicating that they could be anything else. We know from the context that these are statements put forward by the speaker about herself - i.e. the pronoun *wǒ* 'I' has been omitted - and that therefore they could not be imperative; nor are there any Element or Negotiator functions present that might mark them as interrogative.

In terms of the prosodic model, then, we can think of there being a declarative prosody extending over each clause. In the example below, the musical notation for a "phrase", i.e. a curved line indicating that the pitch and / or rhythmic pattern underneath it forms a connected whole, has been borrowed to represent this concept of a prosody, with the type of prosody (in this case, declarative) identified at the side:

	declarative	⌒		
8.		Zhōngwǔ	dào	yóujú
		midday	reach	post office

We saw above that the Predicator marks a significant boundary point for the expression of different kinds of interpersonal meaning. We could therefore modify this representation in a way that indicates the Predicator as a significant boundary point by marking a distinct "phrase" or prosody on either side of the Predicator, even though none of the further options for interpersonal meaning are taken up in these clauses:

declarative

8.

Zhōngwǔ	dào	yóujú
midday	reach	post office

(Predicator above "dào")
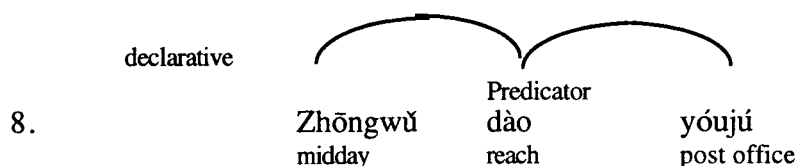
In the clauses following this series of declarative clauses, realising statements by Mum about her activities, Dad counters with a couple of statements of his own, also realised by declarative clauses, but in this case taking up some extra interpersonal options at the beginning and the end of the clause, represented by extra "phrases" within the main one:

declarative

Exclamation   Predicator

12.

Hài,	xiàwǔ xià	bān	yǐhòu,
hey	afternoon finish	work	after

'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

declarative

Predicator   Negotiator

13.

càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén'r	ma!
market	still	open	door	MOD

'the markets would still be open!'
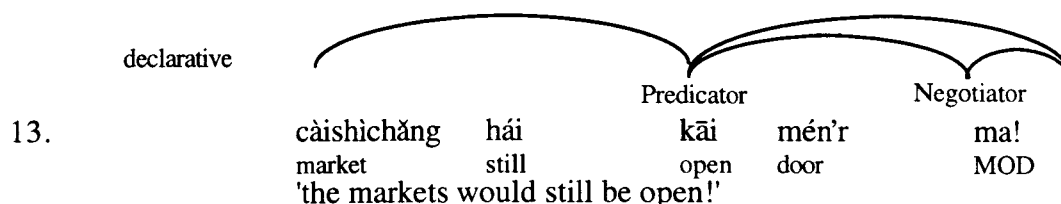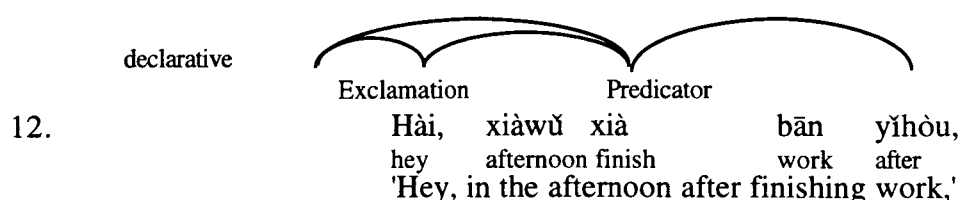
In the representation above, the top "phrase" represents the overall declarative prosody, distributed on either side of the Predicator, but now there is an extra "phrase" at the beginning of (12), where an attention-getting option has been taken up - we could call this a **sub-prosody** within the main declarative prosody, labelling it with the appropriate function term Exclamation - and another "phrase" at the end of (13) where the [assessed] option has been taken up, i.e. a Negotiator sub-prosody. In Mum's response in (14), already analysed above, as well as an Exclamation sub-prosody and a Negotiator sub-prosody, we can also identify an Element sub-prosody, which in this case identifies the mood type of the clause as a whole as [interrogative elemental]:

interrogative

	Exclamation	Element	Predicator		Negotiator
14.	Āiyā	nǎr	yǒu	shíjiān	ne?
	oh-dear	where	exist	time	MOD

'Oh, where would there be the time?'
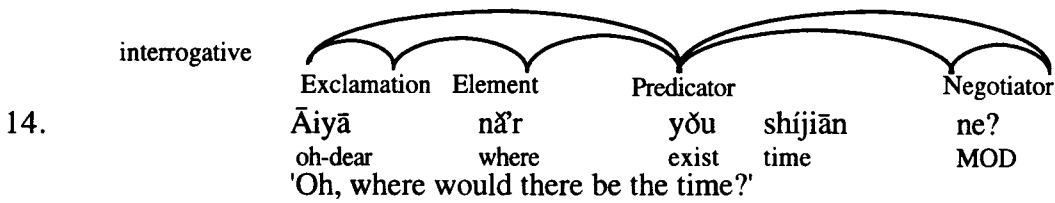
Further interpersonal options include those realised by a Negator sub-prosody which, as I noted above, can appear in a couple of different positions before the Predicator. These interpersonal functions could be represented in a similar way:

declarative

	Negator	Predicator
30.	Wǒ	bù	zhīdào,
	I	NEG	know

'I didn't know,'

declarative

	Negator			Predicator
31.	nǐ	méi	gēn wǒ	shuō.
	you	NEG:perf	with I	speak

'you didn't tell me.'
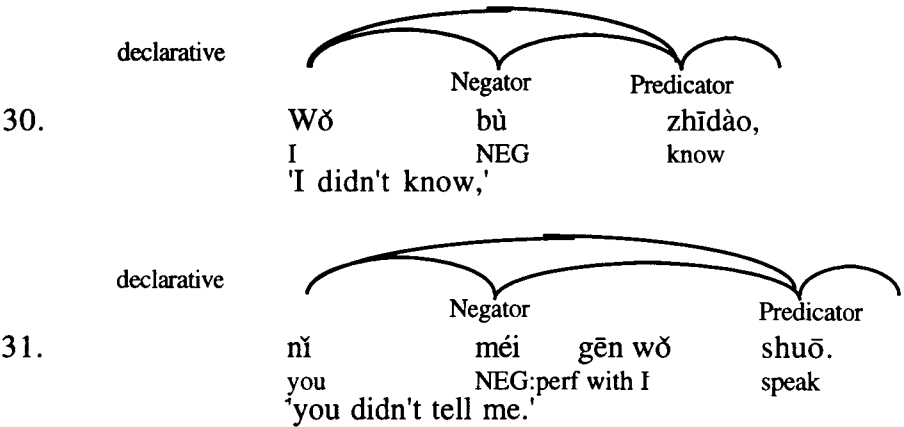
The interpersonal function labels which I introduced in section 1.3.3 above could then be reinterpreted as referring not to "elements" of the clause, i.e. discrete constituents, but rather to "positions" within a prosody where a particular interpersonal "colouring" is expressed. Such a representation, however, still doesn't fully explain why, for example, the Negator should directly precede the Predicator in (30), but be separated from it in (31). As we saw above, the element separating the two interpersonal functions in (31) is a transitivity function, a Receiver participant realised by a coverbial phrase containing the coverb *gēn* 'with'. We could posit that just as, experientially, such elements can be analysed as a kind of minor Process, interpersonally, they can be regarded as a kind of minor Predicator, and therefore taken to mark the boundary of the pre-Predicator prosody, just like an ordinary Predicator. I will return to this point in the discussion of the interpersonal function of verbal elements in section 4.1.3 below.

Up till now I have assumed that the scope of the interpersonal prosodic structure is the clause: in other words, that the clause is the unit to which a mood type (and by implication, a speech function) can be assigned. I explained above that the Predicator, as the centre of the interpersonal mood structure, to a certain extent "borrows" this status from the fact that it corresponds to the Process, and that this correspondence stems from the need to have some experiential content in order for speaker and hearer to carry on an

exchange. In most cases, then, we can assume that a clause containing a single transitivity structure with a single Process will correspond to a single mood structure with a single Predicator, and that this mood structure will express a single speech function. If we look more closely at the following extract from the text, however, we can see some reasons why this is not always the case.

In the clause which begins this extract, Dad somewhat ambiguously expresses his annoyance at not having the book he wanted:

	Exclamation		Predicator
42.	Ài,	zhēn	tǎoyàn!
	oh-dear	really	annoying

'Oh how annoying - i.e. what a nuisance (not having that book)'

Mum assumes that he is accusing *her* of being annoying, and immediately springs to the attack in a request for more information:

	Element
43.	Shénme?
	what

'What?'

Now, as a clause taken by itself this seems highly incomplete: experientially, it contains little if any content. However, interpersonally, as a move in the exchange, it is completely sufficient: it simply expresses a desire for information, the particulars of which Mum then goes on to detail:

		Predicator
44.	Nǐ	shuō
	you	say

'Did you say'

		Predicator
45.	wǒ	tǎoyàn?
	I	annoying

'I'm annoying?'

In contrast to (43) which has a clear speech function (question) and associated mood type (elemental interrogative) corresponding to less than a clause, (44-45) seem to have only one speech function, a question, corresponding to more than one clause. How then can a mood type be associated with a combination of more than one clause? As was explained in the previous discussion of experiential clause structure in section 1.4.3.2.5. above, a verbal process like *shuō* 'say' may "quote" another experience, i.e. join another clause to itself to represent words that have been spoken. What Mum is doing here, then, is quoting what she thought Dad had said (i.e. that *she* was a nuisance), and to do this she needs two processes, one for the act of quoting (*shuō* 'say'), and one for the words being quoted (*tǎoyàn* 'be annoying'). From an interpersonal point of view, however, there is

still only a single move here with the single speech function of question. (I will return to the issue of its mood type below.)

Dad's reply to this seems to proceed in two moves: first, his denial of Mum's interpretation of his words in (45) in a mere fragment of a clause:

	Polarity	
46.	Bù,	bù...
	no	no
	'No, no...	

followed by his explanation of what he really meant, this explanation being in a form identical to Mum's question in (44-45) above, i.e. in two clauses:

		Polarity	Predicator
46.	wǒ	shi	shuō
	I	be	say
	I *said*"		

	Polarity	?Predicator			Predicator
47.	[I méi	yǒu	nèi běn shū I]	zhēn	tǎoyàn.
	NEG	exist	that MEAS book	really	annoying
	'not having that book is really annoying.'				

Using a similar argument to that put forward in the characterisation of (44-45), we could view (46-47) also as a single move with a single speech function. However we still need to explain the presence of what seems to be an extra Predicator in (47), i.e. *yǒu* 'have'. As was explained in section 1.4.3.2.2 above, an ascriptive process like *tǎoyàn* 'to be annoying' may ascribe a quality or state not just to an entity, i.e. a single thing or person, as Mum does to herself in (45), but also to a whole situation. In clause (47), in order to correct Mum's misunderstanding, Dad sums up what he *does* regard as annoying, the whole situation of *méi yǒu nèi běn shū* 'not having that book', expressed here by a downranked clause (see section 2.1 above) functioning as the Carrier participant in an ascriptive clause. This downranked clause has some interpersonal structure, i.e. a Predicator *yǒu* 'have' preceded by a negative Polarity *méi* 'not', but it has no mood type in itself. From the point of view of its transitivity structure, therefore, (47) has a single Process *tǎoyàn* 'be annoying' which can then be identified as the Predicator in its mood structure. However, clause (47) as a whole seems to take on the mood type of clause (46): in other words, although we can identify interpersonal functions in clause (47), these functions play no part in determining the mood type of the clause as a whole. (I will come back to this point below.)

This section of the text can thus be reanalysed in terms of its moves and their associated speech functions, as set out in Table 2.3 below. We can now try to characterise how each move is realised grammatically, whether by a full clause or by something smaller or larger than a clause. We have already seen that clause (42) is clearly declarative, and that (43),

despite being less than a full clause, is clearly an elemental interrogative. Leaving aside clauses (44 -45) for the moment, the beginning of (46), indicated as (46a) above, *Bù, bù* 'Not (so), not (so)', can be seen as a repetition of the previous move, but with the speech function changed from question to statement, there does not really seem, however, to be enough grammatical evidence to give it a mood type. We could therefore say that it is possible for a move to be realised by something less than a clause, and that this "fragment" expresses some option within the MOOD system, e.g. [negative], but does not necessarily express an exchange of commodities, in other words, have a mood type.

D:42.	Ài, oh-dear	zhēn really	tǎoyàn! annoying	exclamation
	'Oh, how annoying!'			
M:43.	Shénme? what			question
	'What?'			
44.	Nǐ shuō you say	45.	wǒ tǎoyàn? I annoying	question
	'Did you say I'm annoying?'			
D:46.a	Bù, bù... no no			statement
	'No, no...'			

46.b   wǒ shi shuō   47.   [l méi yǒu nèi běn shū l] zhēn tǎoyàn. statement
        I be say   NEG exist that MEAS book really   annoying
        'I *said* not having that book is really annoying.'

Table 2.3:   Speech functions of moves in a section of *Memory*

To identify the mood type of moves realised by two clauses, i.e. (44-45) and (46b-47) is problematic, since there are two Processes in the transitivity structure and thus two possible candidates for Predicator. In such cases we could argue that the initial Process can be taken as Predicator since extra mood options are usually realised preceding it, rather than preceding the second Process as with the emphatic positive Polarity in clauses (46.b-47):

		Polarity	Predicator				
46.b	wǒ I	*shi* be	*shuō* say	47.	[l méi yǒu nèi běn shū l] NEG exist that MEAS book	zhēn really	tǎoyàn. annoying
	'I *said* not having that book is really annoying.'						

In this case the first clause is plainly declarative, and therefore we can regard the combination of these two clauses as declarative. The double clause move (44-45) presents a different problem in that the separate clauses seem declarative, but the speech function of the move as a whole is almost certainly a question [5]. To explain the ability of this

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[5] cf Ford and Thompson (1996) on the grammatical, semantic and phonological properties of turn boundaries in dialogue.

seemingly declarative clause to express a question, we need to bring in another type of interpersonal prosody, one in this case not expressed through position in the clause, i.e. by grammatical means, but through an intonation pattern, i.e. by phonological means. We saw in the discussion of the textual system of INFORMATION in sections 1.2.3.2 and 2.1.2.1 above, that the information unit was realised phonologically by a "tone group", i.e. a stretch of speech characterised by a single tone contour, and moreover that New in the information unit was realised by the "tonic prominence" of this tone group, i.e. the syllable with the greatest length and intensity. In a similar way, each move in the exchange tends to correspond to a single tone group, but in this case it is not the tonic prominence but rather the contour of the tone group as a whole, i.e. its overall pitch movement that is interpersonally significant.

Interpersonally, statements in the text tend to be associated with a falling contour while questions tend to be associated with a rising contour (see Chao 1968: 39-44 ; Kratochvil 1968: 39; Shen 1990: Ch.2). The move in (44-45) is associated with a rising contour that extends over both clauses, gradually raising the pitch from beginning to end. In this context, even though the last syllable (the *yàn* of *tǎoyàn* 'annoying') is lexically a falling one, it doesn't cancel out the rising tone contour of the clause as a whole. This rising contour thus marks the move as a question, even though grammatically the structure of both clauses is declarative. This combination of something that is semantically a question (demanding information) while grammatically declarative (giving information) indicates an interpersonal meaning of "statement that needs to be checked": in other words, the implication of this move of Mum's is "Did you really say what I thought you said?". We could therefore represent each move with two main interpersonal prosodies: one grammatical, the other phonological. In most cases we find that the expected correlation between the two prosodies does occurs, i.e. declarative with falling contour and interrogative with rising contour, but there is always the possibility of having an unexpected correlation, as in (44-45), which could be represented as follows:

phonological: rising

grammatical: declarative

44. Nǐ shuō 45. wǒ tǎoyàn? question
     you say   I   annoying
     'Did you say I'm annoying?'
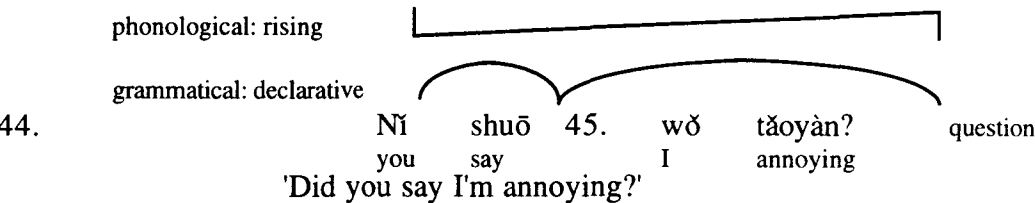
The interrelation between mood type and speech function in this section of the text is set out in Table 2.4 below. Such an analysis suggests that the basic unit of interpersonal structure, i.e. that unit to which a mood type can be assigned, is not the clause but rather something that what we might name a **predication unit** (this term is my own), i.e. a unit that puts forward a single predication. This corresponds in most cases to a "major

clause" (see section 1.3.3 above), i.e. a clause containing a Predicator, including cases where the Predicator is ellipsed, like the elemental interrogative in clause (43). The difference between the concept of major clause and that of predication unit is that the latter also covers cases where there are two major clauses, where the Process of only one of them playing the role of Predicator, as in clauses (44-45).

mood type   *speech function*

declarative   exclamation
42.   Ài,   zhēn   tǎoyàn!
       oh-dear   really   annoying
       'Oh, how annoying!'

interrogative: elemental   question
43.   Shénme?
       what
       'What?'

declarative   question
44.   Nǐ   shuō   45.   wǒ   tǎoyàn?
       you   say   I   annoying
       'Did you say I'm annoying?'

(no mood type)   statement
46.a   Bù,   bù...
       no   no
       'No, no...'

declarative   statement
46.b   wǒ shi shuō   47.   [l méi yǒu nèi běn shū l] zhēn tǎoyàn.
       I   be say   NEG exist that MEAS book really annoying
       'I *said* not having that book is really annoying.'

Table 2.4:   Speech functions and associated mood types in a section of *Memory*

The validity of the concept of predication unit, rather than clause, as the scope of the mood structure, is shown by examples such as (46b-47), where the emphatic positive Polarity applies to the Predicator of the first clause (i.e. I *did* say this) not the second. It can also be tested by changing the mood type of an example like (44-45) from declarative to polar interrogative by adding the Negotiator *ma*, in which case the interrogative meaning really applies to the Predicator of the first clause (i.e. Did you say this?) rather than to the second (i.e. Am I annoying?): e.g.

interrogative   Predicator   Negotiator
44'.   Nǐ   shuō   45'.   wǒ   tǎoyàn   ma?
              you   say   I   annoying   MOD
              'Did you say I'm annoying?'

The mood structure in the text, therefore, can be characterised as a prosodic structure that delimits the boundaries for the expression of different interpersonal meanings. Mood structure is realised by a predication unit, which in the default case corresponds to a

single clause with a single Predicator. The boundaries of the mood structure, symbolised by the "phrases" of interpersonal prosodies and sub-prosodies, extend over stretches of varying lengths. The major boundaries tend to be at the beginning and end of each predication unit, the resultant prosody indicating the mood type of that predication unit: these boundaries may take in more than one clause, or a fragment of a clause. Within the main mood type prosody, the boundary between what precedes and what follows the Predicator determines interpersonal sub-prosodies realising other mood options such as [positive] / [negative], [modalised], and [assessed]. In conjunction with this grammatical mood type prosody there is also a phonological prosody whose options have a regular correspondence with the different speech functions, and therefore with the different mood type prosodies, though these regular correspondences may be varied to express more specific interpersonal meanings. The different types of mood prosody identified in the text are summed up in Table 2.5 below.

declarative

		Predicator	
8.	Zhōngwǔ	dào	yóujú
	midday	reach	post office

'At lunchtime (I) went to the post-office'

declarative + Exclamation sub-prosody

	Exclamation		Predicator	
1.	Āiyā,	jīntiān	máng-si	le!
	oh-dear today	busy die	ASP	

'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

declarative + Polarity sub-prosody (negative)

		Negator	Predicator
30.	Wǒ	bù	zhīdào,
	I	NEG	know

'I didn't know,'

declarative + Polarity sub-prosody (positive)

				Polarity	Predicator
46.	Bù,	bù...	wǒ	shi	shuō
	no	no	I	be	say

'No, no...I *said*"

declarative + Negotiator sub-prosody

			Predicator		Negotiator
13.	càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén'r	ma!
	market	still	open	door	MOD

'the markets would still be open!'

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declarative + rising tone contour

		Predicator			
44.	Nǐ	shuō	45.	wǒ	tǎoyàn?
	you	say		I	annoying

'Did you say I'm annoying?'

interrogative: polar + Exclamation sub-prosody

	Exclamation		Predicator		Negotiator
18.	Ái,	....nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ	jiè-lai	le	ma?
	oh,	that MEAS book you for me	borrow come	ASP	MOD

'Oh, that book..., did you borrow (it) for me?'

interrogative: elemental

		Element		Predicator
20.	Nǐ	zěnme	zhème	jiànwàng?
	you	how	so	forgetful

'How could you be so forgetful?'

interrogative: elemental (no Predicator)

	Element
43.	Shénme?
	what

'What?'

interrogative: elemental + Negator sub-prosody

		Element	Negator		Predicator	
25.	Nǐ	zěnme	bú	zìjǐ	qù	jiè?
	you	how	NEG	self	go	borrow

'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?'

interrogative: elemental, corresponding to statement ("rhetorical question")

	Element	Predicator	
29.	Nǎr	yǒu	shíjiān?
	where	exist	time

'Where would there be the time?'

imperative

			Predicator
62.	Yìhuǐ'r	zài	kàn,
	a-while	further	look

'Look at (them) in a while,'

imperative, Negotiator sub-prosody

			Predicator	Negotiator
37.	Nà	míngtiān	qù jiè	ma!
	well	tomorrow	go borrow	MOD

'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'

Table 2.5: Types of mood prosody in *Memory*

2.2.3 Experiential structure in *Memory*

The discussion so far has taken for granted that the experiential organisation, i.e. the structure defined by the system of TRANSITIVITY, does in fact conform to the traditional constituent structure model, and moreover that this structure always has the clause as its domain. In this section these assumptions will be tested to see whether the traditional constituent model of structure needs to be extended or re-conceived to account for experiential meanings.

The example analysed in section 2.1 above for all four layers of structure, is repeated below, using the different forms of representation put forward so far: the "hairpin" representation of peaks of prominence for the textual structures of THEME and INFORMATION, and the "phrase" representation of prosodies and sub-prosodies for the interpersonal structure of MOOD.

13.

	càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén	ma!
	market	still	open	door	MOD

'the markets would still be open!'
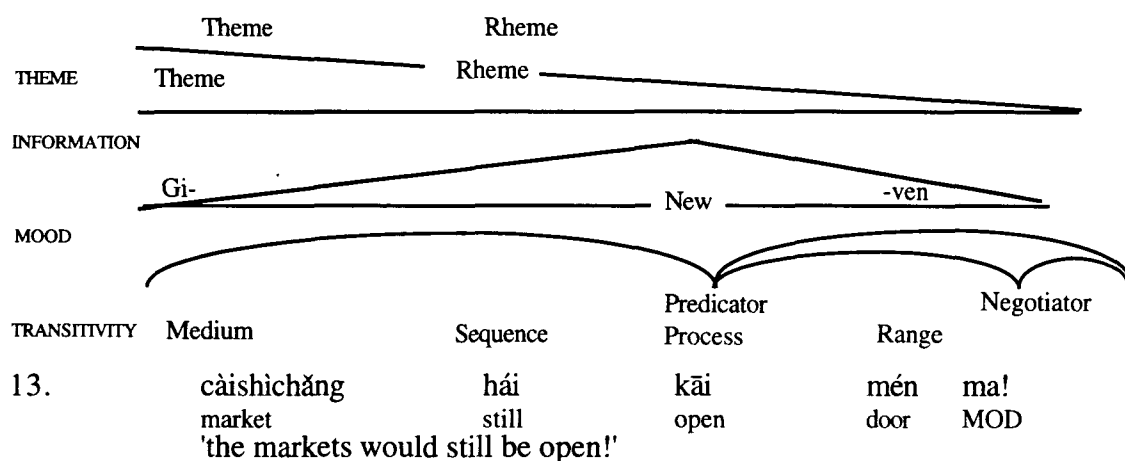
As noted above, all the elements in this clause, apart from the particle *ma*, represent an experiential transitivity function. How then can the experiential structure of this clause be represented? One traditional way would be to use a "tree", with "branches" over each of the elements of structure (cf Matthews 1981: 73-78), each of these branches being labelled for a transitivity function (omitting the non-experiential Negotiator *ma* from the representation), as follows:

13.

Medium	Sequence	Process	Range
càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén
market	still	open	door
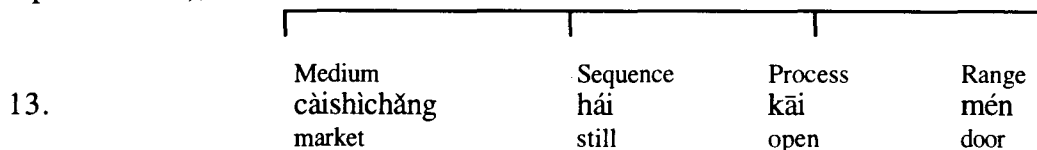
An equivalent representation would be to use a series of "boxes" underneath the clause, with each box labelled to represent a function:

13.

càishìchǎng	hái	kāi	mén
market	still	open	door
Medium	Sequence	Process	Range
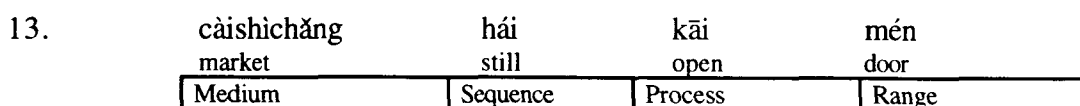
The above representations could also be understood in the light of the conception of rank as showing the clause made up of groups, with each group being labelled according to its function in the clause. In this clause, the analysis given above accounts for all the elements of structure that appear. However, many clauses contain further layers of structure that need to be analysed, not just at clause rank as above - i.e. by identifying the groups which make up the clause - but also at group rank - by identifying the words which make up each group. The analysis of another example in the text, (18) '...that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?', is given here using the terms introduced in section 2.1.1 above (the example has been simplified by leaving out interpersonal elements; in addition the Head of each group has been underlined):

18.

wǒ yào	de	nèi běn	nǐ	gěi	wǒ	jiè	-lai	le
I want	SUB	that MEAS shū book	you	for	I	borrow	come	ASP

clause function	Medium			Agent	Benefit		Process		
group class	nominal			nominal	coverbial		verbal		
	[lclausel]		nominal			nominal			
word class	pron. vb.	part.	dem.meas. noun	pron.	coverb	pron.	verb	postverb	part..

Using the same principles as those applied in analysing the structure at clause rank, group rank structure may also be analysed in terms of the functions of the elements making up each group or phrase, as shown below (for the sake of clarity, their class realisation has been omitted):

18.

wǒ yào	de	nèi běn	nǐ	gěi	wǒ	jiè	-lai	le
I want	SUB	that MEAS shū book	you	for	I	borrow	come	ASP

clause function	Medium		Agent	Benefit		Process		
group function	Descriptor		Deictic^ Measure^ Thing	Thing	minor Process	minor Partic.	Event	Extension

This type of model has been summed up by Halliday as follows (1979: 65-66):

> Experiential meanings are typically realised as elemental structures ... The basic structural mechanism is that of constituency, with larger units constituted out of layered clusters or bracketed strings of smaller units, each part having its own specific function with respect to the whole. The bounded entities that enter into constituent structures with [various] specific

functions...offer a presentation of reality in terms of 'things' - doings by, and happenings to, persons and objects, in the environment of other persons and objects, with yet other persons and objects, and also times and places and so on, as attendant circumstances ... Such elements naturally form constituent like structures which allow us to isolate them and continue to refer to them as discrete entities.

The constituent model does therefore seem suited to the representation of the experiential structures, not only in accounting for the ways elements are grouped together into structures, but also in sorting out the different elements that form our conception of experience, breaking them into their basic core and their various attributes or extensions. When we look at the representation of clause (18) above, there are, however, still two experiential elements left unaccounted for, *de* and *le*, both assigned to the class of particle in section 2.1 above. What then is their experiential function, and how well do they fit into the constituent model just outlined?

In the analysis above, these two words show up as "gaps": in the first case (*de*), a gap extending from group rank downwards; in the second case (*le*), a gap extending from clause rank downwards. *De* was explained in section 2.1 above as marking the special status of the clause elements *wǒ yào* 'I want' in this clause: i.e. they do not directly form part of the clause themselves but are downranked as Descriptor in the group whose Thing is *shū* 'book'. The function of *de* here as linking a Descriptor to a Thing is an example of a more general function known as "subordinating" (Matthews 1981: 78-79, 160-163): i.e. making one element dependent on another in the same nominal group. Another example of this is given below in clause (23), '(I) mentioned (it) when (we) were having breakfast', where the downranked clause *chī zǎofàn* 'eat breakfast' is joined by *de* to the noun *shíhòu* 'time' in a relationship of Descriptor to Thing - i.e. 'the time that (we) ate breakfast = when (we) were having breakfast' - the whole nominal group filling the function of circumstance of Time in the clause:

23.

[l Chī zǎofàn l]		de	shíhòu	shuō
eat breakfast		SUB	time	speak

clause function	Time			Process
group function	Descriptor		Thing	Event

From a constituent point of view then, *de* does not so much have any function in itself, but rather serves to join two group functions together. We might therefore represent it as a link, using an arrow between the two elements it is linking:

18.

[Iwǒ	yào I]	de	nèi	běn	shū...
I	want	SUB	that	MEAS	book

Descriptor		Deictic	Measure	Thing

Note that it is not necessary for the two elements linked by *de* to be directly next to each other, other elements of nominal group structure may come between them, as in the above example.

The function of *le* in clause (18) seems rather different. Semantically it indicates a meaning to do with the completion or non-completion of the experience as a whole (i.e. it realises an option from the experiential system of ASPECT, see section 4.2 below). Given this meaning, it is significant that this particle comes almost at the very end of the clause, just next to the interpersonal particle *ma* which in a similar way indicates a grammatical meaning (that of polar interrogative) which applies to the clause as a whole:

	Medium	Agent	Benefit	Process		
18.	wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,	nǐ	gěi wǒ	jiè -lai	*le*	ma?
	I want SUB that MEAS book	you	for me	borrow come	ASP	MOD

'...that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

The same structural position is occupied by the particle *guo* in (22), which indicates a similar meaning of "over and done with":

	Sayer	Time	Receiver	Process	
22.	nǐ	shénme shíhòu	gēn wǒ	shuō	*guo*?
	you	what time	with I	speak	ASP

'When did you mention (it) to me?'

Particles like *le* and *guo* , which appear at or near the end of the clause, seem comparable to the Negotiator elements of interpersonal structure examined in the previous section, both in their structural positioning and in their meaning which stretches over a whole or part of the clause. We could then model these particles *prosodically* as shown below for clause (71), 'that book you got me to borrow for you, I got (it) for you' (interpersonal functions omitted):

71.

[I nǐ ràng wǒ gěi nǐ jiè I]	de	shū,	wǒ	jiè-hui-lai	le.
you get I for you borrow	SUB	book	I	borrow return come	ASP

Medium		Agent	Process	

The particle *le* also appears in other positions, between a Process and a following participant, as in (9):

	Process		Medium
9.	jì	*le*	yì fēng xìn,
	post	ASP	one MEAS letter

'and posted a letter,'

or between a Process and a following circumstance, as in (72):

	Agent	Process		Time: duration
72.	Túshū-guǎnlǐyuán	zhǎo	*le*	bàntiān...
	library attendant	look-for	ASP	half-day

'The library attendant spent ages looking for (it).'

In these cases, *le* indicates similar meanings of completion, applying not so much to the whole clause, but rather to the Process plus the function immediately following it , i.e. "posted *a letter*', 'looked *for ages*'. In the case of *de* above, the "direction" of the link was from obviously fromDescriptor to Thing, so much so that if the Thing were omitted, it would still be understood; for example:

18'. [Iwǒ yào I] de
      I   want   SUB
      'The one I wanted'

```
┌──────────────┐       ┌──────────────┐
│ Descriptor   │   ───▶│ (Thing)      │
│              │  /    │              │
└──────────────┘       └──────────────┘
```

However, in the caseof *le* there does not seem to be an easy way to model its structural relations with the other experiential elements of the clause. This issue will be raised again in the discussion of verbal group structure in Chapter 4 below, and will therefore not be discussed further at this point. The implications of modelling experiential elements in a non-constituent way raise questions which cannot be dealt with here (similar problems arise in the description of the so-called "experiential auxiliaries" - see sections 4.1.4 and 4.2.2.2 below). At this stage, therefore, I will confine the discussion to the relationships between those experiential elements which are clearly constituent-like, i.e. the functions in the transitivity structure (and more specifically to clause rank). In section 1.4.3 above, the Process was shown to have a special status in the transitivity structure in that it defines the broad experience type and largely determines the kind of other transitivity functions in the clause. This representation might therefore be modified to bring out this feature of experiential structure whereby the other elements of the clause are shown as dependent on the Process (the example below has been simplified by reducing each group to its Head and by omitting the aspect particle):

71.   jiè
                                            borrow
                                    ┌──────────────────┐
                                    │ Process   │
                                    └──────────────────┘

        shū   wǒ
        book   I
    ┌──────────────┬──────────────┐
    │ Medium   │ Agent   │
    └──────────────┴──────────────┘

However, since I showed how in material clauses like (71) above, there was one
particular participant, the Medium, that was almost always present, the representation
might be made more accurate by showing a closer link between the Process and the
Medium:

71.

jiè	shū
borrow	book
Process	Medium

| wǒ |
| I |
| Agent |
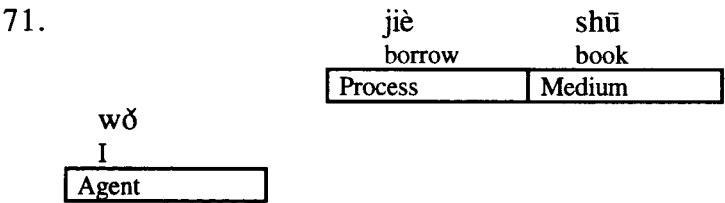
These representations disturb a basic principle that has so far been preserved in modelling
structure: the principle of **linear ordering**. In the textual and interpersonal structures
posited so far, the order in which elements of structure appear is part of the way they are
defined. The textual structures of the message and information units define two "peaks"
of prominence, one at the beginning of the clause, the other normally at or near the end of
the clause. The interpersonal structure of the predication unit is distributed on both sides
of a rough middle point (the Predicator), with other possible sub-prosodies before the
Predicator at the beginning and at the end.

However, when we look at the experiential transitivity structure, there are reasons for
thinking that the linear ordering of its elements is not absolutely definitive for their
recognition. Let's compare the example above with a similar clause from slightly earlier in
the text which represents roughly the same experience, but with the addition of a
circumstance of Benefit *gěi bàba* 'for Dad':

68.

| gěi bàba | jiè | shū. |
| for Dad | borrow | book |

'to borrow a book for Dad.'
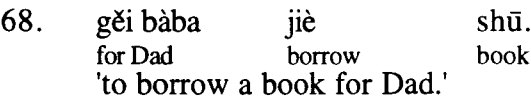
We know from the context here that the person doing the borrowing is in fact Xiaoming,
the speaker (*wǒ* 'I') of the previous clause, so we could supply this missing element as an
ellipsed Agent function and label the full transitivity structure of the clause as follows:

68.

wǒ	gěi bàba	jiè	shū.
I	for Dad	borrow	book
Agent	Benefit	Process	Medium
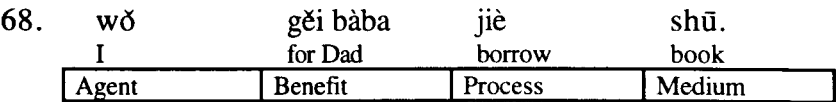
Having done this, we see an almost identical array of functions to clause (71), but in a
different order :

68.

wǒ	gěi bàba	jiè	shū.
I	for Dad	borrow	book
Agent	Benefit	Process	Medium

71.

shū	wǒ	jiè
book	I	borrow
Medium	Agent	Process

71.
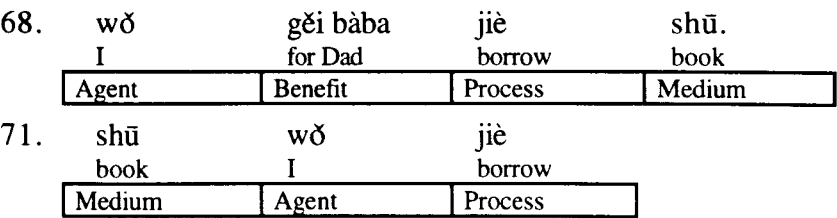
shū	wǒ	jiè
book	I	borrow
Medium	Agent	Process

What is the significance of this difference, and what part, if any, does ordering or position in the clause play in the definition of transitivity functions? Looking at these two clauses more closely, we can see that the order of their elements is not in fact completely different: both contain Agent and Process in that order; however, in (71) the Medium is at the very beginning of the clause, while in (68) the Medium is at the very end of the clause. If we examine other material clauses in the text, we find that the respective transitivity functions are likely to appear in the following order:

- in effective clauses, the Agent is at or near the beginning of the clause, i.e. before the Process, while the Medium may follow the Process, as in (68), or precede it, as in (71)

- in middle clauses, the Medium precedes the Process while the Range follows the Process

- circumstances are either at or near the beginning of the clause, with a few exceptions such as that of Time: duration in (72)

Looking at the other types of clause in this text, we can also observe similar regularities in the order of elements. The overall evidence of this text does therefore suggest that linear ordering is part of the realisation of the functions in the transitivity structure. However it would seem that, for certain functions at least, this order is more flexible than it is for the theme or mood structures (the information structure, being realised phonologically by tonic prominence, is a special case in that it is far more flexible than *any* of the other grammatically realised structures). As a way of understanding the nature of this flexibility of ordering, we could say that the functions in a transitivity structure have a **default** order: that is, a order in which they appear if there is no good reason for a change in that order. This default order may be explained as reflecting an experiential iconicity (cf Dubois 1980); reasons for a change in that order, on the other hand, are usually textual: i.e. they have to do with what is being chosen as Theme and / or New in the clause. It is possible, in fact, to identify a hierarchy of transitivity functions, from those most likely to be chosen as Theme (or New), and therefore the default or "unmarked" choice, to those least likely to do so, and therefore a "marked" choice. This issue will be taken up again in Chapter 3 below; at this stage, it can be noted, for example, that a function whose default ordering is following the Process, i.e. near the end of the clause, is likely to be marked if it occurs as Theme, i.e. near the beginning of the clause.

Up till now the domain of the transitivity structure has been assumed to be the clause, i.e. the unit to which can be assigned a process type. In the discussion of theme, information and mood structures in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 above, I showed that the domain of these structures - message, information and predication units, respectively - did not always coincide with the clauses into which the text had been divided. What we need to explore here is whether what we might call the **experience unit**, i.e. the unit to which we can assign a process type, is always equivalent to a clause, or whether it sometimes fails to match up exactly with the clause. How then the experience unit can be defined? In the description of the transitivity structure in section 1.4.3 above, each experience was defined as centred around a Process, the Process largely determining the type and number of other elements which delimited this experience. If we define the experience unit as a stretch of language containing a single central Process, would we then find that this unit corresponded to a clause? From the evidence of this text, the answer would seem to be: yes, in most cases. The vast majority of what we have marked off as clauses in this text do in fact contain a single Process. Apparent exceptions like that represented by clause (47), 'not having that book is really annoying', have already been explained in section 2.1 above as representing a Process that has been downranked to function as part of a nominal group in another clause with its own Process :

47.

[I méi yǒu	nèi běn shū I]		zhēn	tǎoyàn.
NEG exist	that MEAS book		really	annoying

Carrier			Degree	Process

[I Process	Existent I]			

However there are other examples that can't be explained in this way.For instance, clause (25) below, 'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?' seems to have two candidates for Process and thus two different possibilities for its single participant (the interpersonal functions *bù* 'not' and *zìjǐ* 'self' are omitted from the analysis):

25.

Nǐ	zěnme	bú	zìjǐ	qù	jiè?
you	how	NEG	self	go	borrow

Agent? Medium?	Manner			Process: mat.	Process: mat.

A similar example occurs in (63) below, 'You go and have a wash first', (in this example, the doubling of the second Process *xǐ* 'wash' can be explained as a way of softening the force of the imperative clause, and thus as an interpersonal phenomenon which can be disregarded here):

63.

nǐ	xiān	qù	xǐ	yi xi.
you	first	go	wash	one wash

Medium	Sequence	Process: material	Process: material	

Both of these clauses contain two Processes of the same type, i.e. material, in succession, forming the two "ends" of a single experience: 'go and borrow (the book)' in (25); and 'go and have a wash' in (63). I have already discussed other examples of two processes of different types forming the two ends of a single experience, for example, with the quoting verbal clause in (44-45) 'Did you say I'm annoying?':

44.	Nǐ	shuō	45.	wǒ	tǎoyàn?
	you	say		I	annoying
	Sayer	Process: verbal		Carrier	Process: ascriptive

and with the reporting mental clause in (58-59) 'I was afraid you'd forgotten' (interpersonal functions omitted):

58.	Wǒ	hái	pà	59.	nǐ	wàng	le
	I	still	fear		you	forget	ASP
	Senser	Sequence	Process: mental		Senser	Process: mental	

In these cases, however, as suggested by the numbering, I have recognised two separate clauses [6]. The problem of the ways in which clauses may be joined together - or from another point of view, the relationship between successive experience units in the text - has obvious implications for how we define single clauses: this is an issue I will discuss in sections 2.3.1 and 4.1.5 below. The exact delimitation of the clause would also seem to depend on the sorts of relationships between processes, or to avoid begging the question of how many processes there are in examples like (25) and (63) above, the relationships between successive verbal groups (see section 4.1.1 below). It would thus seem that the experience unit may indeed extend over the boundaries of the clause, but it is uncertain at this stage in exactly what ways.

I will round off this discussion of experiential structure by summing up the nature of the evidence in the text. Table 2.6 below sets out the different examples of experiential structures in this text, defined by: a. process type, i.e. the classification according to the five main Process types and their subtypes; and b. completeness: i.e. the elements actually present.

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1. material	*Medium^Process*	
a. middle: unranged	Medium^Process	(65) Huódòng jiéshù, '(By the time) the activities were over'
	Process (Medium omitted)	(6) huí-lai, '(now that I've) come home,'
	Medium^Process1^Process2	(63) nǐ xiān qù xǐ yi xi. 'go and have a wash first.'
b. ranged: ranged	*Medium^Process^Range*	
	Medium^Process^Range	(13) càishìchǎng hái kāi mén...! 'the markets would still be open!'
	Process^Range (Medium omitted)	(3) shàng bān 'going to work,'
	Process^Aspect^Range (Medium omitted)	(15) xià le bān 'Having finished work,'
	Process^Range^Aspect (Medium omitted)	(50) Shàng nǎr le? 'Where have (you) been?'
b. effective	*Agent^Process^Medium*	
	Process^Medium (Agent omitted)	(68) gěi bàba jiè shū. 'to borrow a book for Dad.'
	Agent^Process (Medium omitted)	(40) Wǒ jīntiān wǎnshang yào yòng. 'I need to use (it) this evening.'
	Process^Aspect^Medium (Agent omitted)	(9) jì le yì fēng xìn 'and posted a letter,'
	Agent^Process1^Process2 (Medium omitted)	(25) Nǐ zěnme bú zìjǐ qù jiè? 'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?'
	Medium^Agent^Process^ Aspect	(18) ...wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ jiè-lai le...? '...that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'
	Agent^Process^Aspect (Medium omitted)	(72) Túshū-guǎnlǐyuán zhǎo le bàntiān... 'The library attendant spent ages looking for (it).'
2. ascriptive	*Carrier^Process*	
	Carrier^Process	(20) Nǐ zěnme zhème jiànwàng? 'How could you be so forgetful?'
	Process (Carrier omitted)	(51) Zěnme zhème wǎn...? 'Why are (you) so late?'
	Process^Range (Carrier omitted)	(2) ... máng shénme...? '...what have (you) been busy with?'
	Process^Aspect (Carrier omitted)	(57) ... tài hǎo le! '...great!'

Process type	*template* / actual structure	example
3. relational a. locational	*Existent^Process^Location* Process^Location (Existent omitted)	 (60) Zài nǎr? 'Where are (they)?'
b. existential	*Location^Process^Existent* Location^Process^Existent Process^Existent (Location omitted)	 (29) Nǎr yǒu shíjiān? 'Where would there have been the time?' (54) hài yǒu kèwài huódòng. '(I) had after-class activities.'
c. identifying	*Identified^Process^Identifier* Identified^Identifier (Process omitted) Identifier^Aspect (Identified, Process omitted)	 (52) Jīntiān xīngqīliù, 'Today's Saturday,' (66) yǐjīng wǔ diǎn le, '(it) was already five o'clock,'
4. mental a. phenomenal	*Senser^Process^Phenomenon* Process^Phenomenon Process^Phenomenon (Senser omitted)	 (55) Qiáo nǐ mǎn-tóu-dà-hàn...! 'Look at you all covered in sweat!' (24) Wǒ méi tīng-jian... 'I didn't hear...'
b. reporting	*Senser^Process^[reported clause]* Senser^Process^[reported clause]	 (58-59) Wǒ hái pà nǐ wàng le... 'I was afraid you'd forgotten.'
5. verbal a. received	*Sayer^Receiver^Process* Sayer^Receiver^Process Sayer^Receiver^Process^Aspect	 (31) nǐ méi gēn wǒ shuō. 'you didn't tell me.' (22) nǐ shénme shíhòu gēn wǒ shuō guo? 'When did you mention (it) to me?'
b. verbalised	*Sayer^Process^Verbiage* Process^Aspect^Verbiage (Sayer omitted)	 33. jiù tí-qi guo zhè shìr. '(I) mentioned this matter.'
c. quoting	*Sayer^Process^[quoted clause]* Sayer^Process^[quoted clause] Process^[quoted clause] (Sayer omitted)	 (44-45) Nǐ shuō wǒ tǎoyàn? 'Did you say I'm annoying' (74-75) Hái shuō wǒ jiànwàng... 'And (you) say I'm forgetful!'

Table 2.6: Types of transitivity structures in *Memory*

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The default order in each type of clause is represented by a "template" or general pattern; functions in this template that are lacking in actual examples are noted in parentheses. For the sake of clarity, I will ignore the contribution made by circumstances, since they are not definitive in assigning a process type to a clause; I will however include such elements as aspect particles, since their contribution to the transitivity structure has not yet been fully explained (see section 4.2.2.1 below).

This table gives a good idea of the range of variation in ordering, and in presence / absence of particular functions, that is characteristic of experiential structure. Unfortunately, a full explanation of these patterns would go beyond the range of the present study. However, it may be noted that both non-default ordering (as mentioned above) and ellipsis are textually motivated: i.e. they have to do with what is chosen as Theme (see section 1.2.3 above), and what is presumed information (section 1.2.2).

2.3   Clauses in text

So far I have identified different types of grammatical structure corresponding to the textual, interpersonal and experiential systems of the clause (which includes the tone group in the default case - see section 2.2.1 above): culminative structures expressing textual systems, prosodic structures expressing interpersonal systems, and constituent structures expressing experiential systems. The initial description of these different functional structures in Chapter 1, in terms of their component functions, was based on the assumption that these structures jointly defined the structure of the clause. However, closer analysis showed that each different functional system defined its own unit of scope - the textual systems of THEME and INFORMATION defining the message unit and the information unit respectively, the interpersonal system of MOOD defining the predication unit, and the experiential system of TRANSITIVITY defining the experience unit. Only in the case of the message unit could the unit of structure always be equated with the boundaries of the clause, the other functional units only having a reasonable likelihood of coinciding with the clause.

It is thus possible to see the clauses into which the text was initially divided, and according to which the description has been carried out so far, as a sort of analytical compromise between the different functional units of message, information, predication and experience (cf Matthiessen 1988). In other words, rather than taking the clause as the basic unit of grammatical structure, we can reconceptualise it, via the more abstract concept of *clause rank*, as the level of grammatical organisation at which various

grammatical systems are realised. Such a conception of clause treats it as the scope of realisation of systemic options rather than as a fixed structural unit. From the point of view of the text as a whole, therefore, the clause can be seen as a unit with shifting boundaries, acting as the common denominator of the different functional units, with which it is sometimes "in phase", i.e. when the boundaries of all the functional units coincide with each other, and sometimes "out of phase", i.e. when one or more of the functional units does not coincide with the others.

In this section I will show how the clause rank structures defined so far come together in text. This will be done from two points of view. Firstly I will examine how clauses join together in text: or from the opposite point of view, how the boundaries between functional units in running text can be delimited. This will involve positing another type of functional structure - the **logical** - that is concerned with relations between units. Secondly I will show how the four types of structure - textual, interpersonal, experiential and logical - interact in realising grammatical, and ultimately semantic, systems through the text.

2.3.1 Relationships between clauses: logical structure in *Memory*

As I pointed out in sections 1.3.2 and 2.2.2 above, much of the momentum in a dialogic text like *Memory* is generated by the exchange aspect of the text, i.e. by the roles the speakers take on with regard to each other. Many of the individual moves in this exchange are realised by single clauses, so if we examine the text from the point of view of the relationship between its clauses, we will find that in many cases they are realising related initiating and responding moves such as question and answer, or command and undertaking. This kind of relationship between clauses is shown in the initial exchange between Mum and Dad over who borrowed the book, with each clause analysed for its exchange type, speech function and mood type:

initiating, question, interrogative: polar
D:18. Ái, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,   nǐ   gěi wǒ jiè-lai   le   ma?
       oh, I want SUB that MEAS book you   for me borrow come   ASP   MOD
       'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

responding, question, interrogative: elemental
M:19. Shénme?   shénme shū?
       what   what book
       'What? What book?'

initiating, exclamation, interrogative: polar
D:20. Nǐ   zěnme zhème jiànwàng?
       you   how   so   forgetful
       'How could you be so forgetful?'

responding, question, declarative
M:21. Jiànwàng?
    forgetful
    'Forgetful?'

Now while this exchange does not proceed as expected - which is of course the whole point of the text - there is nevertheless a definite sense of progression from clause to clause, and this progression can be neatly captured by the exchange analysis. Let's now compare part of the exchange following on from this:

initiating, question, interrogative: elemental
M:25. Nǐ   zěnme bú   zìjǐ   qù   jiè?
    you   how   NEG self   go   borrow
    'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?'

responding, statement, declarative
D:26. Wǒ   shàngwǔ   shàng bān,
    I   morning   go-to work
    'In the morning I went to work,'

responding, statement, declarative
27.   zhōngwǔ   péi   wàiguó   kèhù,
    midday   escort foreign client
    'At lunchtime (I had to) look after a foreign client,'

responding, statement, declarative
28.   xiàwǔ   kāi   huì...
    afternoon   hold   meeting
    'In the afternoon (I) had a meeting...'

initiating, statement, interrogative: elemental
29.   Nǎr   yǒu   shíjiān?
    where exist time
    'Where would (I) have had the time?'

In terms of its exchange organisation, Dad's reply to Mum's question in (25) falls into clear two parts: a series of statements (26-28) and then a clinching rhetorical question in (29). While from an exchange point of view, therefore, clauses (26-28) form a block, they are also internally related as actions in chronological succession, clearly indicated by the circumstance of Time in each clause, *shàngwǔ* 'in the morning', *zhōngwǔ* 'at lunchtime', *xiàwǔ* 'in the afternoon'. The exchange analysis cannot capture these sorts of relations between clauses.

Near the beginning of the text, Mum produces a similar series of statements in answer to Dad's question about her day. Again from an exchange point of view, these clauses (3-11) are completely homogeneous, all statements realised by declarative clauses. In terms of the relationships between the clauses, however, they show interesting differences. The first five clauses, as given below, form a sort of list, a summary of the working day:

3.   Āiyō, shàng bān
    oh   go-to work
    'Oh, going to work,'

4. xià bān,
    finish work
    'finishing work,'

5. mǎi cài;
    buy food
    going shopping,'

6. huí-lai,
    return come
    '(when I) come home,'

7. hái   děi   zuò fàn.
    still must   cook meal
    '(I) still have to do the cooking.'

From the wording of the clauses, arranged in a rough time sequence, it is not possible to tell whether they refer to these actions in general terms, i.e. 'going to work, finishing work' etc, or to specific actions on that day, i.e. '(I) went to work, (I) finished work' etc. There is a difference between them, however, in that the first three clauses (3-5) are only loosely linked while the last two (6-7) seem more closely related, in that the action in (6) is a necessary precursor to that in (7). In addition, this final clause is explicitly marked as coming at the end of the sequence of actions by the Sequence function *hái* 'still' (cf Lü 1980: 222), which here has an implication something like "do this, do this, do this, and *then* do this".

Clauses (8-11), in contrast, clearly refer to actions at a specific time, since the first of this series (8) contains a circumstance of Time *zhōngwǔ* 'at lunchtime', which by Theme ellipsis, can be taken as also applying to the following clauses. The sequence is again concluded with a Sequence element *hái* 'still' in the final clause:

8. Zhōngwǔ   dào   yóujú
    midday   reach   post office
    'At lunchtime (I) went to the post-office

9. jì   le   yì fēng xìn,
    post ASP   one MEAS letter
    'and posted a letter,'

10. jīngguò càishìchǎng,
    pass-by market
    '(and as I) went past the markets,'

11. hái mǎi le   diǎn'r cài.
    still buy ASP   little food
    '(I) did some more shopping.'

In this case, the sequence of actions divides into two pairs, the second clause of each pair indicating actions which take place at the destination specified in the first clause. The Process of the second clause of each pair is also followed by the particle *le* indicating a completed action. The implications of this type of experiential marking in the unit were discussed briefly in section 2.2.3 above; from the point of view of the relationships

between these clauses, it may be regarded as emphasising the second clause of each pair as following in time. (The meaning indicated by *le* also has to do with the nature of the following participant - see discussion of the ASPECT system in section 4.2 below).

Dad's response to this contains two actions in chronological order:

12. Hài,   xiàwǔ   xià bān   yǐhòu,
      hey   afternoon   finish work   after
      'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

13. càishìchǎng   hái   kāi mén   ma!
      market   still   open door   MOD
      'the markets would still be open!'

In this case the action in the first clause is explicitly marked as happening before that in the second by the conjunction *yǐhòu* 'after' at the end of the clause, while the action of the second clause is further represented as continuing on after the first action by the Sequence element *hái* 'still'. After Mum rebuffs the implication behind this (i.e. that she would have had time after work to carry out the actions she already described), she then goes on to detail the further actions she *did* perform after work:

15. xià   le   bān
      finish   ASP   work
      'Having finished work,'

16. wǒ   hái děi   qù   bǎihuòdàlóu
      I   still must   go   department store
      'I still had to go to the department store'

17. gěi Xiǎomíng   mǎi qiúxié.
      for Xiaoming   buy sandshoe
      'to buy sandshoes for Xiaoming.'

These actions are again presented in chronological order, but with some interesting differences between them. The first of the sequence (15) is marked by the particle *le*, emphasising it as having been completed before the others, i.e. as a precursor to the following actions. The second of the sequence (16) is marked by the Sequence element *hái* 'still' as appearing at the end of a series of actions. The third (17) while obviously coming after the second in time, is also related to it as representing the purpose for which the action in (16) was carried out.

The relationships between clauses and the ways in which they are expressed in this part of the text could be summarised as follows:

a.   order of clauses represents sequence in time, first to last (3-5);

b.   order of clauses represents sequence in time, first to last, reinforced by circumstances of time in each clause (26-28);

c.   order of clauses represents sequence in time, first to last, preceding clause
expresses necessary precursor to following clause, last in sequence marked by
Sequence element and / or aspect particle (6-7), (10-11);

d.   order of clauses represents sequence in time, first to last, preceding clause marked
by conjunction as happening before following clause (12-13), or completed before
following clause (15-16);

e.   order of clauses represents sequence in time, first to last, following clause
understood as purpose for which action in preceding clause performed (16-17).

If we look through the rest of the text, we find two further types:

f.   order of clauses represents sequence in time, first to last, reinforced by paired
Sequence elements in each clause (highlighted in italics), as in the following
example:

32.   Zǎoshang   *yī*   qǐ chuáng
       early-morning   once   rise bed
       'First thing this morning as soon as (I) got up,'

33.   *jiù*   tí -   qi   guo   zhè jiàn shì'r.
       (I) then   mention up   ASP   this MEAS matter
       'I mentioned this matter.'

g.   order of clauses represents reverse sequence in time, last to first, order indicated
by paired Sequence elements in each clause; for example:

M:62.   Yìhuǐ'r   *zài*   kàn,
       a-while   further   look
       'Look at (them) in a while,'

63.   nǐ   *xiān*   qù   xǐ   yi xi.
       you   first   go   wash   one wash
       'go and have a wash first.'

The nature of the relationships between clauses seems to be of quite a different kind from
the relationships within each clause. Successive clauses are added to each other as steps
in an unfolding series, linked to each other more or less closely. For example, clauses (3-
5) simply follow each other, with the relationship between them - whether one of items
on a list, or actions in a sequence, or perhaps both at once - left quite implicit. We could
symbolise this using a simple number notation, to indicate that it is the sequence that
defines the relationships between the clauses: e.g.

3.   Āiyō,   shàng bān   1
       oh   go-to work
       'Oh, going to work,'

4.   xià bān,   2
       finish work
       'finishing work,'

5.   mǎi cài;   3
        buy food
        going shopping,'

In contrast, clauses (12-13) are relatively closely bound together, in that the first is
marked by the conjunction *yǐhòu* 'after' which sets up an expectation of something to
follow, as well as indicating the relative sequence of the two. In this case, therefore, there
is a tension between the sequence in time, from first to last, and the "direction" of
interdependency, with the second clause being what the first clause is depending on. We
could symbolise this with a Greek letter notation, where the first letter of the alphabet, i.e.
α, represents the clause to which the other is directed, with the other letters of the
alphabet representing depending clauses: e.g.

12.   Hài,   xiàwǔ   xià bān   yǐhòu, β
        hey   afternoon   finish work   after
        'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

13.   càishìchǎng   hái   kāi mén'r   ma! α
        market   still   open door   MOD
        'the markets would still be open!'

We can generalise the relationships between clauses in this text as forming **logical**
structures. Logical structures in this sense (cf Halliday 1994: 179 "language as the
expression of certain very logical relations") may be understood as characterising
relationships between units, rather than between elements within a particular unit. The
scope of logical structure is thus a combination of at least two clauses, what is known as
a **clause complex** (Halliday 1994: 215). The clause complex is not a closed structure
made up of clauses, i.e. it is not the whole of which clauses are the parts, but rather an
open-ended structure through which clauses form different kinds of relationships with
each other (cf Martin 1997). The relationships defining clause complexes involve two
kinds of variable (adapted from Halliday 1994: Ch.7; Ouyang 1986):

1. the general meaning, or **semantic**, relationship between clauses, e.g. succession in
    time, items on a list, which can be generalised as relationships of **expansion**, i.e.
    successive clauses expand on the meaning of the initial clause in various ways

2. the degree of closeness between clauses, e.g. either loosely linked in sequence, or
    with one clause leading on to another clause, generalised as the degree of
    interdependency between clauses, i.e. whether they are the initial clause is
    dependent on the following clause, symbolised by the Greek letters β, α, or
    whether the following clauses are merely **continuing** the preceding clause,
    symbolised as *1, 2* ...

If we go on to look at a part of the text which is concerned not with narrating happenings but arguing about the interactants' understanding of each other's words. This part of the text was analysed in terms of the speech functions of its moves in section 2.2.2 above; this analysis is repeated below:

D:42.	Ài,	zhēn	tǎoyàn!		exclamation
	oh-dear	really	annoying		
	'Oh, how annoying!'				

M:43.	Shénme?			question
	what			
	'What?'			

44.	Nǐ	shuō	45.	wǒ	tǎoyàn?		question
	you	say		I	annoying		
	'Did you say I'm annoying?'						

D:46.a	Bù,	bù...		statement
	no	no		
	'No, no...'			

46.b	wǒ shi shuō	47.	[I méi yǒu nèi běn shū I] zhēn tǎoyàn.	statement
	I be say		NEG exist that MEAS book really annoying	
	'I *said* not having that book is really annoying.'			

From this analysis, it can be seen that the pairs of clauses (44-45) and (46b-47) each represent a single move. The relationship between the clauses within each pair was explained in section 1.4.3.2.5 above as one of the first clause, a verbal clause, quoting the second one, an ascriptive clause. What Mum is doing here, then, is representing as speech (the verbal clause) what she thinks is Dad's summary of her (the ascriptive clause). In this case, of course, she misrepresents what Dad actually meant, and so he counters, in (46b-47), with his own representation of what he meant to say. A similar example occurs later in the text, after Mum tells Xiaoming she has bought the sandshoes for him. In a similar double clause move in (58-59), Xiaoming uses a mental clause to report what he himself thought, represented by another mental clause:

58.	Wǒ	hái	pà	59.	nǐ	wàng	le	ne.	statement
	I	still	fear		you	forget	ASP	MOD	
	'I was afraid'				'you'd forgotten.'				

Verbal and mental clauses seem to be linked to following clauses in different ways from material clauses. Another experience, expressed by the following clause, is represented not as an experience in itself but rather reconceived of as something said, or something thought. We could generalise these semantic relationships, traditionally expressed in terms of "direct / indirect speech", as ones of **projection**, whereby the mental or verbal clause *projects* another experience *through* itself. A relationship of projection represents a rendering of what is said or thought rather than a mere recording. This is shown very clearly in the initial verbal examples in (44-45) and (46b-47) where Dad never actually

said either what Mum represents him as saying or, for that matter, what he re-represents himself as saying. Likewise in the mental example in (58-59) Xiaoming has no direct access to his mother's mental state, and in any case his representation has just been proved wrong by events.

In the case of clauses related by projection, unlike clauses related by expansion, there is no obvious distinction in the degree of interdependency. The projecting clause, i.e. the verbal or mental clause, precedes the projected clause, but there is no other explicit marker of the relationship between them. (This means that, paradoxically, the relationship between them would have to be regarded as a depending one, since the only way the projected clause is interpreted as such is by its relationship to the projecting clause - see further discussion in section 3.1.4 below). In this case since it is the initial clause that defines the status of the following clause as something said or thought, we may regard it as primary, using the first letter of the Roman alphabet, i.e. *a*, to symbolise the projecting clause, with the projected clause symbolised with the following letter of the alphabet, i.e. *b*: e.g.

58. Wǒ   hái   pà   a
    I   still fear
    'I was afraid'

59. nǐ   wàng   le   ne.   b
    you   forget ASP   MOD
    'you'd forgotten.'

Clauses containing other process types also form links with other clauses. Ascriptive clauses, as explained in section 1.4.3.2.2 above, commonly represent a summary of a situation, i.e. a number of separate actions, as is the case with the ascriptive clauses (1) and (2) at the very beginning of the text, which contain the Process *máng* 'be busy' and followed by a series of material clauses, detailing the nature of this "busyness". Due to their summarising function, most of the ascriptive clauses in this text stand alone, are relatively self-contained, and do not link following clauses to them. The only cases in which they do form clause complexes is as projected clauses following a projecting verbal clause, as in (44-45) above.

The relational clauses in the text also enter into clause complexes related through expansion, usually with material clauses. In the following example, the first clause in the clause complex, (52), is a relational one that defines the context for the following clauses, i.e. that today is the last day of the school week. The sequence which this initiates divides into two different types of succession: firstly an implicit one of explanation between (52) and (53-54) - i.e. because it's the last day of the week, there are these activities; and

secondly an explicit succession in time between (53) and (54), which is indicated, like the clause complex (15-16) above, by the Process in (53) being marked as completed, and therefore as a precursor of the Process in (54). This second relationship is **nested** (Halliday 1994: 218) inside the first, and can be represented as follows:

X:52. Jīntiān xīngqīliù,   1
      today   Saturday
      'Today's Saturday,'

53.   xià   le   kè   2   β
      finish ASP   class
      'when (I) finished class'

54.   hái   yǒu   kèwài   huódòng.   α
      still   exist class-outside activity
      '(I) had after-class activities.'

We can also note that, while mental and verbal clauses are commonly joined to following clauses by relationships of projection, this is not always the case. Take for example clauses (30-31):

30.   Wǒ   bù   zhīdào,   1
      I   NEG   know
      'I didn't know,'

31.   nǐ   méi   gēn wǒ   shuō.   2
      you NEG:perf with I   speak
      'you didn't tell me.'

In this clause complex (made up of a mental clause followed by a verbal clause), the relationship between the two clauses is not one of projection but rather of expansion: in this case the second clause restates the situation implied by the first, but from a different point of view.

The relationships in clause complexes in the text, that is, in clauses which are part of a single move by the same speaker, can be summed up as the system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS, given in Fig. 2.7 below. As pointed out above, the logical structure defined by this system applies not to a unit, like the other functional structures, but to relationships between units. The entry condition of this system is therefore not a clause, or even a clause complex, but rather the clause **nexus** (Latin 'joining' - cf Halliday 1994: 218), in other words, the link between one clause and one or more following clauses. The fact that this kind of link is open-ended is represented by the fact that this system contains not only the choices between [expansion] *or* [projection] and within [expansion] between [continuing] *or* [dependent] but another choice between [finish], i.e. making no more choices *or* [repeat], i.e. go back into the system again. This "recycling" choice captures the open-ended, or **recursive** nature (Halliday 1979: 74) of logical structure.
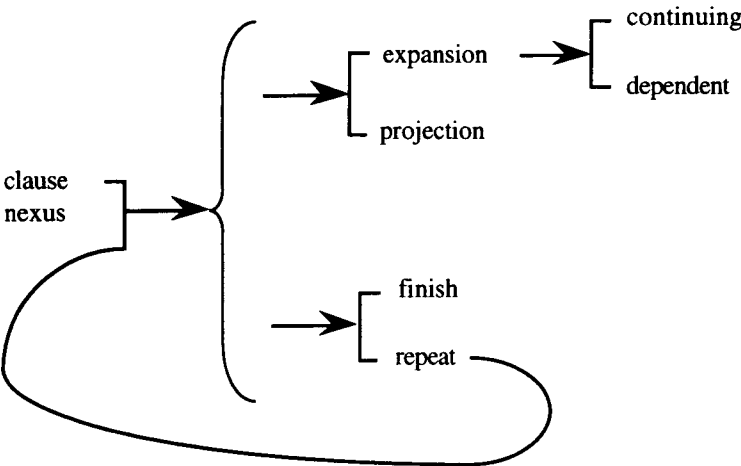
Figure 2.7:   The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Memory*

2.3.2 The relationship between different kinds of function structure in *Memory*

In section 2.3 above I suggested that the clause as a grammatical unit could be regarded as a compromise between the different functional units of message, information, predication and experience. In the previous section I identified some of the possible relationships between clauses through the concept of a clause nexus, or link between clauses. In this section I will bring together all these different types of analysis and show how they interact in the text.

In order to do this, I will examine the final section of the text, clauses (48-75), starting from where Xiaoming joins the dialogue, by analysing it progressively, i.e. as developing text. In order to simplify the discussion, I will concentrate on identifying where the different units do not coincide with each other, and explain why they are out of phase with reference to the progression of the text. Table 2.7 below sums up this analysis. Each clause is analysed for each kind of function structure, as represented by the relevant units of message, information, predication, experience, and, if relevant, the clause nexus. The unit is represented in the table by a single box with its main function, symbolised *T* for Theme, *N* for New, *Pred.* for Predicator and *Proc.* for Process, with ellipsed functions indicated in parentheses; a clause nexus is represented by the number and letter notation. Units absent in a particular clause are indicated by shading. If a single clause contains more than one main function, this is indicated by repeating the symbol; if more than one clause corresponds to a single unit this is indicated by placing the symbol

for the functionin only one of the relevant clauses - an embedded Process is indicated [|Proc.|].

clause unit	textual message	information	interpersonal predication	experiential experience	logical nexus
49.		N N	move		
50.	(T)	N	Pred.	Proc.	
51.	(T)	N	Pred.	Proc.	
52.	T	N	Pred.	Proc.	1
53.	(T)		Pred.	Proc.	2 β
54.	(T)	N	Pred.	Proc.	α
55.	T	N N	Pred.	Proc.	
56.	T	N	Pred.	[|Proc.|] Proc	
57.	T:i	N	Pred.	Proc.	
58.	T		Pred.	Proc.	a
59.	T	N		Proc.	b
60.	(T)	N	Pred.	Proc.	
61.	__	N	Pred.	Proc.	
62.	(T)	N	Pred.	Proc.	β
63.	T	N	Pred.	Proc. Proc.	α
64.		N	move		
65.	T		Pred.	Proc.	1 β
66.	T	N	(Pred.)	Proc.	α
67.	T		Pred.	Proc.	2 1
68.	(T)	N	Pred.	Proc.	2
69.		N	move		
70.	(T)	N	(Pred.)		
71.	T	N N	Pred.	[|Proc.|] Proc	
72.	T	N	Pred.	Proc.	
73.		N	move		
74.	(T)		Pred.	Proc.	a
75.	T	N		Proc.	b

Table 2.7:   The interaction of the different function structures in a section of *Memory*

This extract starts with a preparatory move by Xiaoming addressing his parents (49), the function of which is simply to open the conversation without making a full predication: it

therefore corresponds to none of the other functional units, except for the information unit, with two News, his parent's titles *Bà* 'Dad', *Mā* 'Mum'. Mum then makes an initiating move in two questions addressed to Xiaoming about his goings on (50-51), both linked by ellipsis of the Theme *nǐ* 'you'. Xiaoming's reply links three clauses together, with (52) and (53-54) in a continuing relation of expansion setting out the reasons for his lateness, and (53) and (54) in a dependent relation of expansion relating the finishing of class to the activities. This dependent relation is reinforced by being presented as a single information unit, with New *huódòng* 'activities'. Mum's reaction to this (55) is an exclamation at his appearance, emphasised by being broken up into two information units, with News *qiáo (nǐ)* 'look (at you)', and *(mǎn-tóu) dà hàn* '(covered in) sweat'.

Mum then goes on to an initiating move telling Xiaoming about his sandshoes (56); this corresponds to a single experience unit with downranked clause, a past experience *nǐ yǎo de* '(that) you wanted', functioning as Descriptor to the Head *qiúxié* 'sandshoes'. Xiaoming's reaction starts with an exclamation (57) containing only an interpersonal Theme *āiyā* 'oh'. This is followed by a single move (58-59) expressing his (mistaken) expectation that Mum wouldn't have bought the shoes, expressed in two clauses related by projection, and presented as a single information unit with New *wàng le* 'forgotten'. Xiaoming goes on to a double initiating move (60-61) in two clauses asking about the 'sandshoes', present by ellipsis in the Theme of (60) and the Rheme of (61). Mum's reply is a pair of commands (62-63) in a relationship of expansion in reverse succession in time, the order indicated by the Sequence elements *zài* 'later' (62) and *xiān* 'first' (63). Xiaoming responds in a move simply acknowledging that he has heard her command, one which, like (49), corresponds only to a single information unit but to none of the other functional units.

Xiaoming continues with his account of his afternoon's doings, in a double clause complex (65-66) and (67-68) linked by expansion, indicating succession in time ... *jiéshù* '(after)..(the activities) were over', *wǔ diǎn le* 'it was five o'clock', *hái qù le* '(I) then went...' *jiè shū* 'to borrow a book'. The first two clauses (65) and (66) are linked by dependent expansion, presented as a single information unit with the time *wǔ diǎn* 'five o'clock' as New; the second two clauses linked by continuing expansion indicating purpose, also presented as a single information unit with the New the whole object of his actions *(jiè) shū* '(to borrow) a book'. Dad's responding move to this in (69), *ó* 'oh', is simply an incredulous exclamation not corresponding to any other functional units; Mum is slightly more active in (70) asking a question in a clause with Predicator ellipsed, i.e. *shénme* 'what'. Xiaoming's reply in (71) rephrases his report, presenting it as two

information units, with New addressing his father, *Bà* 'Dad', and emphasising that he has the book, *jiè-hui -lai le* 'borrowed'. This clause also sums up the previous experience, now revealed, that *nǐ ràng wǒ gěi nǐ jiè* 'you [i.e. Dad] got me to borrow for you' as a downranked clause functioning as Descriptor to the Head *shū* 'book'. Xiaoming then adds some further information in (72), presenting as New the length of time it took to find the book, *bàntiān* 'for ages'. Dad in reply (73) can only manage a responding move, a simple reaction like his former move *ò* 'oh' in (69), and it is left to Mum to point out the moral in a single move (74-75), linked by a relationship of projection, presented as a single information unit with the New as a repetition of Dad's earlier unjustified accusation *jiànwàng* 'forgetful'.

The analysis above shows how the speakers exploit the potential of the different function units to move the text forward, sometimes using them in concert with each other, sometimes in opposition to each other. This type of multifunctional analysis can thus enable us to first pick apart the different strands of meaning in a text, assign them to their units of scope, and then bring them together them to show how the text as a whole is a combination of these functional patterns, organised to respond to the pressures of the situation in which the speakers are operating.

Chapter 3: Text data and grammatical description: a system-based approach

3.0 The text under description and its grammatical categories

In the first chapter, I approached the description of the clauses in a Chinese text by way of the cotext of the text as a whole, explaining the organisation of both clause and text as related in three different functional ways to the context of situation in which the text was situated. In theoretical terms, what I did was examine the organisation at the stratum of lexicogrammar as related to the organisation at the stratum of discourse-semantics; that is, according to a model which saw language as **stratified**, i.e. distributed across strata of different degrees of abstraction, i.e. lexicogrammar (wordings) and discourse-semantics (meanings), corresponding to units of different scope, i.e. clause and text, respectively.

So far I have relied on a single text to build up this description of clause grammar in Chinese. The data has been deliberately limited in this way in order to make it exactly clear what the description was setting out to account for, in much the same way as Halliday's (1959) study of fourteenth century Mandarin Chinese is based on the description of a single written text. Such an approach also brings into focus the process of building up a description from scratch. Grammatical descriptions of languages are, theoretically, built up on the basis of a range of texts, but the connection between the form of the description and the nature and availability of the data is often lost sight of.

It is this connection that I would like to re-emphasise here by showing how two different texts may call for two different descriptive systems. In other words, having already related the grammatical systems of the clause to the semantic systems of the text, i.e. in a stratified way, I would now like to focus on how these systems are **instantiated** in different texts. We thus need to expand the notion of **system** from simply representing "a collection of options stemming from a point of choice" (as defined in section 1.2.2 above) to being something that captures the potential range of choices open at a particular stratum in the language, with clauses in text representing how those choices are instantiated.

Thus in describing the organisation of the sample of the Chinese language that is the text *Memory*, two continua were taken into account. The first continuum was that of **stratification**, i.e. from abstract to concrete, from meaning (semantics) as the most abstract to sound (phonology) as the most concrete, with wording (lexicogrammar) being intermediate in abstraction between the two: this was the continuum along which the

description in the first chapter proceeded. The second continuum was that of **instantiation**, i.e. from potential to actual. In the first chapter the continuum of instantiation was continually being traversed in setting up semantic and grammatical systems based on observed patterns in the text, i.e. by deriving the potential from the actual.

The description of *Memory* in the previous chapter and the earlier sections of this chapter made use of both of these continua in a multivalent way to characterise equally the patterns of the language and the shape of the description. This multivalence is underscored by the often noted systematic ambiguity of the English terms for the different strata of language (Halliday 1984). Thus in ordinary usage the term "semantics" refers both to the stratum of meaning in language and the study of that stratum, while "grammar" takes in both the stratum of wording and the description of that stratum. This ambiguity is picked apart in the equivalent Chinese terms: *yǔyì* "language meaning" is reserved specifically for the stratum of semantics, with *yǔyìxué* (with *xué* "study") as the corresponding study; similarly with *yǔfǎ* "language rules" for the stratum of grammar and *yǔfǎxué* for its study - what Halliday (1984, 1993) has renamed "grammatics".

The distinction between the organisation of the language system itself and the organisation of the description set up to account for that system is one that is often glossed over. In the initial stage of the present study, this distinction could for all intents and purposes be ignored, because the latter was explicitly and exclusively derived from the former; in other words, every feature in the description was related to observable patterns in the text. However this procedure represented, in effect, a descriptive fiction, which now needs to be deconstructed. I will do this by focussing on the relationship between the system as potential and the text as actual, and showing how from a different actual, i.e. a different text, we can derive a different potential, and that this has significant implications for the status of the description itself.

3.1 Extending the description: the comparison of different texts

In the process of positing descriptive categories for a text, analysts of language make decisions based on the available data. In so doing, they tend to move, descriptively, from the system that is presumed to lie behind patterns observed in the data to the data itself. Thus the system is set up as the ideal, the language *in toto*, and the data as a realisation, at best partial, at worst erroneous (cf Chomsky's dismissive definition of linguistic "performance" in contrast to "competence" which is the primary concern of linguistics [1],

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[1] He writes 'linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-hearer in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly, and is unaffected by such

1965: 3) of that ideal. If, however, we make the opposite descriptive move from a particular set of instances, i.e. a text, to the system lying behind that text, then it becomes obvious that different sets of instances will produce different systems. If we also recognise that the systems according to which the language is organised and which enable it to function semiotically in a wide range of contexts are primary, while the systems set up by the analyst to account for those systems and which have a much more limited range of application are secondary, then we must also admit that there is likely to be a "lack of fit" between the two kinds of system. In other words, the descriptive system posited by the analyst, far from being the ideal to which the data fails to match up, is in fact only a partial approximation of the potential lying behind the actual of a particular text or body of texts.

In the following sections, these issues will be addressed by comparing the grammatical description of the original text, the dialogue *Memory*, with that of a number of other texts: contrasting its textual organisation with that of a spoken comic dialogue, *Boasting*; its interpersonal organisation with that of a spoken transaction, *Shopping*; its experiential organisation with that of a written narrative, *In the classroom*; and its logical organisation with that of a spoken exposition, *Disappointed in America*. The differences between texts will be captured by comparing the clause and clause complex systems posited for each text, i.e. the systems of THEME, INFORMATION, MOOD, TRANSITIVITY and LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS. Differences between the description of texts involve more than simply adding features to or taking features away from existing systems. If we make the **system** the basis of the comparison, in other words, proceed according to the paradigmatic organisation of distinctive features, the differences between the systems already posited for *Memory*, and those put forward for another text can be seen to stem from the following causes:

1. differences in instantiation: i.e. features instantiated or not instantiatedin either text;
2. differences in the organisation of systems: i.e. in the interrelation of systemic features, how they "feed into" or lead out of each other;
3. differences in the delicacy of systems: i.e. in the "depth" of features posited.

Now while the first difference, the instantiation of systemic features,can be said to reflect features of the texts themselves (though still, of course, as interpreted or refracted through the description), the other two differences, the organisation and delicacy of systems - are clearly related to the form of the description rather than to the texts per se. For example, while the presence of the system of EXPERIENTIAL THEME, with the features [absolute] and [transitivity role] (see Fig.3.3 below) in the THEME system

grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance'.

network for *Boasting*, is to a certain extent determined by the fact that *Boasting* contains instances of [absolute theme] while *Memory* does not, the contrasting option [transitivity role] captures a feature of the text brought to notice, as it were, by the more developed state of the description: in other words, that there is a TRANSITIVITY system (described in section 1.4 above) whose interaction with the THEME system can now be specified.

The comparison of textual, interpersonal, and experiential systems carried out in the following sections will thus be not merely a comparison of two **texts**, but also a comparison of two **descriptions**. The initial description of *Memory*, which deliberately excluded any other evidence outside the text, and drew on a more simplified (or more precisely, a less delicate) version of the descriptive framework than the one about to be applied to *Boasting*, can now be subject to systematic scrutiny and evaluation. Questions can now be raised such as:

- on what grounds have particular descriptive decisions been made, and are there now grounds for modifying or rescinding those decisions?
- what features are shared by both texts and what features are unique to either text, and how does this change the picture of the overall system?
- how might the accuracy or generality of the initial description be evaluated in the light of this new evidence, and can we begin to see ways in which the descriptive system put forward here might be generalisable to a range of other texts?

3.1.1 Textual lexicogrammar in two different texts: the systems of THEME and INFORMATION in *Memory* and *Boasting*

As a prelude to the grammatical comparison of these two texts, I will briefly summarise the main content and contextual features of each text as relevant to their textual lexicogrammar.

Memory

A dialogue between three members of the Wang family: Dad, Mum and their son Xiaoming. The action takes place outside their Beijing home one Saturday afternoon after work. As the title *Memory* suggests, it hinges on a disagreement between Mum and Dad in regard to their differing recollections of the morning's events: specifically whether Dad had asked Mum to borrow a book for him from the library. Dad accuses Mum of forgetfulness; and the two of them wrangle over this point for some time, trying to establish the precise time when Dad claimed he had made the request, of which Mum has no recollection. Finally they decide, with some frustration on both sides, that there's nothing to be done about it. At this point Xiaoming enters and reveals that it was *him* his father had asked to borrow the book, not Mum after all, who is then able to turn the accusation of forgetfulness back on her husband.

This text is a fairly straightforward exchange between two interlocutors at a time, first Mum with Dad, then Mum with Xiaoming. There is relatively limited amount of actual information being exchanged, and the emphasis is essentially on the interpersonal status of that information: i.e. Mum and Dad arguing whether Dad did tell Mum to borrow the book or not; Mum questioning Xiaoming about his movements. (For the complete text of *Memory*, see section 1.1.0 above.)

Boasting [2]

> Extract from a *xiàngshēng* (crosstalk, comic dialogue), between a principal (*dòugén* 'provoke laughter') and a feed (*pěnggén* 'support laughter'). The dialogue as a whole is on the subject of drunkenness (*zuì jiǔ*): previous episodes have dealt with the characteristics of drunks and anecdotes about the crazy things people do when they are drunk. This episode concentrates on how drunks themselves deny that they are drunk, and presents an anecdote of two drunks (mimicked by the principal) boasting to each other about how much they can drink, and trying to catch each other out.

This text contains a great deal of information on a number of different levels: the basic narration by the principal on the subject of drunkenness; the internal narration of the principal taking on the roles of two different characters in his anecdote (using a special drunk voice quality when mimicking their speech); and the supporting comments of the feed. There is also an audience present for whom these different layers must be kept clear. The complete text of *Boasting* is given in Appendix 1, with clauses numbered from (1) to (77); when one speaker is interrupted by the other, the parts of the relevant clause are indicated by adding (a), (b) etc after the number.

In much the same way as I re-examined the notion of textual **structure** in section 2.2.1 above, I will now begin to turn the spotlight on the **system** as a descriptive tool by comparing the same systems derived from two different texts. In doing this, I will still be focussing on the text as the context for grammatical patterning, but at one remove. Rather than arguing directly from the text to the system, I will argue between the systems derived from the different texts back to the description of structure in those texts. In this way I can open up the possibility of making generalisations about the relationship between the text data and the linguistic description.

We can start the comparison the systems of THEME derived from each text by considering their status in the description. We can do this by drawing a clear distinction between the *system of* THEME, i.e. the textual contrasts available in the clause, and the *system network for* THEME, i.e. the descriptive construct set up to account for these contrasts, in other words, between the organisation of the language system and the organisation of the

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[2] This text was transcribed by the writer from Bao & Guo 1981. Ms Wang Jing of SHLRC at Macquarie University generously lent her native speaker ear to assist with the transcription.

description set up to account for it. By making this distinction, we open up the possibility that there could be other system networks set up for the same data, and stress the contingent nature of all descriptive constructs (this latter point will be elaborated in following sections). Figs 3.1 and 3.2 below present separate system networks for THEME in *Memory* and in *Boasting*. (the notational and terminological conventions for the system network are given in section 1.2.1 above). Tables 3.1 and 3.2 present examples of the systemic features instantiated in *Memory* and *Boasting*: each feature is listed with the other features from which it leads on, with dependent features linked by colons (:), and simultaneous choices indicated by an ampersand (&); the division of the clause into Theme and Rheme is indicated above each example; the Theme of each clause example is highlighted in italics, and ellipsed Themes are supplied in parentheses.
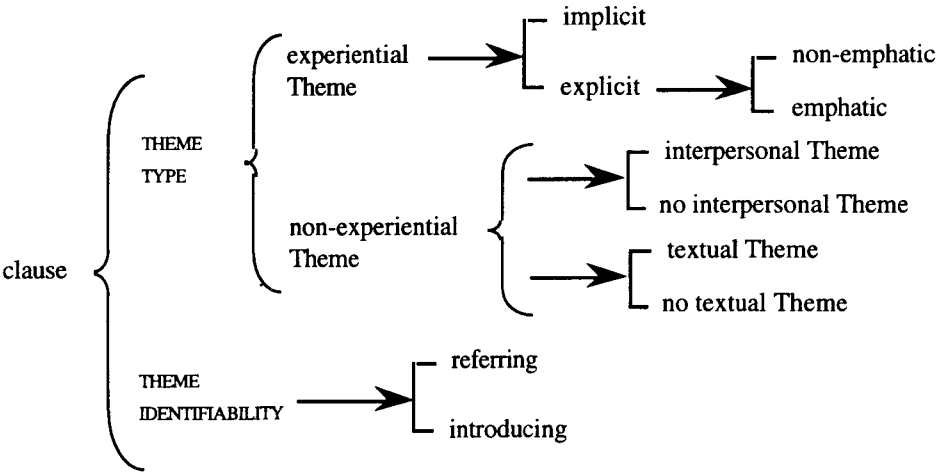
Figure 3.1:   The system network for THEME in *Memory*

clause	feature
M33.	experiential theme: implicit
	Theme Rheme *(wǒ)* jiù tí - qi guo zhè jiàn shǐ'r. I then mention up ASP this MEAS matter '(I) mentioned this matter.'
M16.	explicit: explicit: non-emphatic
	Theme Rheme *wǒ* hái děi qù bǎihuòdàlóu I still must go department store 'I still had to go to the department store'
M34.	experiential theme: explicit: emphatic
	Theme Rheme *Wǒ ya,* yī qǐ chuáng I TEXT once rise bed 'As soon as *I* got up'
M42.	non-experiential theme: interpersonal theme
	Theme Rheme *Ài,* zhēn tǎoyàn! oh-dear really annoying 'Oh, how annoying!'
M41.	non-experiential theme: textual theme
	Theme Rheme *Nà* méi bànfǎ. then NEG-exist means 'Well it can't be helped.'
M1.	non-experiential theme: interpersonal theme & experiential: explicit: non-emphatic
	Theme Rheme *Āiyā, jīntiān* máng-si le! oh-dear today busy die ASP 'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'
M37.	non-experiential theme: textual theme & experiential: explicit: non-emphatic
	Theme Rheme *Nà míngtiān* qù jiè ma! well tomorrow go borrow MOD 'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'
M26.	experiential theme: explicit: non-emphatic & referring
	Theme Rheme *Wǒ shàngwǔ* shàng bān, I morning go-to work 'In the morning I went to work,'
M29.	experiential theme: explicit: non-emphatic & introducing
	Theme Rheme *Nǎr* yǒu shíjiān? where exist time 'Where would (I) have had the time?'

Table 3.1: Examples of THEME features instantiated in *Memory*

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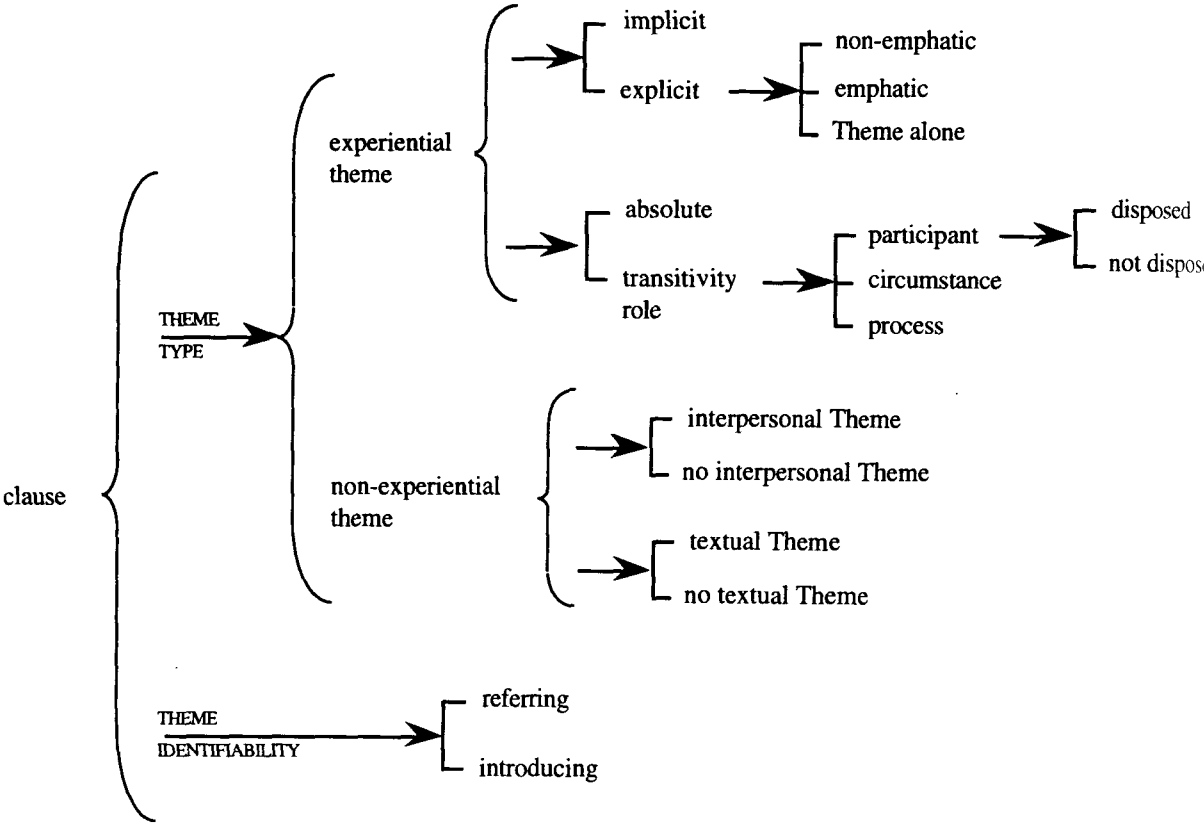
Figure 3.2:   The system network for THEME in *Boasting*

clause	feature
B43.	experiential theme: implicit
	Theme Rheme "(*Wǒ*) méi hē - zuì ya." I NEG:perf drink drunk MOD "'(I'm) not drunk.'"
B12.	experiential theme: explicit: non-emphatic
	Theme Rheme *Liǎ* *rén* zài yikuài'r hē jiǔ, á? two+MEAS person at together drink alcohol INT 'Two people drinking together, ah?'
B22.	experiential theme: explicit: emphatic
	Theme Rheme *nǐ de* *jiǔ* *wa*, bù xíng." you SUB alcohol TEXT NEG okay 'your drinking, 's no good.'"
B27.	experiential theme: explicit: Theme alone
	Theme *Nèi* *ge* *ne*? that MEAS MOD 'What about that one?'
B39.	non-experiential theme: interpersonal Theme & experiential: implicit
	Theme Rheme *Huò*, (*tā*) yòu chuī - shang le! INT s/he further boast on ASP 'Ha, (he's) boasting even more.'
B9.	non-experiential theme: textual Theme & experiential: explicit: non-emphatic
	Theme Rheme *Ò*, *tā* dào pà zhèyàng. INT s/he however fear like-this 'Oh, he's afraid of that.'
B42.	experiential theme: absolute & experiential: explicit: non-emphatic
	Theme Rheme *Tā* *nèi* *shétou* yě bú lǐsuo la. s/he that tongue also NEG nimble ASP+MOD 'As for him, the tongue's not nimble either, i.e. *his* tongue's not nimble either.'

clause	feature
B2.	experiential theme: transitivity role: Participant: not disposed
	Theme Rheme *nǐ* kàn - de - chūlái. you see POT:pos. out 'you can tell.'
B48b.	experiential theme: transitivity role: Participant: disposed
	Theme Rheme *bǎ* *shǒudiàntǒng* tāo - chu - lai de. DISP hand-torch pull out come MOD '(he) pulls out a torch.'
B51.	experiential theme: transitivity role: Circumstance
	Theme Rheme *Wǎng* *zhuōzi* *shang* yī gē... towards table top once place 'Puts it on the table,'
B54.	experiential theme: transitivity role: Process
	Theme Rheme *chū* le yí ge guāngzhù'r. emit ASP one MEAS light-column 'and a column of light comes out.'
B2.	experiential theme: explicit: non-emphatic & referring
	Theme Rheme nǐ kàn - de - chūlái. you see POT:pos. out 'you can tell.'

Table 3.2:   Examples of THEME features instantiated in *Boasting*

The system network ("network" for short) for THEME in *Boasting* differs from that for *Memory* in a number of small but significant ways. Firstly, an extra system has been added following on from [experiential] with a choice between [absolute] (B42) or [transitivity role]. The feature [transitivity role] leads into a further choice between the three main types of transitivity function, i.e. [process] (B54), [circumstance] (B51) or [participant], with this latter feature leading into further choice between [disposed] (B48b) and [not disposed] (B2). Secondly, the choice of [explicit] now opens up a further option, [Theme alone] (B27).

In order to understand the nature of these new contrasts, we need to ask what it is that the THEME network for Memory is actually describing. This network defines the possible textual contrasts in the clause by, in effect, classifying the Theme of each clause. This

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Theme is classified in two ways simultaneously: by its status in the theme structure and by its relationship to the information structure, as represented by the simultaneous systems of THEME TYPE and THEME IDENTIFIABILITY. From this point of view, it could be said that the Themes in *Boasting* enter into a wider range of contrasts than those in *Memory*. One reason for the greater thematic elaboration of *Boasting* can be found in its overall purpose as reflected in the type of text it represents. As noted above, *Memory* is a fairly straightforward exchange between two interlocutors with a relatively limited amount of actual information being exchanged, while *Boasting*, in contrast, contains a great deal of information on a number of different levels: the basic narration of the principal speaker on the subject of drunkenness and the internal narration by the principal taking on the roles of the protagonists in one of his anecdotes. Overlaying all of this is the presence of an audience for whom these different layers must be kept clear, something for which the contributions of the "feed" are very important (see discussion of the INFORMATION system below). It is not surprising then to see the THEME system "hard at work" responding to these pressures.

Another reason has to do with the addition of transitivity features to the original theme network. New options such as [absolute] or [transitivity role] are based on the recognition that the Theme can conflate with different functions in the transitivity structure, i.e. [participant], [circumstance] or [process], or with none of them, i.e. [absolute]. Thus it could be said that what the system of THEME does is assign a particular status in the message to the elements of the transitivity structure. In the system network for THEME in *Boasting*, all of the options except those explicitly marked [non-experiential] are relevant to the transitivity functions of the clause: in other words, they define how *content* is expressed as *message*.

This kind of approach to grammatical description that is both systemic - i.e. based on systems - and multifunctional - i.e. recognising textual, interpersonal, and experiential meanings - thus allows us to understand more clearly the significance of one of the main principles of structural ordering in the clause in Chinese: what is chosen to appear at or near first position, i.e. as Theme. Thus a syntagmatic property, position in the clause, allows us to identify paradigmatic contrasts, i.e. status in the message, and the conceptualisation of these contrasts as forming a system in contrast with other systems in the same text and the same system in a different text then gives us a deeper understanding of the syntagmatic feature itself.

The system networks for INFORMATION in *Memory* and *Boasting* are given below in Fig. 3.3, with examples of the INFORMATION features instantiated in the two texts in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 (analysis into Given and New is indicated above each example; in addition,

the New in each clause example is highlighted in italics). Looking at these networks, we immediately see that while the THEME systems for the two texts look quite different, the INFORMATION systems seem identical. In fact, there *are* differences between the information patterning of these texts, particularly to do with the proportion of marked New (see discussion in section 3.3.2 below), but they are much more quantitative than absolute and therefore do not show up in this kind of system network representation (the need for a quantitative approach to the description of grammatical systems is discussed in section 4.3.2 below).
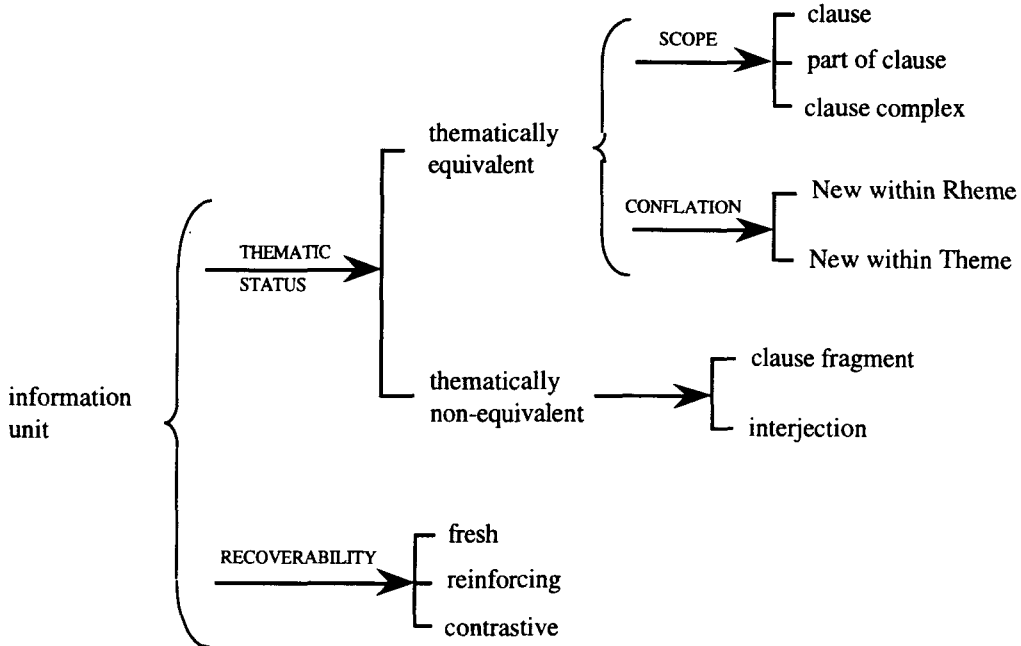
Figure 3.3   The system of INFORMATION in *Memory* and *Boasting*

clause	feature
M1.	thematically equivalent: clause
	Given　　　　　New Āiyā,　jīntiān　*máng-si*　　　le! oh-dear today　busy die　　　ASP 'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'
M18.	thematically equivalent: part of clause
	Given　　　　　　　　　　New ...　　wǒ yào de nèi běn　　*shū* ... 　　I want SUB that MEAS　book '...that book I wanted...'
M6-7.	thematically equivalent: clause complex
	Gi- huí-lai, return come '(now that I've) come home,' 　　　　　-ven　New hái　děi　zuò　*fàn.* still　must　cook　meal '(I) still have to do the cooking.'
M2.	thematically equivalent: New within Rheme
	Given　　　　New Á,　　máng　*shénme*　　ya? oh　　busy　what　　　　MOD 'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'
M29.	thematically equivalent: New within Theme
	New　　Given *Nǎr*　yǒu　shíjiān? where　exist　time 'Where would (I) have had the time?'
M19.	thematically non-equivalent: clause fragment
	New　　　　　　Given *Shénme?*　　*shénme* shū? what　　　　　what book 'What? What book?'
M3.	thematically non-equivalent: interjection
	New *Āiyā,* ... oh 'Oh, ...'

clause	feature
M1.	fresh
	Given New Āiyā, jīntiān *máng-si* le! oh-dear today busy die ASP 'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'
M34.	contrastive
	New Given *Wǒ* ya, yī qǐ chuáng I TEXT once rise bed 'As soon as *I* got up'
M36.	reinforcing
	Given New Wǒ chī zǎofàn de shíhòu hái *shuō* le! I eat breakfast SUB time still speak ASP 'I also spoke of (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'

Table 3.3:   Realisations of INFORMATION features in *Memory*

clause	feature
B9.	thematically equivalent: clause
	Gi- New -ven Ò, tā dào *pà* zhèyàng. INT s/he however fear like-this 'Oh, he's afraid of that.'
B22.	thematically equivalent: part of clause
	Given New nǐ de *jiǔ* wa..." you SUB alcohol TEXT 'your drinking...'"
B1-2.	thematically equivalent: clause complex
	New Gi- *Zhēn* hē - zuì le, really drink drunk ASP '(If)(someone's) really drunk,' -ven nǐ kàn - de - chūlái. you see CAN out 'you can tell.'

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clause	feature
B16.	thematically equivalent: New within Rheme
	Given New liǎ rén *duìchuī.* two+MEAS person mutual-boast 'the two of them boast to each other.'
B23.	thematically equivalent: New within Theme
	Gi- New -ven Ò, *rénjiā* bù *xíng.* INT other-person NEG okay 'Oh, the other guy's no good.'
B26.	thematically non-equivalent: clause fragment
	New *Shì* a? be MOD 'Yeh?'
B12.	thematically non-equivalent: interjection
	(Given New) New (Liǎ rén zài yikuài'r hē jiǔ, *á?* two+MEAS person at together drink alcohol INT ('Two people drinking together,) ah?'
B54.	fresh
	Given New chū le yí ge *guāngzhù'r.* emit ASP one MEAS light-column 'and a column of light comes out.'
B34.	contrastive
	Gi- New -ven Ò, *rénjiā* bù *xíng.* INT other-person NEG okay 'Oh, the other guy's no good.'
B3.	reinforcing
	Gi- New -ven Ò, *zhēn* hē - zuì le, INT really drink drunk ASP 'Oh, (if)(they're) really drunk,'

Table 3.4:   Realisations of INFORMATION features in *Boasting*

If we investigate what it is that this INFORMATION network is representing, we find that, in a similar way to that in which the THEME networks examined above classified the

Theme of each clause, this network classifies the New of each information unit. We saw above that the THEME analysis is in some sense *derivative*, i.e. it is largely concerned with presenting content as message, with taking the experiential functions of the clause and giving them status as starting point or continuation of the message. From this point of view the information analysis is doubly derivative, since it is largely concerned with taking these thematic elements and giving them status as either given or new information.

A detailed comparison of the INFORMATION systems of each text would depend on considerations of probability and markedness (see discussion in section 4.3 below). However, even from a superficial examination, it seems clear that the position of the New is much less predictable in *Boasting* than it is in *Memory*. Again some reasons for this can be seen in the nature of a crosstalk (*xiangsheng*) text like *Boasting*. As in the very similar vaudeville genre, the role of the feed in crosstalk is basically to react to the lines delivered by the principal, acting as a sort of surrogate, "ignorant" audience member, in order to make sure that the information crucial to the narration gets across to the real audience. One of the main linguistic means the feed has at his disposal to do this is the use of emphasis - in other words, the assignment of the New. It is then to be expected that the placement of the New would have to be very flexible in order to ensure that the currently relevant piece of information, whatever its position in the clause, would be correctly emphasised.

3.1.2 Interpersonal lexicogrammar in two different texts: the system of MOOD in *Memory* and *Shopping*

As a prelude to the grammatical comparison of these two texts, I will briefly summarise the main content and contextual features of each text as relevant to their interpersonal lexicogrammar.

Memory

This text is a dialogue between three family members: Mum and Dad, and Mum and Xiaoming, which is chiefly to do with exchange of information: specifically whether Mum borrowed the book for Dad, a point of some contention, and why Xiaoming is home from school so late and what he has been doing. There is only one brief exchange of goods-&-services, when Mum tells Xiaoming to go and have a wash.

Shopping

A dialogue between two friends, Xiǎoméi and Yùróng, going shopping with various vendors: a seller of *bīnggùn'r* (iceblocks), two clothes sellers at a market stall, and a sales assistant in a shoe shop.

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In contrast to the previous text, this dialogue is principally to do with the exchange of goods and services (food and clothes), while the exchange of information is chiefly as a prelude to some exchange of goods and services.

The complete text of *Shopping* is given in Appendix 1, with clauses numbered from (1) to (79). "Stage directions" are given at relevant places to identify a change of scene or significant non-verbal action (the original text being in audio-visual form)[2].

Figs 3.4 and 3.5 below present separate system networks for MOOD in *Memory* and *Shopping*. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 give examples of the realisations of MOOD features in each text, with the relevant mood functions identified above each clause example.

Figure 3.4:   MOOD systems in *Memory*

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clause	feature
M26.	declarative

		Predicator	
Wǒ	shàngwǔ	*shàng*	bān,
I	morning	go-to	work

'In the morning I went to work,'

M2.	interrogative: elemental

	Predicator	Element	
Á,	*máng*	*shénme*	ya?
oh	busy	what	MOD

'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'

M18.	interrogative: polar

			Predicator	Negotiator
Éi, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,	nǐ	gěi wǒ *jiè-lai*	le	*ma?*
oh, I want SUB that MEAS book	you	for me borrow come	ASP	MOD

'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

M62.	imperative

		Predicator
Yìhuǐ'r	zài	*kàn,*
a-while	further	look

'Look at (them) in a while,'

M30.	negative: neutral

	Polarity	Predicator
Wǒ	*bù*	*zhīdào,*
I	NEG	know

'I didn't know,'

M31.	negative: completed

	Polarity		Predicator
nǐ	*méi*	gēn wǒ	*shuō.*
you	NEG:perf	with I	speak

'you didn't tell me.'

M23.	positive: neutral

	Predicator	
Chī zǎofàn de shíhòu	*shuō*	de.
eat breakfast SUB time	speak	MOD

'I mentioned (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'

M46.	positive: emphatic

			Polarity	Predicator
Bù,	bù...	wǒ	*shi*	*shuō*
no	no	I	be	say

'No, no...I *said*"

M40.	interactant: speaker

Subject			Predicator
Wǒ	jīntiān wǎnshang	yào	*yòng.*
I	today evening	need	use

'I need to use (it) this evening.'

clause	feature
M31.	interactant: addressee
	Subject Predicator *nǐ* méi gēn wǒ *shuō.* you NEG:perf with I speak 'you didn't tell me.'
M38.	non-interactant
	Subject Predicator Míngtiān *túshūguǎn* bù *kāi* , mén. tomorrow library NEG open door 'Tomorrow the library isn't open.'
M13.	assessed: certain: asserted
	Predicator Negotiator càishìchǎng hái *kāi* mén *ma*! market still open door MOD 'the markets would still be open!'
M23.	assessed: certain: established
	Predicator Negotiator Chī zǎofàn de shíhòu *shuō* *de.* eat breakfast SUB time speak MOD 'I mentioned (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'
M14.	assessed: uncertain: open-ended
	Predicator Negotiator Āiyā nǎr *yǒu* shíjiān *ne?* oh-dear where exist time MOD 'Oh, where would there be the time?'
M2.	assessed: uncertain: softened
	Predicator Negotiator Á, *máng* shénme *ya?* oh busy what MOD 'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'
M7.	modalised: obligation
	Modality Predicator hái *děi* zuò fàn. still must cook meal '(I) still have to do the cooking.'
M40.	modalised: inclination
	Modality Predicator Wǒ jīntiān wǎnshang *yào* *yòng.* I today evening need use 'I need to use (it) this evening.'
M64.	minor
	Exclamation *Èi.* okay 'Alright.'

Table 3.5:   Examples of MOOD features instantiated in *Memory*

✱ see below
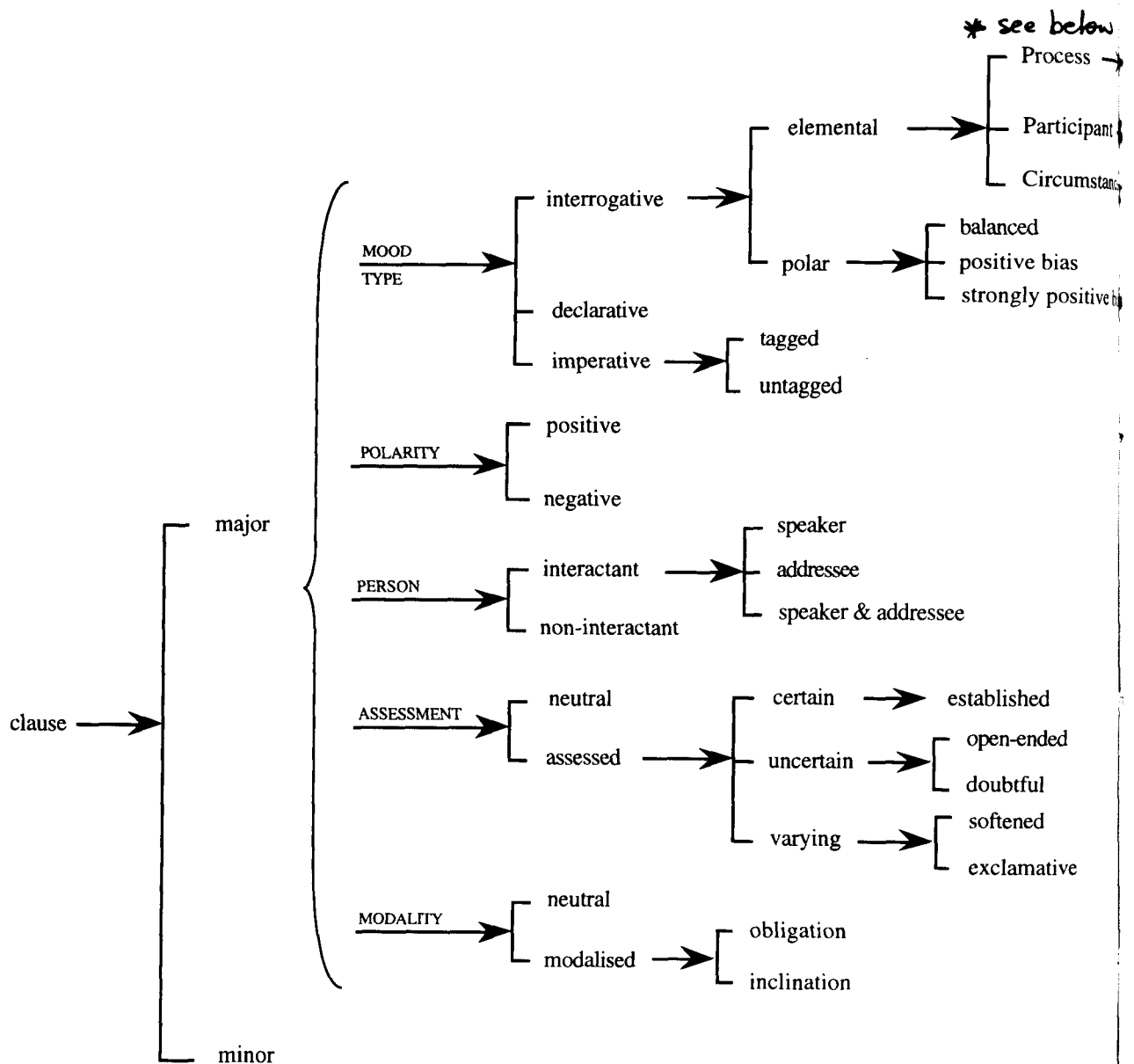
Figure 3.5: MOOD systems in *Shopping*

clause	feature
S11.	declarative
	Predicator *Zhǎo* nǐ yí kuài qī máo liù. give-change you one dollar seven ten-cents six. 'That's one dollar seventy-six cents change.' (lit. (I) give you....change')
S75.	interrogative: elemental: process: happening
	Element Nǐ *zěnme* la? you how ASP+MOD 'What's the matter?'
S37.	interrogative: elemental: process: quality
	Element Wèi!...sānshijiǔ kuài *zěnmeyàng?* hey thirty-nine dollar what-like 'Hey, what about thirty-nine dollars?'
S67.	interrogative: elemental: participant: quantity
	Element *Duōshǎo* qián? how-much money 'How much are (they)?'
S47.	interrogative: elemental: circumstance: degree
	Predicator **Element** Nǐ *yào* *duō* dà haò de? you want how big size SUB 'What size do you take?'
S35.	interrogative: elemental: circumstance: place
	Element Predicator Sìshí kuài qián yí jiàn, nǐ shàng *nǎr* *qù* *mǎi* ya! forty dollar money one MEAS you to where go buy MOD 'For forty dollars each, where (else) can you get (something like this)?'
S50.	interrogative: polar: balanced
	Predicator **Polarity** **Predicator** *yǒu* *méi* *yǒu* sānshiqī hào de? exist NEG exist thirty-seven size SUB 'Do you have them in a thirty-seven?'
S29.	interrogative: polar: positive bias
	Predicator **Negotiator** Nǐ *xǐhuan* *ma?* you like MOD 'Do you like it'
S9.	interrogative: polar: strong positive bias
	Polarity Predicator Negotiator Āiyō, nǐ *méi* *yǒu* língqián *ma?* oh-dear you NEG exist change MOD 'Oh, don't you have any change?'

clause	feature
S18.	imperative: untagged
	Predicator Kuài *lái* *mǎi!* quick come buy 'Come and buy!'
S12.	imperative: tagged
	Pre- -dicator Tag Yō....*bāng* wǒ *fàng-jin* tíbāo li, *hǎo* *ma?* oh help I place enter shopping-bag in good MOD 'Oh, (could you) help me put (the change) in my bag, please?'
S16.	positive
	Predicator Yánsè dào tǐng *hǎokàn* de, colour CONC very good-looking MOD 'The colour looks very good'
S17.	negative
	Polarity Predicator kěshi zhèi zhǒng shìyàng xiànzài yǐjing *bù* *shímáo* le. but this kind style now already NEG fashionable ASP 'but this style's out of date now.'
S45.	interactant: speaker
	Subject Predicator Āiyā, *wǒ* jiù xiǎng *mǎi* zhèi zhǒng yàngzi de xié! oh I just want buy this kind style SUB shoe 'Oh, that's just the type of shoes I want to buy!'
S47.	interactant: addressee
	Subject Predicator *Nǐ* *yào* duō dà haò de? you want how big size SUB 'What size do you take?'
S2.	interactant: speaker + addressee
	Subject Predicator *zánmen* *jìn-qu* kàn kan a. you-me enter go look look MOD 'let's go in (and) have a look.'
S24.	non-interactant
	Subject Predicator *yàngzi* tǐng *xīn* de. style very new MOD 'It's the latest style.'
S16.	assessed: certain: established
	Predicator Negotiator Yánsè dào tǐng *hǎokàn* *de,* colour CONC very good-looking MOD 'The colour looks very good'

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clause	feature
S71.	assessed: uncertain: open-ended
	Predicator Negotiator kěshi zánmen hái děi *zuò* chē *ne*! but you-me still must travel vehicle MOD 'but we still need to catch the bus!'
S57.	assessed: uncertain: doubtful
	Predicator Negotiator Nǐ *shì shi kàn* *ba*! you try try look MOD 'Try them on and see!'
S51.	assessed: varying: softened
	Predicator Negotiator Nǐ *děng yi deng* *a,* you wait one wait MOD 'Just wait a bit,'
S35.	assessed: varying: exclamative
	Predicator Negotiator Sìshí kuài qián yí jiàn, nǐ shàng nǎ'r *qù mǎi* *ya*! forty dollar money one MEAS you to where go buy MOD 'For forty dollars each, where (else) can you get (something like this)?'
S45.	modalised: inclination
	Modality Predicator Āiyā, wǒ jiù *xiǎng* *mǎi* zhèi zhǒng yàngzi de xié! oh I just want buy this kind style SUB shoe 'Oh, that's just the type of shoes I want to buy!'
S71.	modalised: obligation
	Modality Predicator kěshi zánmen hái *děi* zuò chē ne! but you-me still must travel vehicle MOD 'but we still need to catch the bus!'
SX:1.	minor
	Exclamation Ēi, · dà jiǎnjià! oh big discount 'Oh, a discount (sale)!'

Table 3.6: Examples of MOOD features instantiated in *Shopping*

In contrast to the THEME systems for the different texts, as discussed in section 3.1.1 above, the differences between the MOOD systems for *Memory* and that for *Shopping* are mainly ones of delicacy. Like the THEME system network for *Boasting*, the mood system network for *Shopping* shows evidence of the development of a description of the experiential lexicogrammar; specifically in the subtypes of [interrogative: elemental],

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where the experiential division of process, participant and circumstance is used to classify the different types of Element. Otherwise the networks for the two texts show differing degrees of delicacy within particular mood types: in line with the information bias of *Memory*, there is greater delicacy in the polarity system attached to the declarative mood types (realising the semantic feature of giving information); whereas with the goods-&-services bias of *Shopping*, there is greater delicacy in the [tagged] system attached to the imperative mood type (realising the semantic feature of demanding goods and services).

The network for *Shopping* does, however, also exhibit greater delicacy in the interrogative mood types, realising the semantic feature of demanding information. Part of this greater delicacy has to do with the intersection of the [elemental] feature of this system with that of transitivity, as noted above. There is also greater delicacy within the [polar] feature of this system, bringing in the polarity-related distinction between [balanced], where the expected answer is either positive or negative, and [positive bias] or [strong positive bias], where the expected answer is positive. This greater delicacy in the interrogative mood system is shown more clearly if we rewrite the network for *Memory* to include all the kinds of distinction made in the network for *Shopping*, as shown below in Figs 3.6 and 3.7:
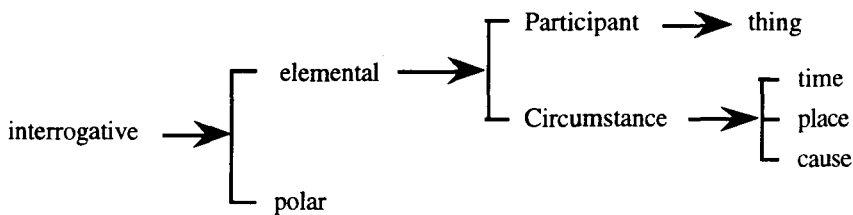
Figure 3.6:   The system of interrogative mood in *Memory*
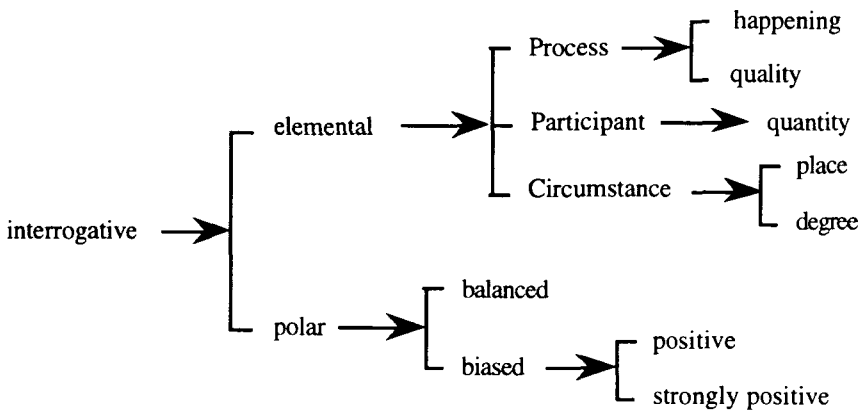
Figure 3.7:   The system of interrogative mood in *Shopping*

In fact, as can be seen from these networks, the two texts focus on different aspects of demanding information: *Memory* on basic participants and circumstances (time and

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place); and *Shopping* on attributes (quantity) and happenings. These differences could be linked to the differing purposes of the two texts, with *Memory* focussed on a particular object (the book), and *Shopping* concerned with enquiries about characteristics of the shopping commodities.

From the point of view of the overall potential of the different networks, the difference between them can be summed up as one of overall similarity, with particular systems more diversified in one or the other text. This comparison raises the further question of what we might term "gaps" in particular systems. For example, Figs 3.8 and 3.9 show the different ASSESSMENT systems for each text:

```
                    neutral                 certain            established
major                                                         asserted
clause
                    assessed                uncertain          open-ended
                                                               softened
```
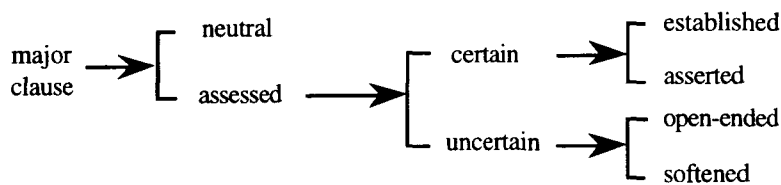
Figure 3.8   The system of ASSESSMENT in *Memory*

```
                    neutral                 certain    established
major
clause
                    assessed                uncertain   open-ended
                                                        doubtful
                                            varying     softened
                                                        exclamative
```
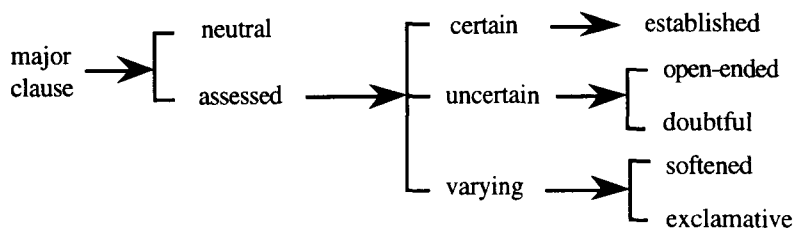
Figure 3.9   The system of ASSESSMENT in *Shopping*

In the more extensive network for *Shopping*, the feature [assessed] leads on to a choice between three features: [certain], [uncertain], and [varying], with this last (not posited for *Memory*) taking over the feature [softened] from that network's [uncertain] system. However, the feature [certain], which leads on to a choice between [asserted] and [established] in *Memory*, in *Shopping* only has the choice of [established]. According to the definition of system given in Chapter 1, this part of the network should strictly speaking be rewritten, since a system must involve a choice, and this system, having only one feature, gives no choice: in effect, in the text *Shopping*, there is no difference between [certain] and [established]. By the same token, it is difficult to see where else in the network the feature [established] would fit - not to mention the model of the network for *Memory*, which suggests very strongly that it is part of a [certain] system.

In other cases, a comparison of certain systems in each network suggests the possibility of identifying "gaps" not actually directly shown in either network, but implied by certain features or combinations of features already present. For example, the person system for

Memory has a simple distinction between [speaker] (*wǒ* 'I') and addressee (*nǐ* 'you'), grouped as [interactant], on the one hand, and non-interactant (*tā* 's/he') on the other. The equivalent system for *Shopping* contains these distinctions plus an extra one combining speaker and addressee (*zánmen* 'you and I, we'). This obviously raises the possibility of further combinations of these features, actually attested in the language but not exemplified in these texts: speaker and non-interactant (*wǒmen* 's/he and I, we'), addressee and addressee (*nǐmen* 'you'), and non-interactant and non-interactant (*tāmen* 'they'). (A further possible distinction, not suggested by any of the features in these networks, is one between addressee: equal status (*nǐ* 'you'), and addressee: higher status (*nín* 'you').)

Comparison of the networks also raises the question of the intersection of various systems. For example, the system of POLARITY is presented in both networks as a separate system simultaneous with that of mood type. If, however, we examine the instantiation of the features of polarity in each text, we find that it is confined to the declarative and interrogative systems. In *Memory*, for the declarative, we have a four way contrast between positive: simple / positive: emphatic and negative: simple / negative: perfective (this last feature related to the negation of certain types of aspect, see section 4.2 below); while for the interrogative, there is no contrast of polarity in polar interrogatives, and only one example of an elemental interrogative combined with negative polarity. In *Shopping*, by comparison, the contrasts available for declarative have shrunk to simple positive vs negative; while the contrasts for interrogative have grown, with the positive interrogative (realised by Negotiator *ma*) reinterpreted as indicating positive bias, and the negative interrogative (realised by Polarity *bù* plus Negotiator *ma*) indicating strong positive bias, and a new negative plus positive interrogative (realised by Predicator ^ Polarity ^ Predicator) indicating balance.

Again in this case we can attempt to extend the network beyond the evidence present in either of the texts and ask whether there is also a contrast in polarity in the other mood type, imperative. It turns out that there is: between positive, realised by Predicator alone, and negative, realised by something that is etymologically a negative Modality, *bù yào* 'must not, don't' or something traditionally explained as its combination form, *bié* 'don't'. Finally we may note another interrogative feature not included in either of the networks. This feature, instantiated in *Shopping*, is traditionally seen as a type of balanced interrogative (Zhu 1982: 202; Liu et al. 1983: 507), and seems to fall between the elemental and polar subtypes. Like an elemental interrogative, it is a request for a specific piece of information, but unlike them it actually provides alternative pieces of information, and like a polar interrogative, requires the addressee to affirm one and deny the other, as in the example below:

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S7.   Yào   nǎiyóu de   háishi xiǎodòu de?
       want   milk SUB   or   red-bean SUB
       'Do (you) want milk or red bean ones?'

S8.   Liǎng gēn'r   xiǎodòu de.
       two   MEAS   red-bean SUB
       'Two red bean ones.'

3.1.3   Experiential lexicogrammar in two different texts: the system of TRANSITIVITY in *Memory* and *In the classroom*

As a prelude to the grammatical comparison of these two texts, I will briefly summarise the main content and contextual features of each text as relevant to their experiential lexicogrammar.

Memory

This text, as noted before, is relatively sparse in experiential content. It is a dialogue carried on between people who are well known to each other, talking about common everyday things. Much of the detailed content, therefore, is taken for granted by the interlocutors.

In the classroom

> A narrative of a composition assignment being performed by the narrator. The teacher puts forward a scenario of a plane crashing in a desert, and a list of items from which only five may be chosen, and asks the students to write a composition based on what they would do in this situation. The narrator, one of the students, spends the weekend writing a draft, and reminisces about how composition class at school was her favourite. She hands in the draft, which is read out by the teacher in class, but she still feels it isn't finished. She spends the following weekend rewriting the draft and hands in it again.

This text is the opening section of a short story (for a summary of the whole short story, see section 4.3 below), concerned with setting out the basic parameters of the situation, which are then extended and reworked in following sections. It is therefore quite dense in experiential content, particularly in contrast with *Memory*. The complete text is set out in Appendix 1, with clauses numbered from (1) to (61).

Figs 3.10 and 3.11 below present system networks for TRANSITIVITY in *Memory* and *In the classroom*. Tables 3.7 and 3.8 give instances of the realisations of TRANSITIVITY features in each text, with, where relevant, Process highlighted in bold, Participants in italics, and Circumstances underlined.
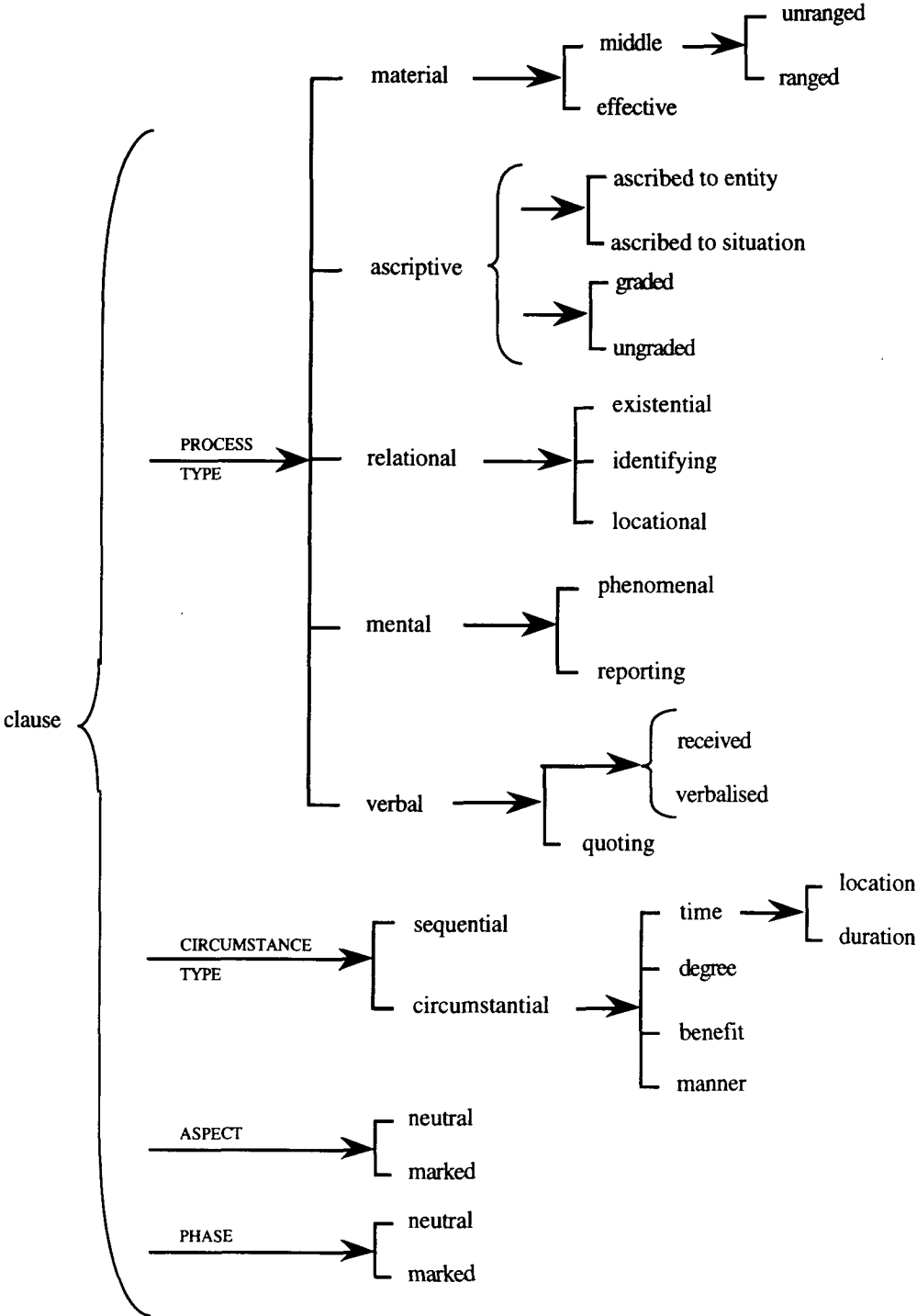
Figure 3.10: The system of TRANSITIVITY in *Memory*

clause	feature
M6.	material: middle: unranged
	(*wǒ*) **huí-lai,** I return come '(now that I've) come home,'
M13.	material: middle: ranged
	càishìchǎng hái **kāi** *mén* ma! market still open door MOD 'the markets would still be open!'
M9.	material: effective
	(*wǒ*) **jì** le *yì fēng xìn,* I post ASP one MEAS letter 'and (I) posted a letter,'
M1.	ascriptive: unranged
	Āiyā, jīntiān (*wǒ*) **máng-si** le! oh-dear today I busy die ASP 'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'
M2.	ascriptive: ranged
	Á, (*nǐ*) **máng** *shénme* ya? oh you busy what MOD 'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'
M45.	ascriptive: ascribed to entity
	wǒ **tǎoyàn?** I annoying 'I'm annoying?'
M47.	ascriptive: ascribed to situation
	méi yǒu *nèi běn shū* zhēn **tǎoyàn.** NEG exist that MEAS book really annoying 'not having that book is really annoying.'
M60.	relational: location
	(*qiúxié*) **zài** *nǎr?* sandshoes be-at where 'Where are (the shoes)?'
M54.	relational: existential
	(*wǒ*) hái **yǒu** *kèwài* *huódòng.* I still exist class-outside activity '(I) had after-class activities.'

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clause	feature
M52.	relational: identifying
	Jīntiān xīngqīliù, today Saturday 'Today's Saturday,'
M55.	mental: phenomenal
	Qiáo *nǐ* *mǎn - tóu - dà - hàn de!* look you full head big sweat MOD 'Look at you all covered in sweat!'
M58- 59.	mental: reporting
	a Wǒ hái pà 'b nǐ wàng le ne. I still fear you forget ASP MOD 'I was afraid you'd forgotten.'
M22.	verbal: addressed
	nǐ shénme shíhòu *gēn wǒ* **shuō** guo? you what time with I speak ASP 'When did you mention (it) to me?
M33.	verbal: verbalised
	(wǒ) jiù **tí - q i** guo *zhè jiàn shì'r.* I then mention up ASP this MEAS matter '(I) mentioned this matter.'
M44.	verbal: quoting
	a Nǐ shuō "b wǒ tǎoyàn? you say I annoying 'Did you say I'm annoying?'
M7.	sequential
	<u>hái</u> děi zuò fàn. still must cook meal '(I) still have to do the cooking.'
M40.	circumstantial: time: location
	Wǒ <u>jīntiān wǎnshang</u> yào yòng. I today evening need use 'I need to use (it) this evening.'
M72.	circumstantial: time: duration
	Túshū-guǎnlǐyuán zhǎo le <u>bàntiān</u>... library attendant look-for ASP half-day 'The library attendant spent ages looking for (it).'

clause	feature
M42.	circumstantial: degree
	Ài, <u>zhēn</u> tǎoyàn! oh-dear really annoying 'Oh, how annoying!'
M51.	circumstantial: manner
	Zěnme <u>zhènme</u> wǎn a? how so late MOD 'Why are you so late?'
M56.	circumstantial: benefit
	Ò, nǐ yào de qiúxié, wǒ <u>gěi nǐ</u> mǎi le. oh you want SUB sandshoes I for you buy ASP 'Oh, those sandshoes you wanted, I got (them) for you.'
M53.	aspect: marked
	xià **l e** kè finish ASP class 'when (I) finished class'
M18.	phase: marked
	Éi, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ **jiè-lai** le ma? oh, I want SUB that MEAS book you for me borrow come ASP MOD 'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

Table 3.7:   Examples of TRANSITIVITY features instantiated in *Memory*
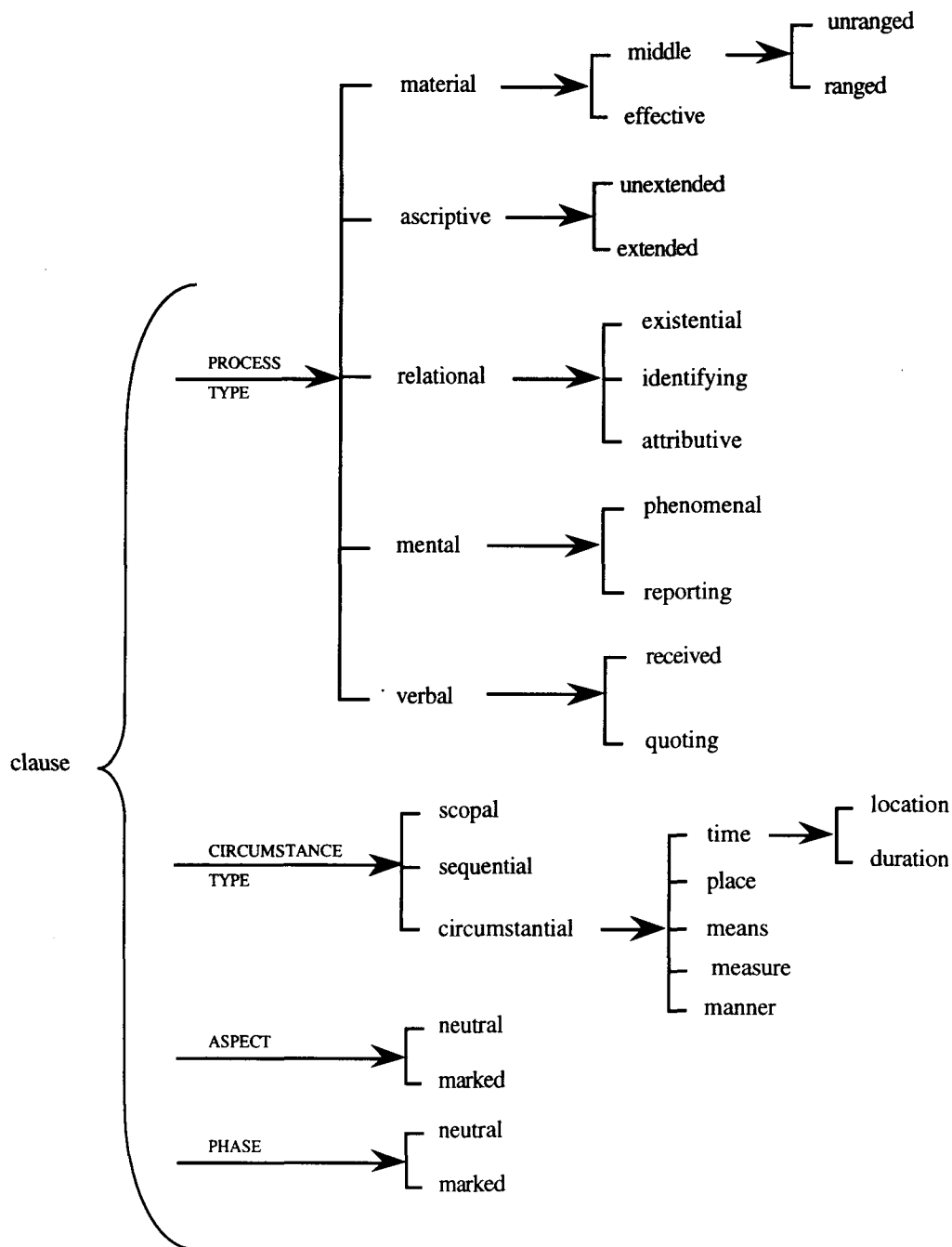
Figure 3.11:   The system of TRANSITIVITY in *In the classroom*

clause	feature
CR59.	material: middle: unranged
	Zhè shí *zhěnggè chéngshì* dōu *shuì* le. this time whole city all sleep ASP:compl 'By this time the whole city was asleep.'
CR23.	material: middle: ranged
	(wǒ) **shàng** *xué* de *shíhòu,* I attend school SUB time '(that) when (I) was at school,'
CR18.	material: effective
	yí ge *rén* **lā -** **shang** *chuānglián,* one MEAS person pull on window-curtain 'Alone, (I) drew the curtains,'
CR26.	ascriptive: extended
	Qítā kè hǎoxiàng zǒngshi **cháng de** **méi yǒu** **biān,** other class seem always long EXT NEG exist limit 'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,'
CR6.	relational: existential
	wǔbǎi li wài **yǒu** *ge* *cúnzhuāng,* 500 li away exist MEAS village 'two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village,'
CR25.	relational: identifying
	nà **shi** *wǒ* *tiánmì* *de* *wǎngshì.* that be I sweet SUB past 'that was my happy past.'
CR39.	relational: attributive
	Wǒ *yǎnqián* *yí piàn móhu,* I eye-before one MEAS blurred 'The scene before me was blurred,'
CR24.	mental: phenomenal
	wǒ shi duōme **xǐhuān** [I *xiě* *zuòwén* I] , I be how-much like write composition 'I really loved writing compositions,'
CR29- 30.	mental: reporting
	a wǒ hái juéde 'b tā bìng méiyǒu wán. I still feel it EMPH NEG:perf finish 'I still felt (that) it wasn't finished.'

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clause	feature
CR11.	verbal: addressed
	Wǒ tóngzhuō xiǎoshēng *duì wǒ shuō*. I same-desk small voice towards I say 'My desk-mate said to me quietly.'
CR3- 4.	verbal: quoting
	"b Xiànzài, nǐmen de fēijī diào - zai le shāmò shang, now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall at ASP:compl. desert on "'Your plane has crashed in the desert." ' a tā jiěshi shuō, s/he explain say 'he explained,'
CR9.	scopal
	měi rén <u>zhǐ</u> zhǔn dài wǔ yàng dōngxi...... each person only allow take five type thing 'each person is only allowed to take five things..."'
CR21.	sequential
	wǒ <u>yòu</u> néng kāishǐ xiě zuòwén le. I further can begin write composition ASP:compl/perf 'I could then begin writing compositions again.'
CR3.	circumstantial: time: location
	<u>Xiànzài</u>, nǐmen de fēijī diào - zai le shāmò shang, now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall at ASP:compl. desert on "'Your plane has crashed in the desert." '
CR47.	circumstantial: time: duration
	chá le <u>bànyè</u> zìdiǎn, consult ASP:perf half-night dictionary 'looked up (words in) the dictionary for half the night,'
CR1.	circumstantial: place
	lǎoshī <u>zài</u> <u>hēibǎn</u> <u>shang</u> xiě zhe: teacher at blackboard on write ASP:dur 'the teacher wrote on the board:'
CR32.	circumstantial: manner
	wǒ zài <u>yǐnyuē</u> děngdài zhe shénme, I ASP:prog indistinct wait ASP:dur something 'I was vaguely waiting for something,'

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clause	feature
CR37.	circumstantial: measure
	piǎo - shang wǒ <u>yì</u> <u>yǎn</u> shí, look-sidelong on I one eye time 'gazed at me'
CR45.	aspect: marked
	Wǒ **rēng** **l e** yídì zhǐtuán, I throw ASP:compl whole-floor paper-ball 'I covered the floor with balls of paper,'
CR18.	phase: marked
	yí ge rén **lā** - **shang** chuānglián, one MEAS person pull o n window-curtain 'Alone, (I) drew the curtains,'

Table 3.8:   Examples of TRANSITIVITY features instantiated in *In the classroom*

Like the networks for MOOD in *Memory* and *Shopping*, the differences between the networks for TRANSITIVITY in *Memory* and *In the classroom* are mainly ones of delicacy within existing systems (a more radical possible reworking of the process type features will be discussed in section 3.3. below). These differences in delicacy work both ways: that is, for some systems *Memory* exhibits more delicate features, for other systems, *In the classroom* does so. Thus the difference in density of content between the two texts is not reflected in the basic grammatical systems: it is mainly a lexical affair, as one would expect (the one exception to this is the system of phase - see detailed discussion in section 4.2 below - which does in fact fall on the borderline between grammar and lexis: see McDonald 1994 for a discussion of this point). The grammatical differences that do exist have to do mainly with two process types - ascriptive and relational - and the main subtypes within the system of CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE.

The ascriptive process type, as described in section 1.4.2 above, has only a single participant, the Carrier.*Memory* has a relatively large number of ascriptive processes (9 out of 72 clauses), and there are also quite a number of further options within the ascriptive system: ranged, ascribed to entity or situation, and graded. In *In the classroom*, by contrast, the two (out of 61) ascriptive clauses are both of these clauses are specified for the same feature [extended]. Strictly speaking, this should not form a system, since it is not in contrast with anything else - see comments in section 3.1.2.1 above). However, the ascriptive processes in *In the classroom* could in fact be marked for the features found in *Memory*, and vice versa. On the basis on the evidence of these two texts, there does

not, therefore, seem to be any reason for modifying the general classification of ascriptive.

However, when we come to relational processes, the picture is slightly different. Figs 3.12 and 3.13 below compare the systems for the two texts.

relational ⟶ ⎡ existential
　　　　　　　⎢ identifying
　　　　　　　⎣ locational
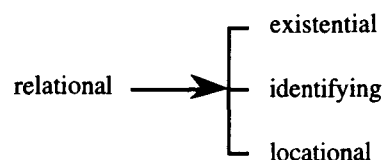
Figure 3.12: The system of relational processes in *Memory*

relational ⟶ ⎡ existential
　　　　　　　⎢ identifying
　　　　　　　⎣ attributive
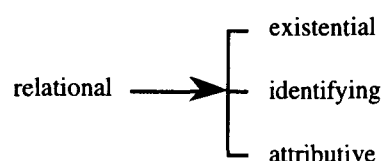
Figure 3.13: The system of relational processes in *In the classroom*

Taken separately, the evidence in these two texts does not allow us to make any further generalisations about the classification of these relational subtypes. However, taken together, there seems to be a natural split between the locational / existential subtype, which we can call locating, and the identifying / attributive subtype, which we can call equating (cf McDonald 1992: 438), as shown in Fig. 3.14 below:

relational ⟶ ⎡ locating ⟶ ⎡ locational
　　　　　　　⎢　　　　　　⎣ existential
　　　　　　　⎣ equating ⟶ ⎡ identifying
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　⎣ attributive
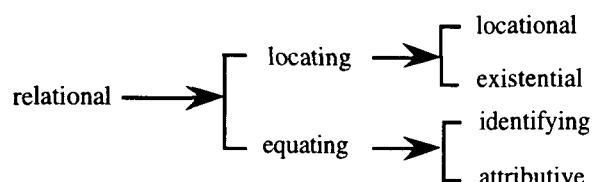
Figure 3.14: A combined network for the system of relational processes in the two texts

As noted in section 1.4.3 above, the locating subtypes are in some sense mirror images of each other, involving the same Participants in reverse order. This reversal naturally has thematic implications, by allowing the choice of either Existent or Location as Theme. It also has informational implications (see section 1.2.3 above), as shown in the English translations of *cúnzhuāng* 'a village' in an original existential example from the text, vs 'the village' in its modified locational variant:

CR6.　wǔbǎi　lǐ　　　wài　　yǒu　　ge　　　cúnzhuāng,
　　　　500　　li　　　away　　exist　　MEAS　village
　　　　'two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village,'

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CR6'. Cúnzhuāng   zài   wǔbǎi lǐ   wài,
      village   be-at   500   li   away
      'the village is two hundred and fifty kilometres away,'

The equating subtypes are not as closely related as the locating, involving different pairs of participants: Identified and Identifier for identifying, and Carrier and Attribute for attributive. In both cases, however, the unmarked choice of process is *shì* 'be' as shown in the following examples of an attributive clause (CR14) and an identifying clause (CR25):

CR14. Zhè   xiǎnrán   shì   yì piān   zuòwén,
      this   obviously   be   one MEAS   composition
      'This obviously was a composition,'

CR25. nà   shì   wǒ   tiánmì de   wǎngshì.
      that   be   I   sweet SUB   past
      'that was my happy past.'

Coming to the system of CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE, unlike the process type system whose features can all be shown to relate to different variations on the same basic structure of Process + Participant(s), the different features of the CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE system - scopal, sequential and circumstantial - seem to refer to quite distinct kinds of functional elements. The circumstantial subtype proper are nominal in class, occur mainly at or near the beginning of the clause (before the Process), and indicate meanings to do with the setting in which the basic experience represented by the Process + Participant(s) takes place: time, place, degree, manner etc. The other two subtypes, scopal and sequential, are both realised by adverbs, and indicate not features of the setting but rather relationships. For the sequential subtype, as implied by the name, these are relationships of time, and for this reason were analysed as quasi-circumstances in the description of the transitivity structure of *Memory*. From the point of view of this text alone, it would be possible to rewrite the network to bring out this similarity in meaning, as shown in Fig. 3.15 below:

time   ⟶   location / duration / sequence
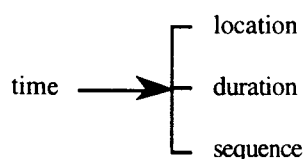
<u>Figure 3.15:</u>   <u>The system of circumstances of Time in *Memory*</u>

However, in the light of further analysis of *Memory*, particularly of the logical structure in section 2.3.1 above, it becomes obvious that the sequence markers defined by the feature [sequential] are not types of circumstance at all, but rather one of the ways in which the relationships between clauses may be indicated (i.e. they would form part of the logical semantic system of CONJUNCTION - see Hu 1981, Martin 1992, Leung 1995).

It is therefore only for the purposes of comparison that the feature [sequential] is included within the system of CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE for the text *In the classroom*.

The scopal subtype, like the sequential, also indicates relationships, but in this case between various elements of the clauses rather than between clauses. Indeed certain lexemes may cross over between a scopal and a sequential meaning, as in the example below, where *dōu* can be interpreted either scopally as 'all, in all cases', or sequentially as 'already':

59.   Zhè   shí   zhěnggè chéngshì   dōu   shuì   le.
       this   time   whole city   all   sleep   ASP:compl
       'By this time the whole city was asleep.'
or   'By this time the whole city was already asleep.'

Functionally, it is hard to assign such scopal elements either strictly to the experiential or the logical metafunction. It is as if they constitute a mixed subtype, experiential in that they act between transitivity elements of the clause, but logical in that they are not concerned with such elements as parts of the transitivity structure, but rather linked by relationships of inclusion, totality etc.

Two more systems in the networks need to be noted in passing - those for ASPECT and PHASE. These have not been treated in any detail in the description so far, since they involve various features of the description of the verbal group, which I will come to in Chapter 4. Strictly speaking, they could be considered as separate systems operating alongside the transitivity systems of PROCESS TYPE and CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE, since in the majority of cases they are not instrumental in defining the transitivity structure, as set out in the rewritten network in Fig. 3.16 below:
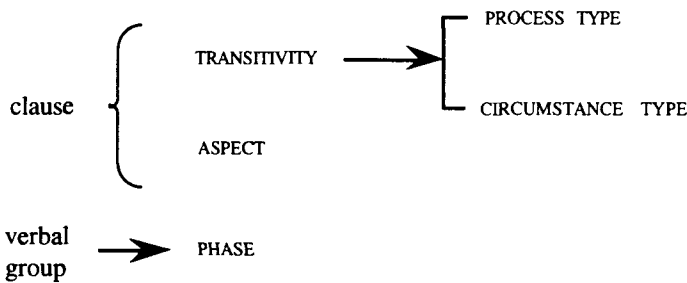
Figure 3.16:   Experiential clause systems in Chinese

3.1.4 Logical lexicogrammar in two different texts: the system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Memory* and *Disappointed in America*

As a prelude to the grammatical comparison of these two texts, I will briefly summarise the main content and contextual features of each text as relevant to their logical lexicogrammar.

Memory

This text is a dialogue in which many of the individual moves are realised by single clauses, so from the point of view of the relationship between individual clauses, in many cases they are realising related initiating and responding moves such as question and answer, or command and undertaking, with a relatively limited number of logically related clauses.

Disappointed in America

> This is an extract from a longer stretch of conversation dealing with Chinese attitudes towards the USA[3]. This particular section discusses the prejudices held by Americans towards other peoples and the disappointment felt by the speaker as to how the USA has changed into a much more closed country than before.

This text is, in effect, a monologue, with only brief interjections from the second speaker. It is essentially expository, with the speaker using a number of examples to support his argument. The complete text of *Disappointed in America* is given in Appendix 1, with clauses numbered from (1) to (67), the main speaker indicated as A, the second speaker as B.

Figs 3.17 and 3.18 below present system networks for LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Memory* and *Disappointed in America*. Tables 3.9 and 3.10 give examples of TRANSITIVITY features instantiated in each text, with the relationship between the clauses indicated to the left of each clause.

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[3] The text was recorded by the author in Shanghai in July 1994. The speaker is male, late 20s, a native of Zhenjiang (on the Yangtse north-west of Shanghai), and undertook tertiary education in Beijing. He was asked to give his opinions on this particular topic, which had come up in previous discussions.
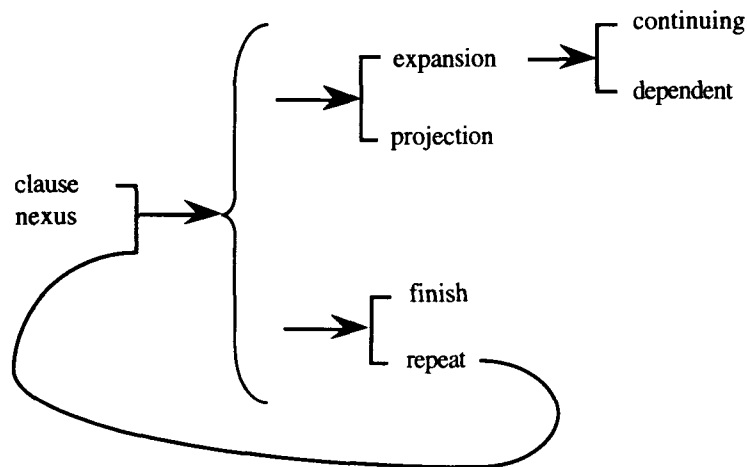
Figure 3.17: The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Memory*
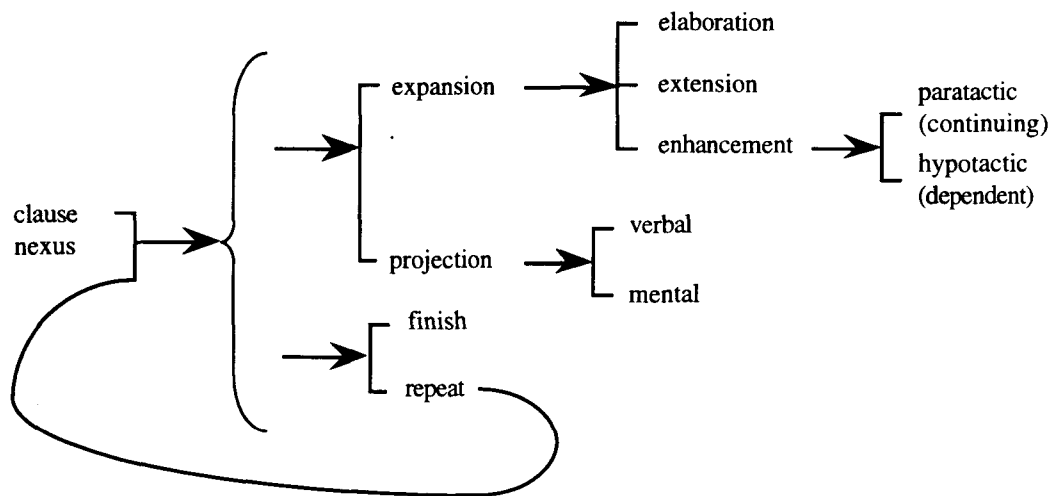
Figure 3.18: The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Disappointed in America*

clause	feature
8-9.	expansion: continuing
	1 Zhōngwǔ dào yóujú midday reach post office 'At lunchtime (I) went to the post-office 2 jì le yì fēng xìn, post ASP one MEAS letter 'and posted a letter,'
12-13.	expansion: dependent
	β Hài, xiàwǔ xià bān yǐhòu, hey afternoon finish work after 'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,' α càishìchǎng hái kāi mén ma! market still open door MOD 'the markets would still be open!'

clause	feature
3-5.	expansion: continuing: repeat
	1 Āiyō, shàng bān oh go-to work 'Oh, going to work,' 2 xià bān, finish work 'finishing work,' 3 mǎi cài; buy food going shopping,'
44-45.	projection: verbal
	a Nǐ shuō you say 'Did you say' "b wǒ tǎoyàn? I annoying 'I'm annoying?'
58-59.	projection: mental
	a Wǒ hái pà I still fear 'I was afraid' 'b nǐ wàng le ne. you forget ASP MOD 'you'd forgotten.'

Table 3.9:   Examples of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS features instantiated in *Memory*

clause	feature
5-6.	expansion: elaboration
	1 Dànshi wǒ bú shi zhuānjiā, but I NEG be expert 'But I'm not an expert,' =2 wǒ zhǐ shi biǎodá wǒ zìjǐ de xiǎngfǎ. I only be express I self SUB opinion 'I'm only expressing my own opinions.'

clause	feature
24-25.	expansion: extension

1	[l cóng luòhòu de guójiā lái l] de rén de sīxiǎng, yě shi luòhòu de from backward SUB country come SUB person SUB thinking also be backward SUB '(that) the thinking of people from backward countries is also backward'
+2	zhèi ge shi bù yídìng de. this MEAS be NEG necessarily SUB 'This isn't necessarily the case.'

clause	feature
12-13.	expansion: enhancement: paratactic

1	yǒu yí tào wánzhěng de fǎlǜ de xìtǒng - "legal system", shi ma? exist one set complete SUB law SUB system legal system be MOD '(that) has a complete legal system, "legal system", no?'
x2	lái bǎozhàng tā de gōngpíng de jìngzhēng, come protect it SUB fair SUB competition 'to protect its fair competition'

clause	feature
61-62.	expansion: enhancement: hypotactic

xb	nǐ qù le zhīhòu, you go ASP:compl after 'after you've gone'
α	nǐ jiù huì bèi zhuā-qilai, you then could PASS arrest up 'you can be arrested'

clause	feature
66-67.	projection: verbal

a	Suǒyǐ shuō, therefore say 'So (I) mean'
"b	zhè shì Měiguó [l ràng rén zuì shīwàng l] de wèntí. this be America make person most disappoint SUB problem 'this is the problem that makes people most disappointed with America.'

clause	feature
17-18.	projection: mental

a	Wǒ běnlái yǐwéi I originally consider 'I used to think'
'b	nà shi yí ge fēicháng fēicháng wěidà de guójiā that be one MEAS extremely extremely great SUB country 'that was a really really great country'

Table 3.10:   Examples of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS features instantiated in
Disappointed in America

Comparing the two networks in Figs 3.17 and 3.18, it is obvious that, apart from the "renaming" of the features [continuing] and [dependent] as [paratactic] and [hypotactic] respectively, the network for *Disappointed in America* is significantly more delicate than that for *Memory*. There are a number of reasons for this. Unlike the networks for THEME, MOOD and TRANSITIVITY, which in the majority of cases describe the structure

of the clause, the network for LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS accounts for the link or nexus between clauses, i.e. the combination of a logico-semantic relation and interdependency relation. This means that while every clause must be characterised for its THEME, MOOD and TRANSITIVITY features, not every clause is joined to another in a logical relationship. Indeed, as we saw in section 2.3.1 above, a large number of the clauses in a dialogic text like *Memory* are joined interpersonally, i.e. as moves in an exchange, and therefore cannot be characterised logically at all.

For this reason, the description of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Memory* was a relatively simplified one, based on a rather limited data set. From this text alone, it was simply not possible to find enough examples of the different combinations of logico-semantic and interdependency relations to build up a comprehensive description. One of the main ways in which the network for *Disappointed in America* elaborates on the network for *Memory* is in the further specification of the feature [extension] as either one of [elaboration], i.e. restating, [extension], adding, or [enhancement] specifying the setting, with the interdependency distinction between [paratactic] and [hypotactic] only available to this last. Even with this wider data set, however, there are still "gaps" in the network as it stands that we are unable to fill: whether, for example, the other two types of expansion or the projection type also allow an interdependency distinction (on this point see further below).

3.2 Generalising the description: system realised by structure

The comparison of two texts and two descriptions carried out in the previous sections was both **systemic**, i.e. based on differences in paradigmatic contrasts, and **structural**, i.e. comparing how these paradigmatic contrasts were realised in syntagmatic structures. In the discussion so far, the paradigmatic organisation by systems has taken precedence over the structural organisation, and this is a reflection of the general precedence of the paradigmatic over syntagmatic in systemic functional theory; the opposite bias being characteristic of structuralist (e.g. Zhu 1982) and formal (e.g. Li 1990) approaches. It is, of course, a problem for any theoretical approach how to reconcile these two perspectives (see discussion in section 3.3 below).

The fact that the current study takes the paradigmatic as primary does not mean, however, that the syntagmatic is unimportant; in fact, approaching structure by way of system forces us to be more explicit about the relationship between the two. In systemic functional theory, this relationship is theorised as one of **realisation**, i.e. with structural elements expressing or making concrete paradigmatic contrasts.

The formal notation for showing this relationship is through **realisation statements**, i.e. explicit statements of the relationship of structural functions to each other. In the following sections, I will go back to the system networks for the different texts set out in section 3.1 above, and by attaching realisation statements to each feature, make explicit the relationship between the descriptive terms and the features of the text data. I will also discuss certain cases where this kind of notation may be difficult to apply, as in the realisation of certain features in the information system (see section 3.2.1 below).

3.2.1   Textual system and textual structure

In Chapter 1, the networks for THEME and INFORMATION were built up step by step, by identifying structural patterns in the clause that expressed thematic contrasts. These structural features were of three kinds (Matthiessen 1995: 752-754):

1. **position** in the clause in relation to other functions: e.g. the option [experiential theme: explicit: non-emphatic] means that there is an experiential Theme realised at the beginning of the clause, the alternative option [...emphatic] means that this experiential Theme is separated from the Rheme by a textual particle

2. **presence** or **absence** in the clause: e.g. the option [implicit] means that there is no experiential Theme realised in the clause

3. equivalence to another functional element, i.e. **conflation** with a function from a different function structure: e.g. the option [referring] means that Theme is conflated with Given in the information structure.

The relationship between the systemic options (paradigmatic contrasts) and the structural features (syntagmatic order) can by represented explicitly by adding **realisation statements**, i.e. blueprints for the structural realisation of the individual options in the network. In Fig. 3.19 below the system network for THEME in *Memory* has been supplemented by realisation statements, introduced by a downward pointing arrow, ↘ . In these statements, the following conventions are used to indicate the three main kinds of structural features:

1. + Function	Function present
φ	Function absent (i.e. ellipsed)
( )	Function optionally present
2. FunctionA^FunctionB;	one Function is ordered before another Function;
#^FunctionA	Function ordered after clause boundary, i.e. at the beginning of the clause
FunctionA^#	Function ordered before clause boundary, i.e. at the end of the clause

FunctionA^#   Function ordered before clause boundary, i.e. at the
            end of the clause

3. FunctionA/FunctionB one Function is conflated with another Function

We can compare this with the systemic options and their realisations in *Boasting*. In Fig. 3.20 below the system network for THEME in *Boasting* has been supplemented by realisation statements. To save space, I will only indicate realisation statements for those options that are different from the *Memory* network, options without realisation statements can be taken as identical to the *Memory* network.

Such representations give us an explicit way of showing how the different systemic features are realised, and thus of testing whether the description accurately reflects the structural patterns of the data. This representation also sums up what might be called the basic clause structure of Chinese, since I noted in section 2.2.1 above that out of the four different types of functional unit, it is the Theme structure of the message unit that comes closest to corresponding to the structural common denominator that is the clause in Chinese.
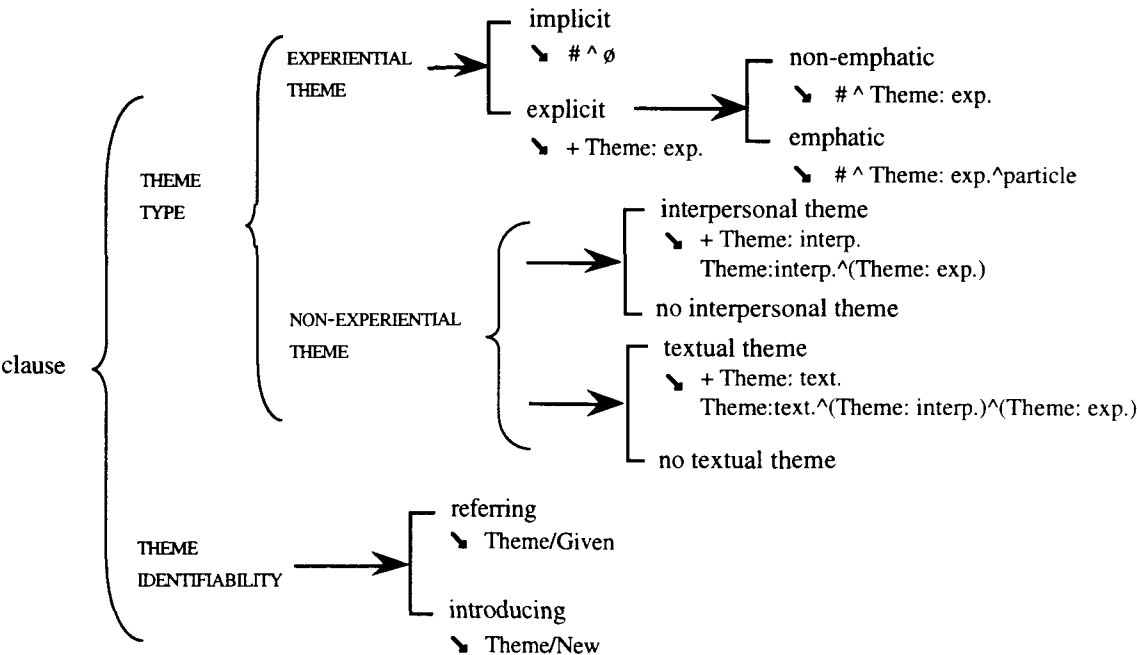
Figure 3.19: The system network for THEME in *Memory* with realisation statements
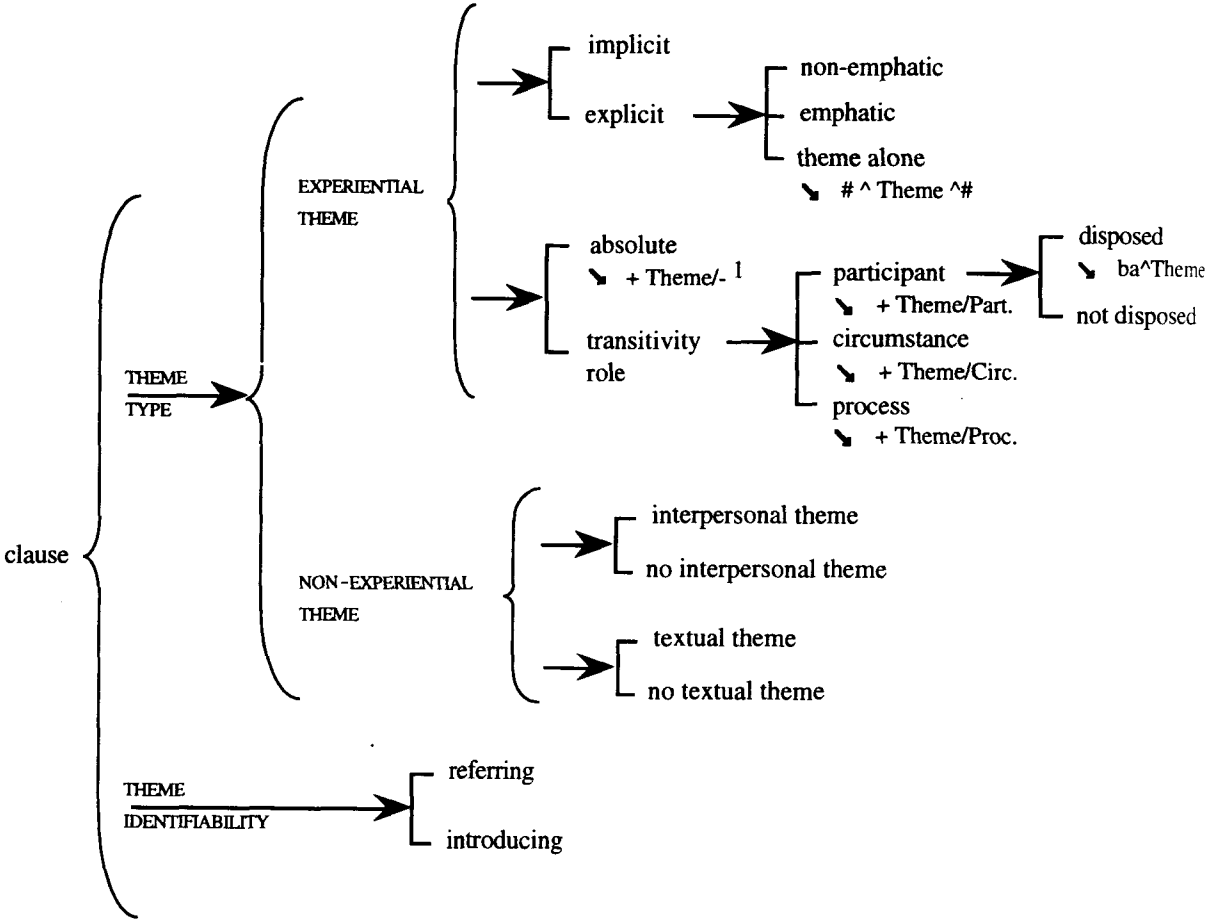
Figure 3.20: The system network for THEME in *Boasting* with realisation statements

The most obvious difference in the way the network for *Boasting* differs from that for *Memory* in defining the theme structure is in its relationship to the other functional structures. In setting up the network for *Memory* in Ch.1, I was mainly concerned to characterise the textual structure of the clause in relation to the semantic patterns of REFERENCE in the text, in line with the overall stratified progression of the description. I pointed out that the textual functions of the clause also have experiential and interpersonal significance, but the description had not reached a stage where this could be explained systematically. Coming back to the description of textual structure in *Boasting*, having in the meantime set up a description of the interpersonal and experiential structures of the clause, it is now possible to explain this explicitly in terms of the relationship between different functional structures, particularly the textual theme and information structures and the experiential transitivity structure.

Textual clause analysis has in common with interpersonal clause analysis the fact that it both is and is not an analysis of the clause. On the one hand, as we saw in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 above, the textual and interpersonal metafunctions define structures which may not always coincide exactly with the boundaries of the clause. On the other hand, these types of analysis, in contrast with the relatively more clause-bound experiential patterning, can only be interpreted and validated over a series of clauses: in other words, a (segment of) text. Thus in doing textual and interpersonal analysis, we need to simultaneously focus on the large-scale **macro** organisation of the text as well as on the local **micro** organisation clause by clause.

The principles applied in the textual clause analysis of these two texts may be summed up as follows:
• The Theme-Rheme analysis is based on two complementary principles, one micro (clause based), the other macro (text based).

At the micro level, different pieces of information, i.e. the different constituent groups of the clause, have differing likelihoods of appearing in initial, i.e. Theme position. Expressed in terms of the transitivity functions involved, certain kinds of Participants, and most Circumstances, will tend to appear at or near the beginning of the clause, while still other kinds of Circumstances and in most cases the Process will tend to appear neither at the beginning nor the end of the clause (see Fang et al. 1995: 260). Based on this potential, it is possible to draw a dividing line between information that is likely to appear clause initially (even if it has not done so in the particular clause) and information that is unlikely to appear clause initially. The dividing line here, and thus the boundary between Theme and Rheme, is the Process, or the minor Process represented by the coverb of a coverbial phrase (see section 2.1.1 above). This

principle provides a way of dealing with ellipsis, when something may seem thematic because there is nothing preceding it in the clause. According to this analysis, unless a particular function can also be clause-initial in a non-elliptical clause, it cannot be regarded as thematic. So for example, most coverbial phrases and verbal groups, realising various circumstance and process functions, may not appear in initial position, and may therefore be regarded as having no thematic significance.

At the macro level, this potential for thematic status tends to be reflected in patterns of thematic progression, with information in clause initial or post-initial position often picked up thematically in later clauses. In view of the characterisation of textual structure in 2.2.1 above as culminative or wave-like, i.e. with a peak of thematic prominence at the beginning of the clause gradually declining towards the middle of the clause, both initial and post-initial information has been analysed as thematic. This can be analysed - perforce in a constituent way - as forming part of the Theme rather than the Rheme. This analysis thus freely allows multiple experiential themes, something disallowed by the standard systemic functional analysis of English, where, unlike Chinese, the choice of Theme is constrained by the mood structure (Halliday 1994: section 3.3), so that with each mood type, there is a particular mood function that typically functions as Theme (see discussion in section 3.3.2 below).

- The New may appear in any part of the clause, or may be outside the structure of the clause altogether (as in the case of an interjection as New). Strictly speaking, the New is part of the information unit, not the clause; however in the majority of cases, the information unit may be identified with whole or part of a clause. In most of these cases, though by no means all, the New will fall within some part of the Rheme. Particularly in dialogic texts like *Memory* and *Boasting*, the placement of the New is very variable, and may reflect less the long-term organisation in terms of information flow than the speaker's immediate focus clause by clause.

It is interesting to contrast the theme and information patterns - collectively "information flow" - of these two texts with other texts that have been analysed in previous studies (e.g. Fang et al 1995). The most striking characteristic of the information flow in these two spoken texts is their relative lack of thematic organisation. This is partly a reflection of the nature of the texts themselves. Both are dialogic, with fairly short turns, and the emphasis seems to be on negotiating the exchanges rather than building up a systematic flow of information through the texts. The textual patterning in both these texts tends to be fairly localised, with little overall sense of thematic progression through the texts, and few cases of information being systematically picked up from one clause to the next. Compared with a written text analysed using a similar framework in Fang et al. (1995:

270-273), which is monologic and thus lacks any sort of exchange structure to carry it forward, both these texts are much less tightly organised textually, but seem rather to have a greater interpersonal focus (compare the interpersonal analysis in section 2.2.2 above).

This is a good example of how the nature and aims of the description affect the results of the analysis. Fang et al. 1995 is a general introduction to thematic patterning in Chinese, and accordingly the texts used were specifically chosen to show this up very clearly. In the present case, where the focus is more on seeing how the framework can cope with the text data, rather than on how well the text data validates the framework, the results are predictably less clear-cut.

We can now compare this with the system network for INFORMATION, which as I noted above is the same for both *Memory* and *Boasting*; the network in Fig. 3.6 is repeated from above.
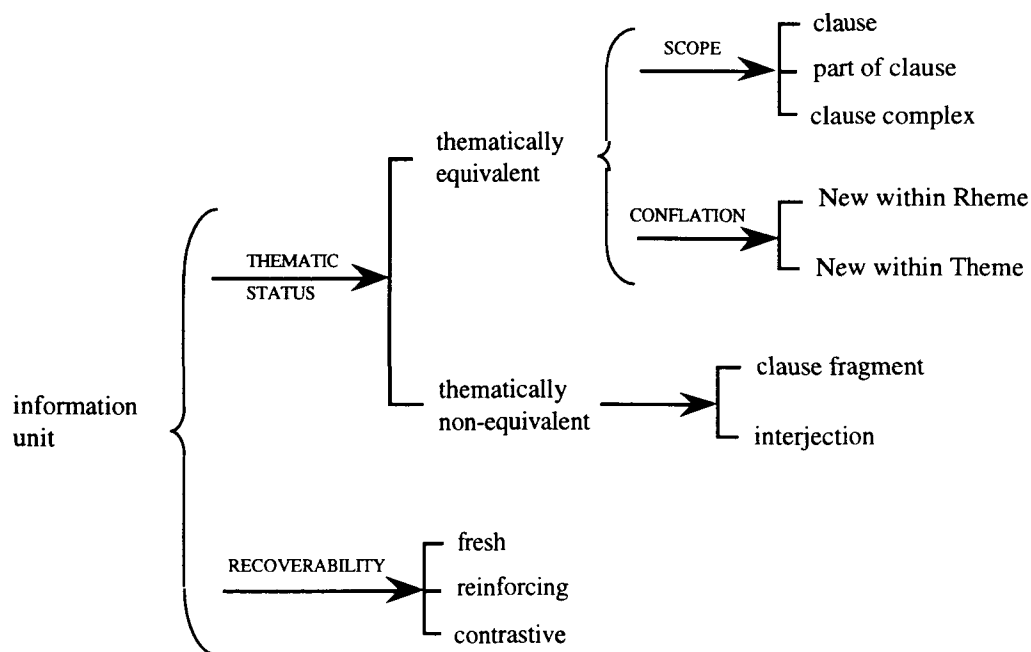
Figure 3.6   The system network for INFORMATION in *Memory* and *Boasting*

I noted in section 3.1.1 above that the INFORMATION network is basically derivative on the THEME network: that is, a large part of the features in this network refer directly to parts of either the theme structure of the message unit, or its equivalent, the clause. For this reason, there would not be much point in adding separate realisation statements for this part of the INFORMATION network since the names of the features themselves specify their realisation. However there is another part of both the THEME and INFORMATION networks that is not derivative in the same way: in the theme network this is the THEME IDENTIFIABILITY system, in the information network, the RECOVERABILITY system. Both of these systems were added to the original networks in section 1.2.4 above in order to capture the relationship between the textual grammatical systems of THEME and INFORMATION, and their semantic counterpart, the REFERENCE system. Because of the normal hook-up between Theme and presumed reference (realised as Given in the information structure), and between Rheme and presented reference (realised as New in the information structure), it was therefore fairly straightforward to give the realisation of the (expected) referring Theme as its conflation with Given, and of the (less common) introducing Theme as its conflation with Given.

However for the corresponding system in the INFORMATION network, the RECOVERABILITY system, there is no such easy solution. This system was posited in order to capture the meaning of the New, as opposed to simply its conflation with elements of theme structure. In Halliday's exposition of the meaning of Given and New for English (1994: 8.5), these distinctions are motivated in relation to the flow of information in texts. Given this and the explicit positing of this system as relating the grammatical meaning of the New in each information unit to its semantic counterparts over the whole text, it is by definition impossible to give clear realisation statements, involving elements of grammatical structure, for these three features of the RECOVERABILITY system.

3.2.2   Interpersonal system and interpersonal structure

In Chapter 1 the network for mood was built up step by step by identifying the structural patterns in the clause that expressed mood contrasts. Figs 3.21 and 3.22 below set out the relationship between these systemic contrasts and their structural realisations by means of realisation statements added to the relevant features in the network.
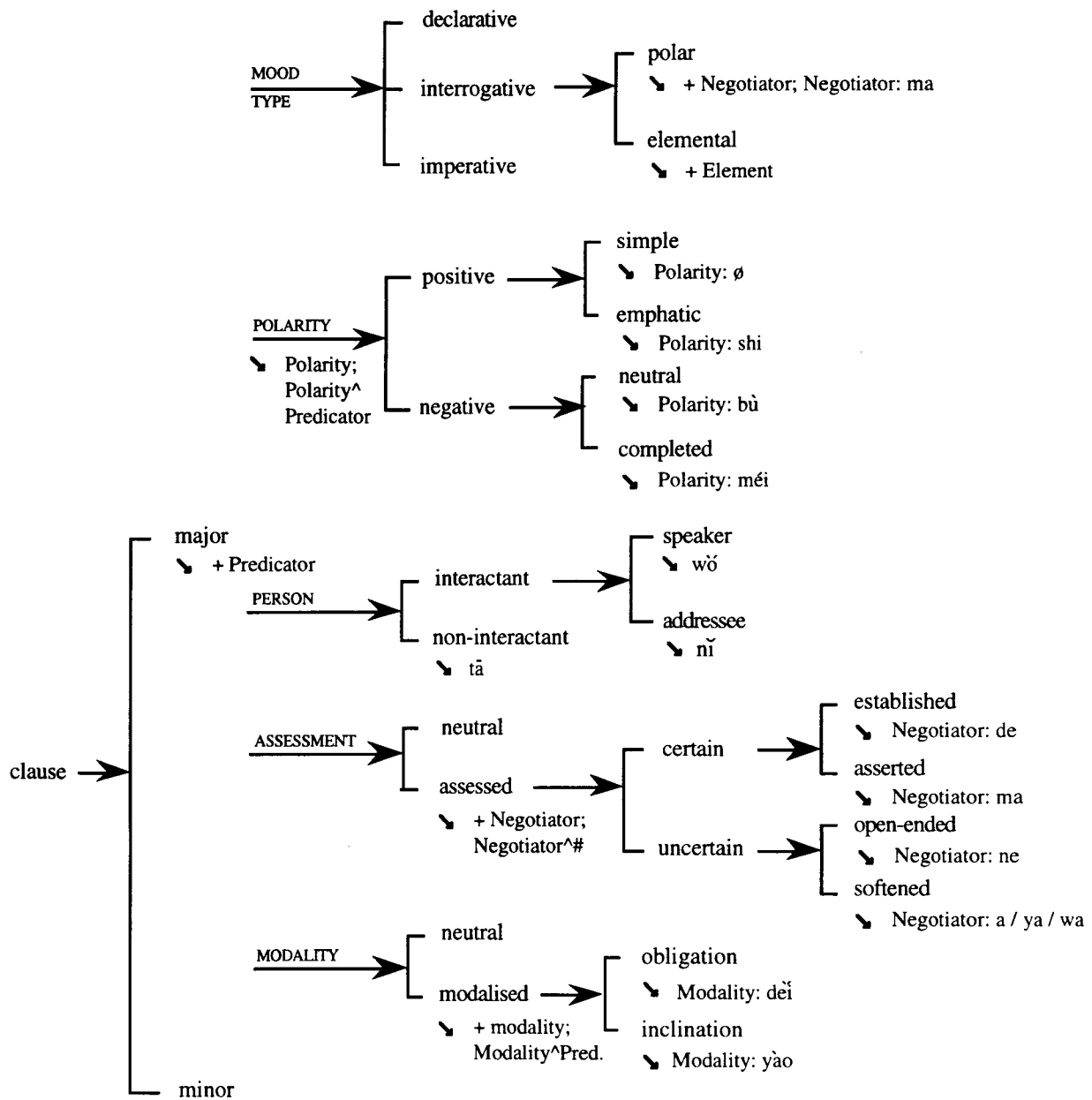
Figure 3.21: The system network for MOOD in *Memory* with realisation statements

process → happening ↘ zénme (le)

quality ↘ zénmeyàng

polar → participant → quantity ↘ duōshao

circumstance → place ↘ nǎ'r

degree ↘ duō

interrogative

MOOD
TYPE

balanced ↘ Predicator^Polarity: neg.^Pred

elemental → positive bias ↘ Negotiator: ma

↘ + Element

strongly positive bias ↘ Polarity: neg^Predicator ^Negotiator: ma

declarative

imperative → tagged ↘ + Moodtag: Moodtag^#

untagged

POLARITY

positive ↘ Polarity: ø

↘ + Polarity; Polarity^ Predicator

negative ↘ Polarity: bù

major
clause

↘ + Predicator

PERSON

interactant → speaker ↘ wǒ

addressee ↘ nǐ

addressee ↘ zánmen

non-interactant ↘ tā

ASSESSMENT

neutral

assessed → certain → established ↘ Negotiator: de

uncertain → open-ended ↘ Negotiator: ne

doubtful ↘ Negotiator: ba

varying → softened ↘ Negotiator: a / ya / wa

exclamative ↘ Negotiator: a / ya / wa

MODALITY

neutral

modalised → obligation ↘ Modality: děi

inclination ↘ Modality: xiǎng

Figure 3.22:   The system network for MOOD in *Shopping* with realisation statements

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Unlike THEME features, MOOD features are realised largely not through position or ordering, but rather by the presence or absence of particular mood functions. Many important MOOD features, however, are realised by the absence of any marking at all, or by what I referred to in section 2.2.2 above as **zero marking**. Here we need to distinguish two different phenomena. The first, zero marking, is a structural device, a type of realisation, in which the absence of marking is significant by contrast with marked options. For example, in the following clauses from *Shopping*, the feature [declarative] has no explicit realisation but its zero realisation rules out the possibility of the clause being [imperative] or [interrogative]:

S24. nèi ge   rén   chuān de   yīfu   zhēn   piàoliang   a!
     that MEAS   person wear   SUB   clothes really pretty   MOD
     'the clothes that person is wearing are really pretty.'

The second phenomenon is what we might call **optionality** (see further section 4.3 below), a systemic potential whereby a particular meaning is left unspecified. For example in a clause such as the following from *Shopping*, there is no modality feature present; it is not just that it is not realised, it is not even at issue:

S2. zánmen   jin-qu
    you-me   enter go
    'let's go in'

Contrast this with another example where modality is explicitly realised by the presence of the Modality function *děi* 'must, have to':

			Modality	Predicator		
74. kěshi	zánmen	hái	děi	zuò	chē	ne!
but	you-me	still	must	travel	vehicle	MOD

'but we still need to catch the bus!'

Realisation statements for MOOD features, therefore, basically involve the two variables of presence vs absence of mood functions at particular boundaries in the clause, typically preceding the Predicator, and at the end of the clause. There are a couple of exceptions to this. The first is the realisation of the Element function in elemental interrogative clauses, which takes its position in the clause from its corresponding experiential function (Process, Participant or Circumstance). A full realisation statement for these mood functions would therefore require specifying their intersection with the realisation of transitivity features, as in the following example where the position of the Element in the interrogative clause (M22) matches the position of the corresponding circumstance of Time in the answering declarative clause (M23) :

M22. nǐ   *shénme shihòu*   gēn wǒ   shuō guo?
     you   what   time   with I   speak ASP
     'When did you mention (it) to me?'

M23. *Chī zǎofàn de shíhòu*   shuō de.
     eat breakfast SUB time   speak MOD
     'I mentioned (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'

Secondly, the realisation of the interrogative feature [polar: balanced] involves the positive and negative forms of the verb side by side, or more specifically, the Predicator followed by a negative Polarity followed by the Predicator, as in the following example from *Shopping*:

S53. yǒu   méi   yǒu   sānshiqī   hào   de?
      exist NEG   exist thirty-seven size   SUB
      'Do you have them in a thirty-seven?'

This can be thought of as an iconic representation of balanced polarity, with the positive and negative forms placed side by side. Some treatments of mood in Chinese (e.g. Liu et al. 1983: Part 4, Chapter 4.1) class this type together with the so-called "choice" mood type (see section 3.1.2 above), i.e. as though it were an variant of the following modified clause:

S53'. yǒu   háishi méi   yǒu   sānshiqī   hào   de?
      exist or   NEG   exist thirty-seven size   SUB
      'Do you or do you not have them in a thirty-seven?'

Of course, such an analysis is based mainly on structural similarities: systemically they are quite distinct, with the choice type, as I noted above, being a sort of mixture of polar and interrogative, while the balanced type is definitely polar.

As noted in the previous section, comparison of the system networks for MOOD in *Shopping* compared with the original network for *Memory* did not involve any radical additions - merely adding more delicate features within existing systems. Similarly, comparison of the two texts does not call for any major revision of the mood structure of the clause. In contrast to the theme structure, which I have argued above can be regarded as *the* basic clause structure for Chinese, mood structure seems to be less complex. Traditionally (e.g. Zhu 1982: 202-206; Liu et al. 1983: 501-521) the different mood types are captured as classifications of the clause as a whole. In section 2.2.2 above, I expanded this conception of interpersonal structure by identifying certain elements , or more specifically, certain boundaries within the clause that could be regarded as interpersonally significant.

A comparison of mood structure in *Memory* and *Shopping* extends our understanding of one of these boundaries: that realised at the very end of the clause. In *Memory* this boundary could be marked by what I termed as Negotiator, i.e. a function whose role was to indicate how the addressee was to "take" the proposition or proposal being put forward. In *Shopping*, this boundary may also be marked by a sort of expanded Negotiator or **tag**, that explicitly asks for confirmation, compliance, etc. For example in the following clause:

S12. Yō.... bāng   wǒ   fàng-jin   tíbāo   li,   hǎo   ma?
      oh   help   I   place enter   shopping-bag   in   good   MOD
      'Oh, (could you) help me put (the change) in my bag, please?'

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the function of the tag *hǎo ma* 'okay (lit. is it good)' is analogous to a declarative clause such as the following, whose sole function is to indicate compliance:

S4.　Hǎo　a.
　　　good　MOD
　　　'Okay.'

In clause (S12), this call for compliance is simply "tagged" on to another clause without changing the basic mood type of that clause (imperative) but "modulating" its force, in a very similar way to the Negotiator *ba* in the following example:

S33.　Wèi,　piányi　yìdiǎn'r　　　ba!
　　　hey　　cheap　a-little　　　　MOD
　　　'Hey, (could you make it) a bit cheaper?'

This clause could indeed be recast with tag instead of Negotiator, without greatly affecting the meaning:

S33'.　Wèi,　piányi　yìdiǎn'r,　　hǎo　ma?
　　　hey　　cheap　a-little　　　good　MOD
　　　'Hey, (could you make it) a bit cheaper?'

In fact, although not exemplified in either text, the tag is open to some of the other mood and assessment choices of the main predication. Compare (S33') above with a variant where the tag is a balanced interrogative (S33"):

S33".　Wèi,　piányi　yìdiǎn'r,　　hǎo　bu　　hao?
　　　hey　　cheap　a-little　　　good　NEG　good
　　　'Hey, (could you make it) a bit cheaper?'

and with a tag marked for [doubtful] assessment (S33'''):

S33'''.Wèi,　piányi　yìdiǎn'r,　　hǎo　ba?
　　　hey　　cheap　a-little　　　good　MOD
　　　'Hey, (could you make it) a bit cheaper?'

3.2.3　Experiential system and experiential structure

In Chapter 1 the network for TRANSITIVITY was built up step by step by identifying the structural patterns in the clause that expressed TRANSITIVITY contrasts. Figs 3.23 and 3.24 below set out the relationship between these systemic contrasts and their structural realisations by means of realisation statements added to the relevant features in the network.

material
↘ + Medium

middle → unranged
↘ Medium^Process
ranged
↘ + Range; Medium^Process^Range

effective
↘ + Agent; Agent^Process^Medium

ascriptive
↘ + Carrier

ascribed to entity
↘ Carrier: nominal group
ascribed to situation
↘ Carrier: clause

unranged
↘ Carrier^Process
ranged
↘ Carrier^Process^Range

PROCESS TYPE
↘ + Process

relational →
existential
↘ + Existent; + Location; Location^Process^Existent
identifying
↘ + Identified; + Identifier; Idenfied^(Process)^Identifier
locational
↘ + Existent; + Location; Existent^Process^Location

mental
↘ + Senser

phenomenal
↘ + Phenomenon; Senser^Process^Phenomenon
reporting
↘ Senser^Process^projected clause

verbal
↘ + Sayer

addressed
↘ + Receiver; Sayer^Receiver^Process
verbalised
↘ + Verbiage; Sayer^Process^Verbiage
quoting
↘ Sayer^Process^projected clause

CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE →
sequential
↘ Sequence: adverb
circumstantial →
Circumstance: nominal group, coverbial phrase

time →
location
duration
degree
cause
benefit

ASPECT →
neutral
marked

PHASE →
neutral
marked

clause

Figure 3.23:   The system of TRANSITIVITY in *Memory*

material
  + Medium
    middle
      unranged
        Medium^Process
      ranged
        + Range; Medium^Process^Range
    effective
      + Agent; Agent^Process^Medium

ascriptive
  + Carrier
    unextended
      Carrier^Process
    extended
      Carrier^Process^de^[|clause|]

PROCESS TYPE
  + Process

relational
    existential
      + Existent; + Location; Location^Process^Existent
    identifying
      + Identified; + Identifier; Idenfied^(Process)^Identifier
    attributive
      + Carrier; + Attribute; Carrier^Process^Attribute

mental
  + Senser
    phenomenal
      + Phenomenon; Senser^Process^Phenomenon
    reporting
      Senser^Process^projected clause

verbal
    addressed
      + Receiver; Sayer^Receiver^Process
    quoting
      Sayer^Process^projected clause

CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE
    scopal
      Scope: adverb
    sequential
      Sequence: adverb
    circumstantial
      Circumstance: nominal group, coverbial phrase
        time
          location
          duration
        place
        means
        measure
        manner

ASPECT
    neutral
    marked

PHASE
    neutral
    marked

clause

Figure 3.24:   The system of TRANSITIVITY in *In the classroom*

The relationship between experiential systemic features and their structural realisations is arguably a more complex one than the textual and interpersonal types examined in

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previous sections. As explained in section 2.2.3 above, the realisation of experiential clause functions is variable because, on the one hand participants may be ellipsed as presumed information, and on the other, many of them alternate between a **default** position in the clause, and a **marked** position, the latter usually determined by the textual organisation of the clause.

The realisation statements given below, therefore, are contingent on this fact - what they represent is basically the default ordering of the transitivity functions of the clause in relation to each other. A fuller account of the structural realisation of transitivity features in the clause would thus need to include their interaction with the features of the theme system. This would involve a consideration of the notion of markedness as applied in grammatical description; this is too complex an issue to be dealt with here, but the relevant issues will be treated in section 4.3 below.

Table 2.6 in section 2.2.3 above gives an idea of the range of realisations. From the evidence of these two texts, it would seem that it is the material clause type that has the widest range of variants in ordering, for example with the Medium in effective clauses being able to appear preceding the Process, as well as in its default position following the Process. Across the range of process types, many of the circumstantial functions alternate between clause initial and post initial position. (Fang et al. 1995, using a slightly different transitivity classification, summarise the range of possibilities for ordering.)

In only one clause type, the relational, is ordering crucial in the definition of participant functions, in that a change in ordering may mean a change in participant role, and that not surprisingly, such changes often have textual significance. We saw in section 1.4.3 above that the difference between the existential and locational subtypes has to do with the ordering of the same pair of participants, whether Location or Existent is chosen as Theme, the difference also being signalled by a different lexical verb. In the case of the attributive subtype, the order of Carrier^Process^Attribute is fixed. For the identifying subtype, while the order of participants is fixed as Identified^Process^Identifier, the lexical material realising those participants may be reversed. Compare the original and modified clauses below:

CR25. nà   shi   wǒ   tiánmì de   wǎngshì.
      that   be   I   sweet SUB   past
      'that was my happy past.'

CR25' Wǒ   tiánmì de   wǎngshì   shi   nà   (ge   shíhou).
      I   sweet SUB   past   be   that   MEAS time
      'my happy past was that (time).'

In the modified (CR25') the lexical material originally functioning as Identified is now functioning as Identifier and vice-versa. In the original clause, the identity of *nà* 'that' had

just been given in the previous clause as *xiě zuòwén* 'writing compositions', subsequently identified as *wǒ tiánmì de wǎngshì* 'my happy past'. In the modified version, 'my happy past' becomes itself in need of elaboration, the addition of the noun *shíhou* 'time' to the original *nà* 'that' makes it rather more likely as Identifier, since the strong Given sense of the demonstrative would normally make it more likely as Theme / Identified.

While most of the realisation statements consist of the same types of specifications as with the textual and interpersonal networks, one system for which the realisation rules are slightly different is that of CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE. Firstly the basic realisation rules are not to do with position or presence or conflation, like those examined so far, but rather to do with what we may call **preselection** (Matthiessen 1995: 789), i.e. the selection of a feature at a lower rank, e.g. group or word class. Thus the feature [sequential] preselects (i.e. is realised by the class) adverb, whereas the feature [circumstantial] preselects nominal group or coverbial phrase. A gap in the realisation rules within [circumstantial] has to do with the ordering of the Circumstances, defined by these features. The majority of Circumstances precede the process, but two kinds in particular, those realising the features [time:duration] and [measure] follow the Process. Since these two features are not closely related systemically they have not been put together in the network, but their presence in different parts of the network makes the specification of realisation statements rather difficult. The realisation statements to do with ordering of these functions have therefore been omitted.

The comparison of transitivity structure in *Memory* and *In the classroom* does not bring about any great changes to our understanding of the clause, apart from the identification of the two non-experiential types of "circumstance", sequential and scopal, made in the previous section. It may be noted that, of all the types of function structure, it is the textual that is the most significant in defining the structure of the clause. This is because, on the one hand, the structure of the message unit comes closest to being identifiable with what can be recognised as a clause on other grounds; and on the other hand, because it is the interaction of the Theme^Rheme and Given^New structures that basically defines the concrete order of the elements of the clause.

These "elements", apart from a number of particles, are of course almost exclusively experiential in function, and it is the individual subtypes of these elements that determines their default position in the clause (see discussion in section 2.2.3 above). In that sense, therefore, it is not really possible to gain anything more from a strict comparison of the experiential clause structure in each text, since they share the same basic clause types and thus the same default orders. What would be more enlightening would be a comparison

of the *interaction* between the textual and experiential structures in each text, a topic which falls outside the scope of the present discussion.

3.2.4 Logical system and logical structure

In Chapter 1 the network for LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS was built up step by step by identifying the structural patterns in the clause that expressed LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS contrasts. Figs 3.25 and 3.26 below set out the relationship between these systemic contrasts and their structural realisations by means of realisation statements added to the relevant features in the network.
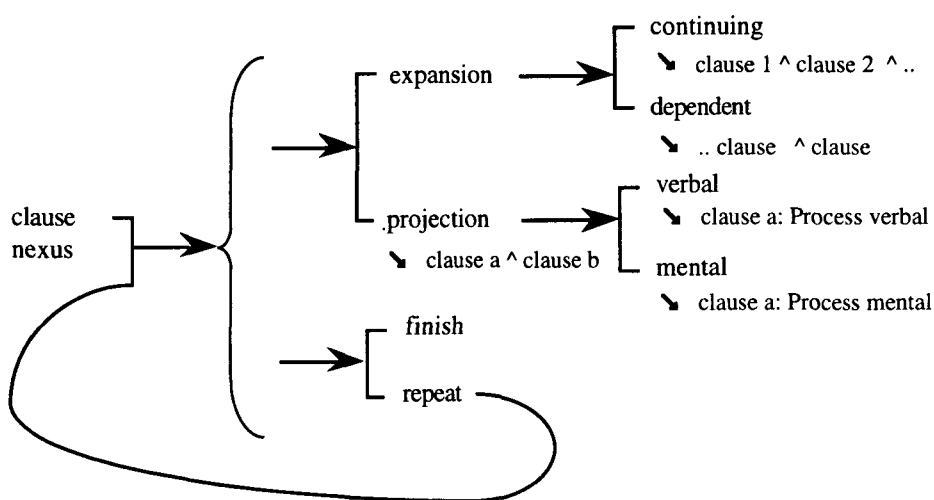

Figure 3.25:   The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Memory*
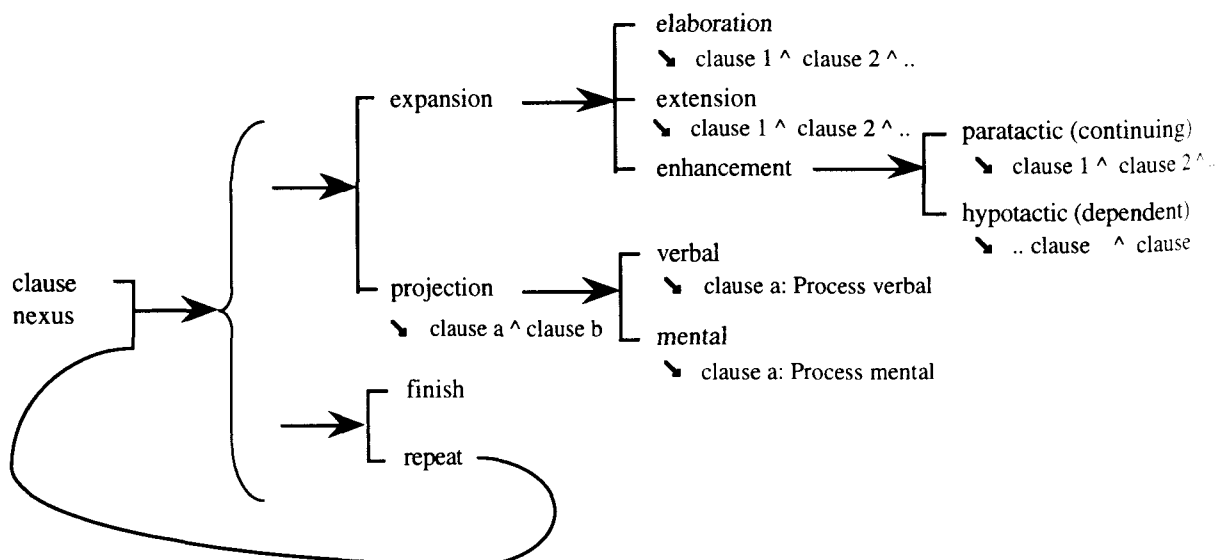
Figure 3.26:   The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Disappointed in America*

The relationship between the systemic features in these networks and their structural realisation is perhaps the most straightforward of all the networks examined so far. This is because the basic structural mechanism involved is one of **recursion**: i.e. repeating the same types of structural units - in this case clauses - over and over again. This aspect of the realisation of logical features is captured by the bottommost [finish] / [repeat] system in each network, a system which, unlike all of those examined so far, has no direct relationship to any structural feature, but instead leads us back into the network.

One area where the realisation statements need to be more highly specified is in the feature [enhancement: hypotactic] ([expansion: depending] in the network for *Memory*). In fact there are a number of ways of indicating a dependent clause, ranging from a conjunctive marker at the end of the clause, such as *yǐhòu* 'after' in the following example:

M12. Hài,   xiàwǔ   xià bān   *yǐhòu*,
     hey   afternoon   finish work   after
     'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

M13. càishìchǎng   hái   kāi mén   ma!
     market   still   open door   MOD
     'the markets would still be open!'

to an aspect clitic following the Process, such as *le* in the following example:

M15. xià   *le*   bān
     finish   ASP   work
     'Having finished work,'

M16. wǒ   hái děi   qù   bǎihuòdàlóu
     I   still must   go   department store
     'I still had to go to the department store'

or both of them together, as in the following example:

D61. nǐ   qù   *le*   *zhīhòu*,
     you   go   ASP:compl   after
     'after you've gone'

D62. nǐ   jiù   huì   bèi   zhuā-qilai,
     you   then   could   PASS   arrest   up
     'You can be arrested'

The dominant clause may also be marked by a Sequence, e.g. *jiù* 'then' in (D62) above, which indicates that the action expressed by the dominant clause follows that of the dependent clause; or *hái* 'still' in (M13) and (M16) above, which indicates that the action expressed by the dominant clause comes at the end of a series of actions.

We could formalise these distinctions by extending the above network at the point [hypotactic], as shown in Fig. 3.27 below:

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prospective clause α →
- sequenced
  ↘ +Sequence; Sequence^#; Sequence: *yǐhòu, yǐqián*
- completed
  ↘ +Aspect; Process^Aspect; Aspect: *le*

retrospective clause β →
- following
  ↘ +Sequence; Sequence: *jiù*
- end of series
  ↘ +Sequence; Sequence: *hái*
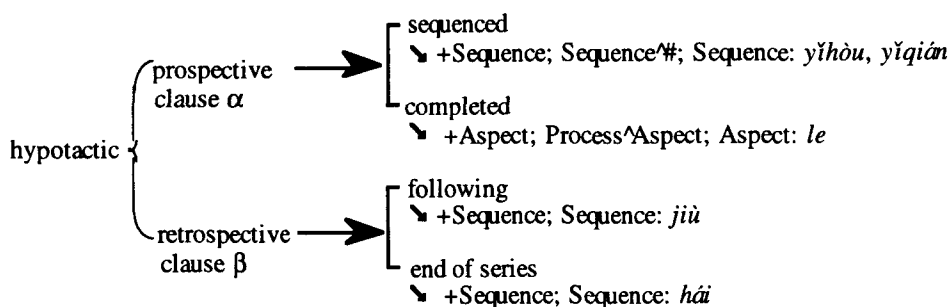
Figure 3.27:   An extended system for hypotaxis

Another realisatory option not indicated is in the realisation statement for projection, where clause a (i.e. the projecting clause), as well as in its normal position of preceding clause b (the projected clause) as in the following example:

D58. nǐ   lìjí   huì juéde
      you   immediately   can feel
      'You straightaway might feel'

D59. nǐ   dào   le   yí ge   ziyóu de   shìjiè.
      you   reach ASP:compl   one MEAS   free SUB   world
      '(that) you've reached a free world.'

may also follow it, as a sort of afterthought, as in the following example:

D47. Hěn duō hěn duō   wénhuà shang de   qíshì,   dōu shi zhèiyàng de,
      very many very many   culture on   SUB   discrimination   all be this-way   SUB
      'There are many many (instances of) cultural discrimination that are like this,'

D48. wǒ   juéde.
      I   feel
      'I think.'

As noted above, the main differences between the description of logical structure in the two texts is the greater delicacy in the network for *Disappointed in America* based on the larger data set of this text. The main descriptive issue raised by the comparison of the two texts is that already raised in the previous section: i.e. the intersection of the logico-semantic systems of expansion and projection with the interdependency system of paratactic vs hypotactic. This distinction was originally based on the observation that certain clauses, when entering into a relationship with another clause, do so on an equal footing: in other words, that the clause by itself is independently interpretable, and the relationship between it and the other clause or clauses is simply one of continuation.

In contrast, other clauses enter into interclausal relationships on an unequal footing: i.e. their interpretation depends on the presence of another clause, and the relationship between the two is one of dependence. There is, however, an analytical problem in identifying this distinction, in that in many cases it is not possible to identify a clause out of context as being in a paratactic or hypotactic relationship. For example, in the following clause complex from *Memory*:

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M6.　huí-lai,
return come
'(now that I've) come home,'

M7.　hái　děi　zuò fàn.
still　must　cook meal
'(I) still have to do the cooking.'

the two clauses are perfectly interpretable in isolation. However, in context, we can be
pretty sure that the first is actually dependent on the second: firstly because of the general
meaning relationship between them (getting home is a precondition for cooking dinner);
secondly because of the presence of the sequential *hái* 'still' in the second clause (in fact
this links not only the immediately previous clause but other earlier clauses - see
discussion in section 2.3.1 above); and thirdly because the two clauses form a single tone
group, with tonic prominence on *fàn* 'meal', this phonological "closeness" of the two
clauses signalling a logical dependence between them.

Such a distinction, although it must almost always be made in context, is nevertheless
relatively easy to make in the case of clauses related through expansion, or at least the
enhancement subtype of expansion, and such clause nexuses are thus classified both for
logico-semantic relation and interdependency type in the network for *Disappointed in
America* above. In the case of projection, however, the grounds for making this
distinction seem less certain. For a start, there is no marker of the relationship of
projection, with projecting and projected clauses simply being juxtaposed - commonly in
that order; separately they thus seem completely independent. Paradoxically, even though
this type of structure seems to square completely with the definition given above for
paratactic, it would seem necessary to interpret such a relationship as a hypotactic one,
since the projected clause is only interpretable as such from the presence of the projecting
clause. This would tend to suggest that, even if there is a distinction between different
types of interdependency in the case of projection, it is a different one from that which
obtains in the case of expansion. On the basis of the data represented by these two texts,
which has been shown to be perhaps too limited to really make a definitive decision, it is
not possible to extend this argument any further.

3.3 Relativising the description: a systemic functional approach in contrast with other frameworks

In previous sections of this chapter, the so-called "descriptive fiction" of describing a
single text in isolation has gradually been deconstructed. In this section, the process of
deconstruction will be applied to the other "descriptive fiction" that a single theoretical
framework exists in isolation from other frameworks, or indeed is capable of capturing all

the significant features of the lexicogrammar of a language. The theory being applied here, systemic functional theory, differs from mainstream models of language in the way it relates the different strata of language to each other, and in its orientation towards the paradigmatic over the syntagmatic. Nevertheless, a systemic functional description of a particular language like Chinese does of course draw on the wider range of descriptions in a range of theoretical frameworks. The following discussion will not attempt a comprehensive overview of a field that is distinguished for its great range and depth of descriptive accounts, but rather place *this particular description* of the lexicogrammar of Chinese in that broader descriptive context, showing how some of the issues raised in a systemic functional description have been dealt with in other frameworks. This means that issues that have only come up briefly in the analysis of these texts, or for which these texts provide insufficient evidence, will not be discussed at length (for example, the analysis of the clause complex in section 3.3.4 below)

3.3.1   Theorising textual lexicogrammar in Chinese

There is quite a wide literature on what in the present study is termed the textual lexicogrammar of Chinese, dating from as earlier as Mullie (1932: 155), who described what was explained here as the normal conflation of Theme with Given and (part of) Rheme with New, as a distinction between "determinate and indeterminate subject". Likewise the notions corresponding to Theme or Topic seem to have forced their way relatively early into the sinological linguistic discourse (cf Chao 1948). After lively debates on sentence structure in the 1950s, particularly on defining the category of "subject" (cf Lü et al. 1958), the tendency, at least in structuralist approaches (e.g. Chao 1968, Zhu 1982), has been to rely solely on word order to define the basic structural functions of the sentence, and to interpret this word order in what would here be called textual terms.

A previous survey of research into the textual lexicogrammar of Chinese (Fang et al. 1995: 238-240) recognised two main approaches to the description of textual structure: the "subject only approach", as represented by Chao 1968, Zhu 1982 and Tsao 1979, 1990, and the "subject and topic approach", as represented by Li & Thompson 1981. Very briefly, the "subject only" approach defines "subject" (Chao 1968, Zhu 1982) or "topic" (Tsao 1979, 1990) in very similar terms to Theme in the present study: i.e. as a function identified by its position at the beginning of the clause, and interpreted as "what the speaker...is most interested in" (Zhu 1982: 96). In contrast the "subject and topic" approach sees the two functions as being of quite different kinds, with the "subject" defined as "the noun phrase that has a 'doing' or 'being' relationship with the verb" (Li & Thompson 1981: 87), i.e. in SFL terms an experiential function, in contrast with the

"topic" which "sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds" (Li & Thompson 1981: 86).

Tsao, in the major studies on textual structure so far in the field (Tsao 1979, 1990), has developed the "subject only" approach in his description of the basic Topic Comment structure of the clause in Chinese. In his more recent work, he has also extended this framework to a description of multiple Themes ("secondary topics" Tsao 1990: Chapter 4-5) and the structure of the clause complex ("complex / compound sentence", Tsao 1990: Chapters 7-8). Tsao claims, quite justifiably, that topic is a "discourse element" which may "extend its semantic domain to more than one sentence" (Tsao 1979: 88). From the point of view of the present study however, Tsao does not take his analysis far enough in the direction of discourse. Although he uses authentic spoken data from telephone conversations, he supplements this with a great number of invented or borrowed examples, particularly where he is trying to argue for one particular analysis over another, e.g. in his initial definition of topic (Tsao 1990: 53-58). Furthermore he does not consider the organisation of text or discourse itself, apart from noting (correctly in my view) that topic is somehow part of that organisation. These features of his analysis somewhat weaken his claim to be describing the topic as a discourse element.

The rest of his classification of the clause and clause complex in Chinese ("simple, complex and compound sentences", Tsao 1990: Chapters 3 -8), in SFL terms mixes together textual, experiential and to an extent logical criteria. For example, his classification of the "simple sentence" (Tsao 1990: Chapter 3) contains such subtypes as "sentences with state verbs", "sentences with action verbs", "possessive, existential and presentative sentences", which clearly represent experiential rather than textual distinctions. Of course, as is shown by Fang et al. (1995: Section 4.1), the different process types do determine different kinds of textual ordering, but in my opinion, the two types of structure need first to be defined separately, and then their interaction explored.

The analysis of information structure has not received so much attention in the literature, doubtless because of its phonological realisation. Apart from a few comparative studies like Gao 1984, and some suggestive remarks by Chao on what he calls the "logical predicate", which he defines as "the point of the message in a sentence" (Chao 1968: 78), most sinological linguists seem to have stayed away from interpreting intonation patterns semantically. For many Kratochvil's remark that "intonation features are almost inextricably combined with the tonal and stress features of syllables" ((1968: 126) has meant that such studies get thrown into the analytical too hard basket. The detailed intonational analysis of Chinese from a textual point of view still awaits to be done;

hopefully recent studies analysing Chinese grammar from an intonational point of view, such as Tao 1996, will point the way in this direction.

3.3.2   Theorising interpersonal lexicogrammar in Chinese

As noted in section 2.2.2 above, what is analysed in the present study as the interpersonal structure of the clause is commonly dealt with as a classification of the clause as a whole. For example, Li & Thompson 1981 treat what here would be called the different mood types of the clause under such terms as " simple declarative sentences" (Chapter 4), "the imperative" (Chapter 14), "questions" (Chapter 18). Similarly, Zhu (1982: Chapter 15) discusses "interrogative sentences" (*yiwènjù*) and "imperative sentences" (*qǐshǐjù*); he does not, however, specifically discuss "declarative sentences" which seem to be assumed as basic. The other main line of research into interpersonal meanings in Chinese takes the traditional form of studies of *xūcí* i.e. "empty", or grammatical words: for example, studies into modal particles (Chao 1968: Section 8.5; Alleton 1981; Li & Thompson 1981: Chapter 7; Zhu 1982: Chapter 16; Liu et. al 1983: Part 1, Chapter 9.3) or modal auxiliaries (e.g. Li & Thompson 1981: Chapter 5, Alleton 1984, Ma 1992).

From the point of view of the present study, there are two main gaps in what has been done so far on the interpersonal lexicogrammar of Chinese. The first is a detailed description of the structure of the clause from an interpersonal point of view, i.e. what was termed in section 2.2.2 above the "predication unit". Zhang 1996 represents an initial step in that direction, in his discussion of the realisation of interpersonal Subject in Chinese, but a comprehensive account of all interpersonal functions, and their realisation in extended text, still waits to be done. The second gap is a systemic (i.e. system-based) account of the interaction of the different interpersonal functions of the clause, for example, the systems described in the present study under the headings of POLARITY, MODALITY and ASSESSMENT. A typical instance is Fang 1992, who actually brings together the latter two systems under the heading "the category of mood" (Fang 1992: Chapters 19-20), but does not consider the interaction between them as systems.

The comment in section 3.3.1 above regarding Tsao's studies of textual lexicogrammar could also be applied here: that is, we are unlikely to see a comprehensive account of interpersonal clause structure until it is examined in its discourse contexts, particularly in dialogic texts, and with those texts analysed as semantic units. Recent studies of modal particles in their discourse contexts, e.g. Chu 1985, Chappell 1991, will hopefully lead to a deeper understanding of their role in the exchange in Chinese, and show the way to more discourse-based studies of interpersonal system and structure.

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3.3.3   Theorising experiential lexicogrammar in Chinese

The experiential lexicogrammar of Chinese, corresponding to the bulk of what has been treated as "grammar" in traditional accounts, has received the greatest attention of all the functional types of structure, in the widest range of frameworks. The classic grammars of modern Chinese such as Lü 1947, Wang 1947, Chao 1968, Zhu 1982 have dealt mostly, though not exclusively with experiential structure. Because of the very wide range of this material, in the discussion that follows I will concentrate largely on the equivalents of the classification of **process types** in a number of other frameworks.

The notion of "verb classes", like that of "topic" seems to have entered the sinological linguistic literature relatively early, being already present in Chao 1948, and subsequently elaborated in Chao 1968. His classification (1968: Section 8.1.1), the most developed of those in a structuralist framework, is an elaboration of the traditional distinction between transitive and intransitive, which are both cross-classified with action and state. Chao's intransitive state verbs correspond to the ascriptive processes of the present study (*xíngróngcí* or "adjectives" in many traditional accounts, cf Zhu 1982: Section 5.1), and his transitive state verbs to mental processes. Under intransitive, he distinguishes an additional subtype of "status verbs" like *bìng* "to fall ill" which indicate meanings of change of state, and are grammatically distinct from both material and ascriptive processes. Under transitive, also classes various relational processes, as well as the auxiliaries that in the present study regarded as filling interpersonal functions.

From the earlier 1970s, a number of studies appeared which drew on the "explosion" in the semantic analysis of verb classes that followed Fillmore's classic study of case relations (Fillmore 1968). The first of these was Li 1971, closely followed by Tang 1972, both of which applied Fillmore's case model, and Teng 1975, which drew on the more recent Chafeian model, (Chafe 1970). Such studies might be broadly characterised as "noun centred" in that they used the cases of the nouns in the clause to classify the verbs with which they combined. In Li's case, the "case frames" were superimposed on an existing verb classification based on Chao 1968; Teng's was derived independently from basic participant roles of Agent, Patient, Goal, Locative and Range (the latter role taken over from Halliday 1967-68), giving the three main verb types of Action, Process, and State, as well as the mixed type Process Action.

In contrast with these studies, the earliest applications of systemic functional theory to describing the transitivity of Chinese (Tam 1979, Long 1981, Tsung 1986), drawing on the description of English given in Halliday 1967-68 as well as early drafts of Halliday 1985/94, might be called "clause-centred", in that they classified the clause as a whole

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into transitivity types, each type having a distinct configuration of Process and Participant(s). Long indeed was influenced by some features of the noun centred approach in his analysis of what have traditionally been called "resultative verb compounds" (Chao 1968: Section 6.6; Li & Thompson 1981: Section 3.2.3 A) or "verb complement constructions" (Zhu 1982: Chapter 9) "complex Processes" with "double participants" (Long 1981: 34): what in the present study are analysed as "compound verbal groups" (see section 4.1.5 below). More recent work on transitivity, (Zhou 1996, 1997) drawing on Fawcett's version of systemic functional theory (Fawcett 1980), classifies such structures as relational processes, on the grounds that what in the present study is called the postverb is best characterised as relational in nature.

This very sketchy account cannot begin to explore the significant features of these accounts of transitivity in Chinese, all of which have formed a background to the present study. The semantically based nature of most of these accounts means that the extension of the understanding of grammatical patterning into its discourse contexts is perhaps more advanced in the case of experiential lexicogrammar. An as yet largely unexplored area of research is the interaction in text of the system of transitivity with other experiential systems such as aspect and phase: a preliminary step in this direction is taken in Chapter 4 of the present study.

3.3.4 Theorising logical lexicogrammar in Chinese

The analysis of the clause complex in Chinese is again an area where a lot of analysis and classification has been carried out. The basic interdependency classification of the *fùjù* "complex sentence" into *děnglì* "paratactic" and *zhǔcóng* "hypotactic" was first discussed for Chinese in Li 1924, and the relation between these interdependency types and semantic relation has been debated extensively in works such as Lü 1947, Li & Liu 1957, Chao 1968, Zhu 1982. In his comparison of the notion of *fùjù* as defined in this tradition as compared with the systemic functional notion of clause complex, Ouyang (1986: xi) remarks that "the clause complex signifies a dynamic interplay between tactic relations and semantic ones while *fuju* defines a rather rigid combination of tactic relations with semantic ones" and points out further that "[quoting and reporting...are two important ways of linking clauses into a complex...that have so far been neglected by the analysts of *fuju*". These again are topics that is too complex to enter into here, particularly since it is one that has only been fairly briefly touched so far on in the present study. A clearer idea of the issues involved in defining the mix of interdependency and semantic relations may be gained from the discussion of verbal group structure in section 4.1 below, where many of the same problems faced in defining the clause complex are also relevant. At this stage, therefore, I will not go further into accounts of logical lexicogrammar in Chinese.

Chapter 4   Verbal group systems in text

4.0   The description of verbal elements in Chinese

Descriptions of grammatical structure in Chinese (e.g. Lu 1961, Kratochvil 1968)
continually come up against the problem of delimiting units of grammatical structure for a
language that, at least in contrast with the morphologically more generous Indo-European
languages, seems to be one "without grammatical signals" (cf Li & Thompson 1978).
Recently, two opposing trends have emerged in defining the basic grammatical units for
Chinese. On the one hand, Tsao (1979, 1990) extends the study of grammar into its
discourse contexts, taking the topic chain, "a stretch of discourse headed by one or more
topics ...followed by one or more comment clauses" (Tsao 1990: xi) as the basic unit. On
the other hand work in the structuralist tradition (Zhu 1985, Lu 1993) takes the smaller
unit of "phrase" as basic, and more recent investigations into the grammar of spoken
Chinese from an intonational viewpoint (Tao 1991, 1996) seem to confirm this insight.
From the viewpoint of the present study, these two approaches can also be distinguished
metafunctionally, with the first focussing on the **textual** interpretation of grammatical
structure, while the second concentrates largely on its **experiential** interpretation. Both
of these, of course, as well as the often overlooked **interpersonal** interpretation, can be
linked to the discourse organisation of the text. as was shown in Chapter 1 above.

Studies of Chinese grammar based on text data, as noted above, have tended to define the
clause in terms of its textual structure, i.e. how the clause is organised as a message or
flow of information, in terms of structural functions like Topic and Comment (Tsao
1979, 1990), or in an SFL framework, Theme and Rheme (Fang 1989, Fang et al.
1995). In such frameworks, the verb plays little if any role (see sections 2.2.1 above and
4.1.2 below). We can thus consider the possibility of verb and clause involving different
kinds of structural relations, with successive verbs forming a distinct structure that runs
across clause boundaries, in effect, treating all verb combinations as forming "serial verb
constructions" (Li & Thompson 1981: Ch.21). In the terms of the present study, such
structures would be characterised as logical ones, i.e. as defined by what Halliday calls
the "functional-semantic relations that make up the logic of natural language" (1994: 216).
He identifies two relevant "systemic dimensions": the first, the "system of
interdependency or 'tactic' system...general to all complexes"; and the second, the
"logico-semantic system of expansion and projection", which he describes as "a relation
between processes". Although Halliday uses these two systems for English largely to
define relationships between processes in separate clauses (as was done for Chinese in

section 2.3.1 above; cf also the more extended account in Ouyang 1986), it would be equally possible to use them to define relationships between different verbal elements in the same clause (as indeed Halliday does himself in his description of "verbal group complexes" (Halliday 1994: section 7A.4-6)) - that is, to treat each verbal element as a potential process.

What this sort of analysis comes up with in the first instance is a continuous recursive structure defined by the different types of interdependency and logico-semantic relations between successive verbal elements. In line with the analysis of the clause developed in earlier chapters of this study, different verbal elements can then be identified as playing a role in the structures defined by the other metafunctions, the **textual** theme and information structures, the **interpersonal** mood structure, and the **experiential** transitivity structure. In the following sections, I will explore the implications of this kind of analysis for the description of verbal elements in Chinese.

4.1   A multifunctional analysis of verbal elements in Chinese

In the following sections, I will set up a framework for the analysis of verbal elements in Chinese, using as data the short story *Wenli's Composition*, an extract from which was used in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.3). For ease of discussion, I have divided the short story into a number of parts, each part roughly corresponding to a different narrative strand, and given each part an appropriate subtitle. These parts are set out below in Fig. 4.1. Clauses are numbered from 1 within each part, the number preceded by the appropriate abbreviation.

Part	Title	abbreviation
I	In the classroom	CR
II	The composition	C
III	Back in the classroom	BC
IV	Tommy's composition	T
V	Wenli's volunteer letter	W

Figure 4.1:   Parts of the text under analysis: *Wenli's Composition*

I will start by treating all the elements classified as verbal in class in section 2.1.1 above, including verbs proper, auxiliaries, postverbs and coverbs, as potential processes, characterising the relations between successive processes **logically**, in terms of the dimensions of interdependency and logico-semantic relations (section 4.1.1). I will then

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go on to show how certain of these elements can be further, or better, characterised in terms of their **textual** function in the theme or information structure (section 4.1.2), their **interpersonal** function in the mood structure (section 4.1.3), or their **experiential** function in the transitivity structure (section 4.1.4). Finally I will bring together these different analyses by defining the concept of the **verbal group** as a basically experiential unit around which may cluster various interpersonal elements, all within a logically continuous structure (section 4.1.5).

4.1.1 Logical relations between verbal elements: a preliminary analysis

To carry out this preliminary analysis of verbal elements in Chinese, I will examine two passages from the text, the beginning of Part I (clauses CR 1-13), and the beginning of Part II (clauses C1-10). I will largely ignore clause boundaries, except for numbering purposes, as noted above, treating each passage as a type of long "serial verb construction" (Li & Thompson 1981: 594). It should be obvious that this kind of analysis will not be adequate to capture all the types of relation between verbal elements, and in some cases may give a distorted view of the structural patterns and meaning relations involved. However, this kind of *reductio ad absurdum* does provide a way of problematising the constituency and functionality of different verbal elements.

It would be helpful at this stage to restate in general terms the nature of **logical** structures, already defined for relationships between clauses in section 2.3.1 above. Logical in this sense may be understood as defining relationships between processes, involving two kind of variables:

1. the general meaning or **semantic** relationship between processes: e.g. relationships of **expansion**, whereby successive processes expand on the meaning of the initial process in various ways, or **projection**, whereby a process "projects" through itself another process, the latter process thus no longer a direct representation of experience but rather repackaged as a locution or an idea.

2. the degree of closeness or **interdependency** between processes: e.g. loosely linked in sequence, where following processes are merely continuing the initial processes, i.e. in an equal or **paratactic** relationship (equivalent to the traditional coordinate type); or with one process leading on to another, where the initial process is dependent on the following process, i.e. in an unequal or **hypotactic** relationship (equivalent to the traditional subordinate type but not including embedding (see section 4.1.4 below)).

The first passage I will examine is the very opening of the short story (CR 1-13), introducing the classroom setting and the nature of the composition assignment, as set out in Table 4.1 below.

CR1. Xià   kè   qián   de   wǔ   fēn   zhōng,
      finish class before SUB   five minute clock
      'Five minutes before the end of class'

      lǎoshī zài   hēibǎn   shang xiě   zhe: shèngjīng,   hánghǎitú...
      teacher at   blackboard   on   write ASP:dur bible   navigation-map
      'the teacher wrote on the board: Bible, navigation map,...'

CR2. Tā   tíng   - xia   bǐ ,
      s/he stop   down   pen
      'He put down his pen,'

CR3. Xiànzài, nǐmen   de   fēijī   diào - zai   le   shāmò shang,
      now   you+PLUR SUB   aeroplane   fall   at   ASP:compl.   desert on
      '"Your plane has crashed in the desert." '

CR4. tā   jiěshì shuō,
      s/he explain say
      'he explained,'

CR5. Nǐmen   hái   huó   zhe,
      you+PLUR   still live   ASP:dur
      '"You're still alive,'

CR6. wǔbǎi li   wài   yǒu   ge   cúnzhuāng,
      500   li   away   exist MEAS   village
      'two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village,'

CR7. nǐmen   kěyǐ   zǒu
      you+PLUR   can   leave
      'you can go'

CR8. yě   kěyǐ   liú - xia,
      also can   stay   down
      'or (you) can stay behind,'

CR9. měi rén   zhǐ   zhǔn   dài   wǔ   yàng   dōngxi......
      each person only   allow take five   type   thing
      'each person is only allowed to take five things...'"

CR10. Nǐ   yídìng yào   ná   zhǐnánzhēn.
      you   definite must take compass
      'You'd have to choose a compass.'

CR11. Wǒ   tóngzhuō   xiǎoshēng   duì   wǒ   shuō.
      I   same-desk   small voice   towards I   say
      'My desk-mate said to me quietly.'

CR12. "Huí - qu   xiě yi xia   qiányīn-hòuguǒ hé   nǐmen   de   juédìng."
      return go   write one time cause-effect and   you+PLUR SUB   decision
      '"Go back (home) and write what happened and your decision."'

CR13. Zhè   shí   xià   kè   líng   xiǎng le.
      this time   finish class bell   sound ASP:compl
      'At this moment the bell rang for the end of class.'

Table 4.1:   Passage 1: the opening stage of *In the classroom*

This passage involves six main processes representing the major actions: the teacher writes on the board, stops writing, explains what he is doing, a student interjects, the teacher continues giving instructions, and the bell rings for the end of class. These

processes are clearly linked to each other by succession in time, i.e. related to it in the subtype of expansion relationship known as **enhancement**, i.e. specifying "some circumstantial feature of time, place, cause or condition" (Halliday 1994: 220), symbolised by the mathematical sign of multiplication, ^{x}. Structurally, the ordering between the processes is the only mark of the relationship between them, i.e. they are in a paratactic relationship, symbolised by a sequence of numbers. The analysis of the logical relationships between these six processes is given below, with the nexus between each process represented by the logical notation, and then glossed.

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR1	xiě 'write'	1	the teacher wrote on the board
CR2	tíng 'stop'	$^x2$	(and then) stopped writing
CR4	shuō 'say'	$^x3$	(and then) said
CR11	shuō 'say'	$^x4$	(and then) the person sitting next to me said
CR12	huí 'return'	$^x5$	(and then the teacher said) go back and write it up
CR13	xiǎng 'ring'	$^x6$	(and then) the bell rang

Each of these processes is linked to other verbal elements in various ways. The process *xiě* 'write' in clause (CR1) is preceded by a two processes specifying when, *xià* '(before class) finished', and where, *zài* 'located (on the board)', the action of writing took place: i.e. also related to it in a relationship of **enhancement**. These two processes preceding *xiě* 'write' in (CR1) do not represent independent happenings in themselves but must be interpreted in relation to *xiě* 'write': i.e. are in a hypotactic (dependent) relationship with it, symbolised by letters of the Greek alphabet. (Both these processes can be reinterpreted experientially as circumstances in the transitivity structure of the clause - see 4.1.4 below.) These relationships can be represented as follows:

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR1	xià 'be finished'	$^x\gamma$	five minutes before class finished
	zài 'be located'	$^x\beta$	on the blackboard
	xiě 'write'	α	the teacher wrote

The process *tíng* 'stop' in clause (CR2) is followed by another process *xià* 'to go down'. The relationship between these processes could be understood as one of the subtype of expansion relationship known as **extension** "adding some new element" (Halliday 1994: 220): i.e., the teacher *stopped* (the pen) *down*, i.e. in a downward direction. In this case, however, the motion downwards is interpreted metaphorically, in the sense of "coming to a halt" (cf English 'slow down'). Along with this semantic re-interpretation of *xià* based on the meaning of the first process goes a structural dependency, where *xià* in this sense is dependent on the meaning of the preceding verb *tíng* 'stop', i.e. in a hypotactic relationship with it. (These kinds of elements can be reinterpreted experientially as Event

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and Extension in a compound verbal group - see section 4.1.4 below). The relationship between these two processes may be represented as follows:

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR2	tíng 'stop'	α	stopped (his pen)
	xià 'down'	+β	(and) (this action) came to a halt

The process in clause (CR4), *shuō* 'say', is immediately preceded by another process *jiěshì* 'explain'. The link between these two processes could be interpreted as example of another subtype of expansion known as of **elaboration**, "restating in other words" (Halliday 1994: 220), i.e. 'explained, saying'. However it seems more preferable here to see the relationship between the two processes as one of enhancement, where *jiěshì* 'explain' indicates the manner of speaking: i.e. "said in explanation'. The two alternative analyses of the processes in clause (CR4) are given below:

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR4	jiěshì 'explain'	1	the teacher explained
	shuō 'say'	=2	saying
or	jiěshì 'explain'	xβ	the teacher in explanation
	shuō 'say'	α	said

This second analysis is supported by the relationship of **projection** that exists between *shuō* 'say' and the processes in clause (CR3) preceding, and clause (CR5) following: i.e. it recasts each clause not as "a direct representation of (non-linguistic) experience but rather as a representation of a (linguistic) experience" (Halliday 1994: 250), i.e. as a saying or **locution**, symbolised by double quotation marks " ; *jiěshì* 'explain' does not normally project locutions in this way. Structurally the projecting and projected processes are simply put side by side, i.e. in a paratactic relationship (the double figures below show that the two quoted clauses form a unit, even though they are separated from each other by the quoting clause):

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR3	diào 'fall'	"11	"your plane has fallen, i.e. crashed"
CR4	shuō 'say'	2	the teacher said
CR5	huó 'live'	"12	"you're still alive"

The projected process in clause (CR3), *diào* 'fall', is immediately followed by the process *zài* 'be located', and linked to it in a relationship that, like that between the processes in clause (CR2), can be interpreted as one of extension, in this case pretty much literally so: i.e. '(the plane) fell (out of the sky) and (ended up) located in (the desert)'. Structurally the relationship between them can also be analysed as a hypotactic one like the structure in clause (CR2). (These elements may be reinterpreted experientially as Event and Extension in a compound verbal group - see section 4.1.4).

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Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR3	diào 'fall'	α	the plane fell (out of the sky)
	zài 'be located'	+β	(and it) ended up located in the desert

The bloc of projected processes starting with clause (CR5) sets out various aspects of the scenario being outlined by the teacher, again linked in paratactic relationships of extension:

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR5	huó 'live'	1	you're still alive
CR6	yǒu 'exist'	+2	250 km away there's a village
CR7	zǒu 'leave'	+3	you can leave
CR9	dài 'take'	+4	you're allowed to take five things

The process in clause (CR7), zǒu 'leave', is followed in clause 8 by a process of opposite meaning, liú 'stay' which is presented as an equally valid alternative, i.e. with the two processes linked in a relationship of extension, reinforced by the adverb yě 'also':

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR7	zǒu 'leave'	1	you can leave
CR8	liú 'stay'	+2	(or) you can stay

The meaning of second process is reinforced by a following process in a dependent relationship of extension, xià 'go down', similar to that in clause (CR2), but here with the metaphorical meaning of "remain in position":

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR8	liú 'stay'	α	stay
	xià 'down'	+β	in the same position

The processes in clauses (CR7), (CR8) and (CR9) are each preceded by processes indicating meanings of permission, kěyǐ 'can' in (CR7) and (CR8), and zhǔn 'are allowed to' in (CR9) . Logically, each of these can be seen as recasting the following process as a potential rather than an actual experience, i.e. in a relationship analogous to that of projection, in this case projecting not a locution but rather an **idea**, symbolised with the single quotation mark, ' (an alternative interpersonal analysis of this relationship as one between Modality and Predicator will be given in section 4.1.3 below). Such processes are commonly dependent on the following process, since they occur only in limited contexts without a following process, and can thus be analysed as hypotactically dependent on it.

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR7	kěyǐ 'can'	β	you can
	zǒu 'leave'	'α	leave
CR8	kěyǐ 'can'	β	(or) you can
	liú - xia 'stay'	'α	stay on
CR9	zhǔn 'are allowed to'	β	you are only allowed
	dài 'take'	'α	to take five kinds of things

A similar relationship exists between the two processes in clause 10:

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR10	yào 'must'	β	you 'd have to
	ná 'take'	'α	take a compass

The process in clause (CR11), *shuō* 'say', retrospectively reinterprets the processes in clause (CR10) as part of a locution, again marked simply by occurring one after the other, i.e. in a relationship of paratactic projection:

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
10	ná 'take'	"1	you must take a compass
11	shuō 'say'	2	said the person next to me

Preceding this projecting process is another process, *duì* 'face towards, be directed at', introducing the person to whom the saying is directed, in this case the narrator. In this context *duì* does not necessarily imply that the speaker is literally facing the addressee, but merely indicates a feature of the saying and is structurally dependent on the following process, i.e. is in a relationship of hypotactic enhancement with it (a similar example was analysed in section 1.4.3 above as a Receiver participant):

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR11	duì 'face towards'	xβ	to me
	shuō 'say'	α	said

The processes in clause (CR12) are also projected as a locution, their status in this case being marked simply by the punctuation, i.e. by being enclosed in double quotation marks, without a projecting process such as *shuō* 'say' being explicitly present. Here we have three processes in succession *huí* 'return', *qù* 'go' and *xiě* 'write'. The first two could be seen as joined in a hypotactic relationship of extension, like *diào-zai* 'fall on to' in (CR2) or *liú-xia* 'stay down, i.e. stay put' in (CR8), i.e. return and go; or alternatively with *huí* 'return' as hypotactically enhancing *qù* 'go', indicating the manner in which (the students) are to go - this analysis would be reinforced by the fact that *huí* only occurs independently in very limited contexts. These alternative analyses are given below (an alternative experiential analysis as Event plus Extension in a compound verbal group is given in section 4.1.4 below):

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Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR12	huí 'return'	α	return (home)
	qù 'go'	$+\beta$	and go (away from here)
or	huí 'return'	$\times\beta$	back (home)
	qù 'go'	α	go

The following process, *xiě* 'write', indicates the purpose for which the preceding two processes are to be carried out, this relationship marked solely by the ordering, i.e. in a relationship of paratactic enhancement:

Clause	process	Nexus	Gloss
CR12	huí 'return'	1	go back home
	xiě 'write'	$\times 2$	and write the scenario

The full spread of relationships between the processes in this passage is set out in Fig. 4.2 below, with logical nexuses between processes marked for logico-semantic relations and interdependency. Direct nexuses are positioned vertically in the same column; "nested" nexuses, i.e. where a particular process enters into more than one relationship, are indicated in adjacent columns. Each nexus is interpreted along two dimensions: firstly, according to a logico-semantic relationship of either expansion - further characterisable as elaboration (restating), extension (adding) or enhancement (further specifying) - or projection - further characterisable as locution (saying) or idea (thought); secondly, according to an interdependency relationship of parataxis (equal), i.e initial and continuing in that order, or hypotaxis (unequal), i.e. dependent and dominant in that order.

A key to the symbols used is as follows (adapted from Halliday 1994: 219):

Expansion:	elaboration	=	*Projection*:	locution	"
	extension	+		idea	'
	enhancement	x			
Parataxis:	initial	1	*Hypotaxis*:	dependent	β, γ, δ etc
	continuing	2, 3, 4 etc		dominant	α

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Clause	Nexus					
CR1	1	×γ xià '(before) finishing (class)'				
		×β zài 'on (the board)'				
		α xiě '(the teacher) wrote'				
CR2	×2	α tíng 'stopped'				
		+β xia 'down - to a halt'				
CR3	×3	"11	α diào '(your plane) has fallen'			
			+β zai 'into (the desert)'			
CR4		2	×β jiěshì '(the teacher) explaining'			
			α shuō 'said'			
CR5		"12	1 huó '(you) are alive'			
CR6			+2 yǒu 'there's (a village)'			
CR7			+3	1	β kěyǐ '(you) can'	
CR8					'α zǒu 'leave'	
				+2	β kěyǐ '(you) can'	
					'α	α liú 'stay'
						+β xia 'down - behind'
CR9			+4	β zhǔn '(everyone) is allowed'		
				'α dài 'to take (5 things)'		
CR10	×4	"1	β yào '(you) would have to'			
			'α ná 'take (a compass)'			
CR11		2	×β duì 'to (me)'			
			α shuō 'said'			
CR12	×5	1	α huí 'return (home)'			
			+β qu 'go'			
		×2 xiě 'write (the scenario)'				
CR13	×6 xiǎng '(the bell) rang'					

Figure 4.2   Logical relationships between processes in Passage 1

Having examined verbal relationships in a fairly straightforward narrative passage, I will now move on to a passage with a more complex internal structure, which exhibits quite a different range of verbal relationships. The second passage (C 1-11) represents the narrator's reworking of the scenario set out by the teacher in the previous passage, reworked for the most part by exploring the implications of the various components of this scenario as they affect the narrator. This passage is given in Table 4.2 below.

C1. "Nà shi wǒmen   yǒu-shēng yǐlái   dìyí cì   zuò   fēijī,
     that be I+PLUR exist life   since first time   travel   aeroplane
     " 'That was the first time in our lives we'd been in a plane,'

C2. wǒmen méi   yǒu   qián,
    I+PLUR NEG   exist   money
    'we didn't have any money,'

C3. kě   Shàngdì   yuànyì gěi   wǒmen zhèi ge   jīhuì.
    but   God   wish   give   I+PLUR this MEAS   opportunity
    'but God wanted to give us this opportunity.'

C4. Nèi tiān   tiānqi fēicháng   hǎo,
    that day   weather extremely   good
    'That day the weather was really good,'

C5. méi   yǒu   fēng,
    NEG   exist wind
    'there was no wind'

C6. méi   yǒu   yún,
    NEG   exist cloud
    'there were no clouds,'

C7. méi   yǒu   yíqiè;
    NEG   exist everything
    'there was no anything.'

C8. shènzhì lián Shàngdì   dōu   zài   duì   wǒmen wēixiào.
    so-far-as-to even God   all   ASP:prog   towards I+PLUR smile
    'So much so that even God was smiling on us,'

C9. Kě tā   shi   zài   yòng   liǎn de líng yí miàn   duì zhe   wǒmen xiào,
    but s/he be   ASP:prog use   face SUB other one face   towards ASP:dur. I PLUR laugh
    'but (the fact) that he was laughing at us on the other side of his face '

C10. zhè shi dāng   wǒmen de   fēijī   měng de   diào - xia - lai   shí
     this be when   we   SUB   plane abrupt MAN   drop down come   time
     'this was something that when our plane abruptly dropped (from the sky)'

C11. wǒmen cái   míngbai   de.
     I+PLUR only-then   understand   MOD
     'only then did we understand.'

<u>Table 4.2</u>   <u>Passage 2: the opening stage of *The composition*</u>

The actions set out in the previous passage - only a few of which are explored here - are relatively backgrounded in this passage, the main emphasis being on a number of relations or states, linked in a relationship of paratactic extension:

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clause	process	nexus	gloss
C1	shi 'be'	1	that was our first time
C2	yǒu 'exist'	+2	we had no money
C4	hǎo 'be fine, good'	+3	the weather was good
C9	shi 'be'	+4	it wasn't till then (that we understood)

Taken by themselves, these four processes do not give the sort of narrative skeleton of this part of the text provided by the six processes representing the main actions in the first passage (CR 1, 2, 4, 11-13). Instead, this passage is organised much more in terms of complex nesting relations between different processes, particularly between relational processes and other types.

The processes in clause (C1), *shi* 'be' and *zuò* 'travel by' seem to represent two separate transitivity structures that have been "mixed" together: the relational *nà shi dìyí cì* 'that was the first time' and the material *wǒmen zuò fēijī* 'we travelled by plane'. The first process could be taken as indicating a circumstance for the second, equivalent to *wǒmen dìyí cì zuò fēijī* 'we travelled by plane for the first time': i.e, in a relationship of hypotactic enhancement with it. Alternatively, the second process could be analysed as **embedded** in the first, as part of one of the participants: i.e. as equivalent to *nà shi wǒmen* [| *zuò fēijī* |] *de dìyí cì* 'That was our first time in a plane'. The actual implication of this structure seems to be a mix of the two. The relational process *shi* 'be' in setting up an identifying relationship between the time of the action and its "firstness", picks out *dìyí cì* 'the first time', analysable as a circumstance of the material process *zuò* 'travel', emphasising that it was the *first* time (this type of emphasis is in fact a textual one - see section 4.1.2 below). As we will see below, relational processes like *shi* commonly have this sort of "focussing" function: these alternative analyses are given below:

clause	process	nexus	gloss
C1	shi 'be'	xβ	for the first time
	zuò 'travel'	α	we travelled by plane
or	shi 'be'	1	that was the first time
	zuò 'travel'	[| 2 |]	we travelled by plane

The process in clause (C2), *(méi) yǒu* '(didn't) have', sets up a state to which the process in clause (C3), *gěi* 'give', offers an alternative: i.e. the two processes are linked in a straightforward relationship of paratactic extension:

clause	process	nexus	gloss
C2	yǒu 'exist, have'	1	we had no money
C3	gěi 'give'	+2	but God wanted to give us the opportunity

The process in clause (C3) is preceded by a process *yuànyì* 'wish', which like those in (CR 7-10) can be regarded as hypotactically projecting the process *gěi* 'give' (interpreted interpersonally as a Modality^Predicator structure - see section 4.1.3 below):

clause	process	nexus	gloss
C3	yuànyì 'wish'	β	God wanted
	gěi 'give'	'α	to give us the opportunity

The process in clause 4, *hǎo* 'be fine, good', gives the state of the weather, the following clauses (C5-8) describing this in more detail, i.e. joined to it in a relationship of paratactic elaboration:

clause	process	nexus	gloss
C4	hǎo 'be fine, good'	1	the weather was fine
C5	yǒu 'exist'	=2	there was no wind
C6	yǒu 'exist'	=3	there were no clouds
C7	yǒu 'exist'	=4	there wasn't anything
C8	wēixiào 'smile'	=5	(so much so that) God was smiling

Clause (C8) contains a number of other processes preceding the process *wēixiào* 'smile': firstly *zài*, literally 'be located', here grammaticalised as 'to be in the process of' (i.e. experientially marking a type of aspect - see section 4.1.4 below); then *duì* 'to face' (cf CR 11 in passage 1 above), here interpreted as indicating the target of the final process, i.e. 'smiling *at* us'. Both these processes could be interpreted logically as hypotactically enhancing *wēixiào* 'smile':

clause	process	nexus	gloss
C8	zài 'was at'	xγ	God was in the process of
	duì 'facing'	xβ	at us
	wēixiào 'smiled'	α	smiling

The process at the end of clause (C9), *xiào* 'laugh' introduces a variation to the previous summary statement in (C8). Like clause (C1), clause (C9) is opened by the relational process *shi* 'be', *kě tā shi* 'but he was', matched by an identical process at the beginning of clause (C10), *zhè shi* 'this was' itself linked to the process right at the end of clause (C11), *mingbai* 'understand'. The relationship between these two clauses could be paraphrased "but the fact that he was (laughing), this was something that (we understood)". Here the second clause is presented as a restatement of the first, and the first is simultaneously reinterpreted in light of the second: i.e. in a relationship of hypotactic elaboration. Alternatively both of these relational processes could be analysed as emphasising circumstances relating to the final processes *xiào* 'laugh': 'it was in such and such a way that he was laughing' (C9); or *mingbai* 'understand': "it was only at such and such a time that we understood" (C10-11): i.e. in a relationship of hypotactic

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enhancement (this emphasis is also textual - see section 4.1.2 below). As with the similar example in clause (C1) above, the relational processes here serve both to join the other non-relational processes and to focus on particular elements related to a following process. These different relationships are analysed separately below:

clause	process	nexus	gloss
C9	shi 'be'	$=\beta$	the fact that he was (laughing)
C10	shi 'be'	α	this was something that (we understood)

clause	process	nexus	gloss
C9	shi 'be'	$^x\beta$	it was on the other side of his face
	xiào 'laugh'	α	that he was laughing
C10	shi 'be'	$^x\beta$	it was only when the plane dropped
C11	míngbai 'understand'	α	that we understood

In clause (C9) the circumstantial elements emphasised by the process *shi* 'be' are themselves introduced by a series of processes similar to those in (C8), and in the same relationship of hypotactic expansion to the final process *xiào* 'laugh':

clause	process	nexus	gloss
C9	zài 'was at'	$^x\delta$	he was in the process of
	yòng 'used'	$^x\gamma$	with the other side of his face
	duì 'facing'	$^x\beta$	at us
	xiào 'laughed'	α	laughing

In clause (C10), the circumstantial element emphasised by process *shi* 'be' is the process *diào* 'to fall', marked as one of time by the framing conjunction *dāng...shí* 'at...the time', i.e. 'when', hypotactically enhancing the process *míngbai* 'understand' in clause (C11):

clause	process	nexus	gloss
C10	diào 'fell'	$^x\beta$	when the plane fell (out of the sky)
C11	míngbai 'understood'	α	we understood

The process *diào* 'fall' in clause (C10) is followed by two processes indicating the direction of this motion, *xià* 'down', and its orientation, *lái* 'come' interpreted as 'towards the speaker' (i.e. with the narrator positioning herself on the ground of the desert where she eventually ends up). Like similar examples in (CR 2, 8 and 12), the relationship between these processes can be interpreted as one of hypotactic expansion (see section 4.1.4 below for an experiential interpretation of this relation as one of Event plus Extension):

clause	process	nexus	gloss
C10	diào 'fell'	α	the plane fell
	xia 'descended'	+β	down
	lai 'came'	+γ	towards the speaker

The full range of relationships between the processes in this passage is set out in Fig. 4.3 below.

Clause	Nexus			
1	1	ˣβ shi '(it) was (the first time)'		
		α zuò '(we) travelled (in a plane)'		
2	+2	1 yǒu '(we didn't) have (money)'		
3		+2	β ' yuànyì '(but God) wanted'	
			'α gěi 'to give (us the opportunity)'	
4	+3	1 hǎo '(the weather) was good'		
5		˭2 yǒu 'there were (no clouds)'		
6		˭3 yǒu 'there was (no rain)'		
7		˭4 yǒu 'there was(n't anything)'		
8		˭5	ˣγ zài '(God) was in the process of'	
			ˣβ duì 'at (us)'	
			α wēixiào 'smiling'	
9	+4	1 shi '(but the fact that he) was'	ˣδ zài 'was in the process of'	
			ˣγ yòng 'using (the other side of his face)'	
			ˣβ duì 'at (us)'	
			α xiào 'laughing'	
10		˭2 shi '(this) was (something that)'	ˣβ	α diào '(when our plane) dropped'
				+β xia 'down'
				+γ lai 'towards (the ground)'
11			α míngbai '(only then we) understood'	

Figure 4.3: Logical relationships between processes in Passage 2

The above analyses show how a logical analysis can be used to characterise relations between successive verbal elements, and hints how such an analysis might be supplemented with an account of the textual, interpersonal and experiential structures of

the clause (this latter point will be explored in more detail in following sections). Although, as I noted above, such an analysis does in some cases give a distorted picture of the structural relations involved, it does demonstrate very vividly the ways in which verbal elements contribute to the unfolding of the text.

4.1.2   Textual functions of verbal elements

In the description of the textual clause structure of Chinese given in previous chapters of this study (sections 1.2.3, 2.2.1, & 3.1.1), verbal elements played only a minor role. The Process rarely functions as Theme, excepted when embedded in another clause, and from the point of view of clause as message is commonly situated in a "trough" between the two message "peaks" of Theme and New (cf Matthiessen 1988). Verbal elements are, however, significant textually in two ways, one negative, one positive.

Negatively, it is commonly a verbal element that marks the transition between Theme and Rheme in the theme structure of the clause: in other words, separates information actually or potentially functioning as the starting point of the message from information which is unable or unlikely to function in this way (see discussion of the transition between Theme and Rheme in section 3.1.1 above). For example, in clause (CR3) below, the verb *diào* 'fall' marks the beginning of the Rheme, so while information preceding it may be made thematic (CR3'), information following it may not (CR3"):

Theme			*Rheme*		
CR3. Xiànzài,	nĭmen	de fēijī	diào - zai le	shāmò	shang,
now	you+PLUR SUB	aeroplane	fall at ASP:compl.	desert	on

'"Now your plane has crashed in the desert." '

Theme			*Rheme*		
CR3' Nĭmen	de fēijī	xiànzài	diào - zai le	shāmò	shang,
you+PLUR SUB	aeroplane	now	fall at ASP:compl.	desert	on

'"Your plane has now crashed in the desert." '

Theme				*Rheme*		
CR3" *Shāmò	shang	xiànzài	nĭmen de fēijī	diào - zai	le.	
desert	on	now	you+PLUR SUB aeroplane	fall at	ASP:compl.	

'"In the desert now your plane has crashed." '

This delimiting role is also commonly played by a coverb functioning as minor process in a coverbial phrase. In the following example (C23), the coverbial phrase containing the coverb *gĕi* 'for' is unlikely to function as Theme (C23'):

Theme	*Rheme*					
C23. tā	gĕi	wŏmen	liú- xia le	yìxiē	dōngxi.	
s/he	for	I+PLUR	leave down ASP:compl	some	thing	

'he left us some things.'

Theme			*Rheme*			
C23' ? gĕi	wŏmen	tā	liú- xia	le	yìxiē	dōngxi.
for	I+PLUR	s/he	leave down	ASP:compl	some	thing

'For us he left some things.'

Positively, verbal elements may also be used to indicate special types of Theme by making thematic elements of the clause that would not normally be so. For example, it is not true to say that all information following the processor minor process is necessarily unthematic, i.e. unlikely to be the starting point of the message. The nominal group *yìxiē dōngxi* 'some things' in (C23) above could be made thematic by moving it to the beginning of the clause, as in (C23"):

C23"	Yìxiē	dōngxi	tā	gěi	wǒmen	liú- xia	le.
	some	thing	s/he	for	I+PLUR	leave down	ASP:compl

'Some things he left for us.'

Semantically, however, this is somewhat unusual because the normally expected tie-up between Theme (starting point of the message), and Given (given information) (see section 1.2.4 above) is flouted in this case by the indefinite nominal group *yìxiē dōngxi* 'some things', which would normally be interpreted as new information. In the original clause (C23), this nominal group is part of the New, referring to unspecified things which the narrator goes on to detail in following clauses. In the modified example (C23"), however, the function of this nominal group as Theme implies that these things have already been specified. In other parts of the text, a similar tension between Theme and Given is avoided by introducing a new Participant as New of one clause which is then assumed as Theme of the following clause, as in the following example of *yì zhāng zuǐ* 'a mouth':

	Theme				*New*		
CR40.	mǎnyǎn		zhǐ	shèng - xia	yì zhāng	zuǐ
	full-eye		only	leave down	one MEAS	mouth

'all that filled my eyes was a mouth'

	Theme				*New*			
CR41.	_____		zài	nà'r	yī - zhāng -	yī -	hé.
			at	there	once open	once	close

'(which was) opening and closing.'

A similar effect can be gained by using the existential process *yǒu* 'exist, to be', with the new information as Existent following the process and therefore in the unmarked New position at the end of the clause (C23'''):

	Theme		*New*	
C23'''	_____	Yǒu	yìxiē	dōngxi
		exist	some	thing

'There were some things'

	Theme				*New*		
	_____	tā	gěi	wǒmen	liú- xia	le.
		s/he	for	I+PLUR	leave down	ASP:compl

'(which) he left for us.'

Logically such structures can be analysed as two processes in a relationship of paratactic elaboration:

1   Yǒu   yìxiē   dōngxi   =2   tā   gěi wǒmen   liú- xia   le.
      exist   some   thing   s/he   for I+PLUR   leave down ASP:compl
      'There were some things'   '(which) he left for us.'

Textually, however, it makes more sense to analyse the first process plus its Existent as a type of marked Theme in a single clause, i.e. a Theme conflated not with Given as expected, but rather with New: i.e.

Theme			Rheme		
New		*Given*		*New*	
Yǒu	yìxiē	dōngxi tā	gěi wǒmen	liú- xia	le.
exist	some	thing s/he	for I+PLUR	leave down	ASP:compl

'There were some things (which) he left for us.'

There are, in fact, numerous instances of such structures in this text. Very often, however, the fact that *you* is potentially at least a full process allows it to "attract" other clause functions: in the following example, the process *yǒu*, reinterpreted interpersonally as Predicator, is preceded by the interpersonal functions Adjunct and Modality:

	Theme			Rheme			
	Adjunct	*Modality*	*Predicator*				
C32.	huòxǔ	huì·	yǒu	biéde fēijī	lái	jiù	wǒmen,
	perhaps	can	exist	other plane	come	save	I+PLUR

'there might possibly be another plane (which would) come to save us,'

Again, this could be treated logically as two clauses in a relationship of paratactic elaboration; textually however it is a single clause, i.e. the equivalent (except for the expected conflation of Theme with Given as opposed to the marked Theme / New conflation of the original) of C32':

	Theme	Rheme				
		Adjunct	*Modality*	*Predicator*		
C32'	biéde fēijī	huòxǔ	huì	lái	jiù	wǒmen,
	other plane	perhaps	can	come	save	I+PLUR

'Another plane might possibly come to save us,'

Yǒu can also function in this way with circumstantial elements, for example (*yǒu*) *shíhou* '(there are) times' in clause (C59), which can be analysed either logically as two clauses:

C59.	1	yǒu	shíhou,	=2	jiǔ	huì shǐ rén	hǎoshòu	xiē.
		exist	time		alcohol	can cause person easy-endure		some

'There are times (which) alcohol can help people to endure better,'

or textually as a single clause with a marked (non-Given) Theme:

	Theme			Rheme				
C59.	yǒu	shíhou,	jiǔ	huì	shǐ	rén	hǎoshòu	xiē.
	exist	time	alcohol	can	cause	person	easy-endure	some

'sometimes alcohol can help people endure (things) better,'

A similar function is performed by *yǒu* in clause (CR27) below, where it introduces the Theme / New *zuòwén kè* 'composition class', emphasised by the scopal adverb *zhǐ* 'only', and then linked to the following process *duǎn* 'was short'. In this case *yǒu* also

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marks the Theme as contrastive, as is obvious from the Theme of the previous clause *qítā kè* 'other classes': e.g.

	Theme		*Rheme*				
CR26.	Qítā kè	hǎoxiàng zǒngshi	cháng	de	méi yǒu	biān,	
	other class	seem always	long	EXT	NEG exist	limit	

'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,'

logical	1			=2			
textual	*Theme*			*Rheme*			
CR27.	zhǐ	yǒu	zuòwén kè	duǎn	de	zhǐ shi yí shùnjiān	
	only	exist	composition class	short	EXT	only be one moment	

'(It was) only the composition class (which) was as brief as the twinkling of an eye'

While the relational process *yǒu* 'exist' commonly functions to introduce a non-Given Theme, another relational process *shi* 'be' may be used to single out a particular part of the clause as New, often a part of the clause that would not commonly be taken as such, e.g. the circumstance of degree *duōme* 'so much' in CR24 below:

	Gi-		*New*	*ven*		
CR24.	wǒ	shi	*duōme*	xǐhuān	xiě	zuòwén,
	I	be	how-much	like	write	composition

'I *really* loved writing compositions,'

This kind of "focusing" role of *shi* 'be' was already pointed out in the analysis of the second passage in section 4.1.1 above, where *shi* (among other things) marked a contrast between *wēixiào* 'smile' in C7 and *yòng liǎn de líng yí miàn* '(laughing) on the other side of his face' in C8:

	Theme						*New*
8.	shènzhì lián Shàngdì	dōu	zài		duì	wǒmen	*wēixiào.*
	so-far-as-to even God	all	ASP:prog		towards	I+PLUR	smile

'So much so that even God was *smiling* on us,'

	Theme	*New*				
9.	Kě tā	shi	*zài*	*yòng liǎn de líng yí miàn*	dui zhe wǒmen	xiào,
	but s/he	be	ASP:prog	use face SUB other one face	towards ASP I PLUR	laugh

'but (the fact) that he was laughing at us *on the other side of his face...*'

From the above discussion, we can see how the logical relations between processes, especially relational processes and other types, can be put to work textually. The existential subtype, exemplified by *yǒu* 'exist' whose basic meaning is to link a Location with an Existent (i.e. to show that somewhere there exists something) may come to have what could be called a **presentative** role, i.e. functioning to introduce new participants as presented (rather than the expected presumed) information in Theme position in a clause. The identifying subtype, exemplified by *shi* 'be' whose basic function is to link two entities as Identified and Identifier, is put to work as a **focussing** element, used particularly in written texts in order to emphasise structurally the (implied) tonic prominence realising the New. Generally speaking, the textual functions of these verbal

elements follow on quite naturally from their transitivity meanings within the logical structure, and in some cases it may not be possible to decide whether a particular structure is to be analysed as a single clause with a marked Theme, or as two separate clauses in a clause complex.

4.1.3 Interpersonal functions of verbal elements

In contrast to the textual Theme and information structures, where verbal elements by and large play only a peripheral role, one particular verbal element, that realising the Predicator function, plays a central role in the interpersonal mood structure of the clause, as described in previous sections 1.3.3 and 2.2.2. The Predicator, as noted above, can generally be equated with the Process in the transitivity structure. Interpersonally it can be identified as that element which tends to remain constant in dialogic exchanges, and by its interaction with other interpersonal functions such as the emphatic Adjunct and negative Polarity in the following example:

	Adjunct	*Polarity*	*Predicator*
CR30. tā	bìng	méiyǒu	wán.
it	EMPH	NEG:perf	finish

'(that) it wasn't finished.'

The element realising the Polarity in this example, *méiyǒu*, is itself verbal in class, a special negative form, interchangeable with *méi* (cf example CR34 below), of the relational process *yǒu* 'exist'; here it indicates that the aspect of the clause is perfective (see section 4.2.2.1 below). Another relational process, *shi* 'be', described in the previous section as having a textual focusing function, also functions interpersonally as an emphatic Polarity, as in the following example where it paradoxically emphasises the negative main Polarity, i.e. 'it *was* the case that it *wasn't* finished':

		Polarity	*Polarity*	*Predicator*
CR34. Shìshí	shang, tā	shì	méi	wán,
reality	on it	be	NEG:perf	finish

'In fact it *wasn't* finished,'

Apart from these instances of verbal elements functioning as Polarity, the main interpersonal function of verbal elements apart from Predicator is the function of auxiliaries like *kěyǐ* 'can' as Modality, as in the following example:

	Modality	*Predicator*
CR7. nǐmen	kěyǐ	zǒu
you+PLUR	can	leave

'you can go'

In section 4.1.1 above, the logical relationship between auxiliary and verb was interpreted as one of projection, analogous to the way a verbal or mental clause projects another clauses as a locution or an idea. Projection may be defined semantically as "the logical-

semantic relationship whereby a clause comes to function not as a direct representation of (non-linguistic) experience but as a representation of a (linguistic) representation" (Halliday 1994: 250). In a similar way, an auxiliary preceding a verb indicates that the process expressed by that verb is not represented as actually going on but rather as potential, unrealised, as in clause (CR7) above, which is represented as an alternative to the equally unrealised process in the following clause:

	Modality	*Predicator*	
CR8.	yě kěyǐ	liú -	xia,
	also can	stay	down

'or (you) can stay behind,'

The analogy with projection is supported by the fact that related lexemes can function both as a (potentially projecting) mental process and as a Modality: e.g. *xiǎng* 'to think' in clause T5, and *xiǎng* 'to think about doing - to intend to do - to want to do' in clause C21:

T5.	Tāngmǐ	xiǎng	le	xiang,
	Tommy	think	ASP:compl	think

'Tommy thought a bit,'

C21.	Shàngdì,	bù,	wǒ	bù	xiǎng	shuō	shàngdì...
	God	no	I	NEG	think / want	say	God

'God, no, I don't want to mention God...'

This analogy, however, can only be taken so far. The relationship between auxiliary and verb, reinterpreted as one between Modality and Predicator, is fundamentally an interpersonal one, and thus exhibits several characteristics which cannot be captured in a logical analysis.

Firstly, systemically, the meanings expressed by the auxiliary are related to those expressed by other interpersonal systems. As explained in previous chapters, the Predicator represents something put forward by the speaker (in a general sense) for the hearer's consideration - an inherently interactive function. The Modality function modifies the meaning of this interaction in two main ways. It may give the speaker's assessment of how likely or usual the predication is, as for example *huì* 'could, might' in the following clause, here reinforced by the Adjunct *huòxǔ* 'perhaps':

	Adjunct	*Modality*	*Predicator*			
C57.	Wǒ	huòxǔ	huì	yào	nèi	píng	fútèjiā,
	I	perhaps	can	need	that	bottle	vodka

'I perhaps might have wanted the bottle of vodka,'

Alternatively it may indicate the speaker's assessment of the willingness of or necessity for speaker or hearer to carry out the predication, as for example *yuànyì* 'wish' in the following clause:

			Modality	*Predicator*	
C3.	kě	Shàngdì	yuànyì	gěi	wǒmen zhèi ge jīhuì.
	but	God	wish	give	I+PLUR this MEAS opportunity

'but God wanted to give us this opportunity.'

The system of modality in Chinese is thus intimately related to the other interpersonal systems of MOOD TYPE, POLARITY and ASSESSMENT already described. The interaction between these systems will be further explored when I examine interpersonal marking in section 4.2 below.

Secondly, the meanings expressed by the Modality are inherently **gradable** (cf Martin 1992: on the relationship between interpersonal meaning and gradability): i.e. the degree of likelihood, willingness, etc. can be increased or lessened. Compare the following examples of a Modality of obligation with the three "values" of **low**, *zhǔn* 'is allowed to', **median** *yào* 'need to, have to' and **high** *bìxū* 'must':

		Modality	*Predicator*				
CR9.	měi rén	zhǐ	zhǔn	dài	wǔ	yàng	dōngxi......
	each person	only	allow	take	five	type	thing

'each person is only allowed to take five things...'"

		Modality	*Predicator*		
T4.	Zhìshǎo	yào	xiě	150	zì.
	at-least	need	write	150	word

'(He) had to write at least 150 words.'

		Modality	*Predicator*
C26.	Wǒmen	bìxū	xuǎnzé,
	I+PLUR	must	choose

'We had to (were obliged to) choose,'

Thirdly, the Modality function often operates in conjunction with interpersonal Adjuncts, forming a prosody of modality (see section 2.2.2 above for the notion of prosody as used here) in the clause. In the following example, the Adjunct *yídìng* 'definitely' precedes the Modality *yào* 'need to, must', effectively increasing the value of the obligation from median to high:

	Adjunct	*Modality*	*Predicator*		
CR10.	"Nǐ	yídìng	yào	ná	zhǐnánzhēn."
	you	definite must	take	compass	

' "You'd really have to take a compass." '

Sometimes the Adjunct by itself functions to express the kind of modality without an explicit Modality function being present. Compare clause C26 below, where a modality of obligation is expressed by the Modality *bìxū* 'must', with clause C27 where a modality of (negative) inclination is expressed by the Adjunct *níngyuàn* 'rather':

		Modality	*Predicator*
CR26.	Wǒmen	bìxū	xuǎnzé,
	I+PLUR	must	choose

'We had to choose,'

		Adjunct	*Polarity*	*Predicator*
C27.	suīrán wǒ	níngyuàn	bù	xuǎnzé.
	although I	rather	NEG	choose

'even though I would rather not have to choose.'

The Adjunct in CR27, *níngyuàn* 'rather' is in origin verbal, related to the auxiliary *yuànyì* 'wish', but unlike a true Modality, may not itself be marked for polarity. A similar example, which might also be analysed as an interpersonal Adjunct, is *hǎoxiàng* 'seemingly' in CR27 , related to the verb *xiàng* 'to resemble':

		Adjunct		*Predicator*			
CR27.	Qítā kè	hǎoxiàng	zǒngshi	cháng	de	méi yǒu	biān,
	other class	seem	always	long	EXT	NEG exist	limit

'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,'

Fourthly, from a structural point of view, the Modality normally precedes the Predicator and is only used in limited contexts without a Predicator, this being the justification for analysing the relationship between them as a hypotactically dependent one in section 4.1.1 above. Interpersonally interpreted, however, the Modality expresses the speaker's assessment of the likelihood or willingness attached to the predication as a whole. The interpersonal structure of what I called the predication unit in section 2.2.2 above, i.e. that unit to which a mood type, and by implication a modality type, can be assigned, was shown to fall into two overall prosodies, one pre-Predicator, one post-Predicator. This kind of structure defines regions of the clause as interpersonally significant, rather than tying interpersonal functions to fixed positions or in obvious constituent relationships to a larger unit. It is therefore not surprising to find examples like C71 below, where the Modality *yào* 'need to, must' is separated from the Predicator *xuǎn* 'choose' by an intervening constituent *gěi wǒmen* 'for us':

		Modality		*Predicator*	
C71.	zuìhòu wǒ hái *yào*	gěi wǒmen	*xuǎn*	yí ge hǎo jiéjú:
	final I still must	for I+PLUR	choose	one MEAS good outcome

'(so) finally I have to choose us a good ending:'

Alternatively the coverb *gěi* 'for' could be analysed as a minor Predicator, just as it was analysed above as a minor process in the transitivity structure: e.g.

		Modality minor Predicator		*Predicator*	
C71.	zuìhòu wǒ hái *yào*	*gěi wǒmen*	*xuǎn*	yí ge hǎo jiéjú:
	final I still must	for I+PLUR	choose	one MEAS good outcome

'(so) finally I have to choose us a good ending:'

Whichever analysis we choose is not particularly significant. What is important from the point of view of the interpersonal structure, is that the Modality falls within the pre-Predicator prosody.

Since the modality meaning applies to the predication as a whole, it is not restricted structurally to a single Process / Predicator, but may apply to a combination of them as in the following example:

	Modality	*Predicator1*		*Predicator2*	
C56.	kěyǐ	qǔ	huǒ	zuò	fàn.
	can	get	fire	make	meal

'which (you) could (use to) make fires or cook.'

Similarly, the Modality may precede a set phrase (constructed according to the rules of classical Chinese grammar) which, by the very fact of being preceded by a Modality, comes to function as Predicator:

		Modality	*Predicator*	
CR61.	wǒ yǐjīng	néng	dào-bèi-rú-liú	le.
	I already	can	reverse recite like stream	ASP:perf

'I could already recite it off by heart.'

Another verbal structure which could be analysed as analogous to the combination of Modality and Predicator is that in clause W58 below, which involves a compound verbal group made up of Event and Extension (see sections 4.1.4, 4.2.2.2 below). Here the "inserted" element *bu* is derived from the negative adverb *bu* 'not', but in this case means something like 'cannot' , i.e. is roughly equivalent to a true Modality such as *huì* 'can' in W58':

W60.	"Qíshí nǐ yí bèizi	yě	*zuò - bu - chéng*	Tāngmǐ,
	in-fact you one lifetime even		act NEG:pot succeed	Tommy

' "In fact you'll never be able to be Tommy in your whole life,'

			Polarity	*Modality*	*Predicator*	
W60'	"Qíshí nǐ yí bèizi	yě	bú	huì	zuò-cheng	Tāngmǐ,
	in-fact you one lifetime even		NEG	can	act succeed	Tommy

' "In fact you'll never be able to be Tommy in your whole life,'

This "inserted" Modality, traditionally known as the **potential form** (see further section 4.1.5 below), has a different implication from the normal Modality^Predicator structure (Li & Thompson 1981: 56-57; Liu et al. 1983: 353-364 - see also section 4.2.2.2 below). Because of this, even simple verbs such as *wàng* 'forget' in example W64 below, may take on a "dummy" Extension such as *liǎo* (etymologically 'to complete') in order to appear in potential form with *bu*: e.g.

W66.	"wǒ	wàng - bu -	liǎo	jiù	de..."
	I	forget NEG:pot.	complete	old	SUB

' "I can't forget the old..." '

In a couple of instances in the text, this compound structure as a whole functions as a Modality, in conjunction with another negative Polarity element, where the clause is equivalent in modality (though not in value or rhetorical effect) to a positive Modality such as *bìděi* 'must':

		Adjunct	*Modality*			*Polarity*	*Predicator*	
23.	Wǒ	zhēnde	rěn -	bu -	zhù	bú	gàosu	nǐ,
	I	really	tolerate	NEG:pot.	stand	not	tell	you

'I really can't help telling you,'

		Adjunct	*Modality*	*Predicator*	
23	Wǒ	zhēnde	bìděi	gàosu	nǐ,
	I	really	must	tell	you

'I really must tell you,'

Verbal elements with interpersonal functions are less closely related to the logical structure than those with textual functions, with the function of an interpersonal element like Modality related only by analogy to a projecting process. Furthermore, as part of a prosodic mood structure, elements such as Modality show a number of typical interpersonal features: interaction with other interpersonal systems, susceptibility to being graded, and a relatively flexible structural positioning in relation to the Predicator. In addition, the potential subtype of modality has an alternative realisation in the form of a compound verbal group (see section 4.1.5 below) functioning as a fused Modality / Predicator, with significant differences from the Modality^Predicator structure (see section 4.2.2.2 below).

4.1.4 Experiential functions of verbal elements

In previous studies of verbal elements in Chinese, it is their experiential functions, in the terms of the present study, that have been taken as the norm and have received the most attention (e.g. Teng 1975, Li 1990). While it is true to say that the experiential functions of verbal elements are probably the most complex in patterning, such functions are also, for reasons explained in section 2.1.1 above, the most amenable to the traditional constituency type of analysis, and therefore likely to be the most "visible" in a traditional framework. The main experiential function of verbal elements in Chinese is, of course, as Process, and it was based on this characterisation that the preliminary logical analysis was carried out in section 4.1.1, with logical in this case understood as characterising relations between processes. Seen experientially, however, the Process functions not as one link in a long chain, as in the logical analysis, but rather as a centre or nucleus around which other experiential functions are grouped (see section 2.2.3 above). We thus need to define both this "nucleus" and its "atom": in other words, to identify the (main) Process and the transitivity structure in which it functions, realised by what I termed an "experience unit", which in the default case corresponds to a single clause.

This requirement, as we have seen above, is one that it is by no means straightforward to fulfil, since on the one hand the notion of "process" can be understood very widely in Chinese (see section 4.1.1 above), and on the other it is not always clear where the boundaries of each clause should be drawn (see section 2.3.2 above). Previous studies in a functional framework have taken as a rule of thumb the principle of "one verb per clause" (Tao 1996: 17 and references therein). However, in line with other studies of clause structure in Chinese (e.g. Tsao 1990), I found in section 2.2.1 above that it was really the textual Theme-Rheme structure (known in other studies as "topic - comment") that came closest to a regular correspondence with the unit traditionally recognised as a clause. Taking this textual structure as basic, and widening the scope of the category "verb", has meant that inevitably in many cases a single "clause" will contain more than one verb. The present task is thus to try to characterise the relationships of these different "verbs" to each other, experientially.

We can start by identifying those verbal elements that are *not* functioning as Process in the transitivity structure. Such an analysis is based on the rank scale introduced in section 2.1.1 above, whereby it is possible to distinguish a number of different levels of constituency. The Process operates as a constituent of the highest rank, the clause, and enters into transitivity relations with other clause functions such as Participants and Circumstances. The rank scale also allows for the possibility of rankshift, whereby a constituent at one rank, for example a Process at clause rank, comes to function as (part of) a constituent at a lower rank, for example a group.

We can apply the notion of rankshift to exclude as Process a number of verbal elements analysed in section 4.1.1 above as enhancing dependent processes, reanalysing them experientially as rankshifted or embedded in a nominal group, such as in the first clause of the text (the bracket plus vertical line indicates embedding):

CR1. [| Xià kè qián |] de wǔ fēn zhōng...
finish class before SUB five minute clock
'Five minutes before the class ended...'

Here the verb *xià* 'finish' does not represent an independent happening (the class has not yet, in fact, finished) but rather indicates a feature of the setting in which the "main" Process *xiě* 'write' (i.e. the one analysed as logically dominant in section 4.1.1 above) takes place - in other words, *xià* 'finish' is functioning as part of a Circumstance of time. From a constituent point of view, the verb *xià* 'finish' is part of a clause embedded in a nominal group whose Head or Thing is *wǔ fēn zhōng* 'five minutes'. This clause functions as Descriptor to the Thing in this nominal group, and *xià* 'finish' therefore has no direct function in the clause-rank transitivity structure. The constituency of this clause embedded in the nominal group in relation to the clause as a whole can thus be

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represented as follows, where single vertical lines I represent group boundaries, and a bracket plus a vertical line [I represents an embedded clause:

CR1. I [I Xià kè qián I]   de wǔ   fēn   zhōng I lǎoshī I ....   Ixiě   zheI...
       finish class before   SUB five minute clock   teacher   write   ASP:dur
       'Five minutes before the end of class the teacher wrote...'

An even more extreme version of such embedding is shown in CR13 below, where the same verb *xià* 'finish' was not even considered as a process in section 4.1.1 above, since it has become merely part of the classification of the Thing, i.e. *xià kè líng*, literally 'the finish class bell':

CR13. Zhè   shí   [I xià   kè I]   líng   xiǎng le.
      this   time   finish class   bell   sound ASP:compl
      'At this moment the bell rang for the end of class.'

Clause (CR1) also contains another verbal element *zài* 'at, on', in conjunction with the nominal group *hēibǎn shang* 'on the blackboard', which cannot in this case be excluded as process on the grounds of embedding. In fact the relationship between this verbal element and its following nominal group is very like that between a Process and Participant, as can be seen in the following modified example:

CR1' Míngdān   zài   hēibǎn   shang
      list   at   blackboard   on
      'The list is on the board.'

In this context, however, like the embedded verb *xià* 'finish' in the same clause, *zài* does not represent an independent process - it does not, for example, relate directly to the Participant *lǎoshī* 'teacher', it is not the teacher who is on the board - but rather like *xià* indicates a feature of the setting: i.e. functions as, in this case, a Circumstance of place.

The fact that verbal elements like *zài* 'at' functioning as part of Circumstances are not embedded, unlike the previous example, has led some scholars such as Chao (1968: 326) to analyse such clauses as containing "verbal expressions in series", or to use the more common term "serial verb constructions" (Li & Thompson 1981: 362): in other words, as joined by the sort of logical relationships that I examined in section 4.1.1 above. Such elements would not be regarded as part of a complex verbal group, in the terms of the present study (see section 4.1.5 below), because of a number of grammatical features which favour an experiential interpretation. Firstly, in constituent terms they are very much dependent on the presence of a Process in the same clause, in other words such elements may not function independently as Process, and furthermore in most cases are tied to a following nominal group. Secondly, in terms of their function and position in the transitivity structure, they behave very much like other circumstances, with the difference that they do not normally function as Theme (see section 4.1.2 above).

For these reasons, although we must recognise in some cases a cline between the logical ("serial verb construction") interpretation and the experiential interpretation as circumstance, similar to the cline commonly noted as characteristic of the class of coverbs in general (Li & Thompson 1974), they will be treated here experientially as circumstances. The in-between status of such examples in the present analysis - clause-like in constituency but group-like in function - is reflected in their classification as coverbial **phrases**, i.e. as "a contraction of a clause", in contrast with **groups**, which are seen as "an expansion of a word" (Halliday 1994: 180; see also discussion in section 2.1.1 above).The experiential structure of the first clause can thus be analysed as follows:

	Circumstance: time						*Agent*
CR1.	I [I Xià kè	qián I] de	wǔ	fēn	zhōng I	lǎoshī I
	finish class	before SUB	five	minute	clock	teacher

	Circumstance: place		*Process*		*Medium*	
	I zài	hēibǎn shang I xiě	zhe I	shèngjīng,	hánghǎitú...
	at	blackboard on write	ASP:dur	bible	navigation-map

'Five minutes before the end of class the teacher wrote on the board: 'Bible, navigation map...'

In other cases, a similar coverbial phrase with a very general meaning, *zài nǎ'r* 'at there - there', can be used to indicate, not location in place, but rather the fact that the action is currently in progress, often in conjunction with the adverb *zhèng* 'just, right (at that moment)" in the following example:

CR39.	wǒ nèi kē	másūsu	de xīn	zhèng	zài nà'r
	I that MEAS	numb-limp	SUB heart	just	at there
	bēngbeng	luàn-tiào	ne!		
	throb	confused-beat	MOD		

'my numb heart was thumping wildly!'

This same meaning can also be indicated by just the coverb without its following nominal group: e.g. *zài* 'at' in the following example:

C8.	shènzhì lián Shàngdì	dōu	zài	duì	wǒmen	wēixiào.
	so-far-as-to even God	all	at	towards	I+PLUR	smile

'So much so that God was smiling on us,'

In both these examples the coverbial phrase or coverb is functioning not to indicate part of the setting of the Process but to indicate the state of completeness of the Process itself: i.e. it is no longer functioning as a Circumstance, but rather marking the aspect of the Process. I will therefore return to such elements in section 4.2 below when I discuss the different verbal group systems. The following example contains a coverb functioning as aspect marker plus a number of coverbial phrases functioning as Circumstances (the verb *shi* was explained in section 4.1.2 above as having a mixed textual / logical function - other non experiential elements are omitted from the analysis):

	Medium	*Aspect*	*Circumstance: means*	
9.	I Kě I tā	I shi I zài	I yòng liǎn de	líng yí miàn I
	but s/he be	ASP:prog	use face SUB	other one face

'but (the fact) that he was using the other side of his face'

Circumstance: target [1]		*Process*
I duì zhe	wǒmen I	xiào,
towards ASP:dur.	I PLUR	laugh

'laughing at us'

A number of verbal elements following another verb, analysed in section 4.1.1 above as extending it, can also be reanalysed in the light of the rank scale as functioning not at clause rank but rather at group rank. For example the so-called postverb *xia* 'down' in the following example:

CR2. Tā   tíng   - xia bǐ ,
     s/he   stop   down pen
     'He put down his pen,'

In section 4.1.1 above, this verbal element was shown not to represent a separate process but rather to be adding to the meaning of the preceding verb *tíng* 'stop' an extra implication of 'bringing to a halt'. Experientially these two verbal elements can be analysed as jointly realising the function Process at clause rank, while having separate functions at group rank (cf McDonald 1996).

There are a number of criteria that can be used to justify the unity at clause rank and separateness at group rank of such elements. Phonologically, postverbs attached to a preceding verb are commonly atonic (particularly the directional subtype, see further below): i.e. they lose their independent lexical tone, taking on the so-called "neutral tone", realised according to the tone of the previous syllable. From a constituent point of view, the bond between verb and postverb is a very close one, with elements such as aspect clitics commonly following the verb+postverb combination, not the verb directly, as in the following example:

		Process	Aspect	
CR58. ránhòu	mǎnyì de	hé - shang	le	yǎnjīng.
afterwards	satisfied MAN	close on	ASP:compl	eye

'and then contentedly closed my eyes.'

In terms of its interaction with other experiential elements of the clause, the postverb in most cases relates directly to the verb, rather than to any other element. In the following examples, the omission of the postverb does not change the basic transitivity relations between the clause rank functions:

Agent	*Process*		*Medium*
2. Tā	tíng	- xia	bǐ ,
s/he	stop	down	pen

'He put down his pen,'

---

[1] This circumstance is analogous to the Receiver participant in a verbal clause (see section 1.4.3 above) but may also be realised as a Participant in this case, with a slight difference in meaning, e.g. *xiào wǒmen* 'to laugh at / make fun of us'.

	Agent	Process	Medium
2'	Tā	tíng	bǐ ,
	s/he	stop	pen

'He put down his pen,'

	Agent		Process		Medium
18.	yí ge	rén	lā -	shang	chuānglián,
	one MEAS	person	pull	on	window-curtain

'Alone, (I) drew the curtains,'

	Agent		Process	Medium
18'	yí ge	rén	lā	chuānglián,
	one MEAS	person	pull	window-curtain

'Alone, (I) pulled the curtains,'

Semantically, as I noted above, the meaning of the postverb is often modified from its independent meaning in ways that are dependent on the meaning of the (main) verb. Take the example of a common postverb like *xia* 'down' whose meaning as a postverb (sometimes in combination with another postverb *lai* 'come') ranges from the literal, i.e. identical with its independent meaning, to the highly metaphorical (the following examples are ordered in a rough progression from literal to metaphorical) :

C10.	diào-xia-lai	"drop down", i.e. fall out of the sky
CR2.	tíng-xia	"stop down", i.e. come to a halt - cf English "slow down"
C72.	huó-xialai	"live down", i.e. survive
CR8.	liú-xia	"stay down", i.e. to stay behind, to stay where you are
CR40.	shèng-xia	"leave down" i.e. to be left behind

In terms of the rank scale, then, we could characterise the function of the postverb as a group rank one, not operating directly at clause rank. Taking a hint from the characterisation of the logical relation between it and the preceding verb as one of extension, we could characterise it experientially as **extending** the meaning of the process represented by the main verb, in a direction, e.g. *diào-xia-lai* 'drop down', or to a result *tíng-xia* 'come to a halt'. We could thus name the respective group rank functions of verb and postverb Event and Extension, and reanalyse our initial example as follows:

clause rank functions	Agent	Process		Medium
group rank functions		Event	Extension	
CR2.	׀ Tā	׀ tíng	- xia	׀ bǐ ,
	s/he	stop	down	pen

'He put down his pen,'

The only type of verb+postverb combination for which the above analysis seems not to work are such cases as the following example, where the postverb *zai* 'at' seems to be linked equally to the preceding verb *diào* 'drop' and the following nominal group *shāmò shang* 'in the desert':

CR3.   Xiànzài, nǐmen   de fēijī   diào - zai le   shāmò shang,
        now   you+PLUR SUB aeroplane   fall   at ASP:compl.   desert   on
        '"Your plane has crashed in the desert." '

In this case, there seem to be contradictory criteria. On the one hand, the combination of postverb *zai* 'at' plus nominal group *shāmò shang* 'in the desert' seems identical both in meaning and in terms of the relationship between verbal and nominal elements to the coverbial phrase *zài hēibǎn shang* 'on the blackboard' in (CR1), analysed above as realising a circumstance of Place. On the other hand, we can note the postverb *zai* in clause (CR3) is separated from the following nominal group by the aspect clitic *le*, which thus separates the verb+postverb combination and this nominal group, one of the criteria used above to regard the verb+postverb as a single clause-rank unit.

This contradiction is, however, only apparent. Firstly, such elements functioning as postverb are commonly atonic, i.e. lose their lexical tone, in a similar way to many other postverbs, but unlike their corresponding coverbs. Secondly, the meaning relationship between verb and postverb in CR3 is much closer than that between coverb, or rather coverbial phrase, and verb in CR1. If we look at similar verb+postverb combinations in the text containing the postverb *zai* 'at', we find that in most cases the verb is one of movement or placement: i.e. is semantically compatible with the meaning of location expressed by the postverb (cf Li & Thompson (1981: 398-406), who identify four types of verbs that can be followed by such postverbs - displacement, posture, appearing, and placement):

CR35	zhàn-zai (jiǎngtái shang)	'stood on (the platform)'
C16	luò-zai le (shātān shang)	'have fallen on to (a sandbank)'
C77	huó-zai (shāmò li)	'are living in (the desert)'
BC17	tǎng-zai (chuáng shang)	'lay on (the bed)'
BC34	zuò-zai (jiàoshì li)	'sat in (the classroom)'
W29	tiě-zai le (chuángtóu)	'stuck (it) on' (the head of the bed)'
W30	pā-zai (chuáng shang)	'lay prone on (the bed)'

Thirdly, the grammatical meaning of the verb + postverb + nominal group combination is different from that of a coverbial phrase + verb combination, as has been pointed out in a number of studies (cf Tai 1975, Li & Thompson 1981: 398). The latter, as in CR1, indicates the setting in which the process takes place, i.e. functions as a Circumstance of place, similar to other Circumstances in position, i.e preceding the Process; the former, in contrast, indicates where one of the Participants ends up as a result of the Process, as in CR3, where it indicates where the plane ends up as a result of falling out of the sky. Compare the following examples:

	Time						*Agent*	
CR1.	I [I Xià kè	qián I] de	wǔ	fēn	zhōng I		lǎoshī I	
	finish	class	before SUB	five	minute	clock	teacher	

Place		*Process*		*Medium*	
I zài	hēibǎnshang I	xiě	zhe		I shèngjīng,	hánghǎitú...
at	blackboard on		write	ASP:dur	bible	navigation-map

'Five minutes before the end of class the teacher wrote on the board: 'Bible, navigation map...'

	Time	*Medium*		*Process*		*Range: location*
CR3.	Xiànzài I nǐmen	de fēijī	I	diào - zai le	I	shāmò shang,
	now	you+PLUR SUB aeroplane		fall	at ASP:compl.	desert on

'"Your plane has crashed in the desert." '

This distinct grammatical meaning of the verb+postverb combination means that occasionally this kind of postverb may appear in combination with a verb whose meaning is not one of movement or placement, e.g. *yòng* 'use' in BC44, which in combination with the postverb *zai* comes to mean something like 'insert into':

BC44.	suīrán wǒ	bǎ	tā	yòng - zai	wǒ de zuòwén	shí,	
	although I	DISP	it	use at	I SUB composition	time	

'although when I used it in my composition,'

For these reasons, then, it seems justified to treat such combinations, like other combinations of verb and postverb, as a unitary Process at clause rank, realised by a Event and Extension at group rank. Such an analysis, of course, then raises the question of the relationship between this Process and the following nominal group which expresses the place where a particular participant ends up as a result of the Process. One solution would be to analyse it is a special kind of Circumstance, one that follows the Process rather than, like most other Circumstances, preceding it. An alternative would be to analyse it as a Range Participant, i.e. something specifying the scope of the Process, similar to the sorts of Ranges expressing place that were identified in the text *Memory* in section 1.4.3 above: e.g.

	Process	*Range*
M10.	jīngguò	càishìchǎng,
	pass-by	market

'(and as I) went past the markets,'

One piece of evidence supporting such an analysis would be the fact that such verb + postverb + nominal group structures may under certain conditions, particularly in certain spoken registers, be reduced to a verb + nominal group structure, where this nominal group can only be analysed as a Range. Compare the two examples below, the first constructed as a typical Event^Extension structure, the second (quoted in Zhu 1985: 4) a colloquial "abbreviated" equivalent:

Agent	*Medium*	*Process*	*Range*		
Nǐ	bǎ	shū	gē - zai	zhuō shang	ba!
you	DISP	book	place at	table on	MOD

'Put the book on the table!'

Process   Range
Gē   zhuō shang   ba!
place   table on   MOD
'Put (it) on the table!'

There are a couple of other verbal elements that can be analysed as having experiential functions. Structurally, however, these elements pattern in ways that are similar to other non-experiential verbal elements: in the first case interpersonal, in the second logical. The first case involves elements that pattern very like the auxiliaries functioning interpersonally as Modality (see section 4.1.3 above). Such "experiential auxiliaries", which like their interpersonal counterparts precede another verb, indicate meanings to do with the state of progression of the Process, like *jìxù* 'continue' in the example below:

T14.   Tā   jìxù   xiě:
        he   continue   write
        'He continued writing:'

Such auxiliary+verb structures often express very similar meanings to those expressed by verb+postverb, i.e. Event^Extension structures. Compare the following two examples, the first with an auxiliary+verb structure, the second, with a verb+postverb structure:

T6.   kāishǐ xiě:
        begin   write
        '(and) began writing:'

T49.   suíjí   fēikuài   de   xiě -   qǐlai:
        immediately fly-quick   MAN   write   begin
        'and straightaway started writing rapidly:'

In section 4.1.3 above I showed that interpersonal auxiliaries functioning as Modality were not restricted to immediately preceding the verb functioning as Predicator, and that both structurally and from the point of view of the meaning they expressed, such auxiliaries were best analysed as modifying the meaning of the clause as a whole. In a similar way, such experiential auxiliaries such as *kāishǐ* 'begin' and *jìxù* 'continue' can be separated from the following verb by some intervening element, as in the following modified example:

T6'   kāishǐ mànmān'r   de   xiě:
        begin   slow   MAN   write
        '(and) slowly began writing:'

Furthermore, in many cases, it makes more sense to analyse the experiential auxiliary as applying to the clause as a whole, rather than just to the following verb. In the following example, which contains both an interpersonal auxiliary *néng* 'can' and an experiential auxiliary *kāishǐ* 'begin', the meaning of the experiential auxiliary is reinforced by other experiential elements indicating time such as the adverb *yòu* 'again', and the aspect

particle *le* which marks the whole situation expressed by the clause as completed (see further section 4.2.2.1 below):

CR23. wǒ   *yòu*   néng   *kāishǐ* xiě   zuòwén   *le.*
       I   further can   begin   write composition   ASP:compl/perf
       'I could then begin writing compositions again.'

In some cases, an auxiliary such as *kāishǐ* 'begin' can be used before a verb indicating a settled state, such as the ascriptive process *jǔsàng* 'be depressed, disheartened' which is not normally susceptible to progressing through time. In the following example, *kāishǐ* 'begin', again in conjunction with the aspect particle *le*, marks the emergence of a new situation at a critical moment in the narrative:

46.   tā   kāishǐ   jǔsàng le...
       he   begin   disheartened   ASP:compl.
       'he was beginning to get disheartened...'

It seems plausible then, to analyse such structures as structurally **prosodic**, i.e. placed around certain boundaries rather than in a fixed constituency relationship , and expressing meanings that apply to a whole stretch rather than to a single other element, like the interpersonal auxiliaries which they resemble; while systemically being related to other experiential meanings such as those expressed by postverbs and aspect particles. (The exact nature of these experiential systems will be discussed in section 4.2.2 below).

The second case involves elements that commonly appear as part of a clause following another verb and linked to that verb by the particle *de*, like *yǒu* 'exist' in the following example:

CR28. Qítā kè   hǎoxiàng zǒngshi   cháng de   méi yǒu   biān,
       other class   seem   always   long   EXT   NEG exist   limit
       'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,'

Such structures could be regarded as embedded clauses expressing a meaning of extent and functioning as a kind of Circumstance following the Process. Such an analysis might be supported by analogous cases such as the embedded clause Circumstance in the first clause of the text (already analysed above):

         Time   *Agent*
CR1.   I [I Xià kè   qián I] de   wǔ   fēn   zhōng I   lǎoshī I...
       finish class   before SUB   five   minute clock   teacher
       'Five minutes before the class finished, the teacher...'

However the two examples are distinct in constituency in that in CR1 the *clause xià kè qián* 'before finishing class' is clearly embedded in the nominal group whose head *is wǔ fēn zhōng* 'five minutes' - i.e. 'five minutes before finishing class'. A similar analysis for CR28 would have then have to regard *méi yǒu biān* 'not having limits' as either embedded in itself, i.e. functioning as a group expressing the Circumstance, or embedded

in the verbal group whose head was *cháng* 'be long'; this latter analysis would mean that the clause expressing a Circumstance was embedded in the verbal group expressing the Process. We could alternatively do a logical analysis of the relationship between them, regarding *méi yǒu biān* 'not having limits' as a dependent clause enhancing the Process *cháng* 'be long', with the particle *de* functioning as a conjunctive or clause-joining element (the pre-verbal interpersonal elements in this clause have been omitted below for reasons of space):

α	Carrier	Process		ˣβ	Process	Existent
CR28.	Qítā kè	cháng	de		méi yǒu	biān,
	other class	long	EXT		NEG exist	limit
	'Other classes...were endlessly long,'					

Such analytic problems would suggest that *méi yǒu biān* 'not having limits' is not in fact functioning at clause rank. An alternative experiential analysis would still treat the clause *méi yǒu biān* 'not having limits' as embedded, but this time embedded in the verbal group itself and functioning at group rank in a similar way to the postverbs analysed above as Extension: e.g.

clause rank functions	*Carrier*	*Process*			
group rank functions		*Event*		*Extension*	
CR28.	Qítā ke	cháng	de	[I méi yǒu	biān I]
	other class	long	EXT	NEG exist	limit
	'Other classes...were endlessly long,'				

This analysis would be supported by the fact that, like the verb+postverb structure, the constituent bond between the verb and the embedded clause is very close, with no other experiential element able to be inserted between them. In this case, then, we might say that what we have here is something structurally similar to a clause complex, i.e. with two Processes / clauses linked by logical relations, but reinterpreted in constituent terms as an experiential Event^Extension structure at group rank, jointly realising the Process at clause rank.

Experientially, then, verbal elements exhibit the widest range of functions apart from their basic one as Process, functioning embedded in a nominal group as (part of a) Descriptor, as parts of coverbial phrases, or linked to the Event as Extension. Furthermore, other verbal elements function experientially in a way similar to that of the interpersonal Modality, or in a structure something like a clause complex or serial verb construction. In relation to the logical analysis given in section 4.1.1 above, verbal elements functioning experientially are perhaps the most distinct from their logical analogues, with the rank scale defining a number of layers of constituency in a way quite foreign to the logical type of structure. In many cases, then, a logical analysis of experiential elements is merely a heuristic, useful by negative example for revealing the different kinds of structural relations they do exhibit.

4.1.5   Defining a verbal group in Chinese: a multifunctional mix

In section 4.1.1 above I analysed the relationships between successive verbal elements in terms of the logical nexuses defined by the combination of interdependency and logico-semantic relations. In subsequent sections, I showed how many of these relationships could be reinterpreted from the other points of view of their textual, interpersonal, and experiential functions. While these different functions of verbal elements were identified in relation to the textual, interpersonal, and experiential structures of the clause, the verbal elements themselves were shown not always to be functioning at clause rank, with some of them being embedded in groups, or part of the in-between unit of phrase, or actually functioning at group rank.

There are therefore two dimensions along which verbal elements need to be classified: (i) their constituency - clause rank or group/phrase rank; and (ii) their functionality - logical and/or textual, interpersonal, and experiential. Just as in section 2.3.2 above I showed that each clause could be analysed for four different kinds of structure, and showed how these four different structures came together in text, in order to describe the other grammatical systems that interact with verbal elements in Chinese, we need to be able to show how the different functional structures in which verbal elements are involved interact in text. This comes down to the question of, on the one hand, defining a **verbal group**, i.e. a structural unit distinct in constituency and exhibiting different structural patterns from the clause, and on the other hand what we might call a **verbal zone**, i.e. a domain for the realisation of particular systems, again distinct from those realised in the clause.

In the re-examination of the notion of clause as a grammatical unit in Chinese in section 2.2 above, I showed that it needed to be redefined as the common denominator of four distinct structural units: the message unit, the information unit, the predication unit, and the experience unit. In section 2.3.1, I further characterised relationships between clauses in terms of the concept of logical nexus. The question with regard to verbal elements, then, is whether they can be fully explained in terms of these four units plus logical nexus, or whether they must in some cases be assigned to a separate unit distinct from any of the others.

From the discussion in previous sections, we can draw the conclusion that only from an experiential point of view is it necessary to recognise a level of structure distinct from clause structure. The textual and interpersonal functions of verbal elements are easily explained, (a) from a logical point of view, and (b) in terms of how they function in the

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theme, information or mood structures. Only experientially is it necessary to recognise elements that can be analysed in terms of group functions such as Event and Extension. Such elements do not, however, exhaust the experiential potential of verbal elements, with interpersonal-like experiential elements such as "experiential auxiliaries" operating in the clause-rank transitivity structure. Furthermore, there are still other verbal elements with experiential implications such as the "cause" marker *shǐ* 'to cause, make', not discussed above, that pattern in a logical-like, clause-joining way.

Defining a "verbal group" and/or "verbal zone" thus also has implications for the definition of the clause. As noted above, the often invoked principle of "one verb per clause" (Cumming 1984, Tao 1996) is unsatisfactory from the viewpoint of a multi-functional analysis of clause structure; similarly, as was shown in the discussion of experiential clause structure in section 2.2.3 above, it is not possible in all cases to impose a comparable restriction of "one Process per clause". We therefore need to jettison the conception of a verbal group as a cross-functional fixed grammatical unit, replacing it with a narrower conception of an experiential verbal group in conjunction with logical nexuses and the different functional structures of the clause.

In the analysis that follows, I will take the logical nexus as the basic structural mechanism relating verbal elements in Chinese. Overlaying these logical nexuses, I will recognise a unit of clause, corresponding to the theme structure of the message unit. In the default case, this will also correspond to the mood structure of the predication unit and the transitivity structure of the experience unit. (The information unit, as explained in section 2.2.1 above, is a special case, in that it has the potential to range widely over or within the boundaries of all the other units.)

Within these units, verbal elements can be identified as playing different functions. Within the experience unit, a distinction of rank also needs to be recognised, with verbal elements functioning in embedded clauses, in coverbial phrases, and playing group functions within the verbal group proper. I will then examine cases where the experience unit may correspond to something very like a clause complex or "serial verb construction", i.e. two or more processes joined by interdependency and logico-semantic relations. These structural definitions will then serve as the basis for the examination in section 4.2 of the "verbal zone" as the domain for the realisation of various interpersonal and experiential systems.

The verbal group, then, as a unit distinct from the clause, is strictly an experiential phenomenon, realising the clause function of Process in the transitivity structure. It may

be **simple**, i.e. consist at group rank of only Event; **compound**, i.e. consist at group rank of Event plus Extension; or **complex**, i.e. consist of a number of verbs joined in some kind of logical relation. These types are set out below with examples; the verbal group in each case indicated in bold face:

verbal group: simple

clause function					Process	
group function					Event	
CR13. Zhè	shí	xià	kè	líng	**xiǎng**	le.
this	time	finish	class	bell	sound	ASP:compl

'At this moment the bell rang for the end of class.'

verbal group: compound

clause function		Process	
group function		Event	Extension
CR2. Tā		**tíng**	**- xia**	bǐ ,
s/he		stop	down	pen

'He put down his pen,'

clause function	Process					
group function	Event	Extension				
C70. Wǒ	**xuǎn - hǎo**	le		[| shǔyú wǒ |]	de	dōngxi,
I	choose complete	ASP:compl.		belong-to I	SUB	thing

'I finished choosing the things that would be mine,'

clause function		Process		
group function		Event	Extension	
CR3. "Xiànzài, nǐmen	de fēijī	**diào - zai**	le	shāmò shang,"
now	you+PLUR SUB aeroplane	fall at	ASP:compl.	desert on

' "Your plane has crashed in the desert." '

clause function			Process		
group function			Event	Extension	
CR26. Qítā kè	hǎoxiàng zǒngshi	**cháng** de	[| **méi yǒu**	**biān** |]
other class	seem always	long EXT	NEG exist	limit

'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,'

verbal group: complex

	Process	
	×1	2
CR4. tā	**jiěshì**	**shuō,**
s/he	explain	say

'he explained, i.e. said in explanation,'

Process						
1	×2					
CR12. "**Huí - qu**	**xiě** yi xia	qiányīn-hòuguǒ	hé	nǐmen	de juédìng."
return go	write one time	cause-effect	and	you+PLUR SUB	decision

' "Go back (home) and write what happened and your decision." '

				Process		
				1	×2	
C32. huòxǔ huì	yǒu	biéde	fēijī	**lái**	**jiù**	wǒmen,
perhaps can	exist	other	plane	come	save	I+PLUR

'there might possibly be another plane (which would) come to save us,'

In some cases, a verbal group complex may be made up of an auxiliary plus verb, in other words, the case of the "experiential auxiliaries" discussed in the previous section.

Such structures may also be regarded as joined in a logical relation, in this case one of elaboration:

Process

	1	=2
T6.	**kāishǐ**	**xiě**:
	begin	write

'(and) began writing:'

Process

		1	=2
C28.	Yìxiē rén	**zhǔnbèi**	**líkai,**
	some person	prepare	leave

'Some people got ready to leave,'

The notion of verbal group complex may also be stretched to include cases where an "extra" verb introduces another participant - commonly an Agent - into the transitivity structure; these include many structures traditionally regarded as "serial verb constructions": e.g.

	Time	Agent		Pro-	Medium	-cess	
C59.	yǒu shíhou,	jiǔ	huì	**shǐ**	rén	**hǎoshòu**	xiē.
	exist time	alcohol	can	cause	person	easy-endure	some

'sometimes alcohol can help people endure (things) better,'

	Agent			Pro-	Medium -cess: mat.	Range	
C50.	"Dāng wǒ	xiǎng		**ràng**	Bàobǐ **jìn**	wū	shí,
	when I	want		get	Bobby enter	house	time

' "When I want to get Bobby to come inside,'

With more extended examples, it is arguable whether they should be analysed as a single clause containing a verbal group complex, or as a clause complex: e.g.

	|| 1				|| ˣ2			||
	Time	Agent		Process	Medium Pro-	Range	-cess	
or	Time	Agent		Pro-	Medium -ce-	Range	-ss	
T15.	"měi tiān,	wǒ	dōu	**dài**	Bàobǐ **qù**	gōngyuán	**sànbù,**
	each day	I	all	take	Bobby go	park	stroll

' "every day I take Bobby to the park for a walk, '

The basic principle here is that there should not be more than one example of the same Participant in a single clause, since that would suggest two separate transitivity structures: i.e. what Starosta (1988: 138), drawing on "early Fillmorean case grammar" (Fillmore 1968) refers to as the "one per sent solution'. Examples such as the following, then, while textually seeming like a single clause, i.e with one Theme-Rheme structure, experientially may have to be regarded as two experience units:

Theme	Rheme			
	1		+2	
	Process	Medium	Process	Medium
C56.	kěyǐ	qǔ	huǒ	zuò	fàn.

(layout)

		1		+2	
		Process	Medium	Process	Medium
C56.		kěyǐ	qǔ huǒ	zuò	fàn.
		can	get fire	make	meal

'which (you) could (use to) make fires or cook.'

Experiential markers, such as those represented by the different elements realising aspect distinctions (see further section 4.2.2.1 below) will normally appear on either side of this verbal group, such as the clitic *le* in CR58 below; as noted above, other experiential elements such as the coverb *zài*, rather than directly preceding the Process, will normally precede the minor Process of a coverbial phrase if one is present , i.e. *dui* 'at' in clause C8 below:

CR58. ránhòu   mǎnyì de   **hé - shang**   *le*   yǎnjīng.
      afterwards   satisfied MAN   close on   ASP:compl   eye
      'and then contentedly closed my eyes.'

C8.   shènzhì lián Shàngdì dōu   *zài*   dui   wǒmen   **wēixiào**.
      so-far-as-to even God   all   ASP:prog   towards I+PLUR   smile
      'So much so that God was smiling on us,'

Finally, a verbal group may consist of a set phrase, often constructed internally according to the rules of classical Chinese grammar:

CR41. zài   nà'r   **yī - zhāng - yī - hé**.
      at   there   once open   once   close
      'opening and closing.'

CR61. wǒ   yǐjīng néng   **dào-bèi-rú-liú**   le.
      I   already can   reverse recite like stream ASP:perf
      'I could already recite it off by heart.'

Interpersonal verbal elements, the majority of which are represented by auxiliaries functioning as Modality in the mood structure, are not regarded as being part of the verbal group, since their structural characteristics can be totally accounted for by treating them as part of the mood structure of the clause. As noted above, such elements commonly precede that element identified as the Process in the transitivity structure, or the minor Process of a coverbial phrase, reinterpreted interpersonally as Predicator or minor Predicator respectively: e.g.

              Modality   Predicator
C26. Wǒmen   *bìxū*   **xuǎnzé**,
      I+PLUR   must   choose
      'We had to (were obliged to) choose,'

              Modality   minor Predicator Predicator
C71. zuìhòu wǒ hái *yào*   gěi wǒmen   **xuǎn** yí ge hǎo jiéjú:
      final   I still must   for I+PLUR   choose   one MEAS good outcome
      '(so) finally I have to choose us a good ending:'

The only case is which the verbal group proper needs to be interpreted interpersonally is in the case of the so-called "potential form", i.e. where the verb+postverb type of Event^Extension structure contains an "infix" between Event and Extension indicating the (commonly negative) potential of the action to be completed (see further section 4.2.2.2 below): e.g.

C55. Zài   shuō,   shāmò hǎoxiàng   yě   **zhǎo - bu -   dào**   mùchái
     further say   desert seem   also   seek NEG:pot reach   firewood
     'What's more, (it) also seemed that (you) couldn't find firewood in this desert'

Such an account of verbal group structure, confining it largely to experiential functions, allows us to deal effectively with the functions of verbal elements in the clause rank function structures, and the ways in which verbal elements are marked.

4.2   Verbal group marking

In the previous section I set up a framework for interpreting the functions of verbal group elements, showing how a number of different types of meaning - logical, textual, interpersonal, and experiential - were involved in determining the structures to which they belonged. The purpose of setting up such a framework was to show how verbal elements contributed to the organisation of stretches of text, something I will come to below in section 4.4. Before I can do this, however, I need to take into account other grammatical meanings that are not necessarily verbal in nature, but which are associated with verbal elements. It is these meanings, or more specifically the systems which define them, that I have referred to as "verbal group marking".

Strictly speaking, only one kind of marking, that represented by the PHASE system (see section 4.2.2.2 below), is actually *of* the verbal group, in the sense that its exponents function at group rank as part of the realisation of the (clause rank) Process. We might then rename the other kinds of marking "verbal zone marking", since they are associated with the verbal group but not actually part of it. What this apparent indeterminacy points to is essentially the same multifunctional pressures on structure that were evident in the analysis of the clause (see section 3.1 above). In other words, although verbal elements are crucially involved in the expression of both interpersonal and experiential meaning, only in the case of the latter does this involve the separate layer of structure we have called the verbal group. With this proviso then, I will continue to refer to "verbal group marking" even where, as in the case of interpersonal or some experiential marking, it is not strictly appropriate.

How then can we define "verbal group marking"? Structurally it refers to elements that must in most cases appear in conjunction with a verb somewhere in the clause. Systemically, the meanings realised by such elements are optional: in other words, the systems that define them always have a neutral term. I will go on in section 4.3 below to discuss the theoretical implications of this marking. In the meantime I will give an overall view of the meanings defined by these systems and their structural realisation. When we

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look at verbal group marking as defined above, only two of the four types of metafunctional meaning, the interpersonal and the experiential, are relevant. In the case of the textual and the logical, on the one hand these types of meaning are only peripherally related to the verbal group as such, and on the other such marking as does involve verbal elements is signalled by those elements themselves, without the aid of other non-verbal elements. In the following discussion, therefore, I will examine mainly the interpersonal system of MODALITY, and the optional experiential systems of ASPECT and PHASE.

4.2.1 Interpersonal verbal group marking

Interpersonal verbal group marking is largely confined to the system of MODALITY. In functional terms, this system is used to negotiate the cline between positive and negative polarity attached to the predication along two dimensions: the degree of likelihood (modalisation) or the degree of necessity (modulation). Halliday explains this system for English as follows:

> Modality refers to the area of meaning that lies between yes and no - the intermediate ground between positive and negative polarity...If the clause is an information clause [i.e. realising the semantic speech functions of statement or question EMcD]...this means (i) 'either yes or no', i.e. 'maybe" or 'both yes and no', i.e. 'sometimes; in other words, some degree of probability or usuality...If the clause is a 'goods-and-services' clause [i.e. realising the semantic speech functions of offer or command EMcD]...it means either (i) 'is wanted to', related to a command, or (ii) 'wants to', related to an offer; in other words, some degree of obligation or inclination.

(Halliday 1994: 356)

In traditional philosophical terms these subtypes of modality are referred to as epistemic modality (modalisation) and deontic modality (modulation). Fig. 4.4 below presents the system of modality as realised in the text.
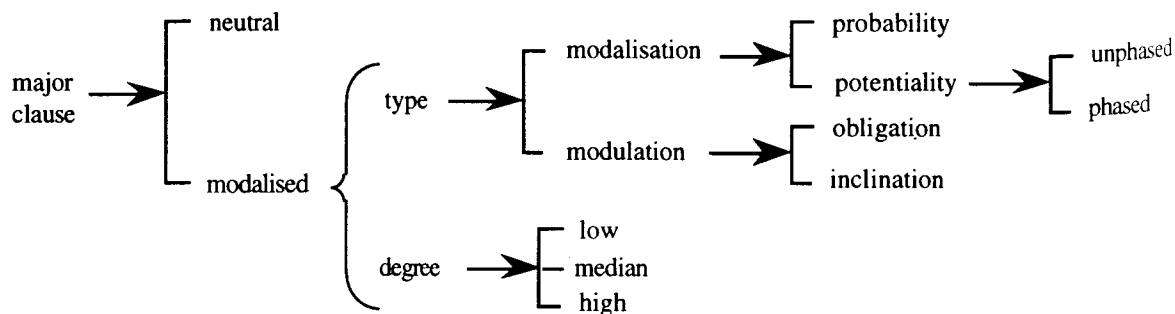
Figure 4.4:   the system of MODALITY in *Wenli's Composition*

As described in sections 2.2.2 and 4.1.3 above, there is only one layer of interpersonal structure that can be recognised, i.e. the mood structure of the predication unit,

commonly corresponding to the clause. The functions of this structure that are relevant to the description of interpersonal verbal group marking can be summarised schematically as follows:

Subject...Adjunct^Polarity^Modality^Predicator...Negotiator

This is equivalent to what was described in section 2.2.2 above as the 'pre-Predicator prosody', i.e. the cluster of interpersonal meanings realised preceding the Predicator (or its equivalent the minor Predicator realised by a coverbial phrase). Meanings from the system of modality are realised by these functions, singly or in combination, in conjunction with the Predicator. In addition, the verbal group itself may express a type of modalisation - potentiality - signalled by a Potential infix between Event and Extension (this is only open to verbal groups already marked for completive phase, thus the terming of this feature as "phased" in the network above).

Figure 4.5 below shows the lexemes which function as Modality in the mood structure of the clause to realise these features, with clause examples given following (the relevant functions are underlined).

degree *type*	low	median	high
probability	[I CR51I] huì 'might' C43. kěyǐ 'may'	[I W56 I] jiāng 'will'	W24. yídìng yao 'definitely will'
potentiality: unphased	CR22. néng 'can' C25. nénggòu 'can'		T37. zhǐdé 'can only'
potentiality:phased			W64 zuò-bu-chéng 'won't be able to be'
obligation	CR9. zhǔn 'be allowed to' CR7. kěyǐ 'may'	T4. yao 'must'	C26 bìxū 'must' CR10 (yídìng) yao '(definitely) must' CR22 rěn-bu-zhù (bu) 'can't help (not)'
inclination	C37. xiǎng 'want to'	C3.yuànyi 'be willing to' W66. yuàn 'be willing to' C27. níngyuàn 'would rather'	

Figure 4.5:   Realisations of MODALITY features in *Wenli's Composition*

probability: low

C43.   tā   jì   <u>kěyǐ</u>   zài   báitiān   zhē-yáng,
       it   both   can   at   daytime   block sun
       'it could both block out the sun during the day,

[ICR51I] ...[I   bú <u>huì</u> yǒu   rènhé   cuòwù I]...
                 NEG can exist   any   mistake
         '...(that) couldn't have any mistakes.'

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probability: median

[IW58] ...[I	míngtiān	dàodǐ	jiāng	rúhé I]...
	tomorrow	in-the-end	will-be	like-what

'...what tomorrow would be like...'

probability: high

W24.	"Wǒ	yídìng	yào	kèfú	chóngchóng	kùnnán,
	I	definitely	will	overcome	layer-layer	difficulty

' "I will overcome endless difficulties,'

potentiality: unphased: low

CR22.	wǒ	yòu	néng	kāishǐ	xiě	zuòwén	le.
	I	further	can	begin	write	composition	ASP:compl/perf

'I could then begin writing compositions again.'

C25.	hěn	duō	zhèiyàng de shíkè,	zǒng	yǒu	shénme
	very	many	this-kind SUB moment	always	exist	something

'a lot of these sorts of times there is always something'

	nénggou	bǎ	nǐ	liú - xialai.
	can	DISP	you	leave down

'that can enable you to stay behind.'

potentiality: unphased: high

T37.	zhǐdé	xiě:
	only-can	write

'(and) could only write:'

potentiality: phased (:high)

W60.	"Qíshí	nǐ	yí bèizi	yě	zuò - bu - chéng	Tāngmǐ,
	in-fact	you	one lifetime	even	act NEG:pot succeed	Tommy

' "In fact you'll never be able to be Tommy in your whole life,'

obligation: low

CR9.	měi rén zhǐ	zhǔn	dài	wǔ	yàng	dōngxi..."
	each person	only	allow	take	five	type thing

'each person is only allowed to take five things..."'

CR7.	nǐmen	kěyǐ	zǒu
	you+PLUR	can	leave

'you can go'

obligation: median

T4.	Zhìshǎo	yào	xiě	150	zì.
	at-least	must	write	150	word

'(He) had to write at least 150 words.'

obligation: high

CR10.	"Nǐ	yídìng yào	ná	zhǐnánzhēn."
	you	definite must	take	compass

' "You'd have to take a compass." '

CR23.	Wǒ	zhēnde	rěn -	bu -	zhù	bú	gàosu	nǐ,
	I	really	tolerate	NEG:pot.	stand	not	tell	you

'I really can't help telling you,'

C26.	Wǒmen	bìxū	xuǎnzé,
	I+PLUR	must	choose

'We had to choose,'

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inclination: low

C37.
ér	shi	<u>xiǎng</u>	zài	kàn	tā	shí
but	be	want	at	read	it	time

'but (I) wanted when (I) read it'

inclination: median

W68.
Wǒ	shènzhì bú	<u>yuàn</u>	shāng	zìjǐ	de	xīn,	
I	so-far-as-to NEG	wish	hurt	self	SUB	heart	

'I didn't even want to hurt myself,'

C27.
suīrán	wǒ	<u>níngyuàn</u>	bù	xuǎnzé.
although	I	rather-wish	NEG	choose

'even though I would rather not have to choose.'

Figure 4.5 shows clearly the grading or degrees of likelihood / necessity that are an essential part of this system (as discussed in section 4.1.3 above). As was also mentioned above, various interpersonal Adjuncts may act together with the Modality to modify the degree, like *yídìng* 'definitely' in the following example, which changes the degree from median to high:

CR10.
"Nǐ	yídìng yào	ná	zhǐnánzhēn."
you	definite must	take	compass

'"You'd really have to take a compass." '

In other cases, the Modality may act in concert with other clause or group elements, as is the nature of interpersonal prosodic structure, for example the nominal group *rènhé* 'any' in the following example which normally appears only in negative clauses:

[ICR50I]
bú huì yǒu	rènhé	cuòwù
NEG can exist	any	mistake

'(that) couldn't have any mistakes.'

There are various alternative realisations of the Modality function. In one case a compound verbal group (see section 4.1.5. above) acts as Modality together with a negative Polarity:

CR23.
	Adjunct	Modality			Polarity	Predicator	
Wǒ	zhēnde	rén -	bu -	zhù	bú	gàosu	nǐ,
I	really	tolerate	NEG:pot.	stand	not	tell	you

'I really can't help telling you,'

In other cases, this compound verbal group in potential form is conflated with the Predicator, to give a sort of Modality and Predicator in one, as in the following examples:

C55.
					Modality/Predicator			
Zài	shuō,	shāmò	hǎoxiàng	yě	zhǎo - bu -	dào	mùchái
further	say	desert	seem	also	seek NEG:pot	reach	firewood

'What's more, (it) also seemed that (you) couldn't find firewood in this desert'

W56.
	Modality/Predicator						
zhè	gǎibiàn - bu -	liǎo	tā	měi tiān	[l yòng kuàizi	chī fàn
this	change NEG:pot	complete	she	each day	use chopstick	eat meal
yòng	féizào	xǐ	liǎn l]	de	xíguàn,	
use	soap	wash	face	SUB	habit	

'this couldn't change her everday habit of eating with chopsticks (or) washing her face with soap,'

				Modality/Predicator	
W60. "Qíshí nǐ	yí bèizi	yě	zuò - bu - chéng	Tāngmǐ,	
in-fact you	one lifetime	even	act NEG:pot succeed	Tommy	

' "In fact you'll never be able to be Tommy in your whole life,'

The difference between this so-called "potential form" and an ordinary Modality ^Predicator structure is summed up by Halliday (1956: 204) when he notes that the negative polarity of the "infix" *bu* applies only to the postpositive verb not the free verb; in terms of the present study, the Extension rather than the Event. In other words, a form like *zhǎo-bu-dào* 'couldn't find' in WC55 above signifies that the Agent had looked for firewood but could not find it, whereas an alternative form like *bù néng zhǎo-dào* 'couldn't find' with modality *néng* 'can, be able to' would imply an inability even to start the process of searching (see also Li & Thompson 1981: 56-57).

In the text such modality marking tends to cluster at particular parts of the narrative where interpersonal meanings are highlighted, often in conjunction with polarity, as will be shown in section 4.4. below.

4.2.2 Experiential verbal group marking

Experiential verbal group marking is defined by the two systems of ASPECT and PHASE. These two optional systems may be grouped under the general heading of PROFILE (McDonald & Zeng 1996), i.e. they focus on the unfolding of the Process through time. Of these systems, ASPECT has been more discussed and is perhaps better understood, especially since it has many parallels in other languages (cf Huang 1988), where its main distinction between perfective and imperfective is common across a range of languages (but see Huang's critique 1988: section 1.2). The PHASE system, in contrast, has rarely been discussed as a system, since both its meanings and structural realisations have been subject to a wide range of interpretations (see McDonald 1994, 1996). One of the descriptive problems is that its patterning ranges from highly grammaticalised, so much so that certain scholars (e.g. Gao 1948: 383-387) have classified some of its forms as marking subtypes of aspect, to highly lexicalised (cf Thompson 1973). The following accounts attempts to show both the similarities and differences between the two systems.

4.2.2.1   The system of ASPECT

Fig. 4.6 below sets out the basic ASPECT system in the text, together with its realisations.

```
            ┌─ neutral
            │
clause ───→ │
            │              ┌─ perfective ──────→  ┌─ completed
            └─ marked ───→ │      ↘ Process^Aspect │      ↘ Aspect: le
               ↘ + Aspect  │                        └─ experienced
                           │                               ↘ Aspect: guo
                           │
                           │                        ┌ durative
                           │                        │    ↘ Aspect: zhe; Process^Aspect
                           └─ imperfective ──→     ┤
                                                    │  progressive
                                                    │    ↘ Aspect: (zheng )zai (na'r);
                                                    └       Aspect^Process
```
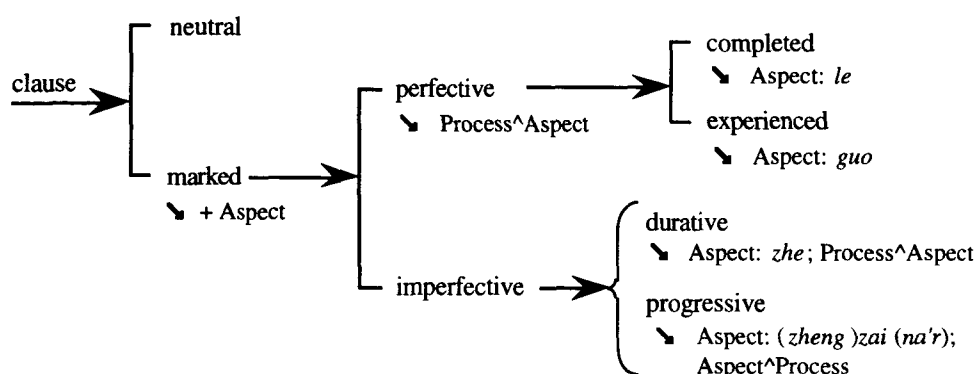
Figure 4.6: **The basic system of ASPECT in *Wenli's Composition***

In terms of their realisation, it is obvious that the features [completed], [experienced], and [durative] are all realised similarly by a clitic immediately following the verbal group. In contrast, the feature [progressive] is realised by a coverb or coverbial phrase preceding (not necessarily immediately) the verbal group. Chao (1968: 333) describes this latter as a recent innovation from what in the terms of the present study would be called a Place circumstance, with a fairly obvious grammaticalisation from 'at there, there' to 'at the present moment, in progress'. Various studies (e.g. Chen 1978) have also pointed out that an actual Place circumstance may be interpreted as having a similar progressive aspectual meaning, substituting for the *zài* (*nà'r*) coverb(ial) phrase). In spite of these realisational differences, the similarity of this form in function to the other aspect markers warrants its inclusion here.

Systemically, the different aspect features divide up a semantic space whose basic variable is whether the process is viewed as bounded (perfective) or unbounded (imperfective) (see Li & Thompson 1981: 184-185). Within the perfective subtype, the feature [completed] indicates a process bounded in time, either in relation to context (in this and following examples, aspect markers are highlighted in italics):

CR60. Zhè   shí   zhěnggè chéngshì   dōu   shuì   *le*.
      this   time   whole   city   all   sleep   ASP:compl
      'By this time the whole city was asleep.'

or by extent:

CR46. Wǒ   rēng   *le*   yídi   zhǐtuán,
      I   throw   ASP:compl   whole-floor   paper-ball
      'I covered the floor with balls of paper,'

by place in a series:

CR51. Wǎnshang,   wǒ   yǒu   *le*   yi pian
      evening   I   exist   ASP:compl.   one MEAS
      [I bú huì yǒu   rènhé   cuòwù I] de   yīngyǔ   zuòwén,
      NEG can exist   any   mistake SUB   English   composition
      'By evening I had an English composition that couldn't have any mistakes.'

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by Range:

CR3. "Xiànzài, nǐmen   de fēijī   diào - zai *le*   shāmò shang,"
     now   you+PLUR SUB aeroplane   fall at ASP:compl.   desert on
' "Your plane has crashed in the desert." '

or Medium:

CR58. chī   *le*   sān   piàn   ānnǎijìn,
     eat   ASP:perf   three   pill   analgesic
'took three sleeping pills,

or by simple completion:

CR61. Xīngqīyī,   wǒ   jiāo   *le*   wǒ de zuòwén,
     Monday   I   hand-in ASP:compl   I SUB composition
'On Monday I handed in my composition,'

The feature [experienced] in contrast, indicates a process bounded by its removal from the present (Li & Thompson 1981: 226-232 treat this as a separate, non-perfective subtype):

CR34. xiàng [I wǒ yǐhòu   děngdài *guo* I]   de   mǒu   zhǒng yuēhuì.
     resemble I afterwards wait   ASP:exp.   SUB   certain type   appointment
'like some date I would have waited for afterwards.'

or by the fact that it has been gone through:

CR47. diǎn   *guo*   wúshù   cì   yān,
     light   ASP:exp   countless   time   cigarette
'lit countless cigarettes,'

Within the imperfective subtype, the feature [durative] indicates the process is unbounded by being extended through time, either as background to some other action:

CR49. yòu   yí   dàzǎo dài   *zhe*   nèi   zhāng
     further one   morning bring   ASP:dur   that   MEAS
[I zhǐ   yǒu   jǐ   bǎi   zì I]   de   zhǐ,
only   exist   few   100   word   SUB   paper
'early the next morning, taking that piece of paper with only a few hundred words on it,'

or as an action without cessation:

CR5. "Nǐmen   hái   huó   *zhe*,
    you+PLUR   still   live   ASP:dur
' "You're still alive,'

The feature [progressive] indicates the process is unbounded by being repeated:

CR17. Nà   yǐhòu de   hǎo jǐ tiān,
     that   after SUB   good few day
wǒ   yīzhí   *zài*   xiǎng zhè jiàn   shì.
I   continually   ASP:prog   think this MEAS   matter
'For quite a few days after that, I kept thinking about this matter.'

or by being currently in progress, commonly reinforced by some specification of the manner in which it is being performed, i.e. *bēngbeng* 'throbbing' in the following example:

CR39.wǒ nèi kē   másūsu de   xīn   zhèng   *zài nǎ'r*
    I   that MEAS numb-limp SUB heart ASP:prog at there
    bēngbeng   luàn-tiào   ne!
    throb   confused-beat MOD
    'my numb heart was thumping wildly!'

Unlike the two perfective subtypes which tend to be in contrast with each other, the two imperfective subtypes are compatible with each other, and may both appear in the same clause, as in the following example (note also the presence of a circumstance of Manner *yǐnyuē* 'vaguely'):

CR33.wǒ   zài   yǐnyuē   děngdài   *zhe*   shénme,
    I   ASP:prog   indistinct   wait   ASP:dur   something
    'I was vaguely waiting for something,'

It is not the aim of the present study to present a reinterpretation of the aspect system in Chinese, in the manner of numerous studies which have sought to capture the "true meaning" of this system in terms of the presence or absence of a small number of basic features, for example, to cite only recent studies, Huang 1988, Shi 1990, Smith 1991. In any case the small sample on which the current account is based - roughly 10% (35 out of a total of 311 clauses) of the clauses in the text - is far too small to make any significant generalisations. What I can attempt here is a small-scale exploration of the use of aspect marking in text, in contrast to and in conjunction with phase marking, as well as with the **absence** of such marking. The latter point is a crucial part of the meaning of such systems, with, for example, the 'backgrounding" function often ascribed to imperfective aspect in many languages being performed in Chinese by the lack of aspectual marking (see Huang 1988). Fig. 4.7 below sets out the more delicate features of aspectual marking as realised in the text.
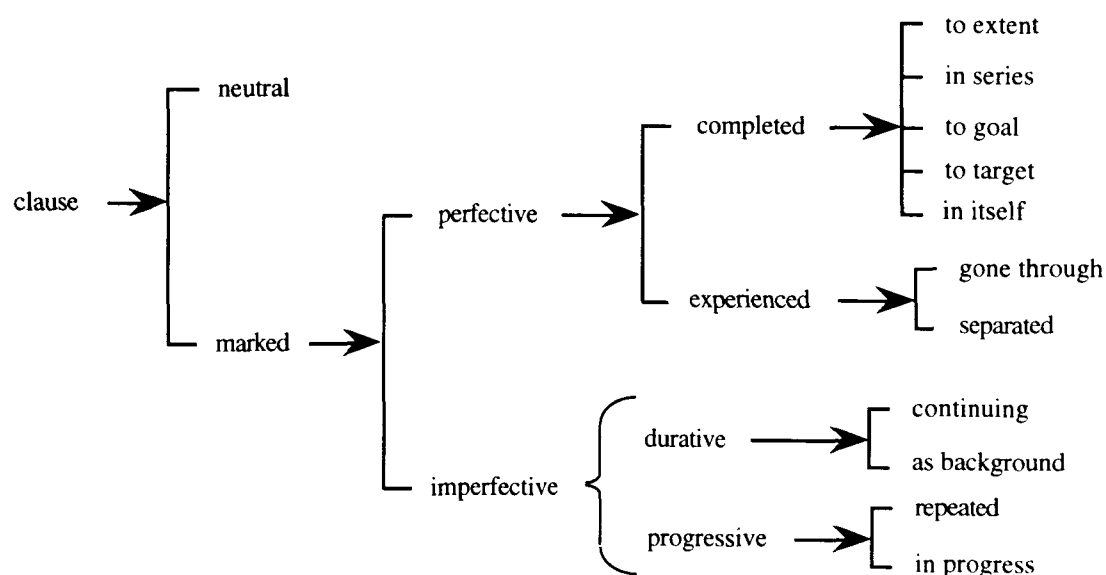
Figure 4.7:   The extended system of ASPECT in *Wenli's Composition*

4.2.2.2   *The system of PHASE*

Fig. 4.8 below sets out the basic system of PHASE in the text with its realisations.
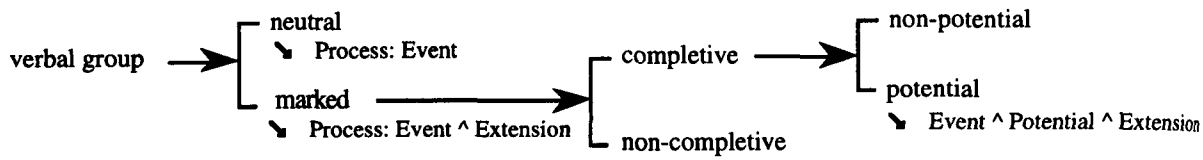
Figure 4.8:   The basic system of PHASE in *Wenli's Composition*

One of the most obvious differences between the PHASE system and the ASPECT system is that its point of origin is the verbal group, not the clause. In fact, according to the characterisation of verbal group structure in section 4.1.5 above, the phase system is the only one of the optional systems which can strictly be characterised as stemming from the verbal group proper, rather than the clause. Structurally its features are realised in most cases by an extension function following the Event, the combination of Event and Extension functioning as Process at clause rank, and the Extension being in most cases realised by a postverb, although in one subtype of the non-completive type, it is realised by an embedded clause (see discussion in section 4.1.5 above). Systemically the phase features divide up a semantic space characterisable as "the state of progress of the process". Descriptions of phase in different languages (cf Talmy 1985, Halliday 1994: section 7A.4) see it as covering a continuum from starting through continuing to finishing. The system of phase in Chinese is most highly elaborated towards the finishing end of this continuum, and in some parts of the system, such as the resultative subtype, can be lexically very delicate.

The earliest description *as a system* of what is here called phase is given by Halliday (1956: 203-204), where he characterises the markers of phase as "postpositive verbs" (i.e. postverbs) which "give extension to the free verb, either in a direction, or to a result". This contrasts both with earlier accounts such as Wang (1944: 153-164) which describe it as a "causative form" (*shǐchéngshì*), attempting to assimilate its meaning to that of the more familiar types of causative marking in Indo-European languages; and with later accounts, with English language descriptions generalising the notion of "result" to the whole class, i.e. "resultative verbs" (cf Thompson 1973), while Chinese language descriptions use instead the notion of "filling out, completing" (*bǔchōng*) (Liu at al 1983: 329) - hence the common name for the syntactic function performed by postverbs, *bǔyǔ* or "complement" (for an overview of the descriptive tradition in this area, see McDonald 1996: sections 2-3).

In the phase system as described here, the first major split is between [completive] and [non-completive]. The term "completive" recalls the Chinese term *bǔchōng* "complete, fill out", but may also indicate the fact that on the phase continuum mentioned above, most of its meanings lie towards the "completed" (Chinese *wánchéng* "finish, complete") end of the spectrum. Realisationally, the [completive] type is characterised by the Event being realised by a postverb or combination of postverbs. The verbal group realising completive phase is also open to the possibility of appearing in the so-called "potential" form (in fact, a kind of interpersonal marking, see previous section), whereby Event and Extension are separated by a potential infix *bu*, indicating that the Event was unable to be extended to completion; a rarer positive back formation with *de*, indicating that the Event was after all able to be extended, is not exemplified in the text. Compare the original and modified examples below:

W60. "Qíshí nǐ   yí bèizi   yě   zuò - bu - chéng   Tāngmǐ,
       in-fact you   one lifetime even   act NEG:pot succeed Tommy
      ' "In fact you'll never in your whole life be able to be Tommy,'

W60'. "Yěxǔ guò jǐ nián   nǐ   hái   zuò - de - chéng   Tāngmǐ,
       perhaps pass several year you   still act POS:pot succeed Tommy
      ' "Perhaps in a few years you'll be able to be Tommy,'

The completive type divides into two main subtypes, according to the nature of the extension. Firstly it may indicate a direction, i.e. [directional], involving the two variables of basic vector, e.g. up, down, in, out etc, i.e. [vectorial]: e.g.

CR21. cóng   mǎn chuáng de záwù zhōng chōu - *chu*   yì dá   bái zhǐ,
       from   full bed SUB   mixed-thing among pull out   one pad   white paper
      'from the mass of things on the bed pulled out a pad of white paper,'

and direction with regard to the speaker, i.e. towards or away, i.e. [orientational]: e.g.

CR12. "Huí - *qu*   xiě yi xia   qiányīn-hòuguǒ hé   nǐmen   de juédìng."
       return go   write one time cause-effect   and you+PLUR SUB decision
      ' "Go back (home) and write what happened and your decision." '

or a combination of the two: e.g

CR10. zhè shi dāng   wǒmen de   fēijī   měng de   diào - *xia* - *lai* shí
       this be when   we   SUB   plane   abrupt MAN   drop down come time
      was something that when our plane abruptly dropped (from the sky)'

Secondly it may indicate a result, i.e. [resultative], this latter involving a range of basically lexical distinctions (see McDonald 1994 for a detailed account), of which a few examples are given below:

CR20. dǎ -   *kāi*   dēng,
       make   start   light
      'turned on the light,'

C70. Wǒ   xuǎn - *hǎo*   le   [l shǔyú wǒ l] de   dōngxi,
       I   choose complete   ASP:compl.   belong-to I   SUB   thing
      'I finished choosing the things that would be mine,'

W14. Jìyì   zhōng zuì   shóuxí de   zìyǎn   suō-*duǎn*   zhe
     memory in   most familiar SUB   wording   shrink short ASP:dur
     tā   hé   Tāngmǐ   zhījiān   de   chājù,
     s/he and Tommy   between   SUB   difference
     'The most familiar words in her memory reduced the distance between her and
     Tommy.'

A third subtype, [non-literal directional], lies between these two; while employing the
basic directional postverbs, it does so in a metaphorical way, and structurally is much
more similar to the resultative subtype (compare Cartier's structural distinction (1972:58-
61) between "separable", defining the directional type, and "inseparable" which covers
both the resultative and non-literal directional types). Systemically, this divides into three
main types (see McDonald 1992 for a more detailed account):

orientation:

68. shī - *qu*   le   yíqiè   de   shíhou,
     lose   go   ASP:compl.   everything   SUB   time
     '(that you)'ve lost everything,

displacement:

23. tā   gěi   wǒmen   liú- *xia*   le   yìxiē   dōngxi.
     s/he for   I+PLUR   leave down   ASP:compl   some   thing
     'he left behind some things for us.'

and phasal:

49. suíjí   fēikuài   de   xiě -   *qilai:*
     immediately   fly-quick   MAN   write   begin
     'and straightaway started writing rapidly:'

It is this in-between subtype that contains a number of highly grammaticalised forms
which are commonly regarded as indicating types of aspect: e.g. "inchoative aspect"
(Huang 1988: 321-322) realised by *qilai*, literally 'rise up', i.e. 'begin'. The trouble with
such an analysis is that, on the one hand, it tends to ignore the contrast in meaning of
these elements with markers of "temporal phase" (see below) like *kāishǐ* 'begin', as
exemplified in (T6) (see the discussion in section 4.4.1.1 below):

T6. kāishǐ   xiě:
     begin   write
     '(and) began writing:'

On the other hand, it ignores the systematic relationship with such forms as *xiǎng-qilai*,
literally 'think up', which could be interpreted as 'begin thinking', but is more likely to
mean 'think of', i.e. for something to "rise" into consciousness, as in the following
example:

W53. zhè   niàntou   shǐ   tā   yì   xiǎng-qilai
     this   thought   cause she   once   think   up
     'this idea as soon as she thought of (it)'

W54. jiù   jīdòng.
    then   excite
    'made her excited.'

This then raises the question of how the meanings expressed by completive phase, or perhaps phase in general, differ from those of aspect. Historically the two systems seem to share a common origin, with the postverbal aspect clitics *le*, *guo*, and *zhe*, deriving from the postverbs *liǎo* 'complete, finish', *guò* 'pass by, cross' and *zháo* 'to be attached' respectively (Norman 1988: 123-124). However, in the course of their historical development, the aspect clitics, though still attached to the verbal group, have really become part of the transitivity structure of the clause. As such, they commonly link the Process to other elements within the clause (see section 4.2.2.1 ff), or link the clause as a whole to other clauses within a clause complex (see section 2.3.1 above).

In contrast, phase postverbs have become part of the verbal group, structurally fused into an Event^Extension structure (see section 4.1.5 above). As such, they focus on the nature of the process itself, and may in most cases be omitted without changing the basic transitivity configuration of the clause. Their function is to characterise the extension of the process, sometimes to a high degree of lexical specificity (some of the problems this causes for analysis are discussed in McDonald 1994).

The [non-completive] subtype of the phase system stands on the borderline between the totally clausal aspect system and the totally verbal group system of completive phase. The postverbs realising the [target] subtype, termed in an earlier study "linking" (McDonald 1996: 275-6) has similarities with the coverbs of a coverbial phrase, and in effect link the Process as a whole to the following nominal group participant (see discussion in section 4.1.4 above), whether location Range: e.g.

				Process		*Range*	
CR3. "Xiànzài, nǐmen	de	fēijī	diào - *zai* le		shāmò shang,"
now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane		fall at ASP:compl.		desert on

' "Your plane has crashed in the desert." '

or Recipient: e.g.

			Process		*Recipient*
61. ránhòu	mǎnyì	de	jiāo - *gei*	le	lǎoshī.
afterwards	satisified	MAN	hand to	ASP:compl	teacher

then, satisfied, handed (it) into the teacher.

The [extent] subtype is commonly realised by an embedded clause, and thus enters into a relationship with the Event and ultimately the rest of the clause somewhat like that between two clauses in a clause complex (see discussion in section 4.1.5 above): e.g.

				Process		*Extension*	
27.	Qítā kè	hǎoxiàng zǒngshì		cháng	de	*méi yǒu*	*biān,*
	other class	seem	always	long	EXT	NEG exist	limit

'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,'

The mixed nature of the phase system as a whole, both systemically and realisationally, may be a function of its historical development from something like a "serial verb construction", in other words, from the types of logical verb complexes described in section 4.1.1 above. Since this is not a diachronic study, I will not go further into this question here, but simply note that the realisation of this system, like the delimitation of the verbal group which is its point of origin, is somewhat indeterminate. In text, both PROFILE systems, i.e. ASPECT and PHASE, occur together or in substitution for each other (cf Cartier 1972: Ch.V). In certain parts of the texts, these meanings cluster in significant ways, as will be noted in section 4.4 below. Fig. 4.9 below presents the extended system of phase in the text.
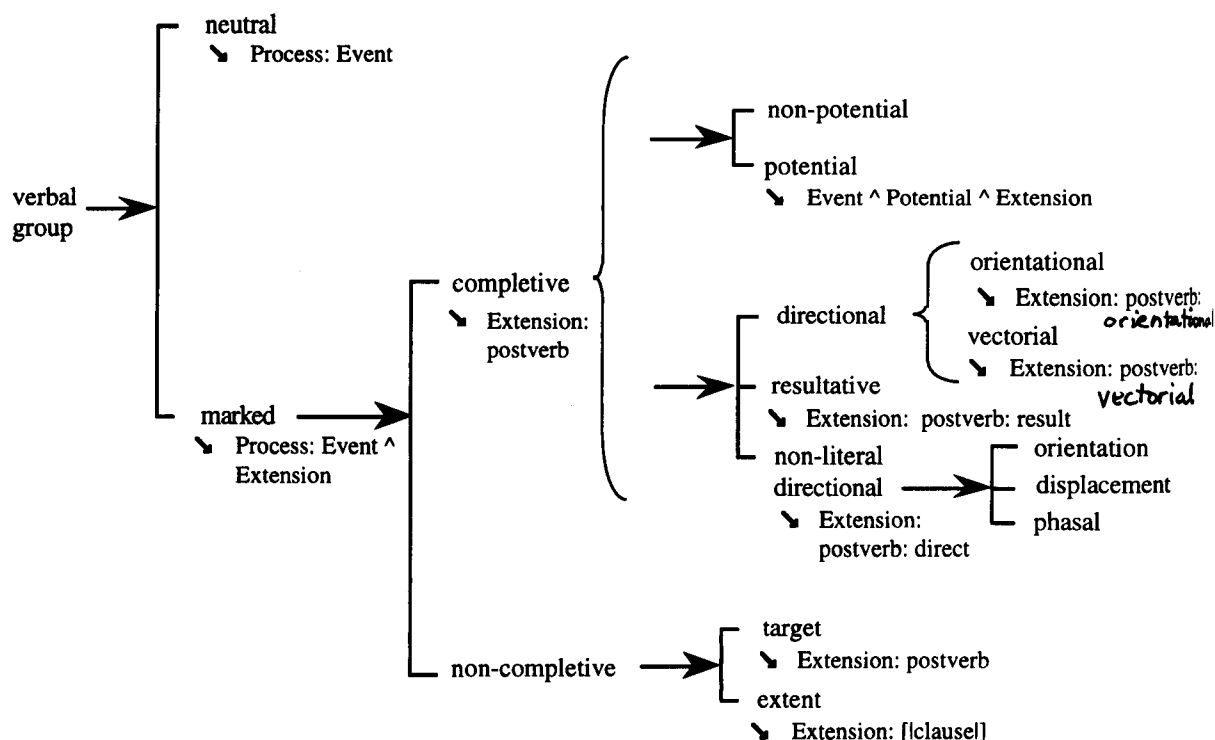
Figure 4.9: The extended system of PHASE in *Wenli's Composition*

Apart from these systems, which as I noted above are the only strictly verbal group systems, there is another system which systemically expresses meanings very close some of those in the PHASE system, but structurally is characterisable in a similar way to the interpersonal marking of modality. These elements realising these meanings are largely the "experiential auxiliaries" referred to in section 4.1.4 above which are much closer to

the kinds of elements realising phase meanings in languages like English. Following Halliday (1994: Section 7A.4), we could term this system one of "temporal phase", but since there are only a few instances of them in the text, I will not discuss them further here, simply noting where they are utilised in the text, and how they differ from the other types of phase.

4.3   System instantiated in text

The basic theoretical category of **system** has been redefined a number of times in the course of this study. Initially it was explained as "a collection of alternative options or **features** stemming from a point of choice" (section 1.2.2 above), and it was according to this characterisation that the description of the semantic and grammatical features of the text *Memory* proceeded. Then in the reexamination of the notion of system in Ch.3, it was reinterpreted as a formalism that captured "the potential range of choices open at a particular stratum" (section 3.0), with this broader conception of system guiding the comparison of systems derived from two contrasting texts. In this section I would like to extend this understanding of system as **potential** in relation to text as **instance**, i.e. in terms of the relationship of **instantiation** between the two, as a way of leading into the discussion of verbal group marking as instantiated in text.

4.3.1 System as potential, text as instance

Halliday (1995: 18) has glossed the general principles involved in defining the relationship between system and text as follows:

> paradigmatic:...meaning is choice: each stratum is represented paradigmatically, as a network of potential...
>
> instantial:...the meaning of every instance, text or portion of text, derives from its "agnate" relationships in the system...

The description of the lexicogrammar of the clause in Chinese given in Chs 1-3 of the present study followed this conception by representing paradigmatic meaning choices in terms of systems, where each instance is understood as **agnate**, or related systemically, to similar or contrasting instances derived from the same system. For example, the difference in mood between the opening clauses of the text *Memory*:

M.1. Āiyā,   jīntiān mǎng-si   le!
      oh-dear today   busy die   ASP
      'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

M.2. Á,   mǎng shénme   ya?
      oh   busy   what   MOD
      'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'

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was characterised as one between the features of [declarative] and [interrogative: elemental], with various syntagmatic contrasts between such clauses adduced as evidence for making such a distinction, and the meaning of the system of MOOD as a whole, i.e. the symbolic exchange of commodities, seen as defining the general area of meaning delimited by these and other mood features.

In the examination of the single text *Memory*, it was possible to relate the potential and the instance to each other in a fairly straightforward manner because, as was noted in section 3.0 above, "the latter was explicitly and exclusively derived from the former". The intoduction of contrasting texts in Ch.3, however, opened up the whole issue of how the instantiation of systemic features in particular texts could be related to the "system" of the language as a whole, i.e. the whole network of interlocking choices that define the meanings expressible in the language. As Halliday has pointed out, taking a primarily paradigmatic rather than syntagmatic approach to grammatical description leads inevitably to the system as a whole since "there is no difference between describing something and relating it to everything else, because the description of any feature *is* its relationship to all the others" (Halliday 1994: xxvii, original emphasis).

The one thing the present study does *not* claim to attempt is to provide a comprehensive account of the grammar of Modern Standard Chinese. Indeed the description has been meticulous in sticking very closely to the data provided by the small corpus of four spoken and one written text. In section 4.4 below, therefore, I will not be attempting a comprehensive account of verbal group marking in Chinese. What a deliberately constrained study such as the present one *can* do, however, is raise some of the issues that are relevant to understanding the relationship between system and text in Chinese, and provide a small-scale demonstration of one way in which this relationship might be characterised.

4.3.2 Systemic features in text: probability and markedness

As soon as we begin to theorise how systemic features are instantiated in text, we come up against the problem of **probability**, i.e. the fact that not all features are equally likely to be instantiated. This was recognised in the earliest work on Chinese grammar in the framework of Firthian system-structure theory, a forerunner of systemic functional linguistics, where in a general description of the grammar of Modern Standard Chinese , Halliday attached "distributional probabilities" (1956: 183) to every feature in a system, recognising basically "four degrees of probability...: even, likely, almost certain, and certain" (1956: 179). More recent descriptive and theoretical work within the framework of systemic functional linguistics (e.g. Nesbitt & Plum 1988, Halliday 1991, Halliday &

James 1993, Matthiessen 1998) has extended the notion of probability to account for the way in which language relates to context. As Nesbitt & Plum put it (1988: 10)

> Language varies according to context and the variation is systematic and predictable. The role that the probabilistic modelling of language can play in this regard is to enable us to describe explicitly the covariation of language and context.

Nesbitt & Plum apply this "probabilistic model" to a description of the clause complex in English, showing how in the system of interdependency, parataxis is far more likely than hypotaxis, with a similar "skewed" relationship obtaining between expansion and projection in the system of semantic relations. To give an idea of how this may be represented using the system network notation, their Fig.1.2 (p.19) is reproduced below as Fig. 4.10:
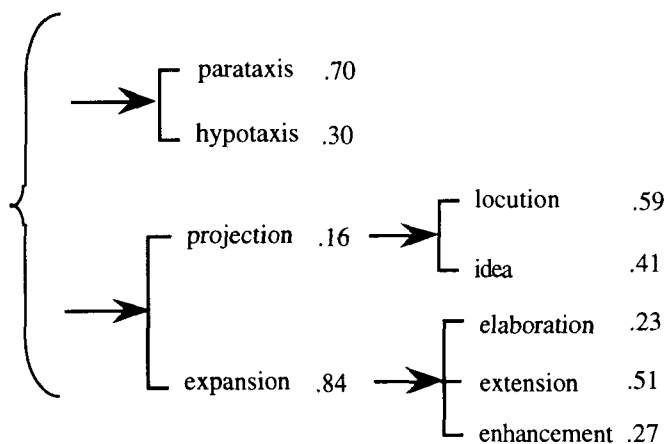
Figure 4.10:   The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in English with attached
               probabilities (after Nesbitt & Plum 1988)

Plum & Nesbitt then explore the association between various features within this system, e.g. that of parataxis and hypotaxis with projection, and give an explanation of the type of "probabilistic realisation" (p.10) indicated by this system in terms of the evolution of an original system absolutely associated variables - e.g. that of parataxis with locution, hypotaxis with idea - the disassociation of which has produced the current "typical choices". Similar calculations of frequencies of features in text, on the basis that "[f]requency in text is the instantiation of probability in the system" (Halliday 1991: 42), may then be used to distinguish particular features as **unmarked**, i.e. relatively high in probability, from others that are **unmarked**, i.e. relatively low in probability.

The whole notion of markedness is a very complex one to apply in lingustic analysis. It derives originally from Prague School work on phonology and morphology, and has been applied to grammatical systems in typological studies beginning with the work of Greenberg (1966). Croft (1996: 346) analyses the concept of markedness as involving a

number of "assymetries": "structural markedness", i.e. the presence of an extra morpheme realising the marked feature of the system; "distributional markedness", i.e. "the unmarked member [of a marked - unmarked pair of forms EMcD] is found in a wider range of environments than the marked member"; and "frequency", i.e. "the unmarked member [is] more frequent than the marked member".

This concept has been extended in systemic functional work to include the notion of interaction between systems. For example, Halliday (1994: Section 3.3) defines marked and unmarked Theme in the clause in English by its conflation with different mood functions according to mood type. It is difficult to make a similar distinction for Chinese, as was pointed out in an earlier study (Fang et al. 1995: 254), not just because mood function is irrelevant as far as choice of Theme is concerned - transitivity functions are more likely candidates - but because almost any element of the clause "may be conflated with Theme simply by moving it to initial position". This is not to say that it would not be possible to make a distinction between marked and unmarked Theme in Chinese based on its conflation with various transitivity functions (a list of the basic possibilities according to process type is given in Fang et al. 1995: Section 4.1), only that the relevant parameters are not yet clearly understood. Fang et al. note that "further research may be able to establish a discourse basis for such a distinction" (1995: 254), which raises a further issue to do with the description of probabilistic systems, one which explains why it will not be attempted in the present study.

The discussion of grammatical probabilities in Nesbitt & Plum 1988 involves two types of what Halliday (1991: 45) characterises as "conditioned probabilities": those between related features in a network, such as those mentioned for the description of the English clause complex above; and those relating grammatical systems to their broader context of situation, e.g. "register variation" (Nesbitt & Plum 1988). The limited corpus on which the present study as a whole is based, not to mention the single text used to examine verbal group marking, makes the description of either of these types of conditioning not feasible to treat in any statistically significant way. What will be attempted here is a preliminary informal (i.e. non quantitative) examination of the contexts of verbal group marking, these contexts being the grammatical units of verbal group and clause in the first instance, and then the semantic unit of text (as divided into further subdivisions - see section 4.4 below). Such a study may therefore be regarded as setting out the relevant parameters for a formal quantitative study of grammatical marking in Chinese, along the lines of the account of the two verbal group systems of polarity and primary tense in English given in Halliday & James 1993, or of transitivity in English in Matthiessen 1998.

4.3.3   Basic and optional systems

The system networks for mood and transitivity in Memory are repeated below from Ch.3.
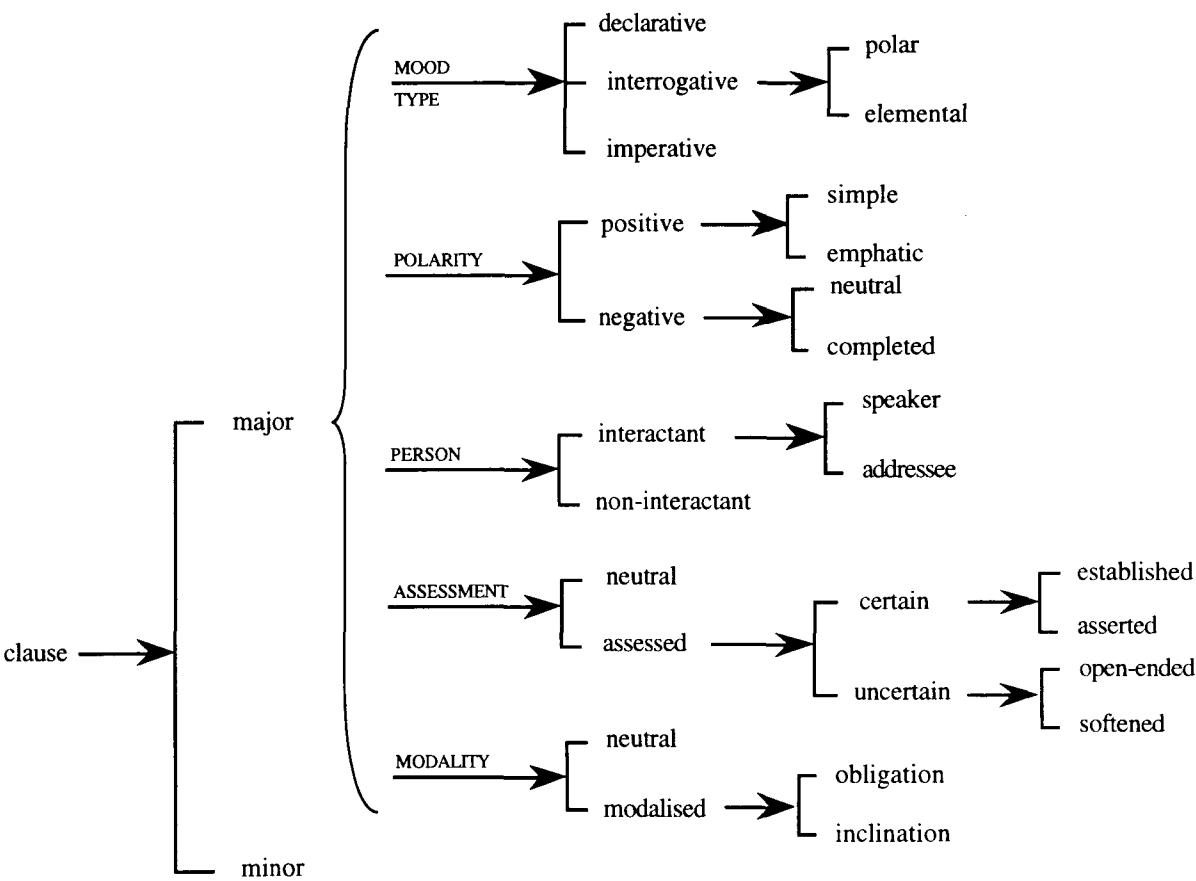
<u>Figure 3.4</u>:   <u>MOOD systems in *Memory*</u>
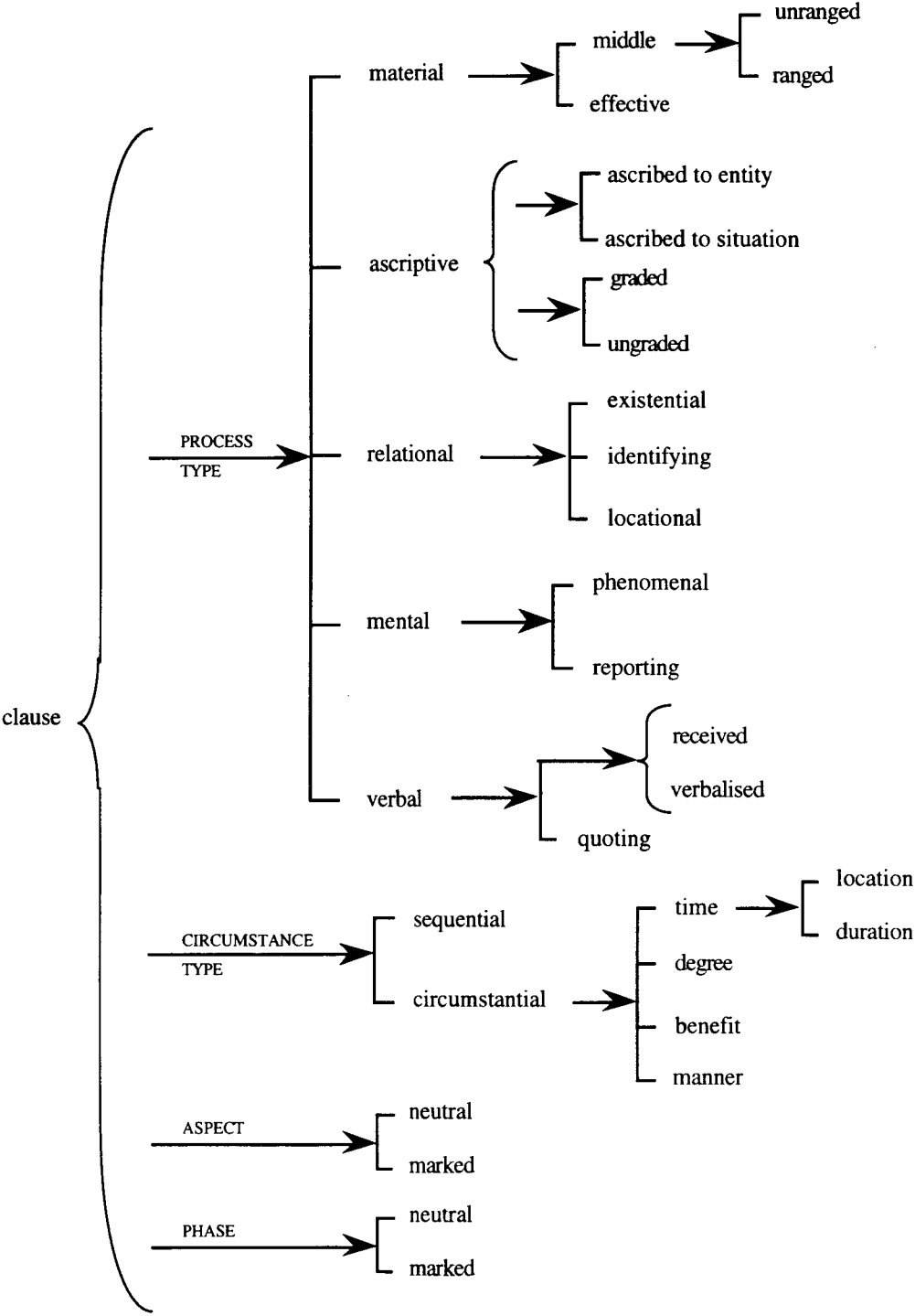
Figure 3.10: The system of TRANSITIVITY in *Memory*

Just from a superficial glance at these networks, a clear difference emerges between mood systems such as MOOD TYPE and POLARITY or transitivity systems such as PROCESS TYPE whose entry conditions lead directly into substantive choices, and interpersonal systems such as ASSESSMENT and MODALITY or experiential systems such as ASPECT and PHASE that all have a [neutral] feature, i.e. the option not to make a choice at all.

What is the significance of this [neutral] feature in relation to the instantiation of these systems in the text? Basically it means that that there are two kinds of systems relevant to defining grammatical structure in Chinese. The first kind, which we may call **basic** systems, represent features at least one of which *must* be chosen in order to characterise the grammatical unit of clause. In other words, every clause needs to be classified interpersonally in terms of its mood type and polarity, and experientially in terms of its process type (the textual clause systems are *all* basic, and therefore have been omitted from the discusssion here). The second kind, which we may call **optional** systems, present features which may or may not be chosen in order to characterise the structure of the clause (or verbal group). In other words, in addition to the basic features of mood type, polarity, and process type, the clause in Chinese may also be classified interpersonally in terms of modality and assessment, and experientially in terms of aspect and phase.

This means that the comment by Huang in relation to aspect marking in Chinese and its absence (which she explains in terms of a DIFFUSE--FOCUSSED opposition, see Huang 1988: 317-318) applies more generally to the instantiation of all optional systems: i.e. that such marking needs to be considered in terms of the contrasts not only between features within the system, e.g. in the case of aspect perfective and imperfective, but also the contrast between marking and the lack of marking, i.e. systemically the choice of the [neutral] feature. Note that this is *not* the same thing as the zero marking found, for example, in the realisation of [positive simple] polarity in Chinese, and exemplified in a range of other languages. This feature, although structurally unmarked, is still a substantive choice from the system of polarity, and thus rules out other possible choices such as [positive emphatic] and [negative]. In contrast, a feature like [neutral] aspect neither indicates nor rules out any specific aspect choice, it simply means that the choice is irrelevant in the context.

Even though, for the reasons given above, the present study will not attempt the formal assignment of probabilities to systemic features, it may be useful, for the overall understanding of how optional systems fit into the system of the language, to indicate the frequency of different types of optional marking in the text. Figs 4.11 and 4.12 below represent the probabilities for particular features in the text, indicated in terms of raw frequencies and percentages (some of the more delicate features have been omitted to save space).

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```
              ┌─ neutral        267 / 86%
MODALITY ────▶│                                                          ┌─ probability    7 / 32%
              │                           ┌─ modalisation ──▶│
              └─ modalised      44 / 14% ─▶│                              └─ potentiality   15 / 68%
                                           │
                                           └─ modulation ──▶┌─ obligation     11 / 50%
                                                            └─ inclination    11 / 50%

                 ┌─ neutral        304 / 98%
ASSESSMENT ────▶│
                 │                          ┌─ certain      1 / 14%
                 └─ assessed     7 / 2% ──▶│
                                            └─ uncertain    6 / 86%
```
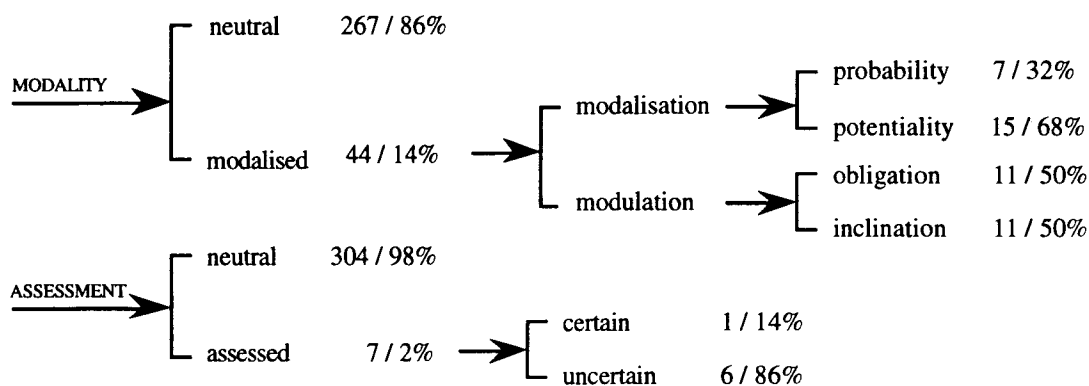
Figure 4.11: Optional interpersonal systems in *Wenli's Composition* with attached probabilities

```
              ┌─ neutral        227 / 73%
ASPECT ────▶│                                                       ┌─ completed      47 / 94%
              │                          ┌─ perfective ──▶│
              │                          │                           └─ experienced    3 / 6%
              └─ marked      84 / 27% ──▶│
                                         │                           ┌─ durative       21 / 62%
                                         └─ imperfective ──▶{
                                                                     └─ progressive    13 / 38%

              ┌─ neutral        238 / 77%
PHASE ────▶│                                                         ┌─ directional          9 / 16%
              │                          ┌─ completive ──────▶├─ resultative         16 / 28%
              │                          │                           └─ non-literal         32 / 56%
              │                          │                              directional
              └─ marked      73 / 23% ──▶│
                                         │                           ┌─ target              12 / 75%
                                         └─ non-completive ──▶│
                                                                     └─ extent              4 / 25%
```
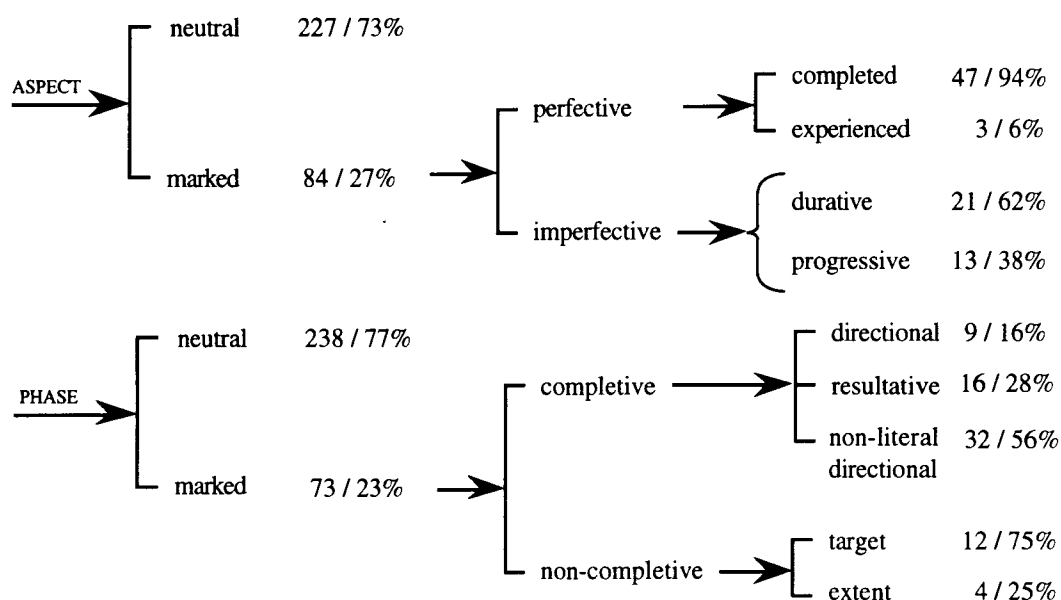
Figure 4.12: Optional experiential systems in *Wenli's Composition* with attached probabilities

4.4 Verbal group marking in the unfolding of a text

In section 4.1.1 above I gave some idea, through the examination of two short extracts from the text, of the part played by verbal elements in its unfolding. However, it must be admitted that, although the exposition was **dynamic**, in the sense of tracing the progression or development of the text (see Ravelli 1995), the underlying intention was **synoptic**, i.e. with the aim of providing an overview of the combinations of logico-semantic and interdependency relations to be found between verbal elements in the text. As Halliday has pointed out (1994: xxii-xxiii), linguistics has traditionally been concerned with synoptic accounts of written texts, whose "thingness" allows them to be treated as

products, as opposed to the more **process** oriented nature of spoken language (cf Martin 1985).

The description of the spoken text in Chapter 1 was to some extent dynamic, particularly in its description of the textual and interpersonal systems, which are inherently biased towards a process perspective. However, the description did not in fact progress according to the development of the text, but rather moved between the text data and the theoretical framework being used to interpret that data, the tension between the two producing the actual description. It is therefore somewhat of a challenge to turn round that direction to one of progression through the text, particularly where the focus of attention is on the verbal group, whose function is largely the more static experiential, rather than the more dynamic interpersonal and textual.

There have of course been earlier studies of Chinese grammatical marking in its discourse contexts, but with few exceptions they have tended to take a single system, such as reference (usually termed from its realisation "nominal anaphora", e.g. Li & Thompson 1981, Chen 1986), or perfective aspect (e.g. Chu & Chang 1987, Chappell 1990), and trace its use through a text or texts. Such studies have of course been very valuable in showing how a dynamic discourse-based perspective may be introduced into the study of grammar. However in ignoring the fundamentally polysystemic nature of grammatical systems, the way in which for example, as was shown in Chapter 1 of the present study, the semantic system of REFERENCE interacts with the grammatical systems of THEME and INFORMATION, what such studies produce with is a decontextualised or rather desystemicised account of the patterns involved, since there is no sense of the whole range of systemic contrasts within which the particular system under focus has its place.

A polysystemic approach, as demonstrated in Chapter 1, is of course a far more complex enterprise to undertake, particularly in showing how the different systems interact with each other (cf Hasan's notion of "cohesive harmony" (Hasan 1984), and its development in Matthiessen's "metafunctional harmony" (Matthiessen 1990). The problem is partly the whole question of system and its relation to instantiation, the contrasts defined by the system always being far more extensive than can be embodied in any one text, or even in a range of texts. This is not just a question of whether or not it is possible to find a certain number of instances of a particular feature in the text under description, but more the problem of being able to "get at" the **valeur** of features in a system, in terms of the full range of contrasts into which they enter, and the **function** of those features in the context in which they are instantiated.

The following account attempts to show how such a polysystemic approach would work by sketching the parameters involved in a dynamic account of grammatical systems. In order to put some limits on the account, it is restricted to an examination of the verbal group, and specifically the optional systems whose realisation is in some way "marked". The text I have chosen for data, the short story *Wenli's composition*, is a mixture of a number of genres - mainly narrative and exposition - and a number of different narrative strands. The intersection and juxtaposition of these narrative strands, and the diversity of styles within each strand, provide a context in which we can examine verbal group marking being put to a range of experiential and interpersonal uses. In the following sections I will work my way through the text, concentrating mainly on the interpersonal system of MODALITY, i.e. the intrusion of the speaker into the exchange, and the experiential PROFILE systems of ASPECT and PHASE, i.e. the unfolding of the process. These three systems, as set out in section 4.2 above, not only constitute the bulk of those realised in the verbal group (or strictly speaking, the verbal *zone*, see 4.2 above), but they also relate semantically to two main features of the short story: the presence of a number of different narrators and protagonists, and the development of a number of different strands of action.

In the description that follows, I will draw out the semantic implications of the instantiation of these systems through the text. In doing so, I will be proceeding in an opposite descriptive direction to that taken in Chapter 1. Rather than contextualising the lexicogrammar in terms of the semantics, I will try to approach the semantics through (a part of) the lexicogrammar, by viewing the grammar of the verbal group as one of the layers in the developing meaning of the text. Because, as was pointed out above, it is not possible to understand the contrasts embodied by the whole system through just a single text, this semantic interpretation is to some extent impressionistic; that is, it is an attempt to show the semantic affect of grammatical choices in the context of the developing text. The full implication of these choices could only be brought out by indicating the other possible choices (including, of course, no choice at all) that would be possible, and their differing effects. This is something that could only be revealed by setting up some type of detailed testing using native speaker informants, something which is not possible within the scope of the present study, but which could certainly form a project for future research (cf the more limited use of informants in McDonald 1994, Appendix). The wider context of the instantiation of grammatical systems is of course the literary purpose of the text as a whole, and thus at certain points the description may appeal to particularly literary effects produced by verbal group marking.

For ease of discussion, I have divided the short story into a number of **parts**, with each part roughly corresponding to a different narrative strand, and given each part an appropriate subtitle. These parts are briefly summarised in Table 4.10 below.

Part	Title	abbreviation
I	In the classroom	CR
	This part presents a narrative of a composition assignment being assigned to the narrator. The teacher puts forward a scenario of a plane crashing in a desert, and a list of items from which only five may be chosen, and asks the students to write a composition based on what they would do in this situation. The narrator, one of the students, spends the weekend writing a draft, and reminisces about how composition class at school was her favourite. She hands in the draft, which is read out by the teacher in class, but she still feels it isn't finished. She spends the following weekend rewriting the draft and hands in it again.	
II	The composition	C
	The narrator describes flying in the plane which suddenly drops out of the sky, leaving the passengers stranded in the desert. Some things have been left for them and the narrator discusses at length the reason for choosing different items, finally choosing a happy ending for the composition: they all survived.	
III	Back in the classroom	BC
	This part brings the narrator back to the classroom, repeating parts of the first part, with variations, and introducing a more extended meditation on the process of writing, the narrator's memories of being in a composition class, and her emotional reaction to being in a classroom.	
IV	Tommy's composition	T
	This part is introduced by a framing narration about Wenli, continued in part (v). It falls into two distinct narrative strands: the external narration of a boy doing his composition exam; and an internal narration of the composition itself. The external narration deals with a boy called Tommy being set a composition about his dog, and having a great deal of trouble writing the required 150 words, producing sentences in fits and starts, until he has the bright idea of using the dog's name over and over again, by which means he reaches the necessary total. In the internal narration, Tommy describes the dog's appearance, and the daily activities they enjoy together.	
V	Wenli's volunteer letter	W
	This part continues the framing narration from the beginning of part (iv) describing the delighted reaction of Wenli to Tommy's simple solution, which inspires her to write a volunteer letter in the cliched political terminology of her childhood. Wenli determines to take Tommy as the model for the rest of her life, and reminisces nostalgically on her early attempts to write. At this point the original narrator comes back into the narration to tell Wenli she won't ever "be a Tommy". Sometime later, Wenli returns and miserably agrees with the narrator's assessment, who then cheers her up by encouraging her to at least have a go.	

Table 4.10: Parts in the text under analysis: *Wenli's Composition*

The discussion of the verbal group marking in the text will not initially go from the beginning of the text to the end. Instead, it will start with Part IV (section 4.4.1.1), *Tommy's composition*, since it is (deliberately) written in a relatively simple style, and also falls into two distinct narratives that contrast very clearly with each other in terms of their verbal group marking. It will then move on to Part I, *In the classroom*, a slightly more complex narrative, and its reprise with variations in Part III, *Back in the classroom* (section 4.4.1.2), and following that, examine a contrasting genre in Part II (section

4.4.1.3), the exposition *The composition* which takes various aspects of the narrative in Part I and subjects them to analysis and comment. Finally (section 4.4.1.4) it will look at a mixed narrative-exposition, Part V, *Wenli's volunteer letter*, in which all the strands of the story are tied up.

After this rather piecemeal account, I will briefly attempt a more dynamic account of verbal group marking, by tracing its instantiation right through the text (section 4.4.2). Like the account of clause grammar of the spoken text *Memory* in Chapter 1, this description should be viewed as a preliminary sketch of the means such an approach might employ, rather than a definitive account. In terms of the present study as a whole, it completes the descriptive "circle" from text to clause to verbal group and back to text again. Some of the issues it raises about the best way to describe these different levels and the nature of the relationships between them will then be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.1   Verbal group marking through the text

I will now use the framework for the description of verbal group marking set up in previous parts to analyse how these elements function in text. As noted above, the text has been divided into a number of parts. Within each part I have further recognised **phases**, characterised as forming a recognisable stage in the narrative and / or by similarities in the function and marking of verbal elements. These phases should in no way be seen as having fixed boundaries, since it is characteristic of the text as a whole not to follow a simple narrative progression, but rather for different parts of the narrative to blend into each other.

Phases have further been divided into **clauses**, with each clause defined textually as a message unit containing a Theme and a Rheme, and having the possibility of forming a logico-semantic nexus with other clauses. Clauses may contain a number of different verbal elements joined by logico-semantic relations and functioning in relation to the experiential, interpersonal or textual structures. Experientially, at least one of these verbal elements may be identified as the Process in the transitivity structure; this Process may be realised by either a simple, compound or complex verbal group (highlighted in bold), and marked by various verbal or non-verbal experiential elements (highlighted in italics). Interpersonally the Process may be equated with the Predicator in the mood structure, and may be marked by various verbal or non-verbal elements (underlined). Textually, a limited number of relational processes may function to introduce various kinds of marked Theme in the theme structure (highlighted in outline).

4.4.1.1   Verbal group marking in two intertwined narratives: Tommy's composition

In order to show how this kind of analysis works with a relatively straightforward part of the text, I will start with Part IV, *Tommy's composition*. This part starts with a framing narration in Phase 1 (T1) which, as was noted above, is continued in Part V, *Wenli's volunteer letter*: The Process *xiào* 'laugh' here is marked for both progressive and durative aspect, implying that this action extends right through the following narration:

Phase 1:   Framing narration

T1.   Yú-cǐ-tóng-shí   Wénlì   *zhèng*   zài   líng yí chù
        with this same time   Wenli   ASP:prog.   at   other one place
        kāixīn   de   **xiào**   *zhe.*
        happy   MAN   laugh   ASP:dur
        'At the same time in another place, Wenli was laughing happily.'

After this, Part I divides very neatly into the external narration of Tommy writing the composition - Phases 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a - and the internal narration of the composition itself - Phases 2b, 3b, 4b, 5b, 6b. Apart from the obvious difference in narrative function between the phases of the external narration and those of the internal narration, there are also clear differences between the external narration and the internal narration in verbal group marking elements, as well as patterned similarities across the phases of the external narration itself.

Briefly, the internal narration contains almost no verbal group marking at all. This is because the boy's composition is a simple narrative of unchanging states of affairs - what his dog is like, what they do together, etc - and so experientially, the question of the unfolding of the Process through time, as realised by the PROFILE systems, is simply irrelevant. Interpersonally, the majority of clauses realise statements, i.e. consist of a simple predication in declarative mood. The only exception is a number of instances where Tommy uses a modality of inclination in expressing his wishes with regard to the dog. In contrast, the external narration is specifically concerned with the unfolding of the Process through time, and therefore makes extensive use of the PROFILE systems of ASPECT and PHASE. Interpersonally, the external narration, much like the internal, is largely a series of statements, with only the occasional use of modality; appropriately here, while the use of modality in the internal narration indicates what Tommy would like to do, the use of modality of obligation in the external narration indicates what he (reluctantly) has to do - i.e. write the composition.

The account in this and following sections will attempt to reveal the semantic implications of the different patterns of verbal group marking. It will therefore not discuss verbal groups that are unmarked, unless the absence of marking is in itself significant, as noted above for the internal narration.

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The external narration

The external narration deals with the writing of the composition and falls into a number number of stages in the writing process which are shared out among the different phases of the external narration: Setting the scene (Phase 2a), Preparing to write (Phases 2a, 4a, 5a, 6a), Writing (Phases 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a), Breaking off (Phases 3a, 5a, 6a), Reckoning the word count (Phases 3a, 4a, 5a, 7a), and Finishing up (Phase 7a). The verbal group marking in these phases is tabulated in Table 4.11 below.

The external narration begins with a general Process characterising the activity taking place, *jìnxíng* (*kǎoshì*) 'undergo (exam)' marked for progressive aspect, which may be taken as indicating that this action extends through the whole of the rest of this narration, plus the specific Process / Predicator *xiě* 'write' marked for obligation modality, specifying the required word count. The external narration then moves on to the process of writing itself, which falls into two parts: the stages showing Tommy preparing to write and having trouble getting started, which precede the phases of quoted internal narration; and the stages showing him checking the all-important word count, which follow the quoted internal narration.

The immediate lead-in to the quoted composition (classified as "Writing" in Table 4.11) is signalled each time by a material clause, with the Process *xiě* 'write' repeated each time, marked in a number of different ways indicating its progress through time. In Phases 2a and 3a, the Process is marked for temporal phase indicating the stages in its unfolding through time, *kāishǐ* 'begin' (T6), and *jìxù* 'continue' (T14), respectively. In Phase 4a as an alternative, the Process is linked to the preceding Processes by a conjunctive element *jiēzhe*[1] 'then, next'. In contrast, in Phase 5a, which describes the difficulties Tommy is having coming up with things to write about, the Process as Predicator is marked for probability, by the Modality *zhǐdé* 'only can' (T37) indicating that it was the best he could do. Finally in Phase 6a, the Process is marked for phasal phase [2] (T49), with a metaphorical (temporal) use of a directional (i.e. spatial) postverb, *qǐlai* 'up from the ground' (literal), 'from start' (metaphorical), indicating the renewed spurt of writing by which he finishes off the composition, as opposed to the absolute beginning of writing in (T6).

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[1] This is itself verbal in origin, with the durative aspect clitic *zhe*, *jiēzhe* 'joining'.

[2] This rather awkward term refers to what would normally be considered as phase, i.e. the stages in the progression of the action; its meanings are similar to those of "temporal phase" expressed by auxiliaries.

These lead-ins to the writing of the composition are often preceded by preparatory actions (classified as "Preparing" in Table 3) with a limited duration in time. In these clauses the mental Process *xiǎng* 'think' is mostly marked for completed aspect, i.e. *xiǎng le*, followed by a bounding expression of duration. In Phase 3a this duration is indicated by repeating the Process, i.e. *xiǎng le xiang* (T5), giving the sense of short duration 'thought a bit'[3]. In Phase 4a the duration is indicated more specifically by a Circumstance of measure *jǐ fēn zhōng* 'several minutes' (T21); similarly in Phase 5a, *hǎo yì huǐ'r* 'a good while' (T34); and with a different Process (T36), *tàn le* 'sighed' plus Circumstance of measure *(yì) kǒu qì* '(a) mouthful of air'. A different type of marking of the same Process focuses on the outcome of this action, where the Process marked for displacement phase with a metaphorical use of a directional postverb, *chu* literally 'out from inside', metaphorically 'from out of consciousness'. In Phase 5a this is used negatively to indicate Tommy's initial lack of success *méi xiǎng-chu* 'didn't think up (T35), and then in Phase 6a is used positively to indicate that he had hit on the idea that would get him to the word count, *xiǎng-chu* 'thought up' (T47). Semantically, Tommy's change to a positive mood (in the psychological sense) is reinforced by the Process *xiào* 'laugh' (T48) marked for durative aspect indicating that it lasts into the renewed spurt of writing indicated by (T49).

The breaking off of the writing process (classified as "Breaking off" in Table 4.11) is indicated from two different points of view. In Phases 3a and 6a the halts are specifically indicated by a material Process of time, *tíng* 'stop', marked for phasal phase *tíng-xialai* 'stop (down)' (T12) and again (T43), in a very similar way to the Process *xiě-qilai* 'begin writing' in (T49), with the opposite direction, *xialai*, literally, 'downwards' used metaphorically for 'action coming to a halt' (compare the English equivalents *slow **down*** and *start **up***). In Phases 5a and 6a, the hesitations before starting again are indicated by a repeated pair of actions, the Processes marked for durative aspect, i.e. *náo zhe* 'scratched' (T32) and (T44), and *wàng zhe* 'gazed' (T33) and (T45), indicating that these actions extend over an unbounded length of time, thus emphasising the long hesitations between writing. On their repetition, this pair of actions leads into the emergence of a new state of mind, in a ascriptive clause (T46) where the Process *jǔsàng* 'be disheartened' is marked for temporal phase *kāishǐ* 'begin', indicating that this new state is only in its early stages, and for completed aspect, indicating that this state is bounded in time, perhaps because it is at the end of a stage rather than the beginning of a new one.

The reckoning of the word count (classified as "Reckoning" in Table 4.11), which follows most of the quoted internal narration, i.e. in Phases 3a, 4a, 5a, and 7a, is

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[3] Compare this with the interpersonal interpretation of verb doubling as 'have a go at' - see sections 1.3.3 and 2.2.2 above.

indicated by two distinct kinds of clauses. The action of counting is indicated by a series of material clauses expressing limited duration in time, with the Process *shǔ* 'count' marked for completed aspect and followed by an expression of duration. This is indicated in a very similar way to the action of thinking in the clauses noted above: by repeating the verb *shǔ le shu* 'counted a bit, did a count of' (T19); or by adding a Circumstance of measure, *yī biàn* 'one go through, once' (T30), (T56). The counts themselves are indicated by relational clauses, either simply by the number without an explicit Process, e.g. the first and last counts *21 ge zì* '21 words (T13), and *149* '149' (T57); or with the attributive Process *shi* 'be', e.g. the second count (T18)*Yòu shi 24 ge zì* '(That) was another 24 words'; while the progressive totals are indicated by the number preceded by a Circumstance of scope *yigòng 45 (ge zì)* 'altogether 47 (words)' (T20), *yigòng 67 zì* 'altogether 67 words' (T31).

The finishing off of the writing process (classified as "Finishing" in Table 4.11) involves three actions with different kinds of temporal and / or spatial profile. Following on from his final count in (T57) which is still one short, Tommy makes up the correct total (T58), Process *jiā* 'add' marked for completed aspect in being bounded by an increased quantity *duō...yí ge Bàobì* 'more (by) one Bobby'. He then performs one last act of writing (59), with the Process *xiě* 'write' marked for displacement phase, Extension *shang* 'in contact with, on', indicating that the action comes in contact with something - obviously the paper, so this does not need to be explicitly mentioned. Finally, Tommy hands in the composition (60), with Process *jiāo* 'submit, hand in' marked for target phase, Extension *gei* '(give) to', followed by the Recipient of the action, *lǎoshī* 'the teacher', and also for completed aspect, indicating that the action is the last in a series, and giving a sense of closure to this whole part of the text.

The patterns of verbal group marking in the external narration delimit the different stages of the writing process, utilising the resources of the experiential PROFILE systems. These obvious repetitive patterns are deliberately used to mimic the simple thought processes and actions of the protagonist Tommy, but they also show very clearly the potential contained in these systems for structuring text.

Phase	Setting the scene	Preparing	Writing
2a	2. *zài* **jìnxíng** (kǎoshì) mat.; asp: prog. 'was doing (exam)' 3. (tímù) **shi**: (wǒ de gǒu) ident. '(the topic) was: (my dog).' 4. <u>yào</u> **xiě** mat; modal: oblig. 'had to write'	5. **xiǎng** *le* (xiang) ment.; aspect: compl. 'thought a bit,'	6.*kāishǐ* **xiě** 1 mat: time = 2 mat. 'began writing'
3a			14. *jìxù* **xiě** 1 mat: time = 2 mat. 'continued writing'
4a		21.**xiǎng** *le* (jǐ fēn zhōng) ment; asp:compl. 'thought for a few minutes'	22. (jiēzhe) **xie** mat. 'then wrote'
5a		34. **xiǎng** *le* (hǎo yì huǐ'r) ment; asp: compl. 'thought for quite a while' 35. <u>méi</u> **xiǎng** - *chu* ment; phase: non-lit.dir.; pol: neg: perf. 'couldn't think of' 36. **tàn** *le* (kǒu qì) mat; asp: compl. 'sighed'	37. <u>zhǐdé</u> **xie** mat; modal: prob. 'could only write'

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Phase	Setting the scene	Preparing	Writing
6a		47. **xiǎng** - *chu* ment.; phase: non-lit.dir. 'thought of'	48. (gāoxing de) **xiào** *zhe* mat; asp.dur. 'laughing happily' 49. (fēikuài de) **xiě** - *qilai* mat.; phase: non-lit.dir. 'started writing rapidly'
7a			

Phase 2a	Breaking off	Reckoning	Finishing
3a	12. **tíng** - *xialai* mat.; phase: non-lit.dir. 'stopped'	13. (21 ge zì) attrib. '21 words'	
4a		18.(Yòu) **shi** (24 ge zì) attrib. 'it was another 24 words' 19. **shǔ** *le* (shu) mat;asp:compl. 'did a count' 20. (yígòng) (45) attrib. 'altogether 45'	
5a	32.**náo** *zhe* (tóu) mat; asp:dur. 'scratched his head' 33. **wàng** *zhe* (tiānhuābǎn) ment; asp:dur. 'gazed at the ceiling'	30. (yòu) **shǔ** *le* (yí biàn) mat;asp:compl. 'counted once more' 31. (yígòng) (67 zi) attrib. 'altogether 67 words'	

Phase	Breaking off	Reckoning	Finishing
6a	43. **tíng** - *xialai* mat.; phase: non-lit.dir. 'stopped' 44. **náo** *zhe* (tóu) mat; asp:dur. 'scratched his head' 45.**wàng** *zhe* (tiānhuābǎn) ment; asp:dur. 'gazed at the ceiling' 46.*kāishǐ* **jǔsàng** *le* 1 mat: time = 2 mat.; asp:compl. 'was beginning to get disheartened'		
7a		56. **shǔ** *le* (yí bian zì) mat;asp:compl. 'counted the words' 57. (149) attrib. '149'	58. (duo) **jiā** *le* (yí ge Bàobǐ) mat; asp:compl. 'added another Bobby' 59. **xiě** - *shang* mat; phase: result 'wrote on (it)' 60. **jiāo** - *gei* *le* (lǎoshī) mat; phase: target: recipient 'handed (it) in to the teacher'

Table 4.11:   Verbal group marking in the external narration of *Tommy's composition*

The internal narration

The internal narration gives the text of Tommy's actual composition, involving four main types of narration, identifying and characterising the dog (Phase 2b), relating common activities undertaken with the dog (Phase 3b), relating things they like doing (Phases 4b and 5b), and repeatedly calling the dog's name (Phase 6b). In contrast with the external narration, the internal narration, for the reasons given above, contains almost no verbal group marking. I will therefore treat it here by concentrating on the process type of each clause (Process indicated in bold), showing that similarities in the choice of process type determine the basic semantic nature of each phase.

Phase 2b

T7.	"Wǒ	**yǒu**	yì tiáo		gǒu,		
	I	exist	one MEAS		dog		
	' "I have a dog,'						

T8.	wǒ	**jiào**	tā	Bàobǐ	,		
	I	call	it	Bobby			
	'I call it Bobby,'						

T9.	wǒ	**ài**	wǒ de		gǒu,		
	I	love	I SUB		dog		
	'I love my dog,'						

T10.	tā	quánshēn	dōu	**shi**	hēisè	de,	
	it	whole-body	all	be	black-colour	SUB	
	'it's black all over,'						

T11.	zhǐ	yǒu	bízi	**shi**	bái	de."	
	only	exist	nose	be	white	SUB	
	'except for (its) nose (which) is white." '						

Phase 2b deals with the permanent attributes of the dog and its relationship to its owner in a series of relational ascriptive and mental clauses. It identifies the relationship of possession between the two of them in an existential/possessive clause (T7), Process *yǒu* 'exist, have'; the name given to the dog by his master in an effective attributive clause (T8), Process *jiào* 'to call, give a name to'; and then the emotion of the owner towards his dog in a mental clause (T9), Process *ài* 'to love'. It then specifies two further characteristics of the dog in two attributive clauses (T10,T11), Process *shi* 'be'.

Phase 3b

T15.	"měi tiān,		wǒ	dōu	**dài**	Bàobǐ	**qù**	gōngyuán	sànbù,
	each day		I	all	take	Bobby	go	park	stroll
	' "every day I take Bobby to the park for a walk, '								

T16.	dàn	rúguǒ	tiān	**xià**	yǔ,				
	but	if	sky	fall	rain				
	'but if it's raining,'								

T17.	wǒ	jiù	bú	**dài**	tā	**qù**	sànbù."		
	I	then	NEG	take	s/he	go	stroll		
	'I don't take him for a walk." '								

Phase 3b deals with one of the activities performed by the boy and his dog in a series of material clauses. In clauses (T15) and (T17) the activity is represented as a complex

verbal group with Processes linked to each other in a relationship of enhancement embracing both sequential order and causality. The first Process *dài* 'take' represents Tommy as Agent acting on the dog, Bobby, as Medium, the second Process *qù* 'go' represents both of them moving to a location, the park, as Range (in clause (T17) this participant is omitted), while the third Process *sànbu* 'walk, stroll' represents the purpose for which the previous actions take place.

Phase 4b

T23.	"Wǒ	jīngcháng	**gěi**	Bàobǐ	**xǐ**	zǎo,
	I	often	give	Bobby	wash	bath
	' "I often give Bobby a bath,'					

T24.	tā	**xǐhuan**
	it	like
	'it likes'		

T25.	**xǐ**	zǎo,
	wash	bath
	'to have a bath,'	

T26.	bìngqiě,	wǒ	yě	**xǐhuan**
	moreover	I	also	like
	'and I like'			

T27.	**gěi**	tā	**xǐ**	zǎo,
	give	it	wash	bath
	'giving it a bath,'			

T28.	wǒmen	dōu	**xǐhuan**
	I+PLUR	all	like
	'we both like'		

T29.	**zuò**	zhè jiàn	shì."
	do	this MEAS	matter
	'doing this." '		

Phases 4b and 5b deal with two more activities undertaken by Tommy and / or Bobby, expressed by material clauses, and their individual and joint reactions to these activities (repeated for comic effect) expressed by mental clauses projecting some of those material clauses. Many of the material clauses contain Tommy as Agent in relation to a number of Processes in relationships halfway between causation (causing Bobby to do something) and benefit (being undertaken for Bobby), both expressed by the verb *gěi* 'give' (also interpretable as coverb 'for'). Phase 4b starts with the narration of Tommy's habitual action of giving Bobby a bath (T23), Process *xǐ* 'wash', followed by Bobby's reaction to this in a mental clause (T24), Process *xǐhuan* 'like', projecting a material clause like (T23) but with Bobby as Medium not Recipient (T25). This is followed by Tommy's reaction (T26), in an identical mental clause, Process *xǐhuan* 'like', projecting a material clause identical to (T23), followed up by a summing up of their mutual reaction in a identical mental clause, Process *xǐhuan* 'like', projecting a material clause that generalises this action, Process *zuò* 'do', Medium *zhè jiàn shì* 'this thing'.

Phase 5b

T38.   "**Bàobǐ**   **hěn**   **xǐhuan**
         Bobby   very   like
         ' " Bobby really likes'

T39.   **chī**   táng,
         eat   sweets
         'to eat sweets,'

T40.   wǒ   yě   <u>yuànyì</u>   **gěi**   tā   táng   **chī**,
         I   also   wish   give   it   sweets   eat
         'I also want to give him sweets to eat,'

T41.   dàn   rúguǒ   jiāli   <u>méi</u>   **yǒu**   táng,
         but   if   home-in NEG   exist   sweets
         'but if there aren't any sweets at home,'

T42.   wǒ   jiù   <u>bù</u>   **gěi**   tā   **chī**   táng."
         I   then   NEG   give   it   eat   sweets
         'I don't give him sweets to eat." '

Phase 5b mimics Phase 4b, this time in relation to *chī táng* 'eating sweets', starting with with Bobby's reaction in a mental clause (T38), Process *xǐhuan* 'like', projecting a simple action in a material clause (T39), Process *chī* 'eat', and followed by Tommy's wish to bring about this action, Modality *yuànyì* 'wish' (T40), only blocked by the negative state indicated in a relational existential clause, (T41) (*rúguǒ*) *jiāli méi yǒu táng* '(if) there are no sweets at home'.

Phase 6b

T50.   "**Dāng**   wǒ   <u>xiǎng</u>   **ràng**   Bàobǐ   **jìn**   wū   shí,
         when   I   want   get   Bobby   enter   house   time
         ' "When I want to get Bobby to come inside,'

T51.   wǒ   jiù   **jiào**:   Bàobǐ;
         I   then   call   Bobby
         'I call: Bobby;'

T52.   rúguǒ   tā   <u>méi</u>   **jìn**   wū,
         if   it   NEG:perf   enter   house
         'if it doesn't come inside,'

T53.   wó   jiù   zài   **jiào**:   Bàobǐ, Bàobǐ;
         I   then   further   call   Bobby, Bobby
         'I call again: Bobby, Bobby;'

T54.   rúguǒ   tā   hái   <u>méi</u>   **jìn**   wū
         if   it   still   NEG:perf.   enter   house
         'if it still hasn't come inside,'

T55.   wǒ   jiù   dàshēng   **jiào**:   Bàobǐ, Bàobǐ, Bàobǐ;"
         I   then   big-voice   call   Bobby, Bobby, Bobby
         'I call loudly: Bobby, Bobby, Bobby." '

Phase 6b opens with Tommy attempting *to get Bobby to come inside in a causative material* clause (T50) expressed by the complex verbal group *ràng...jìn* 'let / make...enter', with the clause marked for inclination modality, *xiǎng* 'want', followed by a verbal clause (T51) with the Process *jiào* 'call' specifying how this action is to be brought about (i.e. by calling the dog's name). This clause is repeated again in (T53) and (T55), as Tommy piles up the mentions of the dog's name (in order to reach the required word count). The intervening clauses indicate the potential lack of success of this action,

with negative conditional versions of (T50), e.g. (T52) *rúguŏ...méi jìn* 'if (it)... hasn't entered'.

The patterning in the internal narration, quite distinct from that in the external narration, focusses on the relationships between the Process and Participants. It is therefore quite rich in relational Processes (Phase 2b), logical relationships of projection between clauses (Phase 4b) and logical relationships of causation within clauses (Phases 3b, 4b, 5b, 6b). Again these patterns are very obvious and repetitive, again creating the effect of an unsophisticated writer desperately trying to reach the required total, but they show clearly how such patterns may be used to organise text.

4.4.1.2   *Verbal group marking in a repeated narrative:* In the classroom *and* Back in the classroom

In contrast to the relatively simple patterning of Part IV, *Tommy's composition*, these two parts are more complex both in their basic organisation and in their patterns of verbal group marking, as befits narratives both by and about a sophisticated adult narrator, as opposed to the comic simplicity displayed by Tommy both in his narration and his actions. Parts I and III have also been divided into phases. The phases of Part I are taken up again in later parts, phase (i) in Part II, *The composition* (to be examined in section 4.4.1.3 below) and parts of phases (ii-iv) in Part III, *Back in the classroom*. These correspondences are given in Table 4.12 below.

part	I: In the classroom	II: The composition	III: Back in the classroom
phase	i. the composition assignment	i-iii. the composition	
	iv. the reading of the first draft		i. the reading of the first draft
	iii. (part) other classes vs composition class		ii. being in the classroom
	ii. (part) thinking about writing the composition		iii. thinking about the process of writing compositions
	iii. (part) writing compositions - the sweet past		

Table 4.1.2:   Correspondences between parts of the text of *Wenli's Composition*

In the following discussion, I will go through the phases of Part I, noting any correspondences with the relevant phases in Part III (comparisons with Part II will be dealt with in the following section). In the discussion of each phase, for the sake of convenience, the narrator will be referred to, where necessary, as "she", the teacher as "he".

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Part I: In the classroom

Phase i: The composition assignment

CR1. Xià   kè   qián   de   wǔ   fēn   zhōng,
      finish   class   before SUB   five   minute clock
      'Five minutes before the end of class'

      lǎoshī   zài   hēibǎn   shang   **xiě** *zhe*:
      teacher   at   blackboard   on   write   ASP:dur
      'the teacher wrote on the board:'

      shèngjīng,   hánghǎitú,   yì běn guānyú yěshēng dòngwù   de   shū,
      bible   navigation-map one MEAS about wild animal   SUB   book
      'Bible, navigation map, a book on wild animals,'

      qiāng, shǒudiàntǒng,   jiàngluòsǎn,   dàyī,   shuǐ   (měi rén sān   bēi),
      gun   pocket-torch   parachute   overcoat water   each person three cup
      'gun, pocket torch, parachute, overcoat, water (each person three cups),'

      huǒchái,   zhǐnánzhēn,   fútèjiā,   guàntou (měi rén   sān tīng),
      match   compass   vodka   tin can   each person three MEAS
      'matches, compass, vodka, cans (of food) (three for each person),'

      tàiyángjìng,   yào,   yǔyī.
      sunglasses   medicine   raincoat
      'sunglasses, medicine, raincoat.'

CR2. Tā   **tíng**   -*xia*   bǐ,
      s/he   stop   down   pen
      'He put down his pen,'

CR3. Xiànzài, nǐmen   de   fēijī   **diào** -*zai* *le*   shāmò   shang,
      now   you+PLUR SUB   aeroplane   fall   at   ASP:compl.   desert on
      '"Your plane has crashed in the desert."'

CR4. tā   **jiěshi shuō**,
      s/he   explain say
      'he explained,'

CR5. Nǐmen   hái   **huó**   *zhe*,
      you+PLUR   still   live   ASP:dur
      '"You're still alive,'

CR6. wǔbǎi li   wài   **yǒu**   ge   cúnzhuāng,
      500   li   away   exist   MEAS   village
      'two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village,'

CR7. nǐmen   <u>kěyǐ</u>   **zǒu**
      you+PLUR   can   leave
      'you can go'

CR8. yě   <u>kěyǐ</u>   **liú** - *xia*,
      also   can   stay   down
      'or (you) can stay behind,'

CR9. měi rén zhǐ   <u>zhǔn</u>   **dài**   wǔ   yàng   dōngxi......
      each person   only   allow   take   five   type   thing
      'each person is only allowed to take five things..."'

CR10. Nǐ   <u>yídìng yào</u>   **ná**   zhǐnánzhēn.
      you   definite must   take   compass
      'You'd have to choose a compass.'

CR11. Wǒ   tóngzhuō   xiǎoshēng   duì   wǒ   **shuō**.
      I   same-desk   small voice   towards I   say
      'My desk-mate said to me quietly.'

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CR12. "**Huí** - *qu*   **xiě** <u>yi xia</u>   qiányīn-hòuguǒ hé   nǐmen   de   juédìng."
return go   write one time   cause-effect   and   you+PLUR SUB decision
"'Go back (home) and write what happened and your decision.'"

CR13. Zhè   shí   xià   kè   líng   **xiǎng** *le*.
this   time   finish   class   bell   sound   ASP:compl
'At this moment the bell rang for the end of class.'

The narrator sets up the classroom scene, with the teacher writing a list of words on the board (CR1), Process *xiě* 'write' marked for durative aspect, indicating that the action lasts over a period of time, followed by a long list of items. The teacher stops writing (CR2), with Process *tíng* 'stop' marked for phasal (diminutive) phase, emphasising the action coming to a halt. The teacher then outlines the basic scenario for the composition : the plane crashing (CR3), Process *diào* 'drop' marked for target phase, indicating where the plane ended up, and also for completed aspect, indicating that the action is bounded by the time of narration; and the resulting state of the passengers (CR5), with Process *huó* 'live' marked for durative phase, indicating that this state is a persisting one.

The teacher then sets out the conditions the survivors (and thus the students writing the composition) must follow, in a series of modulated clauses marked for low value obligation modality, *kěyǐ* 'can, may' (CR7-8), *zhǔn* 'are allowed to' (CR9). This modality is echoed by one of the narrator's classmates (CR10), who raises the modality to high by a combination of the median value Modality *yào* 'must' plus a high value Adjunct *yídìng* 'definitely' (as we find in Part II, the narrator ignores this recommendation). The teacher then wraps up with a plain unmodulated command, the Process realised by a complex verbal group, with the first Process *huí* 'return' marked for directional phase, *qu* 'away (from here)', this element also acting as an indicator of purpose for the following Process *xiě* 'write'. The force of this command is somewhat softened by the addition of what is experientially a circumstance of Measure *yi xia* 'once', but which interpersonally has the effect of making the command more tentative (a similar effect was gained in the text *Memory* by repeating the verb, see section 1.3.3 above). Finally the bell rings signalling the end of class, Process *xiǎng* 'to sound' marked for completed aspect indicating a instantaneous action and implying the end of this particular series of actions.

Phase ii: *Preparing to write the composition*

CR14. Zhè   xiǎnrán   **s h i**   yì piān   zuòwén,
this   obviously   be   one MEAS   composition
'This obviously was a composition,'

CR15. suīrán   <u>méi</u>   **yǒu**   tímù.
although NEG   exist   topic
'even if there was no topic.'

CR16. Nà yǐhòu de   hǎo jǐ   tiān,   wǒ yizhí   *zài*   **xiǎng** zhè jiàn shì.
that after SUB   good few day   I   continually   ASP:prog   think   this MEAS matter
'For quite a few days after that, I kept thinking about this matter.'

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CR17. Zhōumò de   xiàwǔ,   wǒ   nǎr   yě   <u>méi</u>   **qù**,
weekend SUB   afternoon   I   wherever even   NEG:perf   go
'On Saturday afternoon I didn't go anywhere,'

CR18. yí ge   rén   **lā** -   *shang*   chuānglián,
one MEAS   person pull   on   window-curtain
'Alone, (I) drew the curtains,'

CR19. **dǎ** -   *kāi*   dēng,
make   start   light
'turned on the light,'

CR20. cóng   mǎn chuáng de   záwù   zhōng   **chōu** - *chu*   yi dá bái zhǐ,
from   full bed SUB   mixed-thing among   pull out   one pad white paper
'from the mass of things on the bed pulled out a pad of white paper,'

CR21. wǒ   yòu   <u>néng</u>   *kāishǐ*   **xiě**   zuòwén   *le.*
I   further can   begin   write   composition   ASP:compl/perf
'I could then begin writing compositions again.'

The narrator comments on the nature of this assignment in a couple of relational clauses (CR14-15), and then describes her preparations for writing the composition (CR16-21). She spends a couple of days pondering the topic (CR16), Process *xiǎng* 'think' marked for progressive aspect, indicating that it happened repeatedly over this period of time, reinforced by the circumstance *yìzhí* 'continually'. Then follow a series of actions, the first one (CR17), Process *qù* 'go' simultaneously marked for completed aspect and negated, with the perfective negative Polarity *méi* 'didn't', indicating that this was an action that was specifically *not* undertaken (i.e. she didn't go anywhere), followed by three actions (CR18-20) all marked for some type of phase, indicating being extended to a point of contact (target - CR18), to the stage of operation (resultative - CR19) and in a direction (directional - CR20). All the preparations complete, the narrator is able to start writing, with the predication marked for potential modality *néng* 'can', and the Process *xiě* 'write' marked for temporal phase, *kāishǐ* 'begin' , and then the whole clause marked for perfective aspect, indicating that the whole situation is completed with reference to the time of narration, and also in contrast to previous similar situations, this meaning reinforced by the Sequence *yòu* 'again'.

Phase iii: *Composition class*

CR22. Wǒ   zhēnde   <u>rěn - bu - zhù</u>   bú   **gàosu** nǐ,
I   really   tolerate NEG:pot. stand   not   tell   you
'I really can't help telling you,'

CR23. **shàng** xué   de   shíhòu,
attend   school SUB   time
'(that) when I was at school,'

CR24. wǒ   s**h**i   duōme   **xǐhuān**   xiě   zuòwén,
I   be   how-much   like   write   composition
'I really loved writing compositions,'

CR25. nà   **shi**   wǒ   tiánmì   de   wǎngshì.
that   be   I   sweet   SUB   past
'that was my happy past.'

CR26. | Qítā kè | hǎoxiàng zǒngshì | cháng | de | méi yǒu | biān, |
| other class | seem always | long | EXT | NEG exist | limit |

'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,'

CR27. | zhǐ | yǒu | zuòwén | kè | duǎn | de | zhǐ shi yí | shùnjiān |
| only | exist | composition | class | short | EXT | only be one | moment |

'only the composition class was as brief as the twinkling of an eye;'

The narrator then follows on from the hint of similar experiences in the past given in (CR21) to reminisce about her experiences of writing compositions at school. She first informs the reader of her compulsion to talk about this (CR22), in a clause marked for obligation modality, expressed by a mental Process *rěn* 'bear, endure' marked for negative potential phase, *rěn-bu-zhù* 'can't bear'; this in combination with a following negative Polarity expresses a high degree of obligation, 'can't bear not to, i.e. must'. The narrator sets the past time frame in a dependent clause (CR23), and then specifies her feelings towards composition class in a series of Processes which could all be characterised as sharing the semantic feature of "(semi-) permanent state": mental Process *xǐhuān* 'like' (CR24), relational Process *shi* 'be' (CR 25), and two ascriptive Processes *cháng* 'long' (CR26) and *duǎn* 'short' (CR27). Both ascriptive clauses are marked for extent phase, indicating the contrasting length of the two types of classes, *méi yǒu biān* 'without limit' (CR26), and *zhǐ shi yí shùnjiān* 'only an instant' (CR27).

Phase iv: *The reading of the first draft*

CR28. | shènzhì | zhōngyú | jiāo | gǎo | zhīhòu, |
| so-far-as-to | finally | hand-in | draft | after |

'so much so that after I finally handed in the draft,'

CR29. | wǒ | hái | juéde |
| I | still | feel |

'I still felt'

CR30. | tā | bìng méiyǒu | wán. |
| it | EMPH NEG:perf | finish |

'(that) it wasn't finished.'

CR31. | Wǒ | zhīdao, |
| I | know |

'I knew'

CR32. | wǒ | zài | yīnyuē | děngdài | zhe | shénme, |
| I | ASP:prog | indistinct | wait | ASP:dur | something |

'I was vaguely waiting for something,'

CR33. | xiàng | wǒ yǐhòu | děngdài guo | de | mǒu | zhǒng | yuēhuì. |
| like | I afterwards | wait ASP:exp. | SUB | certain | type | appointment |

'like some date I would have waited for afterwards.'

CR34. | Shìshí shang, | tā | shì méi | wán, |
| reality on | it | be NEG:perf | finish |

'In fact it *wasn't* finished,'

CR35. | dāng | lǎoshī | zhàn - zai | jiǎngtái shang, |
| when | teacher | stand at | lecture-platform on |

'when the teacher stood on the platform,'

CR36. | yìbiān | duì | quánbān tóngxué | lǎngdú | wǒ de zuòwén, |
| same-time | towards | whole-class classmate | read-aloud | I SUB composition |

'reading out my composition to the whole class,'

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CR37. yībiān   tòu -   guo   jīngpiàn   yǒuyì-wúyì   de
same-time   penetrate past   lense   deliberate-accidental   MAN
'and half deliberately through his glasses,'

piǎo -   *shang*   wǒ   yì   yǎn   shí,
look-sidelong   on   I   one   eye   time
'gazing at me'

CR38. wǒ nèi kē   másūsu   de   xīn   *zhèng*   *zài nǎr*
I that   MEAS   numb-limp SUB heart   ASP:prog   at there
'my numb heart was'

bēngbeng   **luàn-tiào**   ne!
throb   confused-beat   ASP:imperf
'thumping wildly!'

CR39. Wǒ   yǎnqián   yí piàn   móhu,
I   eye-before   one MEAS blurred
'The scene before me was blurred,'

CR40. mǎnyǎn   zhǐ   **shèng** - *xia*   yì zhāng   zuǐ
full-eye   only   leave down   one MEAS   mouth
'all that filled my eyes was a mouth'

CR41. *zài*   *nǎr*   **yī** - **zhāng** - **yī** -   **hé.**
at   there   once open   once   close
'opening and closing.'

CR42. Zhè   cái   **xiàng** nà piān zuòwén   zhēnzhèng de   jiéwěi.
this   only-then   be-like   that MEAS composition   genuine SUB   ending
'Only this seemed to be the composition's real ending.'

The narrator continues to try to make sense of her state of mind. Shifting the focus forward again in an enhancing hypotactic clause (CR29) to the time after she has submitted the first draft, she then presents her opinion on what she has written in two projecting clause complexes (CR 30-31 & 32-34). The projected clause in the first of these complexes (CR31), Process *wán* 'finish' is marked for emphatic negative polarity combined with completed aspect, stressing that the composition cannot yet be considered finished, with the initial projected clause in the second complex (CR33), Process *děngdài* 'wait for, long for', marked for progressive aspect, indicating the ongoing process of anticipation. The following projected clause in the same complex (CR34) is an unmarked relational attributive clause, but the nominal group realising the Attribute contains an embedded clause where the Process *děngdài* is repeated, marked this time for experienced aspect indicating that the action has been gone through already at some stage, in conjunction with the marker of future time *yǐhòu* 'afterwards'. The effect of this combination of different types of aspect and time reference is to mix up the past and future time frames in much the same way as the short story as a whole mixes these different perspectives.

The narrator then restates her feeling as to the composition's state of incompletion (CR35), this time in a non-projected clause (i.e. presented as fact not as opinion), with the Process *wán* 'finish' marked for the same combination of negative polarity and completed aspect as (CR31) above, but this time with the negative even more strongly

emphasised by being preceded by an emphatic positive Polarity (i.e. it *was* the case that it *wasn't* finished). She then describes the teacher reading out her composition to the rest of the class in three clauses (CR36-38) framed by a hypotactic conjunction of time *dāng...shí* 'at...the time, i.e. 'when', the second two clauses joined by a repeated conjunction indicating simultaneity *yībiān*, and the final dominant clause (CR39), Process *luàn-tiào* 'beat wildly' marked for progressive aspect, and reinforced by a feature of open-ended assessment, here interpretable experientially as implying continuation through time. The static nature of the action, with Processes either happening simultaneously or unboundedly is then reinforced by a couple of relational clauses, the first attributive, (Process omitted) describing the scene as *yí piàn móhu* 'a blur' (CR40), the second (CR41), existential Process *shèng* 'remain' marked for displacement phase, *xià* 'down', indicating that the object remains in the narrator's field of vision, finished off by a material clause, Process *yī-zhāng-yī-hé* 'open and close' marked again for progressive aspect. The narrator then comments in an attributive clause (CR43), implying that this confusion is the composition's real conclusion.

Phase v: Rewriting the composition

CR43. Zhěngzhěng   yí ge   zhōumò   **guò** - *qu*   le,
       whole   one MEAS   weekend   pass go   ASP:compl/perf
       'A whole weekend passed,'

CR44. yì tiān bàn,   **duǎn** *de*   *zhǐ   shi*   yí   shùnjiān.
       one day half   short EXT   only   be   one   moment
       'a day and a half was as brief as the twinkling of an eye.'

CR45. Wǒ   **rēng** *le*   yídì   zhǐtuán,
       I   throw ASP:compl   whole-floor   paper-ball
       'I covered the floor with balls of paper,'

CR46. **diǎn** *guo*   wúshù   cì   yān,
       light   ASP:exp   countless   time   cigarette
       'lit countless cigarettes,'

CR47. **chá** *le*   bànyè   zìdiǎn,
       consult ASP:compl   half-night   dictionary
       'looked up (words in) the dictionary for half the night,'

CR48. yòu   yí   dàzǎo   **dài** *zhe*   nèi   zhāng
       further   one   morning bring ASP:dur   that   MEAS
       'early the next morning, taking that piece of paper'

       zhǐ   yǒu   jǐ   bǎi   zì   de   zhǐ,
       only   exist   few   100   character   SUB   paper
       'with only a few hundred words on it,'

CR49. **qù**   *le*   sān ge   dìfāng.
       go   ASP:compl   three MEAS   place
       'I went to three (different) places.'

CR50. Wǎnshang,   wǒ   **yǒu** *le*   yi pian
       evening   I   exist ASP:compl.   one MEAS
       'By evening I had an'

       bú huì yǒu   rènhé   cuòwù de   yīngyǔ zuòwén,
       NEG can exist   any   mistake SUB   English composition
       'English composition that couldn't have any mistakes.'

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CR51. wǒ   **huí** - *dao*   jiā,
        I   return to   home
        'I went home,'

CR52. yòu   **rēng** *le*   jǐ   ge   zhǐtuán,
        further throw   ASP:compl   few   MEAS   paper-ball
        'threw a few more balls of paper (on the floor),'

CR53. yòu   **diǎn** *le*   jǐ   cì   yān,
        further light   ASP:perf   few   time   cigarette
        'lit a few more cigarettes,'

CR54. **chǎo** *le*   hǎo   jǐ   biān.
        copy   ASP:compl   good   few   time
        'made quite a few copies.'

CR55. Wǒ   **kàn** *zhe*   nà zhāng   zhěngjié   de   zhǐ,
        I   look   ASP:dur   that MEAS   whole-clean   SUB   paper
        'I looked at that clean sheet of paper,'

CR56. **xiě** - *shang* zìjǐ   de   míngzi,
        write on   self   SUB   name
        'wrote my name on (it),'

CR57. **chī** *le*   sān   piàn   ānnǎijin,
        eat   ASP:perf   three pill   analgesic
        'took three sleeping pills,'

CR58. ránhòu   mǎnyì de   **hé** - *shang*   *le*   yǎnjīng.
        afterwards   satisfied MAN close on   ASP:compl   eye
        'and then contentedly closed my eyes.'

CR59. Zhè   shí   zhěnggè chéngshì   dōu   **shuì** *le*.
        this   time   whole   city   all   sleep   ASP:compl
        'By this time the whole city was asleep.'

CR60. Xīngqīyī,   wǒ   **jiāo** *le*   wǒ de   zuòwén,
        Monday   I   hand-in ASP:compl   I SUB   composition
        'On Monday I handed in my composition,'

CR61. wǒ   yǐjīng néng **dào-bèi-rú-liú**   *le*.
        I   already can   reverse recite like stream ASP:perf
        'I could already recite it off by heart.'

The narrator takes up the writing of the composition again. She characterises the passing of the weekend from two points of view: firstly the passing of time itself (CR44), Process *guò* 'pass' marked for directional phase, indicating time flowing away from the narrator (back into the past?); and then characterising its brevity (CR45) , Process *duǎn* 'short' marked for extent phase in an exact repetition of (CR27). She then presents a very detailed progression of actions performed by herself during the night (CR46-48), each clause containing circumstance of Measure and marked for either completed aspect (CR46, 48) or experienced aspect (CR47), the difference between them dependent on the nature of the Measure, specific in (CR46) *yìdì* 'the whole floor', and (CR48) *bànyè* 'half the night', and non-specific in (CR47), *wúshù cì* 'countless times' (compare CR54 below where this last is replaced by *jǐ cì* 'several times' and the aspect marking changes from experienced to completed).

The action then switches to the following morning with two related activities in a hypotactic clause complex, the first clause (CR49), Process *dài* 'take' marked for

durative aspect indicating that this action was performed as an accompaniment to the next, (CR50), Process *qù* 'go' marked for completed aspect, bounded by the number of places over which it took place, indicated in a following nominal group. The situation at the end of the day (CR51) is indicated in an existential clause, Process *yǒu* 'exist, have' unusually marked for completed aspect (rare with relational processes), and here emphasising its special place at the end of the compositional process. The narrator then returns home to write out the final draft (CR52), Process *huí* 'return' marked for target phase indicating where she ended up, and followed by a succession of actions (CR53-55) which echo almost exactly those in (CR46-48) above. A wrapping-up series of actions follows: firstly, the narrator gazing at the finished product (CR56), Process *kàn* 'look' marked for durative aspect indicating an unspecified period of time over which this action continues; secondly, writing her name on it (CR57), Process *xiě* marked for displacement phase, *shang* 'on' indicating that the action came in contact with its intended object (i.e. the paper) without actually specifying this object explicitly; thirdly, taking three sleeping pills (CR58), Process *chī* marked for completed aspect bounded by this quantity; and finally, going to sleep, Process *hé* 'shut (eyes)' marked for displacement phase implying (again like CR54) without specifying) the eyelids coming together. The narrator then adds a further comment on the lateness of the hour (CR60), Process *shuì* 'sleep' bounded in time by the circumstance of Time *zhè shí* '(by) this time', and in extent by the participant *zhěnggè chéngshì* 'the whole city'.

In conclusion, the narrator describes handing in the completed assignment (CR61), Process *jiāo* 'submit' marked for completed aspect indicating that it takes place instantaneously, noting that she already knows it by heart (CR62), with the clause marked for potential modality *néng* 'can', Process *dào-bèi-rú-liú* 'recite by heart' marked for completed aspect, indicating that the action is bounded by the time of narration, reinforced by the Sequence *yǐjīng* 'already'.

Part III: Back in the classroom

Phase i: The reading of the second draft

BC1.   Wǒ   **zhīdao,**
         I   know
         'I knew'

BC2.   tā   <u>bìng   méi</u>   **wán,**
         s/he   EMPH   NEG:perf   finish
         'it really wasn't finished,'

BC3.   wǒ   yòu   *zài*   yīnyuē   **děngdài** *zhe*   shěnme,
         I   further   ASP:prog   indistinct   wait   ASP:dur   something
         'I was again vaguely waiting for something,'

BC4. **xiàng** wǒ cóngqián [l děngdài guo l] de mǒu zhǒng yuēhuì.
resemble I previous wait ASP:exp SUB certain kind date
'like some date I had previously waited for.'

BC5. Shìshí shang, tā shí méi **wán**.
reality on it be NEG:perf finish
'In fact it *wasn't* finished,'

BC6. dāng lǎoshī **zhàn** - *zai* jiǎngtái shang,
when teacher stand at lecture-platform on
'when the teacher stood on the platform,'

BC7. yìbiān duì quánbān tóngxué **làngdú** wǒ de zuòwén,
same-time towards whole-class classmate read-aloud I SUB composition
'reading out my composition to the whole class,'

BC8. yìbiān tòu - guo jìngpiàn yǒuyì-wúyì de
same-time penetrate past lense deliberate-accidental MAN
kàn - *shang* wǒ yì yǎn shí,
look on I one eye time
'and half deliberately looking at me through his glasses,'

BC9. wǒ nèi kē chànwēiwēi de xīn *zhèng* *zài nà*
I that MEAS falter SUB heart ASP:prog at there
yǐnyǐn **zuòtòng** ne!
faint feel-ache ASP:imperf
'my faltering heart was dully aching!

BC10. Wǒ yǎnqiàn yí piàn móhu,
I eye-before one MEAS blurred
'The scene before me was blurred,'

BC11. mǎnyǎn zhǐ **shèng** - *xia* yì zhāng liǎn
full-eye only leave down one MEAS face
'all that was left before my eyes was a face'

BC12. *zài* **hū - míng - hū - àn**.
ASP:prog now bright now dark
'now clear now dim.'

BC13. Dàn zhè bìng bú **xiàng** zhè piàn zuòwén zhēnzhèng de jiéwěi.
but this EMPH NEG seem this MEAS composition genuine SUB ending
'But this seemed not to be the composition's real ending.'

BC14. Wǒ shènzhì **yǒu** zhǒng gǎnjué,
I so-far-as-to exist type feeling
'I even had a kind of feeling:'

BC15. nà yídìng bú **shi** [l wǒ xiě l] de zuòwén,
that definitely NEG be I write SUB composition
'that definitely wasn't the composition I had written,'

BC16. wǒ nà shí yěxǔ *zhèng* zài shāmò li kū ne!
I that time perhaps ASP:prog at desert in cry MOD
'Perhaps at that time I was crying in the desert!'

In Part III the narrator returns to the classroom and reruns or elaborates on various parts of Part I. Phase (i) is an almost exact repetition of Phase (iv) of *In the classroom*. These changes are summarised in Table 4.12 below. Columns without an entry indicate that the relevant clauses in each text are, for all intents and purposes, identical; a shaded box indicates that a particular clause has not been repeated.

In the classroom	Back in the classroom	effect of changes
CR29. *juéde* 'feel'	BC1 *zhīdao* 'know'	increasing degree of certainty
CR30.		
CR31. *zhīdao* 'know'	███████████	
CR32.	BC3. *yòu* 'again'	indicating repeated action
CR33. *yǐhòu* 'afterwards'	BC4. *cóngqián* 'previously'	changing time location of action from past in future to past in past
CR34.	BC5.	
CR35.	BC6.	
CR36.	BC7.	
CR37.	BC8.	lexical variation, grammatically identical
CR38.	BC9.	lexical variation, grammatically identical
CR39.	BC10.	
CR40.	BC11.	
CR41.	BC12	lexical variation, grammatically identical
CR42. *zhè cái xiàng* 'only this seemed'	BC13. *zhè bìng bú xiàng* this *did* not seem'	polarity changed from reluctant positive to emphatic negative

Table 4.12: Comparison of Phase iv of *In the classroom* with Phase i of *Back in the classroom*

The effect of most of these changes, apart from some minor lexical ones which seem to be merely for variety, is to (a) put the previous scene into the past, and (b) to change the relationship between the speaker's consciousness and the "real world" actions. At the end of the repeated section, (BC13), a change in polarity from reluctant positive to emphatic negative leads into a projection by the narrator (BC14-16) of her uncertain state of mind, with the predication of both projected clauses marked for modality: firstly, high negative probability (CR15) *yídìng bú* 'definitely not', then low positive probability (CR16) *yěxǔ* 'perhaps'. This latter clause, Process *kū* 'cry' is also marked for progressive aspect, indicating an action without clear bounds; both the interpersonal and experiential marking here are reinforced by the clause being marked for open-ended assessment, which emphasises both the uncertainty of the supposition, and the unbounded nature of the action.

Phase ii: Going into the classroom

BC17. Wǎnshang,   wǒ   **tǎng** - *zai*   chuáng shang,
       evening   I   lie   at   bed   on
       'In the evening, I lay on (my) bed,'

BC18. **wàng** *zhe*   tiānhuābǎn,
       gaze   ASP:dur   ceiling
       'gazing at the ceiling,'

BC19. wǒ   *zài*   qiān   bǎi   cì   de   **wèn**   zìjǐ:
       I   ASP:prog   1000   100   time   MAN   ask   self
       'I asked myself over and over again:'

BC20. nǐ   zhēnde   **yǐwéi**
      you   really   consider
      'don't you really think'

BC21. [I nǐmen   zǎoyǐ jiēshòu I]   de yíqiè   bú   s h i
      you+PLUR   long-since receive SUB everything NEG   be
      gēn-shēn-dì-gù   de   ma?
      deep-rooted   SUB   MOD
      'that everything you long ago accepted is deep-rooted?'

BC22. Wǒ   zài   měi yí ge   qīngchén   **zǒu** - *jin*   jiàoshì,
      I   at   each one MEAS early-morning walk in   classroom
      'Early every morning I walked into the classroom,'

BC23. zhè   shí   suǒyǒu de   mèng dōu yǐjīng   **zuò** - *wán*   *le*.
      this   time   which-exist SUB dream all already   do   finish ASP:perf/compl
      'at this time all (my) dreams have already been finished.'

BC24. Zhè'r, nǐ   **qiáo**
      here   you   look
      'Here, you look,'

BC25. chàbuduō   tóngyàng   de   fángjiàn,
      almost   same-type   SUB   room
      'almost the same type of room,'

BC26. chàbuduō   tóngyàng   de   guāngxiàn,
      almost   same-type   SUB   light-ray
      'almost the same type of light,'

BC27. Shí jǐ nián   jiù   **xiāoshī**   *le*.
      ten some year   then   vanish   ASP:compl
      'more than ten years have vanished.'

BC28. Xiàng qítā   kè   yíyàng **cháng** *de* [I méi yǒu   biān I],
      like   other class same   long   EXT   NEG   exist limit
      'like other classes become endlessly long,'

BC29. yòu   xiàng zuòwén kè   nèiyàng   **duǎn** *de* [I zhǐ shi yí shùnjiān I];
      further like composition class that-way   short EXT only be one moment
      'again like composition class become as short as only the twinkling of an eye.

BC30. bùguǎn   **fāshēng**   shénme shì,
      no-matter   happen what thing
      'no matter what happens,'

BC31. bùguǎn   zài   **guò**   duōshao   nián...
      no-matter   further pass   how-many   year
      'no matter how many more years are to be passed,'

BC32. wǒ xīn zhōng   yǐnyuē de   děngdài   **dàodǐ**   s h i   shénme ne?
      I heart in   faint SUB   wait   finally   be   what   MOD
      what *is* the thing I am vaguely longing for in my heart?

The narrator again switches focus back to her own room, (BC17) with the Process *tǎng*
'lie' marked for target phase, indicating where the narrator is now located, the next clause
(BC18) indicating what she is doing there, Process *wàng* 'gaze' marked for durative
aspect, indicating that this action forms an accompaniment to following actions. She then
addresses a question to herself (BC19), Process *wèn* 'ask' marked for progressive
aspect, reinforced by a circumstance of Manner indicating repetition *qiān bǎi cì de*
'hundreds and thousands of times'. The projected (rhetorical) question is itself a
projection (BC20-21) with the narrator asking herself for her own opinion (BC20),

Process *yǐwéi* 'consider', the projected clause (BC21) marked for strong positive bias (seee section 3.1.2 above), i.e. 'isn't this the case'.

The narrator then returns to the classroom (BC22), Process *zǒu* 'walk' marked for directional phase *jin* 'into', the break between home and school reinforced by the fact that all dreams are now over (BC23), Process *zuò* 'have (dream)' marked for resultative phase, *wán* 'finished', and completed aspect, indicating that it is bounded by the time of narration, *zhè shí* '(by) this time'. She then invites the reader into the classroom (BC24), with a plain command *nǐ qiǎo* 'you look'. The following clauses (BC25-26) are without explicit Processes, but may be understood as existential (there is) or attributive (this is), specifying what the narrator wishes to draw the reader's attention to, and then calling the reader to witness that the present and past have merged (BC27), Process *xiāoshī* 'disappear' marked for completed aspect, indicating that this change is instantaneous.

The narrator again draws a contrast between other classes and composition class, in close repetition of the two ascriptive clauses marked for extended phase from Part I (CR26-27). She then presents two concéssive clauses introduced by *bùguǎn* 'no matter', both with unmarked Processes and containing indefinite question words, *shénme* 'what (happens)' (BC30), *duōshao* 'how many (years pass) (BC31), followed by a final clinching question, ...*shi shénme*? 'what is...?' the request for information emphasised by the Adjunct *dàodǐ* 'after all', and the whole clause marked for open-ended assessment, pitching the question strongly at the narrator and, through her, to the reader.

Phase iii: Memories of composition class

BC33.   Nà yǐhòu de hǎo jǐ tiān,   wǒ yìzhí   *zài*   **xiǎng**   zhè jiàn shì.
        that after SUB good few day I   continually   ASP:prog.   think   this MEAS matter
        'For quite a few days after that, I kept thinking about this.'

BC34.   Wǒ   xiàng   wǎngcháng   yíyàng **zuò** - *zai*   jiàoshì li,
        I   like   habitual   same   sit   at   classroom in
        'I sat in the classroom as I used to do,'

BC35.   zhè   **shi**   [I wǒ   xǐhuan I]   de   fángjiān,
        this   be   I   like   SUB   room
        This was the room I liked,

BC36.   zhè   **shi**   [I wǒ   xǐhuan I]   de   guāngxiàn,
        this   be   I   like   SUB   light-ray
        'this was the light I liked,'

BC37.   wǒ   zhēnde   rěn -   bu -   zhù   bú   gàosu   nǐ,
        I   really   tolerate   NEG:pot. stand   not   tell   you
        'I really can't help telling you,'

BC38.   wǒ   **shi**   duōme   **xǐhuan**   [I xiě   zuòwén I],
        I   be   how-much   like   write   composition
        'I really loved writing compositions,'

BC39.   nà   **shi**   wǒ   měihǎo   de   jìyì.
        that   be   I   beautiful   SUB   memory
        'that was my beautiful memory.'

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BC40. Wǒ   shènzhì   céng   wèi-cǐ   luò   *guo*   lèi,
      I   so-far-as-to once   because-of this drop   ASP:exp   tear
      'I even shed tears over this,'

BC41. nà   shi   yīnwèi yǒu   tiān   wǒ   **fāxiàn,**
      that   be   because exist   day   I   discover
      'that was because one day I discovered'

BC42. dì yí   ge   [I xiě - chu   "bāqiān ge fēngbào   chuī - bu -   dǎo,
      no. one   MEAS   write out   8,000 MEAS storm   blow NEG:pot   topple
      jiǔwàn ge   léitíng   yě   nán - hóng"   zhè yàng jīngcǎi jùzi I]
      90,000 MEAS   thunderbolt   also   difficult rumble this-kind brilliant sentence
      de   rén   <u>bìng   bú</u>   **s h i**   wǒ.
      SUB   person   EMPH NEG   be   I
      '(that) the first person to write the brilliant sentence "Eight thousand storms can't blow (it)
      down, ninety thousand thunderbolts can't drown (it) out" wasn't me.'

BC43. Wǒ   zhēnde wèi-cǐ   **àndàn** *le*   hǎo duō   tiān,
      I   really because-of this dismal ASP:compl   good many   day
      'I was really low because of this for quite a few days,'

BC44. suīrán wǒ   bǎ   tā   **yòng** - *zai*   wǒ de   zuòwén   shí,
      although I   DISP   it   use at   I SUB   composition   time
      'although when I used it in my composition,'

BC45. tā   **sìhu**   tóngyàng   jīngcǎi.
      it   seem   same-kind   brilliant
      'it seemed equally brilliant.'

This phase starts with an exact repetition of part of Phase (ii) of *In the classroom*, this time however leading not into the writing of a composition, but rather bringing us again into the classroom. The narrator emphasises that her location is the same as in the past (BC34), Process *zuò* 'sit' marked for target phase, and then makes an explicit identification (cf the implicit attribution in BC25-26 above) of 'this' as the room and the light that she likes. She then repeats, with minor lexical variation, another section from *In the classroom* (BC37-39), her avowal of how much she likes writing compositions. She then further explores this memory, noting a specific instance of sorrow associated with it (BC41-42) the fact that a particular 'brilliant sentence' was not her own invention, and presenting her reaction from two points of view: the action of crying (BC40), Process *luò* 'drop (tears)' marked for experienced aspect, reinforced by the Sequence marker *céng* 'once (in the past)'; and then her emotional state (BC43), Process *àndàn* 'dismal, low' marked for completed aspect indicating that it took place over an (unusually long) set period of time. Finally she notes that even when she used the sentence in her composition (BC44), Process *yòng* 'use' marked for target phase, it seemed just as good (BC45).

4.4.1.3   Verbal group marking in an exposition: The composition

This part represents the narrator's expansion of the scenario laid down by the teacher, expanded not by adding more narrative detail, but by exploring the implications of various components of this scenario. This different emphasis may be exemplified by the fact that the final outcome of the action, something that would be crucial in a genuine narrative, is indicated in a single clause (C72) without any explanation as to how it came about. This part may therefore be characterised as an exposition rather than a narrative,

though it is of course derived from part of the narrative of Part I. It does not fall into clear phases according to different stages of the action, but rather according to the viewpoint of the narrator: Phase (i) (C1-25) with the narrator including herself as part of the group; Phase (ii) (C26-69) singling herself out as an individual chooser; and Phase (iii) (C70-77) including herself as part of the group again.

Phase i: Crashing in the desert

C1.   "Nà shi wǒmen   yǒu-shēng yǐlái   dìyí cì   **zuò**   fēijī,
        that be I+PLUR   exist life since   first time   travel   aeroplane
        " 'That was the first time in our lives we'd been in a plane,'

C2.   wǒmen <u>méi</u>   **yǒu**   qián,
        I+PLUR NEG   exist   money
        'we didn't have any money,'

C3.   kě   Shàngdì   <u>yuànyì</u> **gěi**   wǒmen   zhèi ge jīhuì.
        but   God   wish   give   I+PLUR   this MEAS opportunity
        'but God wanted to give us this opportunity.'

C4.   Nèi tiān   tiānqi   fēicháng   **hǎo,**
        that day   weather   extremely   good
        'That day the weather was really good,'

C5.   <u>méi</u>   **yǒu**   fēng,   ·
        NEG   exist   wind
        'there was no wind'

C6.   <u>méi</u>   **yǒu**   yún,
        NEG   exist   cloud
        'there were no clouds,'

C7.   <u>méi</u>   **yǒu**   yíqiè;
        NEG   exist   everything
        'there was no anything.'

C8.   shènzhì lián Shàngdì   dōu   *zài*   duì   wǒmen **wēixiào.**
        so-far-as-to even God   all   ASP:prog   towards I+PLUR smile
        'So much so that God was smiling on us,'

C9.   Kě   tā   shi   *zài*   yòng   liǎn de líng yí miàn
        but   s/he   be   ASP:prog   use   face SUB other one face
        duì   zhe   wǒmen   **xiào,**
        towards ASP:dur.   I PLUR   laugh
        'but (the fact) that he was laughing at us on the other side of his face'

C10.   zhè **shi** dāng   wǒmen de   fēijī   měng de   **diào** - *xia - lai*   shí
        this be   when   we   SUB   plane   abrupt MAN   drop down come   time
        was something that when our plane abruptly dropped

C11.   wǒmen cái   **mingbai**   de.
        I+PLUR only-then   understand   MOD
        only then did we understand.

C12.   Fēijī   **xiāoshī**   *le,*
        plane   vanish   ASP:compl
        'The plane disappeared,'

C13.   wǒmen   hái   **huó**   *zhe,*
        we   still   live   ASP:dur
        'we were still alive,'

C14.   <u>méi</u>   rén   **zhīdao**   wèishénme,
        NEG+exist   person know   why
        'nobody knew why,'

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C15.   yě   <u>méi</u>   rén   gàosu wǒmen.
also   NEG+exist   person tell   we
'nor did anyone tell us.'

C16.   Wǒmen   xiàng yì qún niǎo yíyàng   zhòurán
I+PLUR   like one flock bird same   abrupt
luò - *zai* *le*   shātān   shang,
fall at ASP:compl sandbank   on
'Like a flock of birds we had abruptly fallen on to a sandbank,'

C17.   què <u>bù   néng</u> xiàng niǎo nèiyàng   zài **fēi** - *qilai.*
however NEG can like bird that-way   further fly   rise
'but we couldn't like birds fly away again.'

C18.   Wǒmen   <u>bù</u>   **zhīdào**
I+PLUR   NEG   know
'We didn't know'

C19.   wǒmen <u>néng</u> **huó** duō jiǔ,
I+PLUR can live how long
'how long we could stay live,'

C20.   dàn [| néng huó zhe |]   yǒngyuǎn   **s h i** [| zuì hǎo |]   de.
but can live ASP:dur   always   be most good MOD/SUB
'but staying alive was always the best.'

C21.   Shàngdì,   bù,   wǒ   <u>bù</u>   **xiǎng** **shuō** shàngdì...
God   no   I   NEG   want say   God
'God, no, I don't want to mention God...'

C22.   zǒngzhī,   nèi   ge   [| bǐ   wǒmen dà |] de   rén
in-summary   that   MEAS   compare we   great   SUB   person
<u>bìng</u>   <u>bù</u>   **xiǎng** **fàngqì**   tā de   quánlì,
EMPH   NEG   want   abandon   s/he SUB   power
'anyway, that person greater than us didn't want to abandon his power,'

C23.   tā   gěi   wǒmen **liú** - *xia*   *le*   yìxiē   dōngxi.
s/he   for   I+PLUR leave down   ASP:compl   some   thing
'he left us some things.'

C24.   Zǒng **s h i** zhèiyàng,
always be   this-way
'It's always the way,'

C25.   hěn   duō   zhèiyàng de shíkè,   zǒng yǒu   shénme
very   many   this-kind SUB moment   always exist   something
'a lot of these sorts of times there is always something'

<u>nénggou</u>   bǎ   nǐ   **liú** - *xialai.*
can   DISP   you   leave down
'that can enable you to stay behind.'

The narrator starts with a generalised statement about the flight (C1), explained in section 4.1.1 above as a mixture of a relational clause, Process *shi* 'be', and a material clause, Process *zuò* 'travel'. The relational transitivity has the effect of putting the action itself, unmarked for any of the PROFILE systems, into the background, focussing instead on the circumstances associated with it, something that sets the tone for the rest of this phase. The major happenings outlined in the teacher's original scenario (CR3, 5-9) punctuate the rest of this phase at intervals, usually highlighted by being marked for one of the PROFILE systems: (C10) the plane falls out of the sky, Process *diào* 'drop' marked for directional phase, *xia-lai* 'down towards (speaker)'; (C13) the plane disappears, Process *xiāoshī* 'disappear' marked for completed aspect; (C14) the passengers survive, Process *huó*

'live' marked for durative aspect (cf similar marking in CR5); (C23) some things are left for them, Process *liú* 'leave' marked for displacement phase, *xia* 'stay in position', and completed aspect.

Certain of these happenings are elaborated beyond the representation given in Part I. For example, the passengers falling out of the sky (CR 3, C10) is compared to a flock of birds falling on to a sandbank (C16), Process *luò* 'fall' marked for target phase, specifying where they end up, and completed aspect, implying that this location is final. The comparison is continued in the following clause (C17) noting that unlike birds they cannot fly up again, Process *fēi* 'fly' marked for directional phase, *qilai* 'up from surface', the predication as a whole marked for negative potential modality. Similarly, God leaving the passengers some things (C23), is reversed in transitivity, with the things cast as Agent, i.e. what enables them to survive, using the same Process *liú* 'leave' marked identically for displacement phase, but in this case with the passengers as Medium rather than Recipient, with the disposal marker *bǎ* which has the implication that they are "disposed of" in some way.

After the restating of the basic scenario with elaborations in (C1-17), the narrator begins to ponder the implications of their plight. She notes in a projecting clause complex (C18-20) that they do not know how long they can live, with the projecting clause (C18) Process *zhīdào* in negative polarity, and the first projected clause (C19) marked for potential modality, Process *huó* 'live' followed by a circumstance of Time: duration; in the second projected clause (C20), this same Process (predication likewise marked for potential modality) is marked for durative aspect (cf (C13 above) embedded as part of a Identifier in a relational identifying clause, Identifier *zuì hǎo de* 'the best'. She then turns her mind to the provider of these things (C21), *Shàngdì* 'God' (already identified as the cause of their plight in (C9-10) above), but then rejects this term, predication marked for negative inclination modality, Process *shuō* 'say', reformulating him as *nèi ge bǐ wǒmen dà de rén* 'that person greater than us' (C22), ascribing to him the same sort of negative inclination modality, Predicator / Process *fàngqì* 'abandon (his power)'. After describing how he had left things for them (C23) - see discussion above - the narrator then draws a generalisation from this case, with an indefinite *shénme* 'something' introduced as New / Theme by the relational Process *yǒu* 'exist' (see analysis in section 4.1.2 above) and then followed by an effective material clause (C25) - see discussion above.

Phase ii: *Choosing*

C26. Wǒmen   bìxū   **xuǎnzé**,
      I+PLUR   must   choose
      'We had to choose,'

C27. suīrán   wǒ   níngyuàn   bù   **xuǎnzé**.
      although   I   rather-wish   NEG   choose
      'even though I would rather not have to choose.'

C28. Yìxiē   rén   *zhǔnbèi*   **líkai**,
      some   person prepare   leave
      'Some people got ready to leave,'

C29. yīnwèi wǔbǎi lǐ   wài   **yǒu**   ge   cūnzhuāng;
      because 500   li   away   exist   MEAS   village
      'because 250 kilometres away there was a village;'

C30. ér   wǒ   yuànyì **liú** - *xia*.
      however   I   wish   leave down
      'but I wanted to stay.'

C31. zhè   dào   bù   guāng shì   yīnwèi wǒ   **xiǎng** - *dào*
      this   however NEG   only   be   because I   think   reach
      'this wasn't only because I thought'

C32. huòxǔ huì   yǒu   biéde fēijī   **lái**   **jiù**   wǒmen,
      perhaps can   exist other plane   come   save   I+PLUR
      'there might possibly be another plane (which would) come to save us,'

C33. gèng   wèi   wǒ   **shì**   ge   [I shēng pà   zài   lèi
      even-more   because I   be   MEAS   life   fear   further   tire
      zhe   zìjǐ I]   de   rén.
      ASP:dur   self   SUB   person
      'more because I was the sort of person who doesn't like to tire themselves.'

C34. Wǒ   **yào**   [I shǔyú wǒ I]   de   nèi fèn shuǐ   hé   guàntou.
      I   need   belong-to I   SUB   that portion water and   can
      'I wanted the water and the cans (of food) that were my share.'

C35. Wǒ   **yào**   nèi běn   guānyú yěshēng dòngwù de   shu——
      I   need   that MEAS   about wild   animal SUB   book
      'I wanted the book on wild animals——'

C36. [I wǒ   xiǎng dú   tā I]   **bú shì** wèi   [I zhǎngwò   shénme zhīshi
      I   want read   it   NEG be for   grasp   what   knowledge
      qù   dǐyù   wàilái   de   qīnlüè I],
      go   resist   outside-come   SUB   aggression
      '(the reason) I wanted to read it wasn't to gain some knowledge to resist outside
      aggression,'

C37. ér   shì   xiǎng   zài   **kàn**   tā   shí
      but   be   want   at   read   it   time
      'but (I) wanted when (I) read it'

C38. néng   lí   yǎnqián de   chǔjìng **yuǎn** yìdiǎn.
      can   distant-from   eye-before SUB plight far   a-little
      'to be able to be a little further away from the trouble before our eyes.'

C39. Wǒ   hái   **yào**   nèi ge   jiàngluòsǎn,
      I   still   need   that MEAS   parachute
      'I also wanted the parachute,'

C40. tā   **huòxǔ** zài   [I xià   yǔ I]   de shíhou   bùrú   yǔyī   **hǎo**,
      it   perhaps   at   fall   rain   SUB time   not-equal raincoat good
      'it perhaps when it rained, wasn't as good as the raincoat'

C41. zài   [I hánlěng I]   de   shíhou bùrú   dàyī   **nuǎn**,
      at   cold   SUB   time   not-equal overcoat   warm
      'when it was cold, wasn't as good as the overcoat'

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C42.   dàn   tā   gèng   **quánmiàn**;
but   it   even-more   comprehensive
but it was more all-round(useful);

C43.   tā   jì   <u>kěyǐ</u>   zài   báitiān   **zhē-yáng**,
it   both   can   at   daytime   block sun
'it could both block out the sun during the day,

C44.   yě   <u>kěyǐ</u>   zài   yèwǎn   **yù - hán**.
also   can   at   night   keep-out cold
'and prevent the cold at night.'

C45.   Zuì   zhǔyào   de,   **dā -**   *qi*   tā,
most   important   SUB   put   up   it
'Most important, (if you) put it up.'

C46.   jiù   **shi**   yí   ge   jiā
then   be   one   MEAS   home
'(it) was a home'

C47.   <u>kěyǐ</u>   **ān -**   **shēn -**   **lì -**   **mìng**.
can   shelter   body   establish   life
'(where you) could settle down and carry on with life.'

C48.   Tā   hái   **shi**   yí ge   xìnhào,
it   still   be   one MEAS   signal
'It was also a signal,'

C49.   rúguǒ   zhēn   yóu   qítā   féijī   cóng zhèli   féi -   guo   dehua.
if   really   exist   ·other   plane   from   here   fly   past   in-case
'if another aeroplane really were to fly by here.'

C50.   Wǒ   hěn   **xiǎngyào**   huǒchái,
I   very   want   match
'I really wanted the matches,'

C51.   dàn   wǒ   gèng   **xiǎngyào**   yān,
but   I   even-more   want   cigarette
'but I wanted the cigarettes even more.'

C52.   wǒ   <u>bù</u>   **zhīdào**
I   not   know
'I didn't know'

C53.   [l méi   yǒu   yān l]   de   rìzi   duì wǒ lái shuō   **shi**   shénme,
NEG   exist   cigarette SUB   day   towards I come say   be   what
'what the days would be, as far as I was concerned, without cigarettes,'

C54.   suǒyǐ   [l méi   yān l]   de   huǒchái   duì   wǒ
therefore NEG+exist   cigarette SUB   match   towards I
gēnběn   <u>méi</u>   yòng.
basic   NEG+exist   use
'So matches without cigarettes were quite useless to me.'

C55.   Zài   shuō,   shāmò   hǎoxiàng   yě   **zhǎo** - *bu -*   *dào*   mùchái
further   say   desert   seem   also   seek NEG:pot   reach   firewood
'What's more, (it) also seemed that (you) couldn't find firewood in this desert'

C56.   <u>kěyǐ</u>   **qǔ**   huǒ   **zuò**   fàn.
can   get   fire   make   meal
'which (you) could (use to) make fires or cook.'

C57.   Wǒ   <u>huòxǔ hui</u>   **yào**   nèi   píng   fútèjiā,
I   perhaps can   need   that   bottle   vodka
'I perhaps might have wanted the bottle of vodka,'

C58.   shéi   **zhīdao**,
who   know
'who knows,'

C59.   yǒu   shíhou,   jiǔ   <u>huì</u>   **shǐ**   rén   **hǎoshòu**   xiē.
     exist   time   alcohol   can   cause   person   easy-endure   some
     'sometimes alcohol can help people endure (things) better,'

C60.   Kě   tā   wèishénme   <u>bú shi</u>   [I wǒ   xǐhuan I]   de
     but   it   why   NEG be   I   like   SUB
     língwài   yì zhǒng   jiǔ   ne?
     other   one kind   alcohol   MOD
     'But why wasn't it another type of alcohol that I liked?

C61.   [I Miǎnqiǎng I] de   chénzuì,   hái   shi   **suàn**   *le*   ba.
     force   SUB   get-drunk   still   be   reckon ASP:compl. MOD
     'Forcing (yourself) to get drunk, it's better to forget it.'

C62.   Wǒ   **xuǎnzé**   *le*   tàiyángjìng,
     I   choose   ASP:compl.   sunglasses
     'I chose the sunglasses,'

C63.   wèile   **yǒu**   líyóu
     in-order   exist   reason
     'in order to have a reason'

C64.   duì   zìjǐ   **shuō**:
     towards   self   say
     'to say to myself:'

C65.   hǎohao   zài shātān   shang   **zuò**   ge   rìguāngyù   ba!
     well   at sandbank   on   do   MEAS   sunbathe   MOD
     'have a good sunbathe on a sandbank!'

C66.   Rènhé   zhēnzhèng de   xiǎngshòu   dōu   **shi**   nème   lái-zhī-bú-yì.
     whatever   real   SUB   enjoy   all   be   so   hard-earned
     'Any genuine enjoyment is this hard-earned.'

C67.   Dāng   nǐ   **gǎn** - *dao*
     when   you   feel reach
     'When you feel'

C68.   **shī** - *qu*   *le*   yíqiè   de   shíhou,
     lose   go   ASP:compl.   everything   SUB   time
     '(that you)'ve lost everything,

C69.   nǐ   bùrú   gēn   zìjǐ   **kāi**   ge   hǎo   wánxiào.
     you   better   with   self   play   MEAS   good   joke
     'you might as well have a good joke with yourself.'

In this phase the narrator switches from the communal *wǒmen* 'we' to the individual *wǒ* 'I', and simultaneously from narrating and / or describing her situation to reasoning about it. In this phase, therefore, the experiential PROFILE systems characterising the unfolding of the Process are relatively rarely drawn upon, while relational clauses summarising or comparing different aspects of the situation or logical relations between clauses relating different aspects of the reasoning, as well as the interpersonal MODALITY system giving particular "weighting" to different reasons are much more prominent. A characteristic example of this different emphasis is given in the way the making of the choices is presented. Only in the last choice (C62) is the choosing represented purely experientially, with Process *xuǎnze* 'choose' marked for completed aspect. In most other cases, including the first general comment in (C26-27) on the necessity of choosing, the relevant predication is either marked for a modality of obligation (C26) inclination (C27), or probability (C57). Alternatively, the choice is represented either by the unmarked Process

yào 'need' (C34-35, 39) whose meaning is ambiguous between mental 'want' and material 'get' and moreover in other contexts can function as a Modality of obligation or inclination, or by its close mental synonym *xiǎngyào* 'want' accompanied by a interpersonal-like expression of degree *hěn* 'very' (C50) or *gèng* 'even more' (C51).

The narrator opens this phase with two clauses, both with Process / Predicator *xuǎnze* 'choose', marked for contrasting modality: (C26) for high obligation, *bìxū* 'must'; and (C27) for median inclination *níngyuàn* 'would rather' followed by negative polarity, indicating that the narrator is obliged to choose but would rather not do so. After describing the preparations of some of the other survivors to leave (C28-29), the narrator then returns to her own wishes (C30) with a positive modality of inclination *yuànyì* 'wish', Process *liú* 'stay' marked for displacement phase *xia* 'stay in position'. She then proceeds to lay out her reasons for this preference in two contrasting steps. The first is set out in a clause complex (C31-32), with the projecting clause, Process *xiǎng* 'think' marked for result phase *dào* 'reach', indicating that her thinking has reached this stage, and with the projected clause canvassing the possibility of another plane coming to save them marked for low probability *huòxǔ huì* 'perhaps might', indicating the small likelihood of such an event. The whole of this clause complex, however, is framed by a partial relational clause *zhè dào bù guāng shi* 'this wasn't only' contrasting the initial reason in (C31-32), introduced by the conjunction *yīnwèi* 'because', with an alternative in (C33) introduced by *gèng wèi* 'more because', with the attributive Process *shi* 'be' characterising the narrator's unadventurous temperament.

The narrator then begins making her choices, the interpersonal bias of which was noted above. The first two choices, for water and tins of food (C34) are stated baldly without justification, presumably because these are obviously essential items, using the mental / material Process *yào* 'want / get'. The third choice, a book on wild animals (C35), also stated using the Process *yào*, is followed by a long justification (C36-38) in a partial relational clause / clause complex similar to that described above in (C31-32). The beginning of (C36) sets up an identifying relation in the form of an embedded clause functioning as Identified, i.e. the reason why, with the rest of the clause complex (the second half of C36, C37-38) functioning in effect as the Identifier, setting out a negative reason and an alternative positive one. The logical relations here are quite complicated, with the basic contrast being set up as one between the identifying Processes of (C36) *bù shi* 'is not (this)' and (C37) (*ér*) *shi* '(but) is (that)'. The embedded clauses / clause complexes functioning as Identifier in all three clauses are introduced either by a modality of inclination (C37-38) *xiǎng* 'want' or by a conjunction or purpose (C36) *wèi* 'for', and in both cases have further complexity within them, the latter half of (C36) being composed of a hypotactic relation of purpose, and (C37-38) a hypotactic relation of time.

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The fourth choice, a parachute (C39), also stated using the Process *yào*, is again followed by a long justification (C40-47) with the clauses arranged in a sort of balanced parallel structure, plus an afterthought (C48-49). The initial reason (C40-42), is expressed in an extending clause complex, with the individual clauses indicating ways in which the parachute is inferior to a raincoat on the one hand (C40) and an overcoat on the other (C41), marked for probability modality, *huòxŭ* 'perhaps', followed by the countervailing reason (C42) of its greater all-round usefulness. (C43-44) adduce further favourable qualities, with both clauses marked for probability modality, *kěyĭ* 'can'. A further justification is given in (C45-47), with the final clause (C47) similarly marked for probability modality again indicating the parachute's usefulness. The afterthought reason (C48-49) is expressed in a hypotactic clause complex of condition marked by the complex conjunction *rúguŏ...dehua* 'if (in the case that)'.

The next choice is presented as one between two alternatives, both stated using the Process *xiăngyào* 'want': the first, matches (C50) graded as low degree *hěn* 'very'; the second, cigarettes (C51), as higher degree *gèng* 'more'. This preference is then discussed in a projecting clause complex (C52-53), dismissed in a negative conclusion (C54), and the followed by another afterthought justification (C55-56), with both clauses marked for probability modality: the first (C55) a negative phased probability *zhăo-bu-dào* 'couldn't find (firewood)'; the second (C56) a positive unphased probability *kěyĭ* 'can'. These choices having both been rejected, the narrator goes on to consider a further choice, stated using the Process *yào* 'want / get', a bottle of vodka (C57), with the clause marked for low probability *huòxŭ huì* 'perhaps might', since it turns out that she prefers another kind of alcohol (C60). This choice is dealt with interpersonally rather than logically, in a series of moves: a rhetorical question (C58) *shéi zhīdao* 'who knows', a modalised statement (C59), low probability *huì* 'can', another rhetorical question indicating her alternative preference *tā wèishénme bú shi...*'why wasn't it...?', this clause also marked for open-ended assessment emphasising the question, and finally a command (C61) to herself to discard this choice, emphasised by the clause being marked for suggestive assessment, *háishi suàn le ba* 'best forget it'.

The final choice (C62), sunglasses, as noted above is the only one to be presented with an experiential bias, with the Process *xuănzé* 'choose' marked for completed aspect. Its justification is presented in a combination of interpersonal and logical patterning, firstly giving the reason 'to have a sunbathe in the desert' in an enhancing clause of reason (C63) linked to a projecting clause complex (C64-65), this functioning as a command and marked for suggestive assessment. The narrator then feels obliged to explain this flippancy as a natural reaction to a situation of crisis, in an attributive clause (C66)

classifying such 'enjoyment' as 'hard-earned', and then explaining this comment in an enhancing clause complex (C67-69), with the dependent clause complex of time, itself a projecting clause complex with the projecting clause (C67) Process *găndao* 'feel' introducing a general participant / reader *nĭ* 'you' and the projected clause (C68), Process *shī* 'lose' (C68) marked for orientation phase, *qu* 'away (out of speaker's control)', and completed aspect, both emphasising the totality of the loss, followed by the final suggestion (C69) 'you'd better play a good joke with yourself'.

Phase iii: The final choice

C70.   Wŏ   **xuăn** - *hăo*   le   [I shŭyú wŏ]   de   dōngxi,
        I   choose complete   ASP:compl. belong-to I   SUB   thing
        'I finished choosing the things that would be mine,'

C71.   zuìhòu wŏ hái   <u>yào</u>   gěi wòmen   **xuăn** yí ge   hăo   jiéjú:
        final I still must   for I+PLUR   choose one MEAS   good   outcome
        '(so) finally I have to choose us a good ending:'

C72.   wŏmen dōu   **huó** - *xialai* *le*,
        I+PLUR all   live   down   ASP:compl
        'we all survived,'

C73.   bìngqiĕ   wŏmen *zhèng*   zuò - *zai*   yí ge
        furthermore   I+PLUR ASP:prog   sit   at   one MEAS
        mínglìàng   de   jiàoshì   li
        bright   SUB   classroom   in,
        'and we're sitting in a bright classroom,'

C74.   **guò** *zhe*   yí   duàn   xīn   shēnghuó.
        pass   ASP:dur one   section   new   life
        'having a new stretch of life.'

C75.   Dàn   nĭ   <u>huòxŭ   bù   xiăng</u>   **xiào**,
        but   you   perhaps NEG   want   laugh
        'But perhaps you won't want to laugh,'

C76.   wŏmen hái   *zài*   pīnmìng   de   **xuănzé**...
        I+PLUR still   ASP:prog   risk-life   MAN   choose
        'we're still trying very hard to choose...'

C77.   yīnwèi wŏmen yīrán   **huó** - *zai*   shāmò   li."
        because I+PLUR as-before   live   at   desert in
        'because we're living in a desert as before.' "

In this phase the narrator returns to the communal point of view, and also to something closer to narration, with the experiential profile systems again being drawn upon extensively. At only two points is the interpersonal modality system brought into play: when the narrator admits the necessity of choosing a happy ending (C71), with the clause marked for obligation modality, *yào* 'must'; and when she admonishes the readers not to be too optimistic about this outcome (C75), with the clause marked for a negative inclination modality in conjunction with low probability *huòxŭ bù xiăng* 'perhaps (you) won't want (to laugh)'. Otherwise each clause is marked either for aspect or phase or both.

In the first clause of this phase (C70) the narrator disposes of her own individual choosing, Process *xuǎn* 'choose' marked for result phase, *hǎo* 'completed satisfactorily' and completed aspect, contrasting this with the further obligation to her co-survivors (and by implication, readers) in (C71) discussed above. This outcome is given (C72), Process *huó* 'live' marked for temporal phase *xialai* 'continue', i.e. they survived, and completed aspect, indicating this is now not something in doubt. Their current condition is indicated in the next two clauses: the first (C73), Process *zuò* 'sit' marked for target phase, indicating that they have ended up back in the classroom and progressive aspect; and the second (C74) characterising this new state, Process *guò* 'pass (time)' marked for durative aspect, indicating that this state will carry over into a future characterised as 'a new stretch of life'. The narrator then admonishes the readers (C75) as discussed above, and then brings back the notion of choice for one last time (C76), Process *xuǎnzé* 'choose' marked for progressive aspect indicating that this will now continue into an uncertain future, and characterising the location of that future (C77), Process *huó* 'live' marked for target phase, indicating that the survivors (and the reader) are back in another kind of desert.

4.4.1.4   *Verbal group marking in a mixed narrative-exposition:* Wenli's volunteer letter

Part V brings together all the strands of the narrative so far , and involves all three of the main characters: Wenli, both in her capacity as the narrator's double, re-rehearsing some of the narrator's own actions, and as an interactant with the narrator; Tommy, indirectly, as the "model" for Wenli's future life; and the narrator both as narrator, and as friend / adviser to Wenli.

Phase i: *Preparing to write the volunteer letter*

W1.   Wénli   **liě**   *zhe*   zuǐ
       Wenli   grin   ASP:dur   mouth
       'Wenli grinned'

W2.   **mī**   *zhe*   yǎn,
       narrow   ASP:dur   eye
       'screwed up her eyes'

W3.   bù - guǎn - bú - gù   de   **xiào**   *de*   *yǎnqián - tōngliàng,*
       NEG care NEG attend   MAN   laugh   EXT   before-eyes brightly-lit
       '(and) laughed wholeheartedly as she saw the light,'

W4.   wànshì   yuánlái   rúcǐ   **jiǎndān.**
       all-things   after-all   like-this   simple
       'of course, everything is this simple.'

W5.   Nà yǐhòu de   hǎo jǐ tiān,   Wénlì yìzhí   *zài*   **xiǎng**   zhè jiàn shì.
       that after SUB   good few day   Wenli all-along ASP:prog. think   this MEAS matter
       'For quite a few days after that, Wenli kept thinking about this.'

W6.   Zhōumò de   xiàwǔ,   Wénlì   nǎr   yě   méi   qù,
       weekend SUB   afternoon   Wenli   where   even   NEG:perf   go
       'On Saturday afternoon Wenli didn't go anywhere,'

W7. yí ge   rén   **lā** -   *shang*   chuānglián,
one MEAS   person   pull   on   window-curtain
'Alone, (she) drew the curtains,'

W8. **dǎ** -   *kāi*   dēng,
make   start   light
'turned on the light,'

W9. cóng   mǎn chuáng   de záwù zhōng   **chōu** - *chu*   yì dá bái zhǐ,
from   full bed   SUB mixed-thing among   pull out   one pad white paper
'from the mass of things on the bed pulled out a pad of white paper,'

W10. tā   yòu   <u>néng</u>   **xiě**   zhìyuànshū   *le.*
she   further   can   write   volunteer-letter   ASP:compl
'she could then write a volunteer letter again.'

This phase continues on from the framing narration at the beginning of Part IV *Tommy's composition*, starting with Wenli's reaction to what she has just read (heard?), and leading into her preparations to write a "volunteer letter", in an almost exact repetition of the similar episode in Part I *In the classroom* (CR16-21). Wenli's reaction is presented in three related actions: the first two, Process *liě* 'grin' (W1), and Process *mī* 'narrow (eyes)' (W2) marked for durative aspect, indicating that they are coterminous with and form the background for the third, Process *xiào* 'laugh' (W3) marked for extent phase, with an embedded ascriptive clause realising Extension, Process *tōngliàng* 'brightly lit' used metaphorically for mental illumination. i.e. she "saw the light". The following clause (W4) is also an ascriptive one, Process *jiǎndān* 'simple', commenting on the obviousness of Tommy's solution. The rest of this phase, as noted above, is an almost exact repetition of the similar passage from Part 1 describing the preparations to write, this time not a composition, but rather a "volunteer letter".

Phase ii: *The volunteer letter*

W11. "Dōngfēng   **chuī,**
east-wind   blow
' "The East wind blows,'

W12. zhàngǔ   **léi**
war-drum   beat
'the war drums beat,'

W13. xiànzài shìjiè   shang   jiùjìng   shéi   **pà**   shéi..."
now   world   on   after-all   who   fear   who
'who in the world now is afraid of who..." '

W14. Jìyì   zhōng zuì   shóuxí de   zìyǎn   **suō**-*duǎn*   *zhe*
memory in   most   familiar SUB   wording   shrink short   ASP:dur
tā   hé   Tāngmǐ   zhījiān   de   chājù,
s/he   and   Tommy   between   SUB   difference
'The most familiar words in her memory reduced the distance between her and Tommy.'

W15. Wénlì   *jìxù*   **xiě**:
Wenli   continue   write
'Wenli continued writing:'

W16. "Wǒ   **zhìyuàn**
I   volunteer
' "I volunteer'

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W17. **zuò**   yí ge   Tāngmǐ,
      act-as   one MEAS   Tommy
      'to be a Tommy,'

W18. yīnwèi Tāngmǐ **shi**   zài yǔzhòu lǐngdǎo xia de   xiānjin dàibiǎo,
      because Tommy be   at universe leadership under SUB   advanced representative
      'because Tommy is an advanced representative under the leadership of the universe,'

W19. **shi**   huóxué   huóyòng   de   sīxiǎng diǎnfàn,
      be   flexible-study   flexible-use   SUB   ideology   model
      '(he) is the ideological model for flexible study, flexible use,'

W20. **shi**   zhǔguān shìjiè   hé   kèguān shìjiè   de   yǒujī jiéhé,
      be   subjective world and   objective world SUB   organic combination
      '(he) is the organic combination of the subjective world and the objective world,'

W21. **shi**   shídài   de   xūyào,   wèilái   de   zhàohuàn
      be   age   SUB   necessity   future   SUB   beckon
      '(he) is the necessity of the age, the beckoning of the future,'

W22. **shi**   [l gǎizào   shìjièguān l]   de   jiānjù   zhòngrèn."
      be   transform   world-view   SUB   arduous important-task
      (he) is the arduous task of transforming (the) world-view." '

W23. Wénlì   juéxīn   yǐ   **xià**.
      Wenli   resolution   already lay-down
      'Wenli had already formed her resolution.'

W24. "Wǒ   yídìng   yào   **kèfú**   chóngchóng   kùnnán,
      I   definitely   will   overcome   layer-layer   difficulty
      ' "I will overcome endless difficulties,'

W25. yǐ Tāngmǐ wéi bǎngyàng,   zhào   Tāngmǐ de huà   **qù**   **zuò**,
      take Tommy as   model   according-to Tommy SUB word   go   do
      'acting with Tommy as my model, according to Tommy's words,'

W26. **zǒu** - *jin*   rì- xīn - yuè - yì   de   xīn   shídài!"
      walk in   day new month different SUB   new   age
      '(I) will enter a new age that changes with each passing day! " '

W27. Wénlì   **kàn**   *zhe*   nèi zhāng   zhěngjié   de   zhǐ.
      Wenli   look   ASP:dur that MEAS   whole-clean   SUB   paper
      'Wenli looked at that clean sheet of paper,'

W28. **Xiě** - *shang*   zìjǐ   de   míngzi,
      write on   self   SUB   name
      'wrote her name on (it),'

W29. **tú** - *hǎo*   yì céng   jiāoshuǐ,
      spread   complete   one layer   glue
      'spread over (it) a layer of glue,'

W30. ránhòu   mǎnyì de   **tiē** - *zai*   le   chuángtou.
      afterwards   satisfied MAN stick at   ASP:compl   bedhead
      'then, satisfied, stuck (it) on the head of the bed.'

This phase contains the text of Wenli's volunteer letter plus an external narrative that is really a commentary, much like the internal and external narration in Part 4 *Tommy's composition*, and ending with Wenli finishing her letter in an almost exact echo of similar episodes in Part 1 *In the classroom* (CR55-56) and Part 4 *Tommy's composition* (T55-56). Again like the similar patterns in *Tommy's composition*, there is very little verbal group marking in the letter itself, more in the external narration. Here though, this is not because the letter contains a simple narration of habitual activities, but rather because Wenli is making a series of identifications of Tommy's qualities in relational clauses and

her own emotional response to them in mental clauses - both of which clause types are much less open to verbal group marking.

Wenli's opens her letter by quoting a propaganda jingle in three rhyming clauses (W11-13), all unmarked for profile or modality systems. The use of such cliched words has the effect of bringing Wenli closer to Tommy (W14), Process *suō* 'shrink' marked for result phase, *duǎn* 'short', i.e. 'reduce (the distance)', and for durative aspect, implying that this process goes on through the writing of these phrases and continues afterwards. Wenli then continues writing (W15) with the clause marked for temporal phase, *jìxù* 'continue'. The next section of the letter contains a declaration by Wenli 'to be a Tommy' (W16-17) in a clause complex, projecting mental Process *zhìyuàn* 'volunteer', projected attributive Process *zuò* 'to act as', both unmarked, followed by a series of unmarked relational clauses with Process *shi* 'be' (W18-22) identifying the admirable qualities of Tommy that have lead her to this declaration.

A short external commentary (W23) reinforces this declaration, borrowing, for its tone of authority, the lexicogrammar of classical Chinese, the remainder of the sentence after the opening *Wénlì* corresponding exactly to the *sìzì chéngyǔ* "four character phrase" form in which many proverbs and political slogans are constructed. The next part of the letter continues this tone of determination in a clause (W24) marked for high obligation *yídìng yào* 'definitely will', Process / Predicator *kèfú* 'overcome', and then a couple of material clauses in which Wenli outlines in rather sweeping terms how her actions henceforth will proceed. The first of these clauses contains the general material Process *zuò* 'to do, act' (W25) whose main function seems to be to support two circumstantial elements *yǐ Tāngmǐ wéi bǎngyàng* 'with Tommy as (my) model' and *zhào Tāngmǐ de huà* 'according to Tommy's words' linked to the main Process by a general Process of direction *qù* 'go' which here acts more like a purpose marker. The second of these clauses contains the Process *zǒu* 'walk' marked for direction phase *jìn* 'into', here indicating a metaphorical entry into a 'new age'.

Wenli then mimics previous narrators' actions on finishing their "compositions", inspecting her finished work (W27), Process *kàn* 'look' marked for durative aspect indicating that this action took place over an extended period of time, then writing her name on the paper (W28), Process *xiě* 'write' marked for displacement phase, *shang* 'on' indicating that the writing came in contact with the (unspecified) paper, spreading a layer of glue on the back (W29), Process *tú* 'spread' marked for result phase, *hǎo* 'complete satisfactorily', and finally sticking it in the head of her bed (W30), Process *tiē* 'stick' marked for target phase and for completed aspect, singling this action out as the last in a series.

Phase iii: *Meditation on writing compositions*

W31.   Tā   **pā -**   *zai*   chuáng shang
       she   lie-prone   at   bed   on
       'she lay on her bed'

W32.   **chǒu** *le*   hěn   jiǔ,
       gaze   ASP:compl   very   long-time
       '(and) gazed (at it) for a long while,'

W33.   zhè   shí   tiān   jiànjian   **hēi** *le.*
       this   time   sky   gradually   black   ASP:compl
       'by this time, the sky had gradually grown dark.'

W34.   Tā   **xiǎng -** *qi*   xǔduō   cóngqián   de   shì,
       she   think   up   very-many   previous   SUB   matter
       'She thought of many things (that had happened) in the past,'

W35.   **xiǎng -** *qi*   xiǎoxué   shí   yí piàn zuòwén   de   tímù
       think   up   primary-school time   one MEAS composition   SUB   topic
       'thought of the title of the composition she had written in primary school'

W36.   **shì**:   wǒ de   jiānglái.
       be   I SUB   future
       '(which) was: my future.'

W37.   **Xiǎng -** *qi*
       think   up
       (She) thought of

W38.   tā   céng   **zhàn -** *zai*   yí ge   wǔ céng lóu   de   chuāngkǒu
       s/he   once   stand   at   one MEAS five storey building SUB   window
       '(how) she had once stood at the window of a five-storey building'

W39.   dāidai de   **wàng** *zhe*   jiēshang de   rénliú
       blank   MAN   gaze   ASP:dur   street-on SUB   person-stream
       'blankly gazing at the stream of people in the street'

W40.   bìng   duì   zìjǐ   **shuō**:
       and   towards self   say
       'and (how) she had said to herself:'

W41.   wǒ   yídìng   yào   **zhǎng -** *dà.*
       I   definitely   will   grow   big
       'I *will* grow up.'

W42.   **Xiǎng -** *qi*
       think   up
       (She) thought of

W43.   tā   jiù nèiyàng   *kāishǐ* rēnzhēn de   zài   měi yí piàn
       she   just that-way   begin   serious MAN   at   each one MEAS
       zuòwén   li   búduàn   **kèhuà** *zhe*   zìjǐ,
       composition   in   unceasing   portray ASP:dur self
       '(how) just like that she had begun conscientiously in every composition to unceasingly portray herself,'

W44.   **xiǎng -** *qi*   tā   zhèxiē nián lái xīnzhōng   yǐnyinyueyuē de děngdài,
       think   up   she   many year since heart in   vague   SUB wait
       '(she) thought of the vague longing in her mind these past few years,'

W45.   **xiǎng -** *qi*   tā   yuèláiyuè   bù   zhénshí   de   xīnqíng,
       think   up   s/he   more-and-more   NEG   real   SUB   mood
       yǐjí   tā   [I yóu cǐ ér dé - dào l]   de   mǎnzú hé   pínghéng...
       and   s/he   from this and gain reach   SUB   content and   balance
       '(she) thought of her more and more unreal moods, and of the satisfaction and equilibrium she had gained from this...'

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W46. Hūrán, Wénlì **xiǎng** - *qi*   xiǎo shíhou   nèi ge [l xiě - mǎn   le
     suddenly Wenli think   up   young time   that MEAS write full   ASP:compl
     yǔlù   géyán   jǐngjù l] yǐjí   [l hòulái yòu   bǔ-shang   xǔduō   note
     maxim   epigram and   afterwards further supplement up   very-many
     wúbǐ   wánměi de   xíngróngcí l]   de   bǐjìběn,
     matchless perfect SUB   adjective   SUB   note-book
     'Suddenly Wenli thought of the small notebook which she had filled with notes, maxims, and e
     pigrams, and afterwards supplemented with many matchlessly perfect adjectives,'

W47. xīntou   jìng   **yǒng** - *qi*   yì gǔ   wēnnuǎn de   xuěliú.
     heart   actually well   up   one MEAS   warm   SUB   blood-flow
     'a warm glow welled up in her heart.'

W48. Tā   **suō** - *zai*   chuáng shang
     s/he   shrink at   bed   on
     She curled up on the bed

W49. yòu   kāixīn   de   **xiào**   *le*.
     further happy   MAN   laugh   ASP:compl
     'and laughed again happily.'

This phase contains echoes of the narrator's self examination in Part II *Back in the classroom*, but with an extended meditation by Wenli not on the composition classroom but rather on her motivations for writing and the joy she has gained from it. A more static narration introduces Wenli's extended "trawling" of her memory: Wenli takes up her position on the bed (W31), Process *pā* 'lie prone' marked for target phase, gazes at her letter for a long while (W32), Process *chǒu* 'look at' marked for completed aspect, indicating the action bounded by a length of time, with a simultaneous change in the outside environment (W33), Process *hēi* 'to be black' marked for completed aspect indicating the change in state of the sky bounded by a final point in time *zhè shí* 'by this time'.

Then follow a series of memories introduced by the mental Process *xiǎng* 'think' marked for displacement phase *qi* 'up (into consciousness), i.e. 'think', followed either by a (usually complex) Phenomenon (W34-35, 44-46) or by a projected clause / clause complex (W38-41, 44). The first of these projections (W38-41) contains a number of material clauses representing different linked actions, standing at the window (W38), Process *zhàn* 'stand' marked for target phase, gazing at the people in the street (W39), Process *wàng* 'gaze' marked for durative aspect, indicating that the action persists over an unspecified period of time and as background for the following action of making another declaration to herself (W40-41), projecting Process *shuō* 'say', with the projected clause marked for high probability modality *yídìng yào* 'definitely will' (cf the similar declaration in (W24) above).

The following projection (W43) recalls the start of her writing career, Process *kèhuà* 'portray' marked for temporal phase, *kāishǐ* 'begin', and for durative aspect, indicating an action that began at a specific point in time and then stretched into the future. The final memory (W46), of her 'small notebook', then brings forth an emotional reaction (W47),

represented in a similar way to the memories, with Process *yǒng* 'well' marked for directional phase *qi* 'up', i.e. a warm glow welling up in her heart. Wenli then modifies her original posture (W48), Process *suō* 'shrink' marked for target phase, i.e. 'curled up on (the bed)', and then expresses this happier emotion (W49), Process *xiào* 'laugh' marked for completed aspect, indicating an instantaneous action, and also a repetition of the similar past action in (W3), reinforced by the Sequence *yòu* 'again'.

Phase iv: *To be a Tommy*

W50. Wěnlì   **lìzhì**
      Wenli   resolve
      'Wenli determined'

W51. zài   yǒu-shēng-zhī-nián   **zuò**   yí ge   Tāngmǐ,
      at   exist life SUB year   act-as   one MEAS   Tommy
      'to be a Tommy for the rest of her life,'

W52. tā   hái   <u>yào</u>   **xiě**   yì piān   xīn   zuòwén,
      s/he   still   want   write   one MEAS   new   composition
      'she had to write a new composition,'

W53. zhè   niàntou   **shǐ**   tā   yì   **xiǎng** - *qilai*
      this   thought   cause   she   once   think   up
      'this idea as soon as she thought of (it)'

W54. jiù   **jīdòng.**
      then   excite
      'made her excited.'

W55. Tā   **shuō**
      s/he   say
      'She said'

W56. zhè   **gǎibiàn** - *bu* - *liǎo*   tā   měi tiān   [| yòng kuàizi   chī fàn
      this   change NEG:pot complete   she   each day   use chopstick   eat meal
      yòng   féizào xǐ   liǎn |]   de   xíguàn,
      use   soap   wash   face   SUB   habit
      'this couldn't change her everday habit of eating with chopsticks (or) washing her face with soap,'

W57. què   **shǐ**   tā   **juéde**
      however   make   s/he   feel
      'but made her feel'

W58. [| Měiguó   dǎ bu   da   Ilākè |] yǐjí   [| míngtiān dàodǐ   jiāng rúhé |]
      America   fight NEG fight   Iraq   and   tomorrow in-the-end   will-be like-what
      yǐjīng <u>bú</u>   **zài**   huà   xia.
      already NEG   at   word   under
      'that whether America fought with Iraq and what tomorrow would be like were already of no account.'

This phase expands on Wenli's resolve to 'be a Tommy' for the rest of her life. She returns to decisive mode with a new resolve to be a Tommy (W50-51), and a practical resolution to write a new composition (W52), the clause marked for median obligation *yào* 'must'. The idea of this resolution causes a further emotional reaction (W53-54), with the idea itself marked as Agent by the causative logical complex *shǐ...xiǎng* 'cause to think' (W53), Process *xiǎng* 'think' marked for displacement phase, *qilai* 'up' (cf similar examples in Phase (iii). She then expresses the opinion (W55), Process *shuō* 'say', that such a change will not have any effect on her daily habits (W56), Process *gǎibiàn*

'change' marked for negative phased potential modality, *gǎibiàn-bu-liǎo* i.e. 'can't change', but gives her a new view (W57), causative logical complex *shǐ...juéde* 'cause to feel' (cf W53 above), on the troubles of the world (W58), locational Process *zài* 'be at' metaphorical for being 'of account' *zài huà xia*, literally 'under speech', i.e. worth talking about, the Carrier realised by a complex coordinate nominal group linking the present situation (the story was written at the time of the 1990 Gulf Crisis) with an unknown future.

Phase v: *At least have a go*

W59.   Búguò   wǒ hái shi   rěn -   bu - zhù   gàosu   Wénlì   shuō:
     however   I still be   tolerate NEG:pot stand   tell   Wenli   say
     'However I still couldn't help telling Wenli:'

W60.   "Qíshí   nǐ   yí bèizi   yě   zuò *- bu - chéng*   Tāngmǐ,
     in-fact   you   one lifetime   even   act NEG:pot succeed   Tommy
     ' "In fact you'll never be able to be Tommy in your whole life,'

W61.   yīnwèi Tāngmǐ   *bú*   **shi**   hùnxuě."
     because Tommy   NEG   be   mixed-blood
     'because Tommy isn't a mixed blood." '

W62.   **Guò**   *le*   ·bàn   nián,
     pass   ASP:compl   half   year
     'Half a year later,'

W63.   Wénlì   **lái**   **zhǎo**   wǒ,
     Wenli   come   look-for   I
     'Wenli came to see me,'

W64.   "Wǒ   yěxǔ   zhēnde   **zuò** *- bu - chéng*   Tāngmǐ   le,"
     I   perhaps really   act   NEG:pot succeed   Tommy   ASP:perf
     ' "Perhaps I *will* never be able to be Tommy,"

W65.   tā   ànrán   de   **shuō**,
     s/he   miserable   MAN   say
     'she said miserably,'

W66.   "wǒ   **wàng** *- bu -*   *liǎo*   jiù   de..."
     I   forget   NEG:pot. complete   old   SUB
     ' "I can't forget the old..." '

W67.   "<u>Yěxǔ</u>   nǐ   **xíng**,"
     perhaps   you   be-okay
     ' "Perhaps you'll be okay," '

W68.   Wǒ   shènzhì   *bú*   yuàn   **shāng** zìjǐ   de   xīn,
     I   so-far-as-to   NEG   wish   hurt   self   SUB   heart
     'I didn't even want to hurt myself,'

W69.   "Nǐ   <u>kěyǐ</u>   **shì**   *zhe*
     you   can   try   ASP:dur.
     ' "You can try'

W70.   zài   zuòwén   li   zuò,
     at   composition   in   act-as
     'being (him) in a composition,'

W71.   yí cì   **zuò** *- bu - hǎo*
     one time   do   NEG:pot good
     '(if you) can't be (him) properly once'

W72.   hái   **yǒu**   xià   yí   cì,
        still   exist   next   one   time
        'there's still the next time,'

W73.   nà   <u>bù</u>   yě   tǐng   **hǎowán**   de?'
        that   not   also   very   fun   SUB
        'won't that be a lot of fun?" '

W74.   Wǒ   **kàn** -   *dao*   Wénlì
        Wenli   look   reach   Wenli
        'I saw that Wenli'

W75.   yòu   yí cì   kāixīn   de   **xiào**   *le.*
        further   one time   happy   MAN   laugh   ASP:compl
        'once again laughed happily.'

In this phase the narrator re-enters the action in character as a friend and adviser of Wenli to throw some cold water on Wenli's hopes for self-transformation. The narrator initiates a dialogue with Wenli in a clear echo of her own original avowal of her love of compositions in Part I *In the classroom* (CR23), in a projecting clause (W59) with a high obligation modality expressed by a compound verbal group marked for negative phased potential modality, *rěn-bu-zhù* 'can't bear, i.e. 'can't help (saying)'. The projected clause containing the narrator's warning to Wenli (W60) is also marked for negative phased potential modality, *zuò-bu-chéng* 'won't be able to act successfully as (Tommy)', the reason given (W61) that Tommy is not a 'mixed blood' - unlike, presumably, Wenli herself.

After some time (W62), Process *guò* 'pass' marked for completed aspect, indicating it is bounded by a specific period of time, Wenli comes to see the narrator (W63), and repeats her doubtful assessment almost word for word (W64), with the addition of an Adjunct expressing a low probability modality, *yěxǔ* 'perhaps', and then gives her own reason (W66), with the Process also marked for negative phased probability, *wàng-bu-liǎo* 'can't forget (the old)'. The narrator attempts reassurance in a series of modalised clauses: first saying she should be okay (W67), clause marked for low probability, *yěxǔ* 'perhaps', then indicating her unwillingness to hurt herself by such pessimism (W68), clause marked for negative median inclination, *bù yuàn* 'not wish', and then again urging Wenli to try (W69), clause marked for low probability, *kěyǐ* 'can', with the Process *shì* 'try' marked for durative aspect, indicating an action that by its nature needs to be done repeatedly.

Continuing her reassurance, she mentions the possibility of failure (W71), Process marked for negative phased probability *zuò-bu-hǎo* 'can't do properly, but notes that there is always a next time (W73), and then finishes with a strongly positively biased interrogative (see section 3.1.2 above) by which she tries to elicit a positive response from Wenli. Her gambit is successful, evidenced by her now seeing Wenli happier (W74), Process *kàn* 'look' marked for result phase *dao* 'reach' indicating a change from

a previous condition, and then Wenli's actual reaction (W75), Process *xiào* 'laugh' marked for completed aspect, indicating a repetition of a previous state, and implying that this state can now be taken as final; the short story ends on this optimistic note.

Chapter 5:   Contextualising verbal group marking: issues in the development of a text-based description of Chinese grammar

The previous chapters of this study traversed a descriptive "loop": "in" from context to text to clause to verbal group; and then back "out" again from verbal group to text and context. In this final concluding chapter, I would like to sum up the main issues that have arisen in the course of this progression, briefly characterising the nature of linguistic patterning at these different levels, and showing how grammatical description must be simultaneously "top-down", in terms of its **contexts**, and "bottom-up", in terms of its **realisations**. Finally, I will set the study as a whole in its context of **application**, for the present study, largely language teaching, but the principles relevant here would also be applicable in any context involving the interpretation of texts.

5.0   Verbal group, clause and text: different patterns of organisation

In the conception of language guiding the present study, the first two units examined here, verbal group and clause, are internally related by **constituency**, i.e. each verbal group forms part of a clause, while collectively as ranks located on the stratum of lexicogrammar, they are distinguished externally from the third unit, text, by a difference in **stratification**, i.e. being at different levels of abstraction, verbal group and clause as units of wording, text as a unit of meaning. From another point of view, however, it is possible to see all three units related by each successive "larger" unit functioning as the context for the next "smaller" unit, and in reverse each smaller unit acting as the realisation of (part of) the meaning of the larger unit. Chapter 1 of this study approached the description of the clause in Chinese by way of the text, while Chapter 4, in contrast, approached the description of the text by way of the verbal group. It would therefore be useful at this point to sum up the nature of the patterning at each level (using this term informally to include both units on the same stratum and those on different strata).

text

The description of text patterning given in sections 1.2.2, 1.3.2, and 1.4.2 above was able to provide only a sketch of the relevant parameters (for fuller accounts of text patterning see, for example, Halliday & Hasan 1976, de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981,

Martin 1992). Nevertheless, even from this brief account, the following generalisations can be made.

a.   Semantic patterns extend over the text as a whole, whether in a step by step fashion, as with the interpersonal exchange structure in *Memory* (see section 1.3.2 above), or scattered through the text, as with the textual reference chains (section 1.2.2 above) or the experiential lexical strings (section 1.4.2 above) in the same text.

b.   Semantic options, i.e. patterned choices from the semantic systems, may be used to define the structure of the text as a whole: i.e. what in systemic functional terms would be termed its **genre** (e.g. Halliday 1978: 133-134; Martin 1992: 546-547). For example, the exchange structure of a spoken dialogue like *Memory* can be used to define phases in the text (compare a similar analysis in Eggins 1994: 325-330), the progression between these phases constituting the main organising principle of the structure of the text (See analysis in section 1.3.2 above). In contrast, a written exposition such as that analysed in Fang et al 1995 (Appendices), can be divided into **paragraphs** on the basis of its patterns of thematic progression. A mixed-genre text like *Wenli's composition*, analysed in section 4.4 above, if described in terms of its semantic systems would probably be seen to be organised in terms of not only experiential but also textual and interpersonal features, inside an overarching structure of a complex mix of narrative strands (see section 4.4 above).

c.   Semantic systems are interpretable both in terms of the contextual (register) variables which they realise, and the lexicogrammatical features by which they are realised. The centrality of discourse-semantics in a systemic functional approach stems from its two-way role in linguistic analysis: firstly, as a way of semioticising the contextual features relevant to language use; and secondly, as a way of interpreting patterns of wording (lexicogrammatical structures). While stressing the importance of semantics as a way of understanding text through both its context of situation and its wording, it must be pointed out that semantics remains the least understood and least comprehensively described of the strata of language. This is partly a reflex of the historical development of linguistics in this century: from phonology through grammar and only comparatively recently to semantics; and partly because of the highly context-sensitive nature of the semantic stratum. As Halliday has pointed out (1994: xx);

> At the present state of knowledge we cannot yet describe the semantic system of a language. We can give a semantic system of a fairly restricted register, and provide a general account of some of the semantic features of a language, but in one way or another semantic studies remain particular and specific.

Most forays into the field of semantic description within the systemic functional framework (e.g. Halliday 1978; Martin 1992; Halliday & Matthiessen forthcoming) have used the categories of the lexicogrammar as a guide to possible semantic categories. While from the point of view of the links between text and clause, such a procedure has advantages over cognitive or pragmatic approaches which seek to motivate semantic patterns in terms of factors from outside language, it is still open to the charge of "grammatico-centrism". The present study is of course deliberately "grammatico-centric", since the main focus throughout has been on ways of characterising the lexicogrammar of Chinese texts, but there certainly is a need for further research into the discourse-semantics of Chinese (cf Hu 1981; Leung 1994) which is more text-centred.

clause

The description of the clause in Chinese put forward in Chapter 1, and then modified and extended in Chapters 2 & 3, identifies characteristics distinct in a number of ways from those of the text.

a.   When the text is interpreted multifunctionally, with different textual, interpersonal, or experiential patterns identified within it, these patterns are largely independent of each other. For example, it is not really significant that the reference chains and lexical strings analyses of *Memory* given in sections 1.2.2 and 1.4.2 above look superficially similar; more an accident of the way semantic features of REFERENCE and CONTENT RELATIONS are expressed in Chinese: i.e. both commonly as relations between lexical items (or their absence). In contrast, a multifunctional analysis of the clause *must* include the ways in which the different structures map on to each other (see section 2.3.2 above), since the clause is precisely where the different functional patterns of wording are unified into a single string (Halliday 1994: 34-35).

In other words, while the structures defined by the different lexicogrammatical systems of THEME, INFORMATION, MOOD, and TRANSITIVITY may be constructed on very different principles (see sections 2.2.1 - 2.2.3 above) in response to very different semantic and contextual pressures, ultimately because of the linear nature of language, they must be expressed as a single unit of wording. Although, as noted in section 3.0 above, the clause is not a fixed determinate unit, but rather a compromise between four different units - the message, information, predication, and experience units - it is nevertheless still a useful concept for the analysis of wording in Chinese.

b.   Following on from this first point, in contrast with the looser structure of the text as a semantic unit, where different semantic patterns seem able to "ignore" boundaries, the clause is much more tightly constructed. It is organised as an assemblage of elements

each with its own specific function: what Halliday (1994: 215) refers to as a **multivariate** structure, i.e. one formed by the combination of distinct variables. This means that the clause is able to express much closer relations between elements than the text. For example, the lexical strings analysis in section 1.4.2 above gives a much "looser fit" interpretation of the text than the transitivity analysis in section 1.4.3 (as was pointed out in the comparison of the two in section 1.4.4).

c.   Clauses also enter into relations with each other as wholes, in a kind of structure halfway between the tight clause-internal multivariate structure and the looser structure of the text. On the one hand, the structure of the clause complex (see section 2.3.1 above) is like that of the text in that it is relatively open-ended, with, in most cases, one clause being able to enter into a clause nexus with a preceding or following clause. In some cases, for example in a hypotactic clause complex where only the following (dominant) clause is marked, the dependent status of the preceding clause can only be assigned retrospectively. On the other hand, clause complexes can be defined in terms of a small number of variables; to that extent, then, they are like the clause. However, unlike the more closed structure of the clause, in the clause complex these variables are "recyclable", in what Halliday (1994: 216) refers to as a **univariate** structure, i.e. one formed by the repetition of the same basic variables.

In text, the features of the system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS, which define the clause complex, interact with the semantic system of CONJUNCTION (Martin 1992; Leung 1995). This latter system was not examined in the present study, largely because the initial text *Memory* drew on very few of its resources. In an expository text like *Disappointed in America*, by contrast, these two systems together could be analysed as providing much of the structure of the text, ensuring that all the strands of a complicated argument can be linked together.

verbal group

In the description of the verbal group given in section 4.1 above, this unit was initially treated on a par with the clause, in that the central notion of **process** was treated as a defining feature of each. Indeed section 4.1.1 tested the descriptive hypothesis that all elements that are verbal in class are in some senses processes in their own right. This of course was subsequently shown to be only half true: while all verbal elements shared some semantic similarities, grammatically in most cases it was possible to draw a distinction between a "main" process, i.e. with a direct role in the transitivity structure of the clause, and various "associated" processes. Some of these elements were shown to be elements of clause structure, such as the auxiliaries realising interpersonal meanings of modality and experiential meanings of temporal phase. Others were analysed as

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constituents of the **phrase**, that halfway house between clause and group, which in conjunction with a following nominal group realised various circumstantial meanings (in one case, reinterpreted as indicating a kind of aspect).

Though the clause was thus able to account for all interpersonal functions of verbal elements and many of their experiential functions (as well as limited textual uses), there was still a significant number for which a separate level of structure needed to be recognised: that operating at group rank. The verbal group was shown to exhibit a number of characteristics that distinguished it from the clause.

a.   Compared with the open-ended univariate structure of the clause complex or the tighter multivariate structure of the clause, the verbal group is even more tightly bound together. At the same time as having a multivariate structure of different elements with distinct functions, the verbal group, like the nominal group, also has a central Head, the Event, on which all the other elements of the verbal group are dependent. This structural closeness is often signalled phonologically, for example many of the postverbs realising Extension, particularly the more highly grammaticalised subtypes, are commonly pronounced in the so-called "neutral tone", i.e. as clitics whose pitch realisation depends of the tone contour of the preceding verb realising the Event. Semantically, the meaning of the postverb realising Extension is often dependent on that of the verb realising the Event: for example, the same postverb, such as the widely used *xià* 'down' has a wide range of meanings according to the meaning of the Event (see sections 4.1.4, 4.2.2 above).

b.   While the verbal group thus exhibits a **compound** structure (Chao 1968: sections 5.6.3, 6.6) in the realisation of Event and Extension as verb followed by postverb, it also enters into structural relations more characteristic of a **complex**. These may be of two kinds. The first leans structurally toward the compound, as in the realisation of Extension by a embedded clause joined to the Event by a clitic *de* (see section 4.1.4 above). Chao, for example (1968: section 5.6.4), distinguishes these two types as "bound complements", i.e. Extension realised by postverb, vs "free complements", one subtype of which are "predicative complements", i.e. an Extension realised by an embedded clause. This latter is like the compound postverb type in that it is fairly closely linked structurally to the Event, but is freer phonologically, being able to be set off from it by a pause and / or a textual particle (Chao 1968: 356). However, in terms of its internal structure, it behaves much more like a clause in a clause complex, being able to be expanded by modifying elements such as adverbs, and even to be marked for mood (Chao 1968: 356-357).

The second kind, whereby the Process is realised by a verbal group complex, often expressing two actions joined in a relationship of purpose, or introducing an Agent participant (see section 4.1.5 above), can be analysed much more like a clause complex. In many cases each verb in the complex functions like a Process with its own participant, or else the verbs may "share" a participant, in what is traditionally known as a "pivotal construction" (Chao 1968: Section 2.13), like two clauses "telescoped" into one.

c.   Moving further down the rank scale, the verbal group also exhibits structural characteristics like those of a word, in the ability for grammatical affixes to be attached to it, in this case those expressing aspectual meanings. I have hesitated to call such elements "suffixes" since that suggests that they are part of word structure. As a compromise, the originally phonological term "clitic" has been used (cf Caffarel 1992), i.e. an unstressed syllable which "leans" on a preceding or following stressed syllable, although strictly speaking such a term could also be applied to many postverbs (see discussion above). Likewise I have not taken what might seem the obvious step of analysing them as part of group structure, since grammatically their presence is often "triggered" by the function of the clause as a whole, e.g. as a dependent clause in a hypotactic clause complex, or by a specified nominal group following the verbal group. Semantically, the distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect applies to the experience expressed by the clause as a whole, rather than specifically focussing on the Event, in the manner of many postverbs realising meanings in the PHASE system.

5.1   Top-down description: the contents of grammatical marking

If the three levels of text, clause (including clause complex), and verbal group are thus clearly distinguishable from each other, the obvious next question to ask is: how are they related? This problem is not the result of a theoretical requirement to make an artificial distinction between "autonomous" levels which must then be made to "interact" (cf Ellis 1993: Chapter 4), but rather a descriptive realisation that while the patterning on these levels *is* different, by the same token all three constitute layers of the meaning of the text. Halliday (1993) argues for the necessity of adopting a "trinocular perspective" in grammatical analysis: establishing categories "from above", i.e. from the level of semantics; "from around", i.e. in interaction with other grammatical categories; and "from below", i.e. from their structural characteristics. Using this model, the present study has proceeded according to two analytical trajectories.

The first was that used to "move in" to the lexicogrammar in Chapter 1 and 2 via the text, in what may be called a **top-down** approach. Interpreted in terms of the relationships

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between the levels of text, clause and verbal group, "top-down" implies description in terms of **contexts**. When, for example, we examine a particular grammatical phenomenon such as the repetition of the Predicator in clauses realising moves in an exchange, and go on to note that for most clauses the presence of a Predicator seems vital for the expression of mood distinctions, such patterns can only be interpreted in terms of the semantics of the exchange, and of the text as a whole. Viewed "from below" there is not much to say about the Predicator. Unlike languages like say English (Halliday 1994: 79) or Japanese (Teruya 1996), where the Predicator is structurally joined to another interpersonal function, the Finite (in English the two may be separate or conflated, in Japanese the Finite is realised as morphological marking on the verb), the Predicator in Chinese is not itself marked structurally, but can only be identified (and even then not in all cases) by the presence of other interpersonal functions like Polarity or Modality. Indeed most traditional grammars of Chinese ignore what it here called the Predicator function altogether: for example, Zhu 1982 does not even discuss declarative clauses, i.e. those realised solely by the presence of a Predicator, as a separate type.

Explaining grammatical phenomena from above is of course much more difficult than from below, in that there are likely to be a number of semantic features involved, and the relative importance of each may be hard to determine. To continue using the example of the Predicator in Chinese, although clearly central to the mood structure of the clause in that the majority of clauses contain a Predicator, and the Predicator is precisely that element that gets "tossed" back and forth in dialogic exchange (see section 1.3.3 above) in a way analogous to the function of Subject and Finite in English (Halliday 1994: 71-78), it is difficult to say exactly why this should be so.

Experientially-based explanations in terms of it somehow "borrowing" its status from the experiential function of Process with which it is normally conflated may seem to be begging the question: we might as well ask why the Process is conflated with the Predicator rather than the other way round. On the other hand, an interpersonal explanation in terms of its "attraction" of other interpersonal functions such as Polarity and Modality could be accused of being a circular argument: the Predicator is that element preceding which the Polarity and Modality are realised, and the Polarity and Modality take in their meaning from their combination with the Predicator. In general, as far as research into the interpersonal lexicogrammar of the clause in Chinese is concerned, the top-down approach still needs a lot of further detailed exploration, in contrast to the hitherto more widely studied textual and experiential lexicogrammar.

A top-down approach, despite its difficulty, in central to a systemic functional analysis of language. As Halliday has explained in the introduction to his comprehensive functional grammar of English, (Halliday 1994: xx):

> The fact that this is a 'functional' grammar means that it is based on meaning; but the fact that it is a 'grammar' means that it is an interpretation of linguistic forms.

Elsewhere, in an article discussing what it means to be "doing grammar" (Halliday 1993: 8), Halliday reemphasises the centrality of top-down description in systemic functional linguistics when he states that "in a functional grammar [the] perspective ["from above"] is that which *explains*" (original emphasis). His proviso quoted above with regard to the "partial and specific" character of our knowledge of the semantics must, however, be restated here. In other words, although a top-down approach is crucial for our understanding of grammatical patterning, it is also very problematic. The present study can claim only to have sketched out how such an approach might be applied to Chinese, and much further research is needed to fill out the picture of the contexts of grammatical systems in Chinese.

5.2 Bottom-up description: grammatical marking as an organising principle of text

The second perspective employed in the present study is that termed by Halliday "from below", which interpreted in terms of the relationships between the levels of verbal group, clause and text, implies in terms of **realisation**. Although in the overall descriptive model this perspective is in some sense merely the obverse of the "from above" perspective (see Halliday's comment on the double implication of 'functional grammar' above), it can be applied more broadly to characterise grammatical marking as one of the principles of organisation of the text. This broader conception of **bottom-up** description was the one applied in the description of verbal group marking through a complete written text in section 4.4 above, where patterns of grammatical marking were used to define phases in the text. Here again a note of caution needs to be sounded. The recognition of interpersonal phases in the spoken text *Memory* (see section 1.3.2 above) or of textual paragraphs in the written text *Dreams* (see Fang et al. 1995: Appendices) was fairly straightforward, since the relevant types of grammatical marking were both metafunctionally simple, and related in a rather obvious manner to the structure of the text as a whole.

In contrast, a text like *Wenli's composition*, apart from being much longer than the two short texts mentioned above, is organised as a text not only by a combination of different functional types of meaning, particularly experiential and interpersonal, but also by an

overarching generic structure , or rather mix of generic structures, which provides a distinct layer of organisation in the text. The complexities of the narrative strands and narrators' positioning cannot, therefore, be either reduced to or explained completely in terms of the grammatical marking, significant as this is in the organisation of the text. Furthermore, while the top-down description of *Memory* was deliberately designed to be comprehensive, or rather completely **accountable**, in that it set out to account for all the semantically significant features of the wording of the text in terms of its semantic features and contextual variables, the bottom-up description of *Wenli's composition* was just as deliberately restricted to a specific grammatical phenomenon at a particular rank and of a particular class. While this was obviously necessary in order to put some restrictions on the scope of the present study (a complete and comprehensive description of the text in terms of its semantic features and clause and group functions would be a thesis in itself), from the point of view of the polysystemic nature of grammatical description in a systemic functional framework, some of the relevant systems may simply have had to be ignored.

The description in section 4.4 above cannot therefore claim to be a complete "bottom-up" description in the sense of fully revealing the contribution of grammatical systems to the organisation of the text. The purpose of it was in fact twofold. Firstly, it set out to examine what seemed to be a gap in the literature on grammatical systems in their discourse contexts in Chinese. While the phenomena of nominal anaphora (the realisation of semantic features of REFERENCE, in terms of the present study) and aspect marking have been widely studied, the system here referred to as PHASE has been almost totally neglected and its interaction with other systems like those of ASPECT largely ignored (with the notable exception of Cartier 1972).Secondly, it attempted to show what a **dynamic** account of grammatical marking might look like, in contrast to the largely synoptic orientation of previous studies, even those concerned with explaining grammatical marking in terms of its contribution to the discourse.

While I hope that the present study has gone at least part way in addressing the first issue, I cannot claim to have done more than perhaps open up the second. On the one hand from a systemic point of view, a full account of verbal group marking, as was noted in section 4.4 above, would need to address the contrast between the grammatical features that *are* chosen from a particular system and those that are *not*, including the so-called **neutral** feature, i.e. the absence of any choice from that system. On the other hand from a discourse point of view, a truly dynamic account of verbal group marking would need to model in much more detail the ways in which particular choices open up or restrict the environment of choice for further choices: i.e. what has been referred to as the process of **logogenesis** (Halliday 1995: Matthiessen 1995), or development of the

system through the text (for a preliminary sketch of such an approach applied to theme structure in English, see Ravelli 1995).

5.3   Grammatical description and the use of texts: issues in application

I noted at the beginning of Chapter 1 that the process of developing this description of the lexicogrammar of Chinese would be a critical, self-reflective one, evaluating the descriptive framework in the course of building it up. In the same spirit, the thesis as a whole could be regarded as embodying two contrasting perspectives on the use of texts in grammatical description, perspectives which have implications for the uses of grammatical description in its wider context of **application**.

The first perspective might be termed the **pedagogical**. The fact that the discussion in Chapters 1 and 2 was carried out to a large extent by borrowing some of the features of a pedagogical discourse was by no means accidental. The pedagogical use of texts in grammatical description (see McDonald 1994b) displays several specific characteristics that were central to the "project" undertaken in those chapters. From a pedagogical perspective the text **data** are always at the centre of focus, both as a unit of meaning in their own right, and as the explanatory context for grammatical patterning. In terms of the dichotomy set up in Chapter 3, in this approach the **potential** is always framed in terms of the **instantiated**. This has obvious pedagogical advantages, in that it gives a concrete basis for the student's developing understanding of grammatical patterns (cf Loke & McDonald 1996), but equally it has important theoretical and descriptive implications, in that it sets a high value on accountability, not of the text to the (theoretical) system, but rather of the (descriptive) system to the text.

The second perspective might be termed the **scientific**, taking the concept of "doing science" in its broadest possible sense: i.e. what Halliday (1993: 2) characterises as "the working practices of...scientists... - how they construct theories to explain the phenomena they are studying". The theorisation of the system in Chapter 3 and the description of the verbal group in Chapter 4 were carried out largely from this perspective. In this approach, the emphasis is on the **theory**, and on explaining the data in terms of the theory. As pointed out in section 1.0 above, this perspective is, for obvious reasons, much more common in linguistic research. It is important to stress, however, that this approach is not in any sense "basic", even though it is definitely privileged in academic discourse. In terms of Halliday's notion of "syntax and the consumer" (Halliday 1964/76), the scientific perspective is directed towards the needs of the discipline of linguistics, both in the theoretical and descriptive issues which engross

it, and the institutional values which define it. A "pure" scientific discourse, as opposed to an "applied" pedagogical discourse, carries enormous authority in a discipline, because it is seen to be dealing with the basic general underpinnings of the discipline as opposed to restricted applications of that discipline.

I hope that the present study has been able to demonstrate in the way it has been set up and carried out that both perspectives are necessary and indeed complementary. The background of the present study lies very much in a pedagogical application of systemic functional linguistics to the description of Chinese grammar over a number of years (e.g. McDonald 1990, 1992, 1994b; Loke & McDonald 1996), influenced of course by similar work on Chinese (e.g. Marney 1977, Teng 1977b) and on English (e.g. Sinclair 1990, Eggins 1994, Lock 1996). Many of the descriptive issues discussed in the present study were first raised in a pedagogical context, motivated by the requirements of that specific context of application.

Nevertheless, the sorts of issues raised in the present study - for example, the relationship between system and text, description and data, synoptic and dynamic perspectives, top-down and bottom-up description, pedagogical and scientific applications - are more generally relevant in an institutional climate where linguistics is under strong pressure to justify its usefulness, and at a theoretical and technological stage of development where it is increasingly becoming possible to test just how well linguistic theories account for their data: in short, whenever analysts must deal with the complex issue of how language makes meaning in context.

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Appendix 1:   Texts for Chapters 1-3

romanised and glossed

Text 1:   **Memory**

M = Mum; D = Dad; X = Xiǎomíng

M:1.   Āiyā,   jīntiān máng-si   le!
        oh-dear today   busy die   ASP
        'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

D:2.   Á,   máng   shénme   ya?
        oh   busy   what   MOD
        'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'

M:3.   Āiyā,   shàng bān
        oh   go-to work
        'Oh, going to work,'

4.   xià bān,
        finish work
        'finishing work,'

5.   mǎi cài,
        buy food
        going shopping,'

6.   huí-lai,
        return come
        '(now that I've) come home,'

7.   hái   děi   zuò fàn.
        still   must   cook meal
        '(I) still have to do the cooking.'

8.   Zhōngwǔ   dào   yóujú
        midday   reach   post office
        'At lunchtime (I) went to the post-office

9.   jì   le   yì fēng xìn,
        post   ASP   one MEAS letter
        'and posted a letter,'

10.   jīngguò càishichǎng,
        pass-by market
        '(and as I) went past the markets,'

11.   hái mǎi le   diǎn cài.
        still buy ASP   little food
        '(I) did some more shopping.'

D:12.   Hài,   xiàwǔ   xià bān   yǐhòu,
        hey   afternoon   finish work   after
        'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

13.   càishìchǎng   hái   kāi mén   ma!
        market   still   open door   MOD
        'the markets would still be open!'

M:14.   Āiyā nǎr   yǒu   shíjiān ne?
        oh-dear where exist time   MOD
        'Oh, where would there be the time - i.e. where would (I) have had the time?'

15.   xià   le   bān
        finish ASP   work
        'Having finished work,'

16. wǒ   hái děi   qù   bǎihuòdàlóu
    I   still must   go   department store
    'I still had to go to the department store'

17. gěi Xiǎomíng   mǎi qiúxié.
    for Xiaoming   buy sandshoe
    'to buy sandshoes for Xiaoming.'

D:18. Éi, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū,   nǐ   gěi wǒ jiè-lai   le   ma?
    oh, I want SUB that MEAS book you   for me borrow come   ASP   MOD
    'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'

M:19. Shénme?   shénme shū?
    what   what book
    'What? What book?'

D:20. Nǐ   zěnme zhème jiànwàng?
    you   how   so   forgetful
    'How could you be so forgetful?'

M:21. Jiànwàng?
    forgetful
    'Forgetful?'

22. nǐ   shénme shíhòu   gēn wǒ   shuō guo?
    you   what time   with I   speak ASP
    'When did you mention (it) to me?'

D:23. Chī zǎofàn de shíhòu   shuō de.
    eat breakfast SUB time   speak MOD
    'I mentioned (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'

M:24. Wǒ   méi   tīng-jian...
    I   NEG:perf   listen perceive
    'I didn't hear...'

25. Nǐ   zěnme bú   zìjǐ   qù   jiè?
    you   how   NEG   self   go   borrow
    'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?'

D:26. Wǒ   shàngwǔ   shàng bān,
    I   morning   go-to   work
    'In the morning I went to work,'

27. zhōngwǔ   péi   wàiguó   kèhù,
    midday escort   foreign client
    'At lunchtime (I had to) look after a foreign client,'

28. xiàwǔ   kāi   huì...
    afternoon   hold   meeting
    'In the afternoon (I) had a meeting...'

29. Nǎr   yǒu   shíjiān?
    where   exist   time
    'Where would (I) have had the time?'

M:30. Wǒ   bù   zhīdào,
    I   NEG   know
    'I didn't know,'

31. nǐ   méi   gēn wǒ   shuō.
    you   NEG:perf   with I   speak
    'you didn't tell me.'

D:32.   Zǎoshang   yī   qǐ chuáng
early-morning   once   rise bed
'First thing this morning as soon as (I) got up,'

33.   jiù   tí -   qi   guo   zhè jiàn shì'r.
then   mention up   ASP   this MEAS matter
'(I) mentioned this matter.'

M:34.   Wǒ ya,   yī   qǐ chuáng
I TEXT   once   rise bed
'As soon as *I* got up'

35.   jiù   gěi nǐmen   zuò   zǎofàn...
then   for you PL   make   breakfast
'I made breakfast for you both...'

D:36.   Wǒ   chī zǎofàn   de shíhòu   hái   shuō le!
I   eat breakfast   SUB time   still   speak ASP
'I also spoke of (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'

M:37.   Nà   míngtiān   qù jiè   ma!
well   tomorrow   go borrow   MOD
'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'

D:38.   Míngtiān   túshūguǎn   bù   kāi   mén.
tomorrow   library   NEG   open   door
'Tomorrow the library is'nt open.'

M:39.   Nà   jiù   hòutiān   qù   jiè!
well   then   day-after tomorrow   go   borrow
'Well borrow (it) the day after tomorrow then!'

D:40.   Wǒ   jīntiān wǎnshang   yào   yòng.
I   today evening   need   use
'I need to use (it) this evening.'

M:41.   Nà   méi   bànfǎ.
then   NEG-exist   means
'Well it can't be helped.'

D:42.   Ài,   zhēn   tǎoyàn!
oh-dear really   annoying
'Oh, how annoying!'

M:43.   Shénme?
what
'What?'

44.   Nǐ   shuō
you   say
'Did you say'

45.   wǒ   tǎoyàn?
I   annoying
'I'm annoying?'

D:46.   Bù,   bù...   wǒ   shi   shuō
no   no   I   be   say
'No, no...I *said*"

47.   méi yǒu   nèi běn shū   zhēn   tǎoyàn.
NEG exist   that MEAS book   really   annoying
'not having that book is really annoying.'

M:48. À!
ah
'Ah!'

X:49. Bà,   Mā...
Dad   Mum
'Dad, Mum...'

M:50. Shàng nǎr   le?
go-to where   ASP
'Where have (you) been?'

51.   Zěnme   zhènme   wǎn   a?
how   so   late   MOD
'Why are you so late?'

X:52. Jīntiān xīngqīliù,
today   Saturday
'Today's Saturday,'

53.   xià   le   kè
finish ASP   class
'when (I) finished class'

54.   hài   yǒu   kèwài   huódòng.
still   exist   class-outside   activity
'(I) had after-class activities.'

M:55. Qiáo nǐ   mǎn - tóu - dà - hàn   de!
look you full head big   sweat   MOD
'Look at you all covered in sweat!'

M:56. Ò,   nǐ yào de   qiúxié,   wǒ   gěi nǐ měi   le.
oh   you want SUB sandshoes I   for you buy   ASP
'Oh, those sandshoes you wanted, I got (them) for you.'

X:57. Āiyā, tài   hǎo   le!
oh   too   good   ASP
'Oh, great!'

58.   Wǒ   hái   pà
I   still   fear
'I was afraid'

59.   nǐ   wàng   le   ne.
you forget ASP   MOD
'you'd forgotten.'

60.   Zài   nǎr?
be-at where
'Where are (they)?'

61.   Wǒ   kàn kan.
I   look look
'I'll have a look.'

M:62. Yīhuǐr   zài   kàn,
a-while   further look
'Look at (them) in a while,'

63.   nǐ   xiān   qù   xǐ   yi xi.
you first go   wash one wash
'go and have a wash first.'

X:64. Èi.
okay
'Alright.'

65. Huódòng   jiéshù,
activity   conclude
'(By the time) the activities were over'

66. yǐjīng   wǔ diǎn   le,
already   five o'clock   ASP
'(it) was already five o'clock,'

67. wǒ   hái   qù   le   túshūguǎn
I   still   go   ASP   library
'then I went to the library'

68. gěi bàba   jiè   shū.
for Dad   borrow   book
'to borrow a book for Dad.'

D:69. Ó?
oh
'Oh?'

M:70. Shénme?
what
'What?'

X:71. Bà,   nǐ ràng wǒ   gěi nǐ jiè   de   shū,   wǒ jiè - hui - lai   le.
Dad   you get I   for you borrrow SUB   book   I borrow return come   ASP
'Dad, that book you got me to borrow for you, I got (it) for you.'

72. Túshū-guǎnlǐyuán   zhǎo   le   bàntiān...
library attendant   look-for ASP   half-day
'The library attendant spent ages looking for (it).'

D:73. Ò...
oh
'Oh...'

M:74. Hái   shuō
still   say
'And (you) say'

75. wǒ   jiànwàng   ne!
I   forgetful   MOD
'I'm forgetful!'

Text 2:   **Boasting**

(A = principal; B = the feed)

A:1.   Zhēnde   hē -   zuì   le,
       really   drink   drunk   ASP
       '(If)(someone's) really drunk,'

2:     nǐ   kàn -   de -   chūlái.
       you   see   CAN   out
       'you can tell.'

B:3.   Ò,   zhēn   hē -   zuì   le,
       INT   really   drink   drunk   ASP
       'Oh, (if)(they're) really drunk,'

4.   nǐ   qiáo - de -   chūlái.
       you   see   CAN   out
       'you can tell.'

A:5a. Zhēn   hē -   zuì   de   rén...
       really drink   drunk   SUB   person
       'Someone who's really drunk,'

B:6.   Hǹg.
       INT
       'Hm.'

A:5.b. tā   pà
       s/he   fear
       'He's afraid'

7.   rén   shuō
       people say
       'people will say'

8.   tā   zuì   le.
       s/he   drunk   ASP
       'he's drunk.'

B:9.   Ò,   tā   dào   pà   zhèyàng.
       INT   s/he   however   fear   like-this
       'Oh, he's afraid of that.'

A:10. Hǹg.
       INT
       'Hm.'

B:11. Shì   a.
       be   MOD
       'Yep.'

A:12. Liǎ   rén   zài   yikuài'r   hē   jiǔ,   á?
       two+MEAS   person at   together   drink   alcohol INT
       'Two people drinking together, ah?'

13.   liǎ   rén   dōu   zuì   le.
       two+MEAS   person all   drunk   ASP
       'Both of them drunk.'

B:14. Zěnmeyàng?
       like-how
       '(So) what happens?'

A:15. Nĭ   kàn   ne,
        you   look   TEXT
        'See,'

16.   liǎ   rén   duìchuī.
        two+MEAS   person mutual-boast
        'the two of them boast to each other.'

B:17. Ò,   liǎ   rén   chuīniú.
        INT   two+MEAS   person   boast
        'Oh, the two of them boast.'

A:18. Shéi   yě   bù   chéngrèn
        whoever   even   NEG   admit
        'Neither of them will admit'

19.   shéi   zuì   le.
        whoever   drunk   ASP
        'he's drunk.'

B:20. Shì   a?
        be   MOD
        'Yeh?'

A:21. "Wǒ   kàn   nĭ,
        I   look   you
        "'I see you, '

22.   nĭ de   jiǔ   wa,   bù   xíng."
        you SUB   alcohol TEXT   NEG   okay
        'your drinking, 's no good."'

B:23. Ò,   rénjiā   bù   xíng.
        INT   other-person   NEG   okay
        'Oh, the other guy's no good.'

A:24. Zài   hē   liǎng   bēi,
        further drink   two   cup
        "'Drink another two glasses,'

25.   nĭ   jiù   zuì   le.
        you   then   drunk   ASP
        'and you'll be drunk."'

B:26. Shì   a?
        be   MOD
        'Yeh?'

27.   Nèi   ge   ne?
        that   MEAS MOD
        'What about that one?'

A:28. "Nĭ   kàn,
        you   look
        "'You look,'

29.   wǒ   méi   guānxi."
        I   NEG+exist   connection
        'there's nothing wrong with me."'

B:30. Tā   méi   guānxi?
        s/he   NEG+exist   connection
        'There's nothing wrong with him?'

A:31. "Wǒ   zài   hē   bàn   jìn
       I   further drink   half   catty
       "'If I drink another half catty,'

32.   méi   guānxi."
       NEG+exist   connection
       "it won't make any difference."'

B:33. Chúncuì   shuō   dà   huà.
       sheer   talk   big   speech
       'Sheer bragging.'

A:34. Nèi   ge   yě   shuō   dà   huà   ya.
       that   MEAS   also   talk   big   speech MOD
       'That one's bragging too.'

B:35. Nèi   ge   rén   zěnmeyàng?
       that   MEAS   person like-what
       'What's that one doing?'

A:36. "Nǐ   méi   zuì   ya?"
       you   NEG:perf   drunk   MOD
       "'You're not drunk?"'

B:37. Hǹg.
       INT
       'Hm.'

A:38. "Zán   liǎ   yí duì   yì píng'r   de   hē."
       you-me   two+MEAS   one pair   one bottle   MAN   drink
       "'Let's match each other bottle for bottle."'

B:39. Huò,   (tā)   yòu   chuī - shang le!
       INT   s/he   further boast   on   ASP
       'Ha, (he's) boasting even more.'

A:40. "Nǐ,   nǐ shuō huà   shí,
       you   you talk speech   time
       "'You, (when) you speak,'

41.   shétou dōu   duǎn   la."
       tongue already short   ASP+MOD
       '(your) tongue's got   shorter."'

B:42. Tā   nèi   shétou yě   bú   lìsuo   la.
       s/he   that   tongue also   not   nimble ASP+MOD
       'His tongue's not nimble either.'

A:43. "Méi   hē -   zuì   ya."
       NEG:perf   drink   drunk   MOD
       "'(I'm) not drunk."'

B:44. Hè,   hè.
       INT   INT
       'Ha, ha!'

A:45. "Méi   hē -   zuì,
       NEG:perf   drink   drunk
       "'(If) you're not drunk,'

46.   nǐ   lái   zhètóu'r."
       you   come   here
       'you come here."'

B:47. Shénme   ya?
      what   MOD
      'What?'

A:48a. Cóng   doū'r   litou   a...
      from   pocket inside TEXT
      'From his pocket,'

B:49. Hà.
      INT
      'Hm.'

A:48b. bǎ   shǒudiàntǒng   tāo - chu - lai   de.
      DISP   hand-torch   pull   out   come   MOD
      '(he) pulls out a torch.'

B:50. Shǒudiànbàng.
      hand-torch
      'A torch.'

A:51. Wǎng zhuōzi shang yī   gē...
      towards table   top   once place
      'Puts it on the table,'

B:52. Gàn-má   ya?
      do-what   MOD
      'What for?'

A:53. yī   ēn   diànmén,
      once press switch
      'presses the switch,'

54. chū   le   yí ge   guāngzhù'r.
      emit   ASP one MEAS   light-column
      'and a column of light comes out.'

B:55. Èi,   nèi ge   guāng chū - lai   le.
      INT   that MEAS   light exit come ASP
      'Oh, the light comes out.'

A:56. "Nǐ   kàn   zhèi   ge."
      you   look   this   MEAS
      "You look at this!"

B:57. Á?
      INT
      'Uh?'

A:58. "Nǐ   shùnzhe   wǒ   zhèi   zhùzi pá - shang - qu!"
      you   along   I   this   column climb up   go
      "You climb up this column of mine!"

B:59. Ò,   nèi   shi   zhùzi   la?!
      INT   that   be   column   ASP+MOD
      'Oh, that's a column!'

A:60. "Nǐ   pá!"
      you   climb
      "Climb!"

B:61. Nèi   ge   zěnmeyàng   a?
      that   MEAS what-like   MOD
      'What does that one do?'

A:62. Nèi   ge   yě   bù   hánhu   wa.
       that   MEAS   also not   vague   MOD
       'He's not stupid either.'

B:63. Huò.
       INT
       'Hm.'

A:64. "Zhè ...   suàn - de -   liǎo   shénme   ya?"
       this   reckon POT   complete   what   MOD
       "'What's this mean?'"

B:65. Ò
       INT
       'Oh.'

A:66. "Zánmen   jiù   pá   zhèi ge   zhùzi ya."
       you-me+PLUR   then   climb this MEAS   column MOD
       "'We're going to climb this column.'"

B:67. À.
       INT
       'Ah.'

A:68. "Nǐ   bié   lái   zhèi   tào!"
       you   don't bring this   set
       "'Don't try that one on me!'"

B:69. Hńg?
       INT
       'Hm?'

A:70. "Wǒ   dǒng."
       I   understand
       "'I understand.'"

B:71. Ò.
       INT
       'Oh.'

A:72. "Ràng wǒ
       get   I
       "'(You)'ll get me'

73.   shàng - qu   a...
       ascend go   TEXT
       'to go up,'"

B:74. À.
       INT
       'Ah.'

A:75. "Wǒ   pá -   dao   bàndào'r,
       I   climb reach half-way
       "'(and when) I get half way, '

76.   nǐ   yī   guān   diànmén,
       you   once   turn-off switch
       'you'll turn off the switch'

77.   wǒ   diào - xia - lai   le!"
       I   fall   down   come   ASP
       '(and) I'll fall down!'"

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Text 3:   **Shopping**

X = Xiǎoméi; Y = Yùróng; B = Bīnggùn'r (iceblock) seller; C1 = Clothes seller 1;

C2 = Clothes seller 2; S = Shop assistant

X:1. Ēi,   dà   jiǎnjià!
      oh   big   discount
      'Oh, a discount (sale)!'

2.   zánmen   jìn-qu   kàn kan   a.
      you-me   enter go   look look   MOD
      'let's go in (and) have a look.'

Y:3. Hǎo   a.
      good   MOD
      'Okay.'

B:4. Bīnggùn'r!   Bīnggùn'r!   Nǎiyóu bīnggùn'r!   Xiǎodòu   bīnggùn'r!
      ice-block   ice-block   milk ice-block   red-bean   ice-block
      'Iceblocks! Iceblocks! Milk iceblocks! Red bean iceblocks!'

Y:5. Mǎi   liǎng gēn'r   bīnggùn'r.
      buy   two MEAS   ice-block
      '(I)'ll have two iceblocks'

B:6. Yào   nǎiyóu de   háishi xiǎodòu de?
      want   milk SUB   or   red-bean SUB
      'Do (you) want milk or red bean ones?'

Y:7. Liǎng gēn'r   xiǎodòu de.
      two   MEAS   red-bean SUB
      'Two red bean ones.'

B:8. Yígòng   liǎng máo   sì.
      altogether   two   ten-cents   four
      '(That'll be) twenty four cents altogether.'

9.   Āiyō, nǐ   méi   yǒu   língqián   ma?
      oh-dear you   NEG   exist change   MOD
      'Oh, don't you have any change?'

Y:10. Méi   yǒu.
      NEG   exist
      'No.'

B:11. Zhǎo   nǐ   yí kuài   qī máo   liù.
      give-change   you   one dollar   seven ten-cents six.
      'That's one dollar seventy-six cents change.' (lit. (I) give you....change')

Y:12. Yō.... bāng   wǒ   fàng-jin   tíbāo   li,   hǎo   ma?
      oh   help   I   place enter   shopping-bag in   good   MOD
      'Oh, (could you) help me put (the change) in my bag, please?'

X:13. Éi,   nǐ   kàn   nèi jiàn.
      oh   you   look   that MEAS
      'Oh, look at that one.'

14.   Nǐ   juéde
      you   feel
      'Do you think'

15.   hǎokàn   ma?
     good-looking   MOD
     'it looks good?'

Y:16. Yánsè dào   tǐng   hǎokàn   de,
     colour CONC very   good-looking MOD
     'The colour looks very good'

17.   kěshi zhèi zhǒng shìyàng   xiànzài yǐjing bù   shímáo   le.
     but   this kind style   now   already NEG fashionable ASP
     'but this style's out of date now.'

C1:18. Kuài   lái   mǎi!
     quick come buy
     'Come and buy!'

19.   Dà   jiǎnjià!
     big   discount
     'A discount (sale).'

20.   Sìshí kuài   qián yí jiàn   la!
     forty dollar   money one MEAS   ASP+MOD
     'Forty dollars each!'

X:21. Nǐ   kàn,
     you   look
     'Look'

22.   nèi ge rén   chuān de   yīfu   zhēn piàoliang   a!
     that MEAS   person wear SUB   clothes really pretty   MOD
     'the clothes that person is wearing are really pretty.'

Y:23. Shì   ya,
     be   MOD
     'Yes'

24.   yàngzi   tǐng xīn   de.
     style   very new   MOD
     'It's the latest style.'

X:25. Zánmen   guò-qu   kàn kan   a.
     you-me   cross go   look look   MOD
     'Let's go over (and) have a look.'

26.   Nǐ   kàn,
     you   look
     'Do you think'

27.   zhèi jiàn   hǎokàn   ma?
     this MEAS   good-looking MOD
     'this one looks good?'

Y:28. Dào   tǐng   shímáo   de.
     CONC very   fashionable MOD
     'It's very trendy'

29.   Nǐ   xǐhuan   ma?
     you   like   MOD
     'Do you like it'

X:30. Xǐhuan.
     like
     '(I) do.'

Y:31. Nà   nǐ   mǎi   yí jiàn   ba.
well-then   you   buy   one MEAS   MOD
'Well why don;t you buy one then?'

X:32. Hǎo.
good
'Okay.'

Y:33. Wèi,   piányi   yìdiǎn'r   ba!
hey   cheap   a-little   MOD
'Hey, (could you make it) a bit cheaper?'

C1:34. Yǐjīng gòu   piányi   de   le!
already enough cheap   MOD   ASP
'(It)'s already cheap enough'

C2:35. Sìshí kuài   qián   yí jiàn,   nǐ   shàng nǎr   qù   mǎi   ya!
forty dollar   money   one MEAS   you   to   where go   buy   MOD
'For forty dollars each, where (else) can you get (something like this)?'

X:36. Zǒu,   zǒu,   zǒu...
leave leave   leave
'Let's go...'

C1:37. Wèi!...sānshijiǔ kuài   zěnmeyàng?
hey   thirty-nine dollar what-like
'Hey, what about thirty-nine dollars?'

X:38. Sānshijiǔ kuài?
thirty-nine dollar
'Thirty-nine dollars?'

39.   Cái   bú   yào   ne!
still   NEG   want   MOD
'(I) still don't want it!'

C1:40. Hǎo,   hǎo...
good   good
'Okay, okay...'

41.   Sānshibā,   sānshibā kuài!
thirty-eight   thirty-eight dollar
'Thirty-eight, thirty-eight dollars!'

X:42. Hǎo.
good
'Okay'

Y:43. Éi,   nǐ   kàn   nèi shuāng   hēi píxié,
oh   you   look   that pair   black leather-shoes
'Oh, look at that pair of black leather shoes'

44.   tǐng   hǎokàn   de.
very   good-looking   SUB
'(they) look really good.'

X:45. Āiyā, wǒ   jiù   xiǎng mǎi   zhèi zhǒng   yàngzi de   xié!
oh   I   just   want   buy   this kind   style SUB   shoe
'Oh, that's just the type of shoes I want to buy!'

46.   Láojià,   gěi   wǒ   ná   nèi shuāng   xié,   hǎo ma?
excuse-me   for   I   get   that pair   shoe   good MOD
'Excuse me, could you get me that pair of shoes?'

S:47. Nǐ   yào   duō dà   haò   de?
you   want   how big   size   SUB
'What size do you take?'

X:48. Sānshiliù   hào   bàn.
thirty-six   size   half
'Thirty-six and a half.'

49.   Yǒu   diǎn'r   xiǎo,
exist   little   small
'They're a little small,'

50.   yǒu   méi   yǒu   sānshiqī   hào   de?
exist   NEG   exist   thrity-seven   size   SUB
'Do you have them in a thirty-seven?'

S:51. Nǐ   děng   yi   deng   a,
you   wait   one   wait   MOD
'Just wait a bit,'

52.   wǒ   qù   kàn kan.
I   go   look look
'I'll go and have a look.'

53.   Sānshiqī   hào   méi   yǒu   hēi   de,
thirty-seven   size   NEG   exist   black   SUB
'There's no thirty-seven in black'

54.   yǒu   huáng   de,
exist   yellow   SUB
'(but) there is a yellow,'

55.   nǐ   yào   bu   yao?
you   want   NEG   want
'would you like (it)?'

X:56. Huáng   de?
yellow   SUB
'Yellow?'

Y:57. Nǐ   shì shi kàn   ba!
you   try try look   MOD
'Try them on and see!'

X:58. Hǎo,
good
'Okay.'

59.   gěi   wǒ   kàn kan.
give   I   look look
'let me have a look.'

60.   Ng,   nǐ   kàn
hm   you   see
'Hm, you think'

61.   zěnmeyàng?
like-how
'what are (they) like?'   (i.e. 'What do you think of them?')

Y:62. Zhēn   hǎokàn,
really   good-looking
'(They) look really good,'

63. bǐ   nèi shuāng   hēi de   hǎokàn.
    than   that pair   black SUB   good-looking
    'better than the black ones.'

X:64. Ng,   tǐng   shūfu   de.
      hm   very   comfortable   SUB
      'Hm, (they)'re very comfortable.'

65. Hǎo,
    good

    'Okay,'

66. jiù   yào   zhèi shuāng   ba.
    just   want   this pair   MOD
    '(I)'ll take these ones'

67. Duōshǎo   qián?
    how-much   money
    'How much are (they)?'

S:68. Sānshibā   kuài.
      thirty-eight   dollar
      'Thirty-eight dollars.'

X:69. Āiyō,   hái   chà   yí kuài   wǔ.
      oh-dear   still   fall-short   one dollar   five
      'Oh no, I'm a dollar fifty short.'

Y:70. Wǒ   zhè'r   yǒu   liǎng kuài,
      I   here   exist   two dollar
      'I've got two dollars'

71. kěshi   zánmen   hái   děi   zuò   chē   ne!
    but   you-me   still   must   travel   vehicle   MOD
    'but we still need to catch the bus!'

X:72. Zhēn   dǎoméi!
      really   unlucky
      'What bad lack!'

Y:73. Xià cì zài   mǎi   ba.
      next time further   buy   MOD
      'Get them next time.'

74. Duì   le!
    correct ASP
    'Oh, that's right!'

X:75. Nǐ   zěnme   la?
      you   how   ASP+MOD
      'What's the matter?'

Y:76. Zǒu   ba!
      go   MOD
      'Let's go!'

Text 4:   **In the classroom**

1. Xià   kè   qián   de   wǔ   fēn   zhōng,
    finish class   before SUB   five   minute clock
    'Five minutes before the end of class'

    lǎoshī zài   hēibǎn   shang xiě   zhe:
    teacher at   blackboard   on   write ASP:dur
    'the teacher wrote on the board:'

    shèngjīng,   hánghǎitú,   yì běn guānyú yěshēng dòngwù de   shū,
    bible   navigation-map one MEAS about wild animal   SUB book
    'Bible, navigation map, a book on wild animals,'

    qiāng, shǒudiàntǒng, jiàngluòsǎn, dàyī,   shuǐ (měi rén sān bēi),
    gun   pocket-torch   parachute   overcoat water each person three cup
    'gun, pocket torch, parachute, overcoat, water (each person three cups),'

    huǒchái,   zhǐnánzhēn,   fútèjiā ,   guàntou (měi rén   sān tīng),
    match   compass   vodka   tin can each person   three MEAS
    'matches, compass, vodka, cans (of food) (three for each person),'

    tàiyángjìng,   yào,   yǔyī.
    sunglasses   medicine   raincoat
    'sunglasses, medicine, raincoat.'

2. Tā   tíng   - xia bǐ ,
    s/he   stop   down· pen
    'He put down his pen,'

3. Xiànzài, nǐmen   de fēijī   diào - zai   le   shāmò shang,
    now   you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall   at   ASP:compl.   desert on
    '"Your plane has crashed in the desert." '

4. tā   jiěshì shuō,
    s/he   explain say
    'he explained,'

5. Nǐmen   hái   huó   zhe,
    you+PLUR   still   live ASP:dur
    '"You're still alive,'

6. wǔbǎi li   wài   yǒu   ge   cúnzhuāng,
    500   li   away   exist MEAS   village
    'two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village,'

7. nǐmen   kěyǐ   zǒu
    you+PLUR   can   leave
    'you can go'

8. yě   kěyǐ   liú -   xia,
    also   can   stay   down
    'or (you) can stay behind,'

9. měi rén   zhǐ   zhǔn dài   wǔ   yàng dōngxi......
    each person   only   allow take   five type thing
    'each person is only allowed to take five things..."'

10. Nǐ   yídìng yào   ná   zhǐnánzhēn.
    you   definite must take   compass
    'You'd have to choose a compass.'

11. Wǒ   tóngzhuō   xiǎoshēng   duì   wǒ   shuō.
    I   same-desk   small voice   towards I   say
    'My desk-mate said to me quietly.'

12. "Huí - qu   xiě yi xia   qiányīn-hòuguǒ hé   nǐmen   de juédìng."
    return go   write one time   cause-effect   and   you+PLUR SUB decision
    "'Go back (home) and write what happened and your decision.'"

13. Zhè   shí   xià   kè   líng   xiǎng   le.
    this   time   finish   class   bell   sound   ASP:compl
    'At this moment the bell rang for the end of class.'

14. Zhè   xiǎnrán   shi   yì piān   zuòwén,
    this   obviously   be   one MEAS   composition
    'This obviously was a composition,'

15. suīrán méi   yǒu   tímù.
    although NEG   exist   topic
    'even if there was no topic.'

16. Nà yǐhòu de   hǎo jǐ tiān,   wǒ yīzhí   zài   xiǎng zhè jiàn shì.
    that after SUB   good few day   I continually   ASP:prog   think this MEAS matter
    'For quite a few days after that I kept thinking about this matter.'

17. Zhōumò de   xiàwǔ,   wǒ   nǎr yě   méi   qù,
    weekend SUB   afternoon   I   wherever even   NEG:perf   go
    'On Saturday afternoon I didn't go anywhere,'

18. yí ge   rén   lā -   shang chuānglián,
    one MEAS   person   pull   on   window-curtain
    'Alone, (I) drew the curtains,'

19. dǎ -   kāi   dēng,
    make   start   light
    'turned on the light,'

20. cóng   mǎn chuáng de záwù zhōng chōu - chu   yì dá   bái zhǐ,
    from   full bed SUB   mixed-thing among pull out   one pad   white paper
    'from the mass of things on the bed pulled out a pad of white paper,'

21. wǒ   yòu   néng   kāishǐ xiě   zuòwén   le.
    I   further   can   begin write   composition   ASP:compl/perf
    'I could then begin writing compositions again.'

22. Wǒ   zhēnde   rěn - bu - zhù   bú   gàosu nǐ,
    I   really   tolerate NEG:pot. stand   not   tell   you
    'I really can't help telling you,'

23. shàng   xué   de   shíhòu,
    attend   school   SUB   time
    '(that) when I was at school,'

24. wǒ   shi   duōme   xǐhuān   [l xiě   zuòwén l] ,
    I   be   how-much   like   write   composition
    'I really loved writing compositions,'

25. nà   shi   wǒ   tiánmì de   wǎngshì.
    that   be   I   sweet SUB   past
    'that was my happy past.'

26. Qítā kè   hǎoxiàng zǒngshi   cháng de   méi yǒu   biān,
    other class   seem always   long EXT   NEG exist   limit
    'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,'

27. zhǐ   yǒu   zuòwén   kè   duǎn de   zhǐ shi yí   shùnjiān
    only   exist   composition   class   short EXT   only be one   moment
    'only the composition class was as brief as the twinkling of an eye;'

,

28. shènzhì   zhōngyú   jiāo   gǎo   zhīhòu,
     so-far-as-to finally   hand-in   draft   after
     'so much so that after I finally handed in the draft,'

29. wǒ   hái   juéde
     I   still   feel
     'I still felt'

30. tā   bìng   méiyǒu   wán.
     it   EMPH   NEG:perf   finish
     '(that) it wasn't finished.'

31. Wǒ   zhīdao,
     I   know
     'I knew'

32. wǒ   zài   yǐnyuē   děngdài   zhe   shénme,
     I   ASP:prog   indistinct   wait   ASP:dur   something
     'I was vaguely waiting for something,'

33. xiàng [| wǒ yǐhòu   děngdài guo |]   de   mǒu   zhǒng yuēhuì.
     like   I afterwards wait   ASP:exp.   SUB   certain type   appointment
     'like some date I would have waited for afterwards.'

34. Shìshí shang, tā   shì   méi   wán,
     reality on   it   be   NEG:perf   finish
     'In fact it *wasn't* finished,'

35. dāng   lǎoshī zhàn - zai   jiǎngtái   shang,
     when   teacher stand at   lecture-platform   on
     'when the teacher stood on the platform,'

36. yībiān   duì   quánbān tóngxué   lángdú   wǒ de zuòwén,
     same-time   towards whole-class classmate read-aloud   I SUB composition
     'reading out my composition to the whole class,'

37. yībiān   tòu -   guo   jìngpiàn   yǒuyì-wúyì   de
     same-time   penetrate past   lens   deliberate-accidental MAN
     'and half deliberately through his glasses,'

     piǎo -   shang wǒ   yì   yǎn   shí,
     look-sidelong   on   I   one   eye   time
     'gazing at me'

38. wǒ nèi kē   másūsu   de   xīn   zhèng   zài nà'r
     I that MEAS   numb-limp SUB heart   ASP:prog   at there
     'my numb heart was'

     bēngbeng   luàn-tiào   ne!
     throb   confused-beat   ASP:imperf
     'thumping wildly!'

39. Wǒ   yǎnqián   yí piàn   móhu,
     I   eye-before   one MEAS blurred
     'The scene before me was blurred,'

40. mǎnyǎn   zhǐ   shèng - xia   yì zhāng   zuǐ
     full-eye   only   leave down   one MEAS mouth
     'all that filled my eyes was a mouth'

41. zài   nà'r   yī - zhāng - yī -   hé.
     at   there once open   once   close
     'opening and closing.'

42. Zhè   cái   xiàng nà piān zuòwén   zhēnzhèng de jiéwěi.
    this only-then be-like that MEAS composition genuine SUB ending
    'Only this seemed to be the composition's real ending.'

43. Zhěngzhěng yí ge   zhōumò   guò - qu   le,
    whole   one MEAS   weekend   pass go   ASP:compl/perf
    'A whole weekend passed,'

44. yì tiān bàn,   duǎn de   zhǐ   shi   yí   shùnjiān.
    one day half   short EXT only be   one   moment
    'a day and a half was as brief as the twinkling of an eye.'

45. Wǒ   rēng   le   yídì   zhǐtuán,
    I   throw ASP:compl whole-floor   paper-ball
    'I covered the floor with balls of paper,'

46. diǎn guo   wúshù   cì   yān,
    light ASP:exp   countless   time cigarette
    'lit countless cigarettes,'

47. chá   le   bànyè   zìdiǎn,
    consult ASP:perf half-night dictionary
    'looked up (words in) the dictionary for half the night,'

48. yòu   yí   dàzǎo   dài zhe   nèi   zhāng
    further one morning bring ASP:dur that MEAS
    'early the next morning, taking that piece of paper'

    [I zhǐ yǒu   jǐ   bǎi   zì I]   de   zhǐ,
    only   exist few 100   character SUB   paper
    'with only a few hundred words on it,

49. qù   le   sān ge   dìfāng.
    go   ASP:compl three MEAS   place
    'I went to three (different) places.'

50. Wǎnshang, wǒ   yǒu   le   yi pian
    evening   I   exist ASP:compl. one MEAS
    'By evening I had an'

    [I bú hui yǒu   rènhé cuòwù I] de   yīngyǔ   zuòwén,
    NEG can exist   any   mistake SUB English   composition
    'English composition that couldn't have any mistakes.'

51. wǒ   huí - dao   jiā,
    I   return to   home
    'I went home,'

52. yòu   rēng   le   jǐ   ge   zhǐtuán,
    further throw ASP:compl few   MEAS   paper-ball
    'threw a few more balls of paper (on the floor),'

53. yòu   diǎn   le   jǐ   cì   yān,
    further light ASP:perf   few   time cigarette
    'lit a few more cigarettes,'

54. chǎo le   hǎo   jǐ   biān.
    copy ASP:perf   good   few   time
    'made quite a few copies.'

55. Wǒ   kàn   zhe   nà zhāng   zhěngjié   de   zhǐ,
    I   look ASP:dur   that MEAS   whole-clean SUB   paper
    'I looked at that clean sheet of paper,'

56. xiě - shang   zìjǐ   de   míngzi,
     write on   self   SUB   name
     'wrote my name on (it),'

57. chī   le   sān   piàn   ānnǎijìn,
     eat   ASP:perf   three   pill   analgesic
     'took three sleeping pills,

58. ránhòu   mǎnyì de   hé - shang   le   yǎnjīng.
     afterwards   satisfied MAN   close on   ASP:compl   eye
     'and then contentedly closed my eyes.'

59. Zhè   shí   zhěnggè chéngshì   dōu   shuì   le.
     this   time   whole   city   all   sleep   ASP:compl
     'By this time the whole city was asleep.'

60. Xīngqīyī,   wǒ   jiāo   le   wǒ de zuòwén,
     Monday I   hand-in ASP:compl   I SUB   composition
     'On Monday I handed in my composition,'

61. wǒ   yǐjīng néng   dào-bèi-rú-liú   le.
     I   already   can   reverse recite like stream   ASP:perf
     'I could already recite it off by heart.'

Text 5: **Disappointed in America**

A:1   Nème, guānyú   shénme zhǔtí ne?
        well   concerning   what   topic   MOD
        'Well, what topic (should I talk) about)?'

B:2.   Nǐ   shuō nèi ge Měiguó...
        you   talk   that MEAS   America
        'Talk about um America...'

3.   = nǐ   gānggāng   shuō...
        you   just-now   talk
        'you were talking just now...'

A:4.   = Guānyú   duì Měiguó   de   xīwàng he shīwàng,   duì.
        concerning   towards America SUB   hope and disappointment   right
        'About hope and disappointment about America, yes.'

5.   Dànshi   wǒ   bú shi   zhuānjiā,
        but   I   NEG be   expert
        'But I'm not an expert,'

6.   wǒ   zhǐ   shi   biǎodá   wǒ   zìjǐ de xiǎngfǎ.
        I   only   be   express   I   self SUB   opinion
        'I'm only expressing my own opinions.'

B:7.   Zhè   hǎo.
        this   good
        'That's fine.'

A:8.   Yīnwèi   wǒ   yìzhí   juéde,
        because   I   continually   feel
        'Because I've always thought'

9.   shuō, rúguǒ, wǒ   gāngcái   gēn nǐ   jiǎng de
        say   if   I   just-now   with you   speak SUB
        '(I) mean, if, I was just telling you'

10.   "there is   only   country",
        there is   only   country
        'there's only one country'

11.   bǐrú   xiàng   zhème yí ge   guójiā
        for-example   resemble   such one MEAS   country
        'like for example such a country'

12.   yǒu   yí tào wánzhěng de fǎlü de xìtǒng - "legal system",   shi ma?
        exist   one set complete SUB   law SUB system legal system   be MOD
        'that has a complete legal system, "legal system", no?'

13.   lái   bǎozhàng   tā de   gōngpíng   de   jìngzhēng,
        come   protect   it SUB fair   SUB   competition
        'to protect its fair competition'

14.   dànshi quán shìjiè de   race and culture and suǒyǒu de   sīxiǎng
        but   whole world SUB   race and culture and all   SUB   ideology
        dōu   nénggòu   zài   nèibian   jìngzhēng;
        all   can   at   there   compete
        'but where all the races and cultures and ideologies in the world can compete;'

15.   nème zhèi ge   guójiā,   zhǐ yǒu yí ge   guójiā,
        well   this MEAS   country   only exist one MEAS   country
        'well this country, there's only one country'

16. jiù   shi   Měiguó.
       precisely   be   America
       '(and) that's America.'

17. Wǒ   běnlái   yǐwéi
       I   originally   consider
       'I used to think'

18. nà shi yí ge   fēicháng fēicháng   wěidà de   guójiā
       that be   one MEAS   extremely extremely   great   SUB   country
       'that was a really really great country'

19. - quèshí   tā   xiànzài   yě   hěn   wěidà -
       indeed   it   now   also   very   great
       'of course it's still (a) great (country)'

20. dànshi wǒ   hòulái   cái   juéde
       but   I   afterwards   only-then   feel
       'but it wasn't till afterwards that I realised'

21. tā   háishi yǒu   fēicháng   yánzhòng de   "discrimination" de.
       it   still-be exist   extremely   serious SUB   discrimination   SUB
       'that it has very serious "discrimination".'

22. Shǒuxiān,   shi   zhǒngzú   shang   de.
       firstly   be   race   on   SUB
       'Firstly, in terms of race.'

23. Tā   rènwéi
       it   consider
       'It thinks'

24. cóng   luòhòu de guójiā   lái   de rén de sīxiǎng,   yě shi luòhòu de
       from   backward SUB country   come SUB person SUB thinking   also be backward SUB
       '(that) the thinking of people from backward countries is also backward'

25. zhèi ge   shi   bù yídìng   de.
       this MEAS   be   NEG necessarily SUB
       'This isn't necessarily the case.'

26. Dì   èr diǎn, jiùshi shuō,   tā de   duì wénhuà de   qíshì,
       number two point precisely-be   say   it SUB   towards culture SUB   discrimination
       'secondly, that is to say, its cultural discrimination,'

27. yīnwèi tā de   nèi ge cānzhàoxì,   tā de   nèi ge "standard system",
       because   it SUB   that MEAS   reference-system   it SUB   that MEAS standard system

       tā   yǒu   zhème   yí ge   sīxiǎng,
       it   exist   thus   one MEAS   thinking
       'Because its system of reference, its "standard system", it has this kind of thinking'

28. tā   yǒu   yí ge   biāozhǔn:
       it   exist   one MEAS   criterion
       'it has a criterion'

29. zhèi ge   biāozhǔn   shi   yǐ shénme rén wéi qiántí   de   ne?
       this MEAS   criterion   be   take what person as premise   SUB   MOD
       'what kind of person is this criterion premised on?'

30. yěxǔ   shi   Yīnggélán   ne,
       perhaps be   England   TEXT
       'perhaps it's an English (person)'

31. yěxǔ shi Àiěrlán ne,
    perhaps be Ireland TEXT
    'perhaps it's an Irish (person)'

32. yěxǔ shi... fǎnzhèng shi báirén de nèi ge biāozhǔn.
    perhaps be anyway be white-person SUB that MEAS criterion
    'perhaps it's... in any case it's a white people's criterion.'

33. Wǒ jǔ yí ge lìzi,
    I cite one MEAS example
    'Let me give an example,'

34. cóng yīxué shang lái shuō.
    from medicine on come say
    'taking the case of medicine.'

35. Nème, Yàzhōu dē yīxué zài Měiguó jiù shòu-dao qíshì.
    well Asia SUB medicine at America precisely receive reach discrimination
    'Well, Asian medicine has suffered discrimination in America.'

36. Zhōngyī, zhōngyī, jǐ qiān nián yǐlái dōu bèi zhèngmíng
    Chinese-medicine, Chinese-medicine, several thousand year since all PASS prove
    'Chinese medicine, for several thousand years has been proved'

37. shi fēicháng yǒu xiàoguǒ de,
    be extremely exist effect SUB
    'to be really effective,'

38. duì hěn duō jíbìng de zhìliǎo shi hěn yǒuxiào de.
    towards very many illness SUB treatment be very effective SUB
    'to be very effective in the treatment of a lot of illnesses.'

39. Nème, zhōngguórén hěn duō hěn duō rén cóng xiǎo dào dà zhì bìng
    well China-person very many very many person from young to old treat illness
    'Well, many many Chinese from young to old (in) treating illnesses'

40. shi yòng zhōngyī zhì de;
    be use Chinese-medicine treat SUB
    'use Chinese medicine to treat (them)'

41. érqiě zhèngmíng
    furthermore prove
    'and (this) proves'

42. shi yǒu xiàoguǒ de.
    be exist effect SUB
    'that (it) is effective.'

43. Dànshi zài Měiguó, Měiguórén bù zhǔn, bù zhǔn Yàzhōurén yòng zhōngyào
    but at America America-person NEG allow NEG allow Asia-person use Chinese-drug
    'But in America, Americans don't allow Asians to use Chinese medicine

44. lái zhì bìng;
    come treat illness
    'to treat illness'

45. tāmen rènwéi
    they consider
    'they think'

46. zhōngyào shi huāngtáng de.
    Chinese-drug be absurd SUB
    'Chinese medicine is absurd.'

47. Hěn duō hěn duō   wénhuà shang de   qíshì,   dōu shi zhèiyàng de,
    very many very many   culture on   SUB   discrimination   all be this-way   SUB
    'There are many many (instances of) cultural discrimination that are like this,'

48. wǒ   juéde.
    I   feel
    'I think.'

49. Érqiě   xiànzài   duì yímín   de xiànzhì   yě shì de.
    furthermore   now   towards immigrants   SUB restriction   also be MOD
    'And it's the same now with restrictions on immigrants too.'

50. Bù zhǔn...   bù   xiàng   yǐqián,
    NEG allow   NEG   resemble   previously
    'They don't let...it's not like before'

51. nǐ   kěyǐ   chéng yì sōu   chuán,
    you   can   travel   one MEAS   boat
    '(when) you could get on a boat'

52. nǐ zhǐyào   zài zhěi ge "trip", zài zhèi ge lǚtú lǐbian   bù sǐwáng dehua,
    you only-must   at this MEAS trip   at this MEAS trip in   NEG die in-case
    'As long as you didn't die on this "trip", on this trip'

53. nǐ   dàodá Měiguó,
    you   reach   America
    '(when) you reached America'

54. nǐ   jiù   huì yǒu   yí ge   fēicháng zhǎnxīn de   tiāndì,
    you   then   could exist   one MEAS   extremely brand-new SUB   world
    'you could have a completely new world'

55. nǐ   xiǎng - jǐn   bànfǎ
    you   think   exhaust means
    'You think of every way'

56. dào   Měiguó,
    reach   America
    'to get to America'

57. lìjiīng   qiān xīn   wàn kǔ,
    go-through   1,000 hardship   10,000 suffering
    'go through all sorts of hardships'

58. nǐ   lìjí   huì juéde
    you   immediately   can feel
    'You straightaway might feel'

59. nǐ   dào   le   yí ge   zìyóu de   shìjiè.
    you   reach   ASP:compl   one MEAS   free SUB   world
    '(that) you've reached a free world.'

60. Dànshi   xiànzài   bú   shi:
    but   now   NEG   be
    'But now that's not how it is:'

61. nǐ   qù   le   zhīhòu,
    you   go   ASP:compl   after
    'after you've gone'

62. nǐ   jiù   huì   bèi   zhuā-qilai,
    you   then   could   PASS   arrest   up
    'You can be arrested'

63. nǐ   shì   tōu - dù   de,
    you   be   slealthily cross SUB
    '(on the grounds that) you've entered illegally'

64. xiànzài   yǐjīng méi yǒu   zìyóu yímín   nèi ge gàiniàn   le,
    now   already NEG exist   free immigration that MEAS concept ASP:perf
    'Now there has ceased to be the concept of free immigration'

65. shìjiè shang   méi yǒu   yí kuài   zìyóu de   tǔdì,   xiànzài.
    world on   NEG exist   one piece   free SUB   land   now
    'There isn't a free piece of land in the world, nowadays'

66. Suǒyǐ   shuō,
    therefore   say
    'So (I) mean'

67. zhè   shì   Měiguó   ràng rén   zuì shīwàng   de   wèntí.
    this be   America   make person   most disappoint SUB   problem
    'this is the problem that makes people most disappointed with America.'

Appendix 2:   Texts for Chapter 4

romanised and glossed

Wenli's Composition I: **In the classroom**

1. [| Xià   kè   qián |] de   wǔ   fēn   zhōng,
   finish class   before SUB   five   minute clock
   'Five minutes before the end of class'

   lǎoshī zài   hēibǎn   shang xiě   zhe:
   teacher at   blackboard   on   write ASP:dur
   'the teacher wrote on the board:'

   shèngjīng,   hánghǎitú,   yì běn guānyú yěshēng dòngwù de   shū,
   bible   navigation-map   one MEAS about wild animal   SUB book
   'Bible, navigation map, a book on wild animals,'

   qiāng, shǒudiàntǒng, jiàngluòsǎn,   dàyī,   shuǐ   (měi rén sān bēi),
   gun   pocket-torch   parachute   overcoat water   each person three cup
   'gun, pocket torch, parachute, overcoat, water (each person three cups),'

   huǒchái,   zhǐnánzhēn,   fútèjiā,   guàntou (měi rén   sān tīng),
   match   compass   vodka   tin can   each person   three MEAS
   'matches, compass, vodka, cans (of food) (three for each person),'

   tàiyángjìng,   yào,   yǔyī.
   sunglasses   medicine   raincoat
   'sunglasses, medicine, raincoat.'

2. Tā   tíng   - xia   bǐ ,
   s/he   stop   down   pen
   'He put down his pen,'

3. "Xiànzài, nǐmen   de   fēijī   diào - zai   le   shāmò shang,"
   now   you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall   at   ASP:compl.   desert on
   ' "Your plane has crashed in the desert." '

4. tā   jiěshì   shuō,
   s/he   explain say
   'he explained,'

5. "Nǐmen   hái   huó   zhe,
   you+PLUR   still   live   ASP:dur
   ' "You're still alive,'

6. wǔbǎi lǐ   wài   yǒu   ge   cúnzhuāng,
   500   li   away   exist   MEAS   village
   'two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village,'

7. nǐmen   kěyǐ   zǒu
   you+PLUR   can   leave
   'you can go'

8. yě   kěyǐ   liú -   xia,
   also   can   stay   down
   'or (you) can stay behind,'

9. měi rén   zhǐ   zhǔn dài   wǔ   yàng   dōngxi..."
   each person   only   allow take   five   type   thing
   'each person is only allowed to take five things..."'

10. "Nǐ   yídìng yào   ná   zhǐnánzhēn."
    you   definite must   take   compass
    ' "You'd have to take a compass." '

11. Wǒ   tóngzhuō   xiǎoshēng   duì   wǒ   shuō.
    I   same-desk   small voice   towards I   say
    'My desk-mate said to me quietly.'

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12.   "Huí - qu   xiě yi xia   qiányīn-hòuguǒ hé   nǐmen   de   juédìng."
            return   go   write one time   cause-effect   and   you+PLUR SUB decision
            ' "Go back (home) and write what happened and your decision." '

13.   Zhè   shí   xià   kè   líng   xiǎng   le.
            this   time   finish   class   bell   sound   ASP:compl
            'At this moment the bell rang for the end of class.'

15.   Zhè   xiǎnrán   shi   yì piān   zuòwén,
            this   obviously   be   one MEAS   composition
            'This obviously was a composition,'

16.   suīrán méi   yǒu   tímù.
            although NEG   exist   topic
            'even if there was no topic.'

17.   Nà   yǐhòu   de   hǎo jǐ   tiān,
            that   after   SUB   good few day
            wǒ   yīzhí   zài   xiǎng zhè jiàn   shì.
            I   continually   ASP:prog   think   this MEAS   matter
            'For quite a few days after that, I kept thinking about this matter.'

18.   Zhōumò de   xiàwǔ,   wǒ   nǎr   yě   méi   qù,
            weekend SUB   afternoon   I   wherever even   NEG:perf   go
            'On Saturday afternoon I didn't go anywhere,'

19.   yí ge   rén   lā -   shang chuānglián,
            one MEAS   person pull   on   window-curtain
            'Alone, (I) drew the curtains,'

20.   dǎ -   kāi   dēng,
            make   start   light
            'turned on the light,'

21.   cóng   mǎn chuáng de záwù zhōng chōu - chu   yì dá   bái   zhǐ,
            from   full bed   SUB   mixed-thing among pull out   one pad   white paper
            'from the mass of things on the bed pulled out a pad of white paper,'

22.   wǒ   yòu   néng   kāishǐ xiě   zuòwén   le.
            I   further   can   begin   write   composition   ASP:compl/perf
            'I could then begin writing compositions again.'

23.   Wǒ   zhēnde   rěn -   bu -   zhù   bú   gàosu nǐ,
            I   really   tolerate NEG:pot. stand   not   tell   you
            'I really can't help telling you,'

24.   shàng xué   de   shíhòu,
            attend   school   SUB   time
            '(that) when I was at school,'

25.   wǒ   shi   duōme   xǐhuān   xiě   zuòwén,
            I   be   how-much   like   write   composition
            'I really loved composition class,'

26.   nà   shi   wǒ   tiánmì de   wǎngshì.
            that   be   I   sweet   SUB   past
            'that was my happy past.'

27.   Qítā kè   hǎoxiàng zǒngshi   cháng   de   méi yǒu   biān,
            other class   seem   always   long   EXT   NEG exist   limit
            'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,'

28.   zhǐ   yǒu   zuòwén   kè   duǎn   de   zhǐ shi yí   shùnjiān
            only   exist   composition   class   short   EXT   only be one   moment
            'only the composition class was as brief as the twinkling of an eye;'

29. shènzhì   zhōngyú   jiāo   gǎo   zhīhòu,
     so-far-as-to   finally   hand-in   draft   after
     'so much so that after I finally handed in the draft,'

30. wǒ   hái   juéde
     I   still   feel
     'I still felt'

31. tā   bìng   méiyǒu   wán.
     it   EMPH   NEG:perf   finish
     '(that) it wasn't finished.'

32. Wǒ   zhīdao,
     I   know
     'I knew'

33. wǒ   zài   yǐnyuē   děngdài   zhe   shénme,
     I   ASP:prog   indistinct   wait   ASP:dur   something
     'I was vaguely waiting for something,'

34. xiàng [I wǒ yǐhòu   děngdài guo I]   de   mǒu   zhǒng yuēhuì.
     resemble I afterwards wait ASP:exp.   SUB   certain type   appointment
     'like some date I would have waited for afterwards.'

35. Shìshí shang, tā   shì   méi   wán,
     reality on   it   be   NEG:perf   finish
     'In fact it *wasn't* finished,'

36. dāng   lǎoshī   zhàn - zai   jiǎngtái   shang,
     when   teacher stand   at   lecture-platform on
     'when the teacher stood on the platform,'

37. yībiān   duì   quánbān tóngxué   lǎngdú   wǒ de zuòwén,
     same-time   towards whole-class classmate read-aloud I SUB composition
     'reading out my composition to the whole class,'

38. yībiān   tòu -   guo   jìngpiàn   yǒuyì-wúyì   de
     same-time   penetrate past   lens   deliberate-accidental MAN
     piǎo -   shang wǒ   yì   yǎn   shí,
     look-sidelong   on I   one   eye   time
     'and half deliberately gazing at me through his glasses,'

39. wǒ nèi kē   másūsu   de   xīn   zhèng   zài nà'r
     I that MEAS numb-limp SUB heart   ASP:prog   at there
     bēngbeng   luàn-tiào   ne!
     throb   confused-beat   MOD
     'my numb heart was thumping wildly!'

40. Wǒ   yǎnqián   yí piàn   móhu,
     I   eye-before   one MEAS   blurred
     'The scene before me was

41. shèng - xia   yì zhāng   zuǐ
     full-eye   only   leave down   one MEAS mouth
     'all that filled my eyes was a mouth'

42. zài   nà'r   yī - zhāng - yī -   hé.
     at   there   once open   once   close
     'opening and closing.'

43. Zhè   cái   xiàng nà piān zuòwén   zhēnzhèng de jiéwěi.
     this   only-then   resemble that MEAS composition genuine SUB ending
     'Only this seemed to be the composition's real ending.'

44. Zhěngzhěng   yí ge   zhōumò   guò - qu   le,
    whole   one MEAS   weekend   pass go   ASP:compl/perf
    'A whole weekend passed,'

45. yì tiān bàn,   duǎn   de   zhǐ   shi   yí   shùnjiān.
    one day half   short EXT   only   be   one   moment
    'a day and a half was as brief as the twinkling of an eye.'

46. Wǒ   rēng   le   yídì   zhǐtuán,
    I   throw ASP:compl   whole-floor   paper-ball
    'I covered the floor with balls of paper,'

47. diǎn   guo   wúshù   cì   yān,
    light ASP:exp   countless   time   cigarette
    'lit countless cigarettes,'

48. chá   le   bànyè   zìdiǎn,
    consult ASP:perf   half-night   dictionary
    'looked up (words in) the dictionary for half the night,'

49. yòu   yí   dàzǎo dài   zhe   nèi   zhāng
    further one   morning bring ASP:dur   that   MEAS
    [l zhǐ   yǒu   jǐ   bǎi   zì l]   de   zhǐ,
    only   exist few   100   word   SUB   paper
    'early the next morning, taking that piece of paper with only a few hundred words
    on it,'

50. qù   le   . sān ge   dìfāng.
    go   ASP:compl   three MEAS   place
    'I went to three (different) places.'

51. Wǎnshang,   wǒ   yǒu   le   yi pian
    evening   I   exist ASP:compl.   one MEAS
    [l bú huì yǒu   rènhé   cuòwù l] de   yīngyǔ   zuòwén,
    NEG can exist   any   mistake SUB   English   composition
    'By evening I had an English composition that couldn't have any mistakes.'

52. wǒ   huí - dao   jiā,
    I   return to   home
    'I went home,'

53. yòu   rēng   le   jǐ   ge   zhǐtuán,
    further throw ASP:compl   few   MEAS   paper-ball
    'threw a few more balls of paper (on the floor),'

54. yòu   diǎn   le   jǐ   cì   yān,
    further light ASP:perf   few   time   cigarette
    'lit a few more cigarettes,'

55. chǎo   le   hǎo   jǐ   biān.
    copy   ASP:perf   good   few   time
    'made quite a few copies.'

56. Wǒ   kàn   zhe   nà zhāng   zhěngjié   de   zhǐ,
    I   look   ASP:dur   that MEAS   whole-clean   SUB   paper
    'I looked at that clean sheet of paper,'

57. xiě - shang   zìjǐ   de   míngzi,
    write on   self   SUB   name
    'wrote my name on (it),'

58. chī   le   sān   piàn   ānnǎijìn,
    eat   ASP:perf   three pill   analgesic
    'took three sleeping pills,'

59.   ránhòu   mǎnyì de   hé - shang   le   yǎnjīng.
        afterwards   satisfied MAN   close on   ASP:compl   eye
        'and then contentedly closed my eyes.'

60.   Zhè   shí   zhěnggè chéngshì   dōu   shuì le.
        this   time   whole city   all   sleep ASP:compl
        'By this time the whole city was asleep.'

61.   Xīngqīyī,   wǒ   jiāo   le   wǒ de zuòwén,
        Monday I   hand-in ASP:compl   I SUB composition
        'On Monday I handed in my composition,'

62.   wǒ   yǐjīng néng   dào-bèi-rú-liú   le.
        I   already can   reverse recite like stream   ASP:perf
        'I could already recite it off by heart.'

Wenli's Composition II: **The composition**

1.   "Nà shi wǒmen   yǒu-shēng yǐlái   dìyí cì   zuò   fēijī,
        that be I+PLUR   exist life since   first time   travel   aeroplane
        " 'That was the first time in our lives we'd been in a plane,'

2.   wǒmen   méi   yǒu   qián,
        I+PLUR   NEG   exist   money
        'we didn't have any money,'

3.   kě   Shàngdì   yuànyì gěi   wǒmen   zhèi ge jīhuì.
        but   God   wish give   I+PLUR   this MEAS opportunity
        'but God wanted to give us this opportunity.'

4.   Nèi tiān   tiānqi fēicháng   hǎo,
        that day   weather extremely   good
        'That day the weather was really good,'

5.   méi   yǒu   fēng,
        NEG   exist   wind
        'there was no wind'

6.   méi   yǒu   yún,
        NEG   exist   cloud
        'there were no clouds,'

7.   méi   yǒu   yíqiè;
        NEG   exist   everything
        'there was no anything.'

8.   shènzhì lián Shàngdì   dōu   zài   duì   wǒmen   wēixiào.
        so-far-as-to even God   all   ASP:prog   towards I+PLUR   smile
        'So much so that God was smiling on us,'

9.   Kě   tā   shi   zài   yòng liǎn de   líng yí miàn
        but   s/he   be   ASP:prog   use   face SUB   other one face

    duì   zhe   wǒmen   xiào,
    towards ASP:dur.   I PLUR   laugh
    'but (the fact) that he was laughing at us on the other side of his face'

10.   zhè shi dāng   wǒmen de   fēijī   měng de   diào - xia - lai shí
        this be when   we   SUB   plane   abrupt MAN   drop down come time
        was something that when our plane abruptly dropped (from the sky)'

11. wǒmen   cái   míngbai   de.
    I+PLUR   only-then   understand   MOD
    only then did we understand.

12. Fēijī   xiāoshī   le,
    plane   vanish   ASP:compl
    'The plane disappeared,'

13. wǒmen   hái   huó   zhe,
    we   still   live   ASP:dur
    'we were still alive,'

14. méi   rén   zhīdao wèishénme,
    NEG+exist   person   know   why
    'nobody knew why,'

15. yě   méi   rén   gàosu wǒmen.
    also   NEG+exist   person tell   we
    'nor did anyone tell us.'

16. Wǒmen   xiàng yì qún niǎo yíyàng   zhòurǎn
    I+PLUR   like   one flock bird same   abrupt
    luò - zai   le   shātān   shang,
    fall at   ASP:compl   sandbank   on
    'Like a flock of birds we had abruptly fallen on to a sandbank,'

17. què bù   néng   xiàng niǎo nèiyàng   zài   fēi - qilai.
    however NEG can . like   bird   that-way   further fly   rise
    'but we couldn't like birds fly away again.'

18. Wǒmen   bù   zhīdào
    I+PLUR   not   know
    'We didn't know'

19. wǒmen   néng   huó   duō   jiǔ,
    I+PLUR   can   live   how   long
    'how long we could stay live,'

20. dàn   [I néng huó zhe I]   yǒngyuǎn   shi   [I zuì hǎo I] de.
    but   can   live   ASP:dur   always   be   most good MOD/SUB
    'but staying alive was always the best.'

21. Shàngdì,   bù,   wǒ   bù   xiǎng shuō   shàngdì...
    God   no   I   NEG   want   say   God
    'God, no, I don't want to mention God...'

22. zǒngzhī,   nèi   ge   [I bǐ   wǒmen   dà I] de   rén
    in-summary   that   MEAS compare we   great   SUB   person
    bìng   bù   xiǎng fàngqì   tā de   quánlì,
    EMPH NEG   want   abandon   s/he SUB   power
    'anyway, that person greater than us didn't want to abandon his power,'

23. tā   gěi   wǒmen   liú- xia   le   yìxiē dōngxi.
    s/he   for   I+PLUR   leave down   ASP:compl   some   thing
    'he left us some things.'

24. Zǒng shi   zhèiyàng,
    always be   this-way
    'It's always the way,'

25. hěn   duō   zhèiyàng de shíkè,   zǒng yǒu   shénme
    very   many   this-kind SUB moment   always exist   something
    'a lot of these sorts of times there is always something'

néngqou   bǎ   nǐ   liú - xialai.
can   DISP   you   leave down
'that can enable you to stay behind.'

26. Wǒmen   bìxū   xuǎnzé,
     I+PLUR   must   choose
     'We had to choose,'

27. suīrán   wǒ   níngyuàn   bù   xuǎnzé.
     although   I   rather-wish   NEG   choose
     'even though I would rather not have to choose.'

28. Yìxiē rén   zhǔnbèi   lí -   kai,
     some person   prepare   separate away
     'Some people got ready to leave,'

29. yīnwèi   wǔbǎi lǐ   wài   yǒu   ge   cūnzhuāng;
     because   500 li   away   exist   MEAS   village
     'because 250 kilometres away there was a village;'

30. ér   wǒ   yuànyì   liú - xia.
     however   I   wish   leave down
     'but I wanted to stay.'

31. zhè   dào   bù   guāng shi   yīnwèi   wǒ   xiǎng - dào
     this   however NEG   only be   because   I   think   reach
     'this wasn't only because I thought'

32. huòxǔ huì   yǒu   biéde   fēijī   lái   jiù   wǒmen,
     perhaps can   exist   other   plane   come   save   I+PLUR
     'there might possibly be another plane (which would) come to save us,'

33. gèng   wèi   wǒ   shi   ge   [I shēng pà   zài   lèi
     even-more   because I   be   MEAS   life   fear   further tire
     zhe   zìjǐ I]   de   rén.
     ASP:dur   self   SUB   person
     'more because I was the sort of person who doesn't like to tire themselves.'

34. Wǒ   yào   [I shǔyú wǒ I]   de   nèi fèn shuǐ   hé   guàntou.
     I   need   belong-to I   SUB   that portion water and   can
     'I wanted the water and the cans (of food) that were my share.'

35. Wǒ   yào   nèi běn   guānyú yěshēng dòngwù   de   shū,
     I   need   that MEAS   about wild   animal   SUB   book
     I wanted the book on wild animals——

36. [I wǒ   xiǎng dú   tā I]   bú shi   wèi   [I zhǎngwò shénme   zhīshi
     I   want read   it   NEG be   for   grasp   what   knowledge
     qù   dǐyù   wàilái   de   qīnlüè I],
     go   resist   outside-come   SUB   aggression
     '(the reason) I wanted to read it wasn't to gain some knowledge to resist outside aggression,'

37. ér   shi   xiǎng   zài   kàn   tā   shí
     but   be   want   at   read   it   time
     'but (I) wanted when (I) read it'

38. néng   lí   yǎnqián de   chǔjìng   yuǎn   yìdiǎn.
     can   distant-from eye-before SUB plight   far   a-little
     'to be able to be a little further away from the trouble before our eyes.'

39. Wǒ   hái   yào   nèi ge   jiàngluòsǎn,
     I   still   need   that MEAS   parachute
     'I also wanted the parachute,'

40. tā   huòxǔ zài   [l xià   yǔ l]   de shíhou   bùrú   yǔyī   hǎo,
    it   perhaps at   fall   rain   SUB time   not-equal raincoat good
    'it perhaps when it rained, wasn't as good as the raincoat'

41. zài   [l hánlěng l]   de   shíhou bùrú   dàyī   nuǎn,
    at   cold   SUB   time   not-equal overcoat   warm
    'when it was cold, wasn't as good as the overcoat'

42. dàn   tā   gèng   quánmiàn;
    but   it   even-more   comprehensive
    but it was more all-round(useful);

43. tā   jì   kěyǐ   zài   báitiān   zhē-yáng,
    it   both   can   at   daytime   block sun
    'it could both block out the sun during the day,

44. yě   kěyǐ   zài   yèwǎn   yù -   hán.
    also   can   at   night   keep-out cold
    'and prevent the cold at night.'

45. Zuì   zhǔyào   de,   dā -   qì   tā,
    most   important   SUB   put   up   it
    'Most important, (if you) put it up.'

46. jiù   shi   yí   ge   jiā
    then   be   one   MEAS   home
    '(it) was a home'

47. kěyǐ   ān -   shēn - lì -   mìng.
    can   shelter body   establish   life
    '(where you) could settle down and carry on with life.'

48. Tā   hái   shi   yí ge   xìnhào,
    it   still   be   one MEAS   signal
    'It was also a signal,'

49. rúguǒ zhēn   yóu   qítā   fēijī   cóng zhèli   fēi -   guo   dehua.
    if   really   exist   other   plane   from   here   fly   past   in-case
    'if another aeroplane really were to fly by here.'

50. Wǒ   hěn   xiǎngyào   huǒchái,
    I   very   want   match
    'I really wanted the matches,'

51. dàn   wǒ   gèng   xiǎngyào   yān,
    but   I   even-more   want   cigarette
    'but I wanted the cigarettes even more.'

52. wǒ   bù   zhīdào
    I   not   know
    'I didn't know'

53. [l méi   yǒu   yān l]   de   rìzi   duì wǒ lái shuō   shi   shénme,
    NEG   exist   cigarette SUB   day   towards I come say   be   what
    'what the days would be, as far as I was concerned, without cigarettes,'

54. suǒyǐ   [l méi   yān l]   de   huǒchái   duì   wǒ
    therefore NEG+exist   cigarette SUB   match   towards I
    gēnběn   méi   yòng.
    basic   NEG+exist   use
    'So matches without cigarettes were quite useless to me.'

55. Zài   shuō,   shāmò hǎoxiàng   yě   zhǎo - bu -   dào   mùchái
    further   say   desert   seem   also   seek NEG:pot   reach   firewood
    'What's more, (it) also seemed that (you) couldn't find firewood in this desert'

56. kěyǐ   qǔ   huǒ   zuò   fàn.
    can   get   fire   make   meal
    'which (you) could (use to) make fires or cook.'

57. Wǒ   huòxǔ   huì   yào   nèi   píng   fútèjiā,
    I   perhaps can   need   that   bottle vodka
    'I perhaps might have wanted the bottle of vodka,'

58. shéi   zhīdao,
    who   know
    'who knows,'

59. yǒu   shíhou,   jiǔ   huì   shǐ   rén   hǎoshòu   xiē.
    exist time   alcohol   can   cause   person easy-endure   some
    'sometimes alcohol can help people endure (things) better,'

60. Kě   tā   wèishénme   bú shi   [I wǒ   xǐhuan I]   de
    but   it   why   NEG be   I   like   SUB
    língwài   yì zhǒng   jiǔ   ne?
    other   one kind   alcohol   MOD
    'But why wasn't it another type of alcohol that I liked?'

61. [I Miǎnqiǎng I] de   chénzuì,   hái   shi   suàn   le   ba.
    force   SUB   get-drunk   still be   reckon   ASP:compl.   MOD
    'Forcing (yourself) to get drunk, it's better to forget it.'

62. Wǒ   xuǎnzé   le   tàiyángjìng,
    I   choose   ASP:compl.   sunglasses
    'I chose the sunglasses,'

63. wèile   yǒu   lǐyóu
    in-order   exist   reason
    'in order to have a reason'

64. duì   zìjǐ   shuō:
    towards   self   say
    'to say to myself:'

65. hǎohao   zài shātān shang   zuò   ge   rìguāngyù   ba!
    well   at sandbank on   do   MEAS   sunbathe   MOD
    'have a good sunbathe on a sandbank!'

66. Rènhé   zhēnzhèng de   xiǎngshòu   dōu   shi   nème   lái-zhī-bú-yì.
    whatever   real   SUB   enjoy   all   be   so   hard-earned
    'Any genuine enjoyment is this hard-earned.'

67. Dāng   nǐ   gǎn - dao
    when   you   feel reach
    'When you feel'

68. shī -   qu   le   yíqiè   de   shíhou,
    lose   go   ASP:compl.   everything   SUB   time
    '(that you)'ve lost everything,'

69. nǐ   bùrú   gēn   zìjǐ   kāi   ge   hǎo   wánxiào.
    you   better   with   self   play   MEAS   good   joke
    'you might as well have a good joke with yourself.'

70. Wǒ   xuǎn - hǎo   le   [I shǔyú wǒ I]   de   dōngxi,
    I   choose complete   ASP:compl.   belong-to I   SUB   thing
    'I finished choosing the things that would be mine,'

71. zuìhòu wǒ hái yào   gěi wǒmen   xuǎn   yí ge   hǎo   jiéjú:
    final I   still must for I+PLUR   choose one MEAS   good   outcome
    '(so) finally I have to choose us a good ending:'

72. wǒmen   dōu   huó -   xialai   le,
    I+PLUR   all   live   down   ASP:perf
    'we all survived,'

73. bìngqiě   wǒmen   zhèng   zuò - zai   yí ge
    furthermore   I+PLUR   ASP:prog   sit   at   one MEAS
    míngliàng   de   jiàoshì   lǐ
    bright   SUB   classroom   in,
    'and we're sitting in a bright classroom,'

74. guò   zhe   yí   duàn   xīn   shēnghuó.
    pass   ASP:dur   one   section   new   life
    'having a new stretch of life.'

75. Dàn   nǐ   huòxǔ bù   xiǎng   xiào,
    but   you   perhaps NEG   want   laugh
    'But perhaps you won't want to laugh,'

76. wǒmen   hái   zài   pīnmìng   de   xuǎnzé...
    I+PLUR   still   ASP:prog   risk-life   MAN   choose
    'we're still trying very hard to choose...'

77. yīnwèi   wǒmen   yīrán   huó - zai   shāmò lǐ."
    because   I+PLUR   as-before   live   at   desert   in
    'because we're living in a desert as before.' "

Wenli's Composition III: **Back in the classroom**

1. Wǒ   zhīdao,
    I   know
    'I knew'

2. tā   bìng   méi   wán,
    s/he   EMPH   NEG:perf   finish
    'it really wasn't finished,'

3. wǒ   yòu   zài   yǐnyuē   děngdài zhe   shénme,
    I   further   ASP:prog   indistinct   wait   ASP:dur   something
    'I was again vaguely waiting for something,'

4. xiàng wǒ   cóngqián   [l děngdài guo l] de   mǒu zhǒng   yuēhuì.
    resemble I   previous   wait ASP:exp   SUB   ceratin kind   date
    'like some date I had previously waited for.'

5. Shìshí shang,   tā   shì   méi   wán.
    reality   on   it   be   NEG:perf   finish
    'In fact it *wasn't* finished,'

6. dāng   lǎoshī   zhàn - zai   jiǎngtái   shang,
    when   teacher   stand   at   lecture-platform   on
    'when the teacher stood on the platform,'

7. yíbiàn   duì   quánbān tóngxué   lǎngdú   wǒ de zuòwén,
    same-time   towards   whole-class classmate   read-aloud   I SUB composition
    'reading out my composition to the whole class,'

8.

yìbiān	tòu - guo	jìngpiàn	yǒuyì-wúyì	de
same-time	penetrate past	lense	deliberate-accidental	MAN

kàn - shang	wǒ	yì	yǎn	shí,
look on	I	one	eye	time

'and half deliberately looking at me through his glasses,'

9.

wǒ nèi kē	chànwēiwēi	de	xīn	zhèng	zài nà
I that MEAS	falter	SUB	heart	ASP:prog	at there

yǐnyīn	zuòtòng	ne!
faint	feel-ache	ASP:imperf

'my faltering heart was dully aching!'

10.

Wǒ	yǎnqián	yí piàn	móhu,
I	eye-before	one MEAS	blurred

'The scene before me was blurred,'

11.

mǎnyán	zhǐ	shèng - xia	yì zhāng	liǎn
full-eye	only	leave down	one MEAS	face

'all that was left before my eyes was a face'

12.

zài	hū - míng - hū - àn.
ASP:prog	now bright now dark

'now clear now dim.'

13.

Dàn	zhè	bìng bú xiàng	zhè piān zuòwén
but	this	EMPH NEG seem	this MEAS composition

zhēnzhèng de	jiéwěi.
genuine SUB	ending

'But this seemed not to be the composition's real ending.'

14.

Wǒ	shènzhì	yǒu	zhǒng	gǎnjué,
I	so-far-as-to	exist	type	feeling

'I even had a kind of feeling:'

15

nà	yídìng	bú shi	[I wǒ xiě I]	de	zuòwén,
that	definitely	NEG be	I write	SUB	composition

'that definitely wasn't the composition I had written,'

16.

wǒ	nà	shí	yěxǔ	zhèng	zài	shāmò li	kū	ne!
I	that	time	perhaps	ASP:prog	at	desert in	cry	MOD

'Perhaps at that time I was crying in the desert!'

17.

Wǎnshang,	wǒ	tǎng - zai	chuáng shang,
evening	I	lie at	bed on

'In the evening, I lay on (my) bed,'

18.

wàng zhe	tiānhuābǎn,
gaze ASP:dur	ceiling

'gazing at the ceiling,'

19.

wǒ	zài	qiān	bǎi	cì	de	wèn	zìjǐ:
I	ASP:prog	1000	100	time	MAN	ask	self

'I asked myself over and over again:'

20.

nǐ	zhēnde	yǐwéi
you	really	consider

'don't you really think'

21.

[I nǐmen	zǎoyǐ jiēshòu I]	de yíqiè	bú	shi
you+PLUR	long-since receive	SUB everything	NEG	be

gēn-shēn-dì-gù	de	ma?
deep-rooted	SUB	MOD

'that everything you long ago accepted is deep-rooted?'

22. Wǒ   zài   měi yí ge   qīngchén   zǒu - jin   jiàoshì,
    I   at   each one MEAS early-morning walk in   classroom
    'Early every morning I walked into the classroom,'

23. zhè   shí   suǒyǒu de   mèng   dōu yǐjīng   zuò - wán   le.
    this   time   which-exist SUB dream   all already   do finish   ASP:perf/compl
    'at this time all (my) dreams have already been finished.'

24. Zhè'r,   nǐ   qiáo
    here   you   look
    'Here, you look,'

25. chàbuduō   tóngyàng   de   fángjiān,
    almost   same-type   SUB   room
    'almost the same type of room,'

26. chàbuduō   tóngyàng   de   guāngxiàn,
    almost   same-type   SUB   light-ray
    'almost the same type of light,'

27. Shí jǐ nián   jiù   xiāoshī   le.
    ten some year   then   vanish   ASP:perf
    'more than ten years have vanished.'

28. Xiàng qítā   kè   yíyàng   cháng de   [l méi   yǒu   biān l],
    like   other   class   same   long   EXT   NEG   exist   limit
    'like other classes become endlessly long,'

29. yòu   xiàng   zuòwén kè   nèiyàng   duǎn de [l zhǐ shi yi shùnjiān l];
    further   like   composition class   that-way   short EXT only be one moment
    'again like composition class become as short as only the twinkling of an eye.

30. bùguǎn   fāsheng   shénme   shì,
    no-matter   happen   what   thing
    'no matter what happens,'

31. bùguǎn   zài   guò   duōshao   nián...
    no-matter   further   pass   how-many   year
    'no matter how many more years are to be passed,'

32. wǒ xīn zhong   yǐnyuē de   děngdài   dàodǐ   shi   shénme ne?
    I heart in   faint   SUB   wait   finally   be   what   MOD
    what *is* the thing I am vaguely longing for in my heart?

33. Nà yǐhòu de hǎo jǐ tiān,   wǒ yìzhí zài   xiǎng   zhè jiàn shì.
    that after SUB good few day   I continually ASP:prog. think   this MEAS matter
    'For quite a few days after that, I kept thinking about this.'

34. Wǒ   xiàng   wǎngcháng   yíyàng   zuò - zai   jiàoshì li,
    I   like   habitual   same   sit at   classroom in
    'I sat in the classroom as I used to do,'

35. zhè   shi   [l wǒ   xǐhuan l]   de   fángjiān,
    this   be   I   like   SUB   room
    This was the room I liked,

36. zhè   shi   [l wǒ   xǐhuan l]   de   guāngxiàn,
    this   be   I   like   SUB   light-ray
    'this was the light I liked,'

37. wǒ   zhēnde   rěn - bu - zhù   bú   gàosu nǐ,
    I   really   tolerate   NEG:pot. stand   not   tell   you
    'I really can't help telling you,'

400

38. | wǒ | shi | duōme | xǐhuan | [I xiě | zuòwén I], |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | be | how-much | like | write | composition |

'I really loved writing compositions,'

39. | nà | shi | wǒ | měihǎo | de | jìyì. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| that | be | I | beautiful | SUB | memory |

'that was my beautiful memory.'

40. | Wǒ | shènzhì | céng | wèi-cǐ | luò | guo | lèi, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | so-far-as-to | once | because-of this | drop | ASP:exp | tear |

'I even shed tears over this,'

41. | nà | shi | yīnwèi | yǒu | tiān | wǒ | fāxiàn, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| that | be | because | exist | day | I | discover |

'that was because one day I discovered'

42. | dì yí | ge | [I xiě - chu | "bāqiān ge fēngbào | chuī - bu - | dǎo, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| no. one | MEAS | write out | 8,000 MEAS storm | blow NEG:pot | topple |
| jiǔwàn ge | | léitíng | yě | nán - hōng" | zhè yàng jīngcǎi jùzi I] |
| 90,000 MEAS | | thunderbolt | also | difficult rumble | this-kind brilliant sentence |
| de | rén | bìng | bú | shi | wǒ. |
| SUB | person | EMPH | NEG | be | I |

'(that) the first person to write the brilliant sentence "Eight thousand storms can't blow (it) down, ninety thousand thunderbolts can't drown (it) out" wasn't me.'

43. | Wǒ | zhēnde | wèi-cǐ | àndàn | le | hǎo duō | tiān, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | really | because-of this | dismal | ASP:compl | good many | day |

'I was really low because of this for quite a few days,'

44. | suīrán | wǒ | bǎ | tā | yòng - zai | wǒ de | zuòwén | shí, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| although | I | DISP | it | use at | I SUB | composition | time |

'although when I used it in my composition,'

45. | tā | sīhu | tóngyàng | jīngcǎi. |
|---|---|---|---|
| it | seem | same-kind | brilliant |

'it seemed equally brilliant.'

Wenli's Composition IV: **Tommy's composition**

1. | Yú-cǐ-tóng-shí | Wénlì | zhèng | zài | líng yí chù |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| with this same time | Wenli | ASP:prog. | at | other one place |
| kāixīn de | xiào | zhe. | | |
| happy MAN | laugh | ASP:dur | | |

'At the same time in another place, Wenli was laughing happily.'

2. | Yí ge | [I jiào Tāngmǐ I] | de | nánhái |
|---|---|---|---|
| one MEAS | be-called Tommy | SUB | male-child |
| zài | jìnxíng | ta de | zuòwén | kǎoshì, |
| ASP:prog | undergo | s/he SUB | composition | exam |

'A boy called Tommy was doing his composition exam,'

3. | tímù | shi: | wǒ de | gǒu. |
|---|---|---|---|
| topic | be | I SUB | dog |

'the topic was: my dog.'

4. | Zhìshǎo | yào | xiě | 150 | zì. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| at-least | must | write | 150 | word |

'(He) had to write at least 150 words.'

5. Tāngmǐ   xiǎng le   xiang,
    Tommy   think ASP:compl   think
    'Tommy thought a bit,'

6. kāishǐ xiě:
    begin write
    '(and) began writing:'

7. "Wǒ   yǒu   yì tiáo   gǒu,
    I   exist one MEAS   dog
    ' "I have a dog,'

8. wǒ   jiào   tā   Bàobǐ ,
    I   call   it   Bobby
    'I call it Bobby,'

9. wǒ   ài   wǒ de   gǒu,
    I   love   I SUB   dog
    'I love my dog,'

10. tā   quánshēn   dōu   shi   hēisè   de,
    it   whole-body   all   be   black-colour   SUB
    'it's black all over,'

11. zhǐ   yǒu   bízi   shi   bái   de."
    only   exist nose   be   white SUB
    'except for (its) nose (which) is white." '

12. Tāngmǐ   tíng - xialai,
    Tommy   stop   down
    'Tommy stopped,'

13. 21   ge   zì.
    21   MEAS   character
    '21 words.'

14. Tā   jìxù   xiě:
    he   continue   write
    'He continued writing:'

15. "měi tiān,   wǒ   dōu   dài   Bàobǐ qù   gōngyuán   sànbù,
    each day   I   all   take   Bobby go   park   stroll
    ' "every day I take Bobby to the park for a walk, '

16. dàn   rúguǒ tiān   xià   yǔ,
    but   if   sky   fall   rain
    'but if it's raining,'

17. wǒ   jiù   bú   dài   tā   qù   sànbù."
    I   then   NEG   take   s/he   go   stroll
    'I don't take him for a walk." '

18. Yòu   shi   24   ge   zì,
    further be   24   MEAS   character
    'Another 24 words,'

19. tā   shǔ   le   shu,
    he   count ASP:compl.   count
    'he counted (them)'

20. yígòng   45   ge   zì.
    altogether   45   MEAS   character
    'altogether 45 words.'

21.   Tāngmǐ   xiǎng le   jǐ fēn   zhōng
        Tommy   think   ASP:compl.   few minute   clock
        'Tommy thought for a few minutes'

22.   jiēzhe xiě,
        next   write
        'and then wrote,'

23.   "Wǒ   jīngcháng   gěi   Bàobǐ xǐ   zǎo,
        I   often   for   Bobby wash   bath
        ' "I often give Bobby a bath,'

24.   tā   xǐhuan
        it   like
        'it likes'

25.   xǐ   zǎo,
        wash   bath
        'to have a bath,'

26.   bìngqiě,   wǒ   yě   xǐhuan
        moreover   I   also   like
        'and I like'

27.   gěi   tā   xǐ   zǎo,
        for   it   wash   bath
        'giving it a bath,'

28.   wǒmen   dōu   xǐhuan
        I +PLUR   all   like
        'we both like'

29.   zuò   zhè jiàn   shì."
        do   this MEAS   matter
        'doing this." '

30.   Tā   yòu   shǔ   le   yí biàn,
        s/he   further   count   ASP:compl   one time
        'He counted once more,'

31.   yígòng   67   zì.
        altogether   67   word
        'altogether 67 words.'

32.   Tāngmǐ   náo   zhe   tóu,
        Tommy   scratch ASP:dur   head
        'Tommy scratched his head,'

33.   wàng zhe   tiānhuābǎn,
        gaze   ASP:dur   ceiling
        'gazed at the ceiling,'

34.   xiǎng   le   hǎo   yì   huǐr,
        pass   ASP:compl   good   one   while
        'thought for quite a while,'

35.   dàn   méi   xiǎng - chu   shénme.
        but   NEG:perf   think   out   anything
        'but couldn't think of anything.'

36.   Tā   tàn   le   kǒu   qì,
        s/he   sigh   ASP:compl.   mouth   breath
        'He sighed,'

37. zhǐdé   xiě:
     only-can   write
     '(and) could only write:'

38. "Bàobǐ   hěn   xǐhuan
     Bobby   very   like
     ' " Bobby really likes'

39. chī   táng,
     eat   sweets
     'to eat sweets,'

40. wǒ   yě   yuànyì   gěi   tā   táng   chī,
     I   also   wish   give   it   sweets   eat
     'I also want to give him sweets to eat,'

41. dàn   rúguǒ   jiāli   méi   yǒu   táng,
     but   if   home-in NEG   exist   sweets
     'but if there aren't any sweets at home,'

42. wǒ   jiù   bù   gěi   tā   chī   táng."
     I   then   NEG   give   it   eat   sweets
     'I don't give him sweets to eat." '

43. Tāngmǐ   tíng - xialai,
     Tommy   stop   down
     'Tommy paused,'

44. náo   zhe   tóu,
     scratch ASP:dur   head
     'scratched (his) head,'

45. wàng zhe   tiānhuābǎn,
     gaze   ASP:dur   ceiling
     'gazed at the ceiling,'

46. tā   kāishǐ   jǔsàng le...
     he   begin   disheartened   ASP:compl.
     'he was beginning to get disheartened...'

47. Tūrán, tā   xiǎng - chu   yí ge   hǎo   zhǔyì,
     suddenly   s/he   think out   one MEAS   good   idea
     'Suddenly he thought of a good idea,'

48. Tāngmǐ   gāoxing de   xiào   zhe,
     Tommy   happy MAN   laugh   ASP:dur.
     'Tommy laughed happily,'

49. suíjí   fēikuài   de   xiě - qilai:
     immediately   fly-quick   MAN   write   begin
     'and straightaway started writing rapidly:'

50. "Dāng wǒ xiǎng   ràng Bàobǐ jìn   wū   shí,
     when   I   want   get   Bobby enter house time
     ' "When I want to get Bobby to come inside,'

51. wǒ   jiù   jiào: Bàobǐ;
     I   then   call   Bobby
     'I call: Bobby;'

52. rúguǒ tā   méi   jìn   wū,
     if   it   NEG:perf   enter house
     'if it doesn't come inside,'

53.   wó   jiù   zài   jiào: Bàobǐ, Bàobǐ;
       I   then   further call   Bobby, Bobby
       'I call again: Bobby, Bobby;'

54.   rúguǒ tā   hái   méi   jìn   wū
       if   it   still NEG:perf. enter house
       'if it still hasn't come inside,'

55.   wǒ   jiù   dàshēng   jiào: Bàobǐ, Bàobǐ, Bàobǐ;"
       I   then   big-voice   call   Bobby, Bobby, Bobby
       'I call loudly: Bobby, Bobby, Bobby." '

56.   Tāngmǐ   shǔ   le   yí biàn   zì,
       Tommy   count ASP:compl one time   word
       'Tommy counted the words,'

57.   149.
       149
       '149.'

58.   Tā   zài   jiéwěi duō jiā   le   yí ge   Bàobǐ,
       s/he at   ending more add ASP:compl one MEAS Bobby
       'He added another Bobby at the end,'

60.   xiě - shang   zìjǐ de   míngzi,
       write on   self SUB   name
       'wrote his name on (it),'

61.   ránhòu   mǎnyì   de   jiāo - gei   le   lǎoshī.
       afterwards satisfied MAN hand to   ASP:compl teacher
       then, satisfied, handed (it) into the teacher.

Wenli's Composition V: **Wenli's volunteer letter**

1.   Wénlì liě   zhe   zuǐ
      Wenli grin ASP:dur   mouth
      'Wenli grinning'

2.   mī   zhe   yǎn,
      narrow ASP:dur   eye
      '(and) screwing up her eyes'

3.   bù - guǎn - bú - gù de   xiào   de   yǎnqián - tōngliàng,
      NEG care NEG attend MAN laugh EXT before-eyes brightly-lit
      'laughed wholeheartedly as she saw the light,'

4.   wànshì   yuánlái   rúcǐ   jiǎndān.
      all-things after-all   like-this   simple
      'of course, everything is this simple.'

5.   Nà yǐhòu de   hǎo jǐ tiān,   Wénlì yìzhí zài   xiǎng zhè jiàn shì.
      that after SUB good few day Wenli all-along ASP:prog. think this MEAS matter
      'For quite a few days after that, Wenli kept thinking about this.'

6.   Zhōumò de   xiàwǔ,   Wénlì nǎr yě   méi   qù,
      weekend SUB afternoon Wenli where even NEG:perf go
      'On Saturday afternoon Wenli didn't go anywhere,'

7.   yí ge   rén lā - shang chuānglián,
      one MEAS person pull on   window-curtain
      'Alone, (she) drew the curtains,'

8. dǎ - kāi dēng,
    make start light
    'turned on the light,'

9. cóng mǎn chuáng de záwù zhōng   chōu - chu   yì dá bái zhǐ,
    from full bed SUB mixed-thing among pull out   one pad white paper
    'from the mass of things on the bed pulled out a pad of white paper,'

10. tā   yòu   néng   xiě   zhìyuànshū   le.
    she   further can   write volunteer-letter ASP:compl
    'she could then write a volunteer letter again.'

11. "Dōngfēng   chuī,
    east wind   blow
    ' "The East wind blows,'

12. zhàngǔ   léi
    war drum   beat
    'the war drums beat,'

13. xiànzài   shìjiè shang jiùjìng   shéi   pà   shéi..."
    now   world on   after-all   who   fear   who
    'who in the world now is afraid of who..." '

14. Jìyì   zhōng zuì   shóuxí de   zìyǎn   suō-duǎn   zhe
    memory in   most familiar SUB wording   shrink short   ASP:dur
    tā   hé   Tāngmǐ   zhījiān   de   chājù,
    s/he   and   Tommy   between   SUB   difference
    'The most familiar words in her memory reduced the distance between her and
    Tommy.'

15. Wénlì jìxù   xiě:
    Wenli continue   write
    'Wenli continued writing:'

16. "Wǒ   zhìyuàn
    I   volunteer
    ' "I volunteer'

17. zuò   yí ge   Tāngmǐ,
    act-as one MEAS   Tommy
    'to be a Tommy,'

18. yīnwèi Tāngmǐ shi   zài yǔzhòu lǐngdǎo xia de   xiānjin dàibiǎo,
    because Tommy be   at universe leadership under SUB advanced representative
    'because Tommy is an advanced representative under the leadership of the
    universe,'

19. shi   huóxué   huóyòng   de   sīxiǎng   diǎnfàn,
    be   flexible-study flexible-use SUB ideology   model
    '(he) is the ideological model for flexible study, flexible use,'

20. shi   zhǔguān shìjiè   hé   kèguān shìjiè de   yǒujī jiéhé,
    be   subjective world   and   objective world SUB organic combination
    '(he) is the organic combination of the subjective world and the objective world,'

21. shi   shídài de   xūyào,   wèilái de   zhàohuàn
    be   age SUB   necessity   future SUB   beckon
    '(he) is the necessity of the age, the beckoning of the future,'

22. shi   [I gǎizào   shìjièguān I]   de   jiānjù zhòngrèn."
    be   transform   world-view   SUB   arduous important-task
    (he) is the arduous task of transforming (the) world-view." '

23. Wénlì   juéxīn   yǐ   xià.
    Wenli   resolution   already lay-down
    'Wenli had already formed her resolution.'

24. "Wǒ yídìng   yào   kèfú   chóngchóng   kùnnán,
    I   definitely will   overcome   layer-layer   difficulty
    ' "I will overcome endless difficulties,'

25. yǐ Tāngmǐ wéi bǎngyàng,   zhào   Tāngmǐ de   huà   qù   zuò,
    take Tommy as   model   according-to Tommy SUB word   go   do
    'acting with Tommy as my model, according to Tommy's words,'

26. zǒu - jìn   rì- xīn - yuè - yì   de   xīn   shídài!"
    walk in   day new month different   SUB   new   age
    '(I) will enter a new age that changes with each passing day! " '

27. Wénlì kàn   zhe   nèi zhāng   zhěngjié   de   zhǐ.
    Wenli   look   ASP:dur   that MEAS   whole-clean   SUB   paper
    'Wenli looked at that clean sheet of paper,'

28. Xiě - shang   zìjǐ   de   míngzi,
    write on   self   SUB   name
    'wrote her name on (it),'

29. tú -   hǎo   yì céng   jiāoshuǐ,
    spread complete   one layer   glue
    'spread over (it) a layer of glue,'

30. ránhòu   mǎnyì de   tiē - zai   le   chuángtou.
    afterwards   satisfied MAN stick at   ASP:compl   bedhead
    'then, satisfied, stuck (it) on the head of the bed.'

31. Tā   pā -   zai   chuáng   shang
    she   lie-prone   at   bed   on
    'she lay on her bed'

32. chǒu le   hěn   jiǔ,
    gaze   ASP:compl   very   long-time
    '(and) gazed (at it) for a long while,'

33. zhè   shí   tiān   jiànjian   hēi   le.
    this   time   sky   gradually   black ASP:compl
    'by this time, the sky had gradually grown dark.'

34. Tā   xiǎng - qi   xǔduō   cóngqián   de   shì,
    she   think   up   very-many   previous   SUB   matter
    'She thought of many things (that had happened) in the past,'

35. xiǎng - qi   xiǎoxué   shí   yí piàn zuòwén   de   tímù
    think   up   primary-school time   one MEAS composition SUB   topic
    'thought of the title of the composition she had written in primary school'

36. shì: wǒ de jiānglái.
    be   I SUB future
    '(which) was: my future.'

37. Xiǎng - qi
    think   up
    (She) thought of

38. tā   céng   zhàn - zai   yí ge   wǔ céng lóu de   chuāngkǒu
    s/he   once   stand   at   one MEAS   five storey building SUB window
    '(how) she had once stood at the window of a five-storey building'

39. dāidai de   wàng zhe   jiēshang de   rénliú
    blank MAN   gaze ASP:dur   street-on SUB   person-stream
    'blankly gazing at the stream of people in the street'

40. bìng duì   zìjǐ   shuō:
    and   towards self say
    'and (how) she had said to herself:'

41. wǒ   yídìng   yào   zhǎng - dà.
    I   definitely will grow   big
    'I *will* grow up.'

42. Xiǎng - qi
    think   up
    (She) thought of

43. tā   jiù   nèiyàng   kāishǐ rēnzhēn de   zài   měi yí piàn
    she   just that-way begin serious MAN at   each one MEAS
    zuòwén   li   búduàn   kèhuà   zhe   zìjǐ,
    composition in   unceasing portray ASP:dur   self
    '(how) just like that she had begun conscientiously in every composition to
    unceasingly portray herself,'

44. xiǎng - qi tā   zhèxiē nián lái xīnzhōng   yǐnyinyueyuē de děngdài,
    think   up she   many year since heart in   vague   SUB wait
    '(she) thought of the vague longing in her mind these past few years,'

45. xiǎng - qi tā . yuèláiyuè   bù   zhénshí   de   xīnqíng,
    think   up s/he more-and-more NEG   real   SUB   mood
    yǐjí tā   [I yóu cǐ ér dé - dào I] de   mǎnzú hé   pínghéng...
    and   s/he from this and gain reach SUB content and balance
    '(she) thought of her more and more unreal moods, and of the satisfaction and
    equilibrium she had gained from this...'

46. Hūrán, Wénlì xiǎng - qi   xiǎo shíhou nèi ge   [I xiě - mǎn le
    suddenly Wenli think   up young time   that MEAS   write full ASP:compl
    yǔlù   géyán jǐngjù I] yǐjí [I hòulái yòu   bǔ-shang   xǔduō
    note   maxim epigram and   afterwards further   supplement up very-many
    wúbì   wánměi de   xíngróngcí I]   de   bǐjìběn,
    matchless perfect SUB adjective   SUB   note-book
    'Suddenly Wenli thought of the small notebook which she had filled with
    notes, maxims, and epigrams, and afterwards supplemented with many
    matchlessly perfect adjectives,'

47. xīntou jìng yǒng - qi   yì gǔ   wēnnuǎn de   xuěliú.
    heart actually well up one MEAS   warm SUB   blood-flow
    'a warm glow welled up in her heart.'

48. Tā   suō - zai   chuáng shang
    s/he shrink at   bed   on
    She curled up on the bed

49. yòu   kāixīn de   xiào le.
    further happy MAN laugh ASP:compl
    'and laughed again happily.'

50. Wěnlì lìzhì
    Wenli resolve
    'Wenli determined'

51. zài   yǒu-shēn-zhī-nián   zuò   yí ge   Tāngmǐ,
    at   exist life SUB year   act-as one MEAS   Tommy
    'to be a Tommy for the rest of her life,'

52.
tā	hái	yào	xiě	yì piān	xīn	zuòwén,
s/he	still	want	write	one MEAS	new	composition

'she had to write a new composition,'

53.
zhè	niàntou	shǐ	tā	yì	xiǎng - qilai
this	thought	cause	she	once	think up

'this idea as soon as she thought of (it)'

54.
jiù	jīdòng.
then	excite

'made her excited.'

55.
Tā	shuō
s/he	say

'She said'

56.
zhè	gǎibiàn - bu - liǎo	tā	měi tiān	[l yòng kuàizi chī fàn
this	change NEG:pot complete	she	each day	use chopstick eat meal

yòng	féizào	xǐ	liǎn l]	de	xíguàn,
use	soap	wash	face	SUB	habit

'this couldn't change her everday habit of eating with chopsticks (or) washing her face with soap,'

57.
què	shǐ	tā	juéde
however	make	s/he	feel

'but made her feel'

58.
[l Měiguó	dǎ bu da	Īlākè l]	yǐjí	[l míngtiān dàodǐ jiāng rúhé l]
America	fight NEG fight	Iraq	and	tomorrow in-the-end will-be like-what

yǐjīng	bú	zài	huà	xia.
already	NEG	at	word	under

'that whether America fought with Iraq and what tomorrow would be like were already of no account.'

59.
Búguò	wǒ hái shi	rěn - bu - zhù	gàosu	Wénlì	shuō:
however	I still be	tolerate NEG:pot stand	tell	Wenli	say

'However I still couldn't help telling Wenli:'

60.
"Qíshí nǐ	yí bèizi	yě	zuò - bu - chéng	Tāngmǐ,
in-fact you	one lifetime	even	act NEG:pot become/succeed	Tommy

' "In fact you'll never be able to be Tommy in your whole life,'

61.
yīnwèi	Tāngmǐ	bú	shi	hùnxuě."
because	Tommy	NEG	be	mixed-blood

'because Tommy isn't a mixed blood." '

62.
Guò	le	bàn	nián,
pass	ASP:compl	half	year

'Half a year later,'

63.
Wénlì	lái	zhǎo	wǒ,
Wenli	come	look-for	I

'Wenli came to see me,'

64.
"Wǒ	yěxǔ zhēnde	zuò - bu - chéng	Tāngmǐ	le,"
I	perhaps really	act NEG:pot become/succeed	Tommy	ASP:perf

' "Perhaps I *will* never be able to be Tommy," '

65.
tā	ànrán	de	shuō,
s/he	miserable	MAN	say

'she said miserably,'

66.
"wǒ	wàng - bu - liǎo	jiù	de..."
I	forget NEG:pot. complete	old	SUB

' "I can't forget the old..." '

67. "Yěxǔ nǐ   xíng,"
    perhaps you   be-okay
    ' "Perhaps you'll be okay," '

68. Wǒ shènzhì   bú   yuàn shāng zìjǐ   de   xīn,
    I   so-far-as-to NEG   wish hurt   self   SUB   heart
    'I didn't even want to hurt myself,'

69. "Nǐ   kěyǐ   shì   zhe
    you can   try   ASP:dur.
    ' "You can try'

70. zài   zuòwén   lǐ   zuò,
    at   composition   in   act-as
    'being (him) in a composition,'

71. yí cì   zuò - bu - hǎo
    one time   do   NEG:pot good
    '(if you) can't be (him) properly once'

72. hái   yǒu   xià   yí   cì,
    still   exist next one   time
    'there's still the next time,'

73. nà   bù   yě   tǐng hǎowán   de?"
    that   not   also   very fun   SUB
    'won't that be a lot of fun?" '

74. Wǒ kàn - dao ˙ Wénlì
    Wenli look   reach Wenli
    'I saw that Wenli'

75. yòu   yí cì   kāixīn de   xiào   le.
    further one time   happy   MAN   laugh ASP:compl
    'once again laughed happily.'

Appendix 3: Texts for Chapters 1-4

character versions

爸爸:　26　我上午上班,

　　　　27　中午陪外国客户,

　　　　28　下午开会……

　　　　29　哪儿有时间?

妈妈:　30　我不知道,

　　　　31　你没跟我说。

爸爸:　32　早上一起床

　　　　33　我就提过这件事儿。

妈妈:　34　我呀, 一起床

　　　　35　就给你们做早饭……

爸爸:　36　我吃早饭的时候还说了!

妈妈:　37　那明天去借嘛!

爸爸:　38　明天图书馆不开门。

妈妈:　39　那就后天去借!

爸爸:　40　我今天晚上要用。

妈妈:　41　那没办法……

爸爸:　42　唉, 真讨厌!

妈妈:　43　什么?

　　　　44　你说

　　　　45　我讨厌?

爸爸:　46　不, 不……我是说,

　　　　47　没有那本书真讨厌。

妈妈:　48　啊!

小明:　49　爸, 妈……

妈妈:　50　上哪儿了?

　　　　51　怎么这么晚啊?

小明:　52　今天星期六,

	53	下了课
	54	还有课外活动。
妈妈:	55	瞧你满头大汗的……
	56	哦，你要的球鞋，我给你买了。
小明:	57	啊呀，太好了！
	58	我还怕
	59	你忘了呢。
	60	在哪儿？
	61	我看看……
妈妈:	62	一会儿再看，
	63	你先去 洗一洗。
小明:	64	诶。
	65	活动结束
	66	已经五点了，
	67	我还去了图书馆
	68	给爸爸借书。
妈妈:	69	哦？
爸爸:	70	什么？
小明:	71	爸，你让我借的书我借回来了！
	72	图书管理员找了半天……
爸爸:	73	哦……
妈妈:	74	还说
	75	我健忘呢！

（二）对吹

甲：　　1　真喝醉了，

　　　　2　你看得出来。

乙：　　3　哦，真喝醉了，

　　　　4　您瞧得出来。

甲：　5a　真喝醉的人……

乙：　　6　嗯。

甲：　5b　他怕

　　　　7　人说

·　　　8　他醉了。

乙：　　9　哦，他倒怕这样。

甲：　10　嗯。

乙：　11　是啊。

甲：　12　俩人在一块儿喝酒，

　　　13　俩人都醉了。

乙：　14　怎么样？

甲：　15　你看呢，

　　　16　俩人对吹。

乙：　17　哦，俩人吹牛。

甲：　18　谁也不承认

　　　19　谁醉了。

乙：　20　是啊？

甲：　21　"我看你，

　　　22　你的酒哇，不行。"

乙：　23　哦，人家不行。

甲：　24　"再喝两杯，

　　　25　你就醉了。"

乙：　26　是啊？

　　　27　那个呢？

甲：　28　"你看，

　　　29　我没关系。"

乙：　30　他没关系？

甲:　　31　"我再喝半斤

　　　　32　没关系。"

乙:　　33　纯粹说大话。

甲:　　34　那个也说大话呀。

乙:　　35　那个人怎么样？

甲:　　36　"你没醉呀？"

乙:　　37　嗯。

甲:　　38　"咱们一对一瓶儿地喝。"

乙:　　39　嗬，又吹上了！

甲:　　40　"你、你说话时，

　　　　41　舌头都短啦。"

乙:　　42　他那舌头也不利索了。

甲:　　43　"没喝醉呀。"

乙:　　44　诶。

甲:　　45　"没喝醉，

　　　　46　你来这头儿。"

乙:　　47　什么呀？

甲:　　48a　从兜儿里头呀……

乙:　　49　啊。

甲:　　48b　把手电筒掏出来了。

乙:　　50　手电棒。

甲:　　51　往桌子上一搁……

乙:　　52　干吗呀？

甲:　　53　一摁电门，

　　　　54　出了一个光柱儿。

乙:　　55　诶，那个光出来了。

甲:　　56　"你瞧这个。"

乙:　　57　啊？

甲:　　58　"你顺着我这柱子爬上去！"

乙:　　59　哦，那是柱子呀？！

甲:　　60　"你爬！"

乙:　　61　那个怎么样啊？

甲:　　62　那个也不含糊哇。

乙:　　　 63　啊。

甲:　　　 64　"这……算得了什么呀？"

乙:　　　 65　啊。

甲:　　　 66　"咱们就爬这个柱子呀。"

乙:　　　 67　啊。

甲:　　　 68　"你别来这一套！"

乙:　　　 69　啊？

甲:　　　 70　"我懂。"

乙:　　　 71　哦。

甲:　　　 72　"让我 上去啊……"

乙:　　　 73　啊。

甲:　　　 74　"我爬到半道儿，

　　　　　 75　你一关电门，

　　　　　 76　我掉下来了！"

（三）购物

小梅:　　　　1　诶，大减价！

　　　　　　 2　咱们去看看啊。

玉蓉:　　　　3　好啊。

卖冰棍的:　　4　冰棍儿！冰棍儿！奶油冰棍儿！小豆冰棍儿！

玉蓉:　　　　5　买两根冰棍。

卖冰棍的:　　6　要奶油的还是小豆的？

玉蓉:　　　　7　两根小豆的。

卖冰棍的:　　8　一共两毛四。

卖冰棍的:　　9　哎哟，你没有零钱吗？

玉蓉:　　 　10　没有。

卖冰棍的:　 11　找你一块七毛六。

玉蓉:	12	哟……帮我放进提包里，好吗？
小梅:	13	诶，你看那件。
	14	你觉得
	15	好看吗？
玉蓉:	16	颜色倒好看的,
	17	可是这种式样现在已经不时髦了。
个体户丙:	18	快来买！
	19	大减价！
	20	四十块钱一件啦！
小梅:	21	你看,
	22	那个人穿的衣服真漂亮啊！
玉蓉:	23	是呀,
	24	样子挺新的。
小梅:	25	咱们过去看看啊。
小梅:	26	你看,
	27	这件好看吗？
玉蓉:	28	倒挺时髦的。
	29	你喜欢吗？
小梅:	30	喜欢。
玉蓉:	31	那你买一件吧。
小梅:	32	好……
玉蓉:	33	喂，便宜一点儿吧！
个体户丙:	34	已经够便宜的了！
个体户丁:	35	四十块钱一件，你上哪儿去买呀！
小梅:	36	走，走，走……
个体户丙:	37	喂！……三十九块什么样？
小梅:	38	三十九块？

	39	才不要呢？
个体户丙:	40	好，好，……
	41	三十八，三十八块！
小梅:	42	好。
玉蓉:	43	诶，你看那双黑皮鞋，
	44	挺好看的。
小梅:	45	哎呀，我就想买这种样子的鞋！
	46	劳驾，给我拿那双鞋，好吗？
售货员:	47	你要多大号的？
小梅:	48	３６号半。
	49	有点儿小，
	50	有没有３７号的？
售货员:	51	你等一等啊，
	52	我去看看。
	53	３７号没有黑的，
	54	有黄的，
	55	你要不要？
小梅:	56	黄的？
玉蓉:	57	你试试看吧。
小梅:	58	好，
	59	给我看看。
	60	嗯，你看
	61	怎么样？
玉蓉:	62	真好看，
	63	比那双黑的好看。
小梅:	64	嗯……挺舒服的。
	65	好，

	66	就要这双吧。
小梅:	67	多少钱？
售货员:	68	二十八块。
小梅:	69	哎哟，还差一块五。
玉蓉:	70	我这儿有两块,
	71	可是咱们还得从车呢！
小梅:	72	真倒霉！
玉蓉:	73	下次再买吧。
玉蓉:	74	对了！
小梅:	75	你怎么啦？
玉蓉:	76	走吧！

（四）在教室里

1　下课前的五分钟，老师在黑板上写着：圣经、航海图、一本关于野生动物的书、枪、手电筒、降落伞、大衣、水（每人三杯）、火柴、指南针、伏特加、罐头（每人三听）、太阳镜、药、雨衣。

2　他停下笔,

3　"现在，你们的飞机掉在了沙漠上，"

4　他解释说,

5　"你们还活着,

6　五百里外有个村庄,

7　你们可以走

8　也可以留下,

9　每人只准带五样东西……"

10　"你一定要拿指南针。"

11　我同桌小声对我说。

12　"回去写一下前因后果和你们的决定。"

13 这时下课铃响了。

14 这显然是一篇作文,

15 虽然没有题目。

16 那以后的好几天,

17 我一直在想这件事。

18 周末的下午, 我哪儿也没去,

19 一个人拉上窗帘,

20 打开灯,

21 从满床的杂物中抽出一沓白纸,

22 我又能开始写作文了。

23 我真的忍不住告诉你,

24 上学的时候,

25 我是多么喜欢写作文,

26 那是我甜蜜的往事。

27 其它课好像总是长得没有边,

28 只有作文课短得只是一瞬间;

29 甚至终于交稿之后,

30 我还觉得

31 它并没有完。

32 我知道,

33 我在隐约等待着什么,

34 像我以后等待过的某种约会。

35 事实上, 它是没完,

36 当老师站在讲台上,

37 一边对全班同学朗读我的作文,

38 一边透过镜片有意无意地瞟上我一眼时,

39 我那颗麻酥酥的心正在那儿嘣嘣乱跳呢!

40 我眼前一片模糊,

41 满眼只剩下一张嘴

42 在那儿一张一合。

43 这才像那篇作文真正的结尾。

44 整整一个周末过去了,

45 一天半, 短得只是一瞬间。

46 我扔了一地纸团,

47 点过无数次烟,

48 查了半夜字典,

49 又一大早带着那张只有几百字的纸

50 去了三个地方。

51 晚上,我有一篇不会有任何错误的英语作文。

52 我回到家,

53 又扔了几个纸团,

54 又点了几次烟,

55 抄了好几遍。

56 我看着那张整洁的纸,

57 写上自己的名字,

58 吃了三片安乃近,

59 然后满意地合上了眼睛。

60 这时整个城市都睡了。

61 星期一,我交了我的作文,

62 我已经能倒背如流了。

（五）对美国的失望态度

甲: 1 那么,关于什么主题呢?

乙: 2 你说那个美国……

       3 ＝你刚刚说……

甲: 4 ＝关于对美国的希望和失望态度。对,

       5 但是我不是专家,

       6 我只是表达我自己的想法。

乙: 7 这好。

甲: 8 因为我一直觉得,

       9 说,如果,我刚才跟你讲的,

10 there is only country,

11 比如，象这么一个国家

12 有一套完整的法律的系统 – legal system, 是吗？

13 来保障它的公平的竞争，

14 但是全世界的race and cultures and 所有的思想都能够自由地在那边竞争，

15 那么，这个国家，只有一个国家，

16 就是美国。

17 我本来以为，

18 那是一个非常非常伟大的国家

19 – 确实它现在也很伟大

20 – 但是我后来才觉得，

21 它还是有非常严重的discrimination 的。

22 首先是种族上的。

23 它认为，

24 从落后的国家来的人的思想， 也是落后的，

25 这个是不一定的。

26 第二点，就是说，它的对文化的歧视，

27 因为它的那个参照系，它的那个 standard system, 它有这么一个思想，

28 它有一个标准，

29 这个标准是以什么人为前提的呢？

30 也许是英格兰呢，

31 也许是爱尔兰呢，

32 也许是……反正是白人的那个标准。

33 我举一个例子，

34 从医学上来说。

35 那么，亚洲的医学在美国就受到歧视。

36 中医，中医，几千年以来都被证明

37 是非常有效果的。

38 对很多疾病的治疗是很有效的。

39 那么，中国人很多很多人从小到大治病

40 是用中医治的，

文利的作文

（一）在教室里

1　下课前的五分钟，老师在黑板上写着：圣经、航海图、一本关于野生动物的书、枪、手电筒、降落伞、大衣、水（每人三杯）、火柴、指南针、伏特加、罐头（每人三听）、太阳镜、药、雨衣。

2　他停下笔，

3　"现在，你们的飞机掉在了沙漠上，"

4　他解释说，

5　"你们还活着，

6　五百里外有个村庄，

7　你们可以走

8　也可以留下，

9　每人只准带五样东西……"

10　"你一定要拿指南针。"

11　我同桌小声对我说。

12　"回去写一下前因后果和你们的决定。"

13　这时下课铃响了。

14　这显然是一篇作文，

15　虽然没有题目。

16　那以后的好几天，

17　我一直在想这件事。

18　周末的下午，我哪儿也没去，

19　一个人拉上窗帘，

20　打开灯，

21　从满床的杂物中抽出一沓白纸，

22　我又能开始写作文了。

23　我真的忍不住告诉你，

24　上学的时候，

25　我是多么喜欢写作文，

26　那是我甜蜜的往事。

27　其它课好像总是长得没有边，

28　只有作文课短得只是一瞬间；

29　甚至终于交稿之后，

30 我还觉得

31 它并没有完。

32 我知道,

33 我在隐约等待着什么,

34 像我以后等待过的某种约会。

35 事实上, 它是没完,

36 当老师站在讲台上,

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53 又扔了几个纸团,

54 又点了几次烟,

55 抄了好几遍。

56 我看着那张整洁的纸,

57 写上自己的名字,

58 吃了三片安乃近,

59 然后满意地合上了眼睛。

60 这时整个城市都睡了。

61 星期一, 我交了我的作文,

62 我已经能倒背如流了。

（二）作文

1　　"那是我们有生以来第一次坐飞机，

2　我们没有钱，

3　可上帝愿意给我们这个机会。

4　那天天气非常好，

5　没有风，

6　没有云，

7　没有一切；

8　甚至连上帝都在对我们微笑。

9　可他是在用脸的另一面对我们笑，

10　这是当我们的飞机猛地掉下来时

11　我们才明白的。

12　飞机消失了，

13　我们还活着，

14　没人知道为什么，

15　也没有人告诉我们.

16　我们像一群鸟一样骤然落在了沙滩上，

17　却不能像鸟那样再飞起来。

18　我们不知道

19　我们能活多久，

20　但能活着永远是最好的。

21　上帝，不，我不想说上帝……

22　总之，那个比我们大的人并不想放弃他的权力，

23　他给我们留下了一些东西。

24　总是这样，

25　很多这样的时刻，　总有什么能够把你留下来。

26　我们必须选择，

27　虽然我宁愿不选择。

28　一些人准备离开，

29　因为五百里外有个村庄；

30　而我愿意留下。

31 这倒不光是因为我想到

32 或许会有别的飞机来救我们,

33 更为我是个生怕再累着自己的人。

34 我要属于我的那份水和罐头。

35 我要那本关于野生动物的书——

36 我想读它不是为掌握什么知识去抵御外来的侵略,

37 而是想在看它时

38 能离眼前和外境远上点。

39 我还要那个降落伞,

40 它或许在下雨的时候不如雨衣好,

41 在寒冷的时候不如大衣暖,

42 但它更全面;

43 它既可以在白天遮阳,

44 也可以在夜晚御寒。

45 最主要的,搭起它,

46 就是一个家,

47 可以安身立命。

48 它还是一个信号,

49 如果真有其它飞机从这儿经过的话。

50 我很想要火柴,

51 但我更想要烟,

52 我不知道

53 没烟的日子对我来说是什么,

54 所以没烟的火柴对我根本没用。

55 再说沙漠好像也找不到木柴

56 可以到火做饭。

57 我或许会要那瓶伏特加,

58 谁都知道,

59 有时候,酒会使人好受些。

60 可它为什么不是我喜欢的另外一种酒呢?

61 勉强的沉醉,还是算了吧。

62 我选择了太阳镜,

63 为了有理由

17 晚上，我躺在床上，

18 望着天花板，

19 我在千百次地问自己:

20 你真的以为

21 我们早已接受的一切不是根深蒂固的吗？

22 我在每一个清晨走进教室，

23 这时所有的梦都已做完了。

24 这儿，你瞧，

25 差不多同样的房间，

26 差不多同样的光线，

27 十几年就消失了。

28 像其它课一样长得没有边，

29 又像作文课那样短得只是一瞬间;

30 不管发生什么事，

31 不管再过多少年……我

32 心中隐隐约约的等待到底是什么呢？

33 那以后的好几天，我一直在想这件事。

34 我像入学一样坐在教室里，

35 这是我喜欢的房间，

36 这是我喜欢的光线，

37 我真的忍不住不告诉你，

38 我是多么喜欢写作文，

39 那是我美好的记忆.

40 我甚至曾为此落过泪，

41 那是因为有天我发现，

42 第一个写出 "八千个风暴吹不倒，九万个雷霆也难轰" 这样精采句子的人并不是我.

43 我真的为此暗淡了好多天，

44 虽然我把它用在我的作为里时，

45 它似乎同样精采.

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33 望着天花板,

34 想了好一会儿,

35 但没想出什么。

36 他叹了口气,

37 只得写:

38 "鲍比很喜欢

39 吃糖,

40 我也愿意给它糖吃,

41 但如果家里没有糖,

42 我就不给它吃糖。"

43 汤米停下来,

44 挠着头,

45 望着天花板,

46 他开始沮丧了……

47 突然,他想出了一个好主意,

48 汤米高兴地笑着,

49 随即飞快地写起来:

50 "当我想让鲍比进屋时,

51 我就叫:鲍比;

52 如果它没进屋,

53 我就再叫:鲍比,鲍比;

54 如果它还没进屋,

55 我就大声叫:鲍比,鲍比,鲍比;"

56 汤米数了一遍字,

57 149。

58 他在结尾多加了一个鲍比,

59 写上自己的名字,

60 然后满意地交给了老师。

（五）文利的志愿书

1 文利咧着嘴

2 眯着眼，

3 不管不顾地笑得眼前通亮，

4 万事原来如此简单。

5 那以后的好几天，文利一直在想这件事。

6 周末的下午，文利哪儿也没去，

7 一个人拉上窗帘，

8 打开灯，

9 从满床的杂物中抽出一沓白纸，

10 她又能写志愿书了。

11 "东风吹，

12 战鼓擂，

13 现在世界究竟谁怕谁……"

14 记忆中最熟悉的字眼缩短着她和汤米之间的差距，

15 文利继续写：

16 "我志愿

17 做一个汤米，

18 因为汤米是在宇宙领导下的先进代表，

19 是活学活用的思想典范，

20 是主观世界与客观世界的有机结合，

21 是时代的需要，未来的召唤，

22 是改造世界的艰巨重任……"

23 文利决心已下：

24 "我一定要克服重重困难，

25 以汤米为榜样，照汤米的话去做，

26 走进日新月异的新时代！"

27 文利看着那张整洁的纸，

28 写上自己的名字，

29 涂好一层胶水，

30 然后满意地贴在了床头。

31 她趴在床上

32 瞅了很久，

33　这时天渐渐黑了。

34　她想起许多从前的事,

35　想起小学时一篇作文的题目

36　是: 我的将来。

37　想起

38　她曾站在一个五层楼的窗口

39　呆呆地望着街上的人流

40　并对自己说:

41　我一定要长大。

42　想起

43　她就那样开始认真地在每一篇作文里不断刻画着自己,

44　想起她这些年来心中隐隐约约的等待,

45　想起她越来越不真实的心情, 以及她由此而得到的满足和平衡……

46　忽然, 文利想起小时候那个写满了语录, 格言, 警句以及后来又补上许多无比
完美的形容词的笔记本——

47　心头竟涌起一股温暖的血流。

48　她缩在床上

49　开心地笑了。

50　文利立志

51　在有生之年做一个汤米,

52　她还要写一篇新作文,

53　这念头使她一想起来

54　就激动。

55　她说

56　这改变不了她每天用筷子吃饭用肥皂洗脸的习惯,

57　却使她觉得

58　美国打不打伊拉克以及明天到底如何已经不在话下。

59　不过我还是忍不住告诉文利说:

60　“其实你一辈子也做不成汤米,

61　因为汤米不是混血。”

62　过了半年,

63　文利来找我,

64　“我也许真的做不成汤米了,”

65　她暗然地说,

66　"我忘不了旧的……"

67　"也许你行，"

68　我甚至不愿伤自己的心，

69　"你可以试着

70　在作文里做，

71　一次做不好，

72　还有下一次，

73　那不也挺好玩的？"

74　我看到文利

75　又一次开心地笑了。