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 Haliday & 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. Aims and organisation of the study

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.

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).
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.

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.
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. The grammar of a Chinese text

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, 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: 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 his father who 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.

1 Originally entitled "Memories", a title which was however felt to have misleading connotations.
2 The fourth member, their daughter, Xianqiong, 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 hanyu pinyin, 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-sī le!
       oh-dear  today  busy  die  ASP
       'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'  

D:2.  Ā, máng shènme 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.  huì-lái,
       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 yóu jiù
       midday  reach  post-office
       'At lunchtime (I) went to the post-office'  

9.  ji le  yī fèng xìn,
       post  ASP  one  MEAS  letter
       'and posted a letter;'  

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

11. hái mǎi le diàn 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.  cǎishìchāng 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 bǎihuódáloú
        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.'  

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1. The grammar of a Chinese text

D:18. Êí, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ jiē-lái 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 zēnme zhēnme jiānwàng?
you how so forgetful
'How could you be so forgetful?'

M:21. Jiānwàng?
forgetful
'Forgetful?'

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

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

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

D:25. Nǐ zēnme bù zìjǐ qù jiē?
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 pèi wàiguó kèhu,
midday escort foreign client
'At lunchtime (I had to) look after a foreign client,'

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

29. Nǎr yǒu shǐjiān?
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 gèn wǒ shuō.
you NEG:perf with I speak
'you didn't tell me.'

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

33. jiù tí - qī guò zhè shìr.
then mention up ASP this matter
'(I) mentioned this matter.'

M:34 Wǒ ya, yǐ qǐ chuáng
I TEXT once rise bed
'As soon as I got up'
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

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

D:36. Wǒ chǐ záofán 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 měitiān qù jiē ma!
well tomorrow go borrow MOD 'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'

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

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

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

then NEG-exist means 'Well (it) can't be helped.'

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

M:43. Shénme?
what 'What?'

44. Nǐ shuō
you say 'Did you say'

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

D:46. Bú, bú... wǒ shì shuō
no no...I be say 'No, no...I said'

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

M:48. À
ah 'Ah!'

X:49. Bā, Mā...
Dad Mum 'Dad, Mum...'

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

51. Zěnme zhènme wǎn a?
how so late MOD 'Why are (you) so late?'
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

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

53. xìà 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. Qīáopiān nǐ mān - tóu - dà - hàn de!
    look you full head big sweat MOD
    'Look at you all covered in sweat!'

56. Ó, nǐ yào de qiūxié, wǒ gěi nǐ mǎi le.
    oh you want SUB sandshoes 1 for you buy ASP
    'Oh, those sandshoes you wanted, I got (them) for you.'

X:57. Ái yā, 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. Zǎi nǎr?
    be-at where
    'Where are (they)?'

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

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

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

X:64. Ëi.
    okay
    'Alright.'

65. Huódòng jiěshù,
    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 bābā jiè shū.
    for Dad borrow book
    'to borrow a book for Dad.'
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

D: 69. 始建：

oh
‘Oh?’

M: 70. Shénme?

what
‘What?’

X: 71. Bā, nǐ rǎng wǒ gēi nǐ jiē de shū, wǒ jiē - hui - lai le.

Dad, you get I for you borrow SUB book I borrow return come ASP

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

72. Túshū-guānliyuán zhǎo le bántiān...

library attendant look-for ASP half-day

‘The library attendant spent ages looking for (it).’

D: 73. 始建：

oh
‘Oh...’

M: 74. Hái shuō

still say
‘And (you) say’

75. wǒ jiànwăng 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. 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, 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, yújìng(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 qìngxìng yújìng) 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 context (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 "intrasitual' 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 morphosyntax (wording) and phonology (sound) - neatly captured in their Chinese equivalents 语义 'language meaning', 语法 'language rules' and 语音 '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 篇语) 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 词法) renamed to show that lexis and grammar form a continuum, rather than being discreet 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. The grammar of a Chinese text

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>level of abstraction</th>
<th>context of situation (qingxing yùjìng)</th>
<th>context of text (cotext) (shàngxiàwén)</th>
<th>wording of text (cuòcí)</th>
<th>sound (shēngyín)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stratum</td>
<td>register</td>
<td>discourse-semantics</td>
<td>lexicogrammar</td>
<td>phonology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yǔyù</td>
<td>yǔpìán yǔyì</td>
<td>cíhuì yǔfā</td>
<td>yǔyīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unit of analysis</td>
<td>text as communicative event</td>
<td>text as cohesive unity</td>
<td>clause as function structure</td>
<td>syllable (not examined here)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.1: Strata and units of analysis

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.

\(^5\) 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. The grammar of a Chinese text

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 jiēshù,
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 Xiǎomíng mǎi qiūxié.
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. 办天图书馆不开放.
   (tomorrow library NEG open)
   'Tomorrow the library isn't open.'

There has been no previous mention of 'tushuguan' '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. 嗯，我要那本书，你给我借来吗？
   (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".

\[\text{text} \rightarrow \{\text{presented, presumed, from context of situation, from within text, from previous mention, simultaneously}\}\]

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 exophoric ("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. jìngguǒ cǎishíchāng, (and as I) went past the markets;
       "the markets would still be open!" (i.e. presented: first mention, particular markets not specified)

2. by omission, i.e. leaving out information that can be presumed from the context (omitted items in parentheses): e.g.
   M:1. Āiyá, jǐntiān (wǒ) máng-sì le! (i.e. presumed from situation: speaker referring to herself)
       "Oh, today (/)’ve been really busy!"

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

3. by using expressions that uniquely identify a piece of information: e.g.
   16. wǒ hái dēi qù bǎihuǒdàlǒu (i.e. presumed from situation: speaker identifies herself as doer of action)
       I still must go department store
       ’I still had to go to the department store’

4. by using expressions that uniquely identify a piece of information: e.g.
   17. gěi Xiǎomíng mǎi qiūxìe. (i.e. presumed from situation: the speaker identifies her son as beneficiary of action)
       for Xiaoming buy sandshoe
       ’to buy sandshoes for Xiaoming.’

Although cǎishíchāng 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 - qí guò zhè jiàn shìr.
I then mention up ASP this MEAS matter
'I mentioned this matter.'

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?'

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. The grammar of a Chinese text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Chinese Word(s)</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jintiān today</td>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>máng-si busy die</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nǐ)</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>máng</td>
<td>busy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>shàng bān</td>
<td>go-to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xià bān</td>
<td>finish work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>mái cái</td>
<td>buy food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>zuò fàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>cook meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>zhōngwǔ midday</td>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>căishichǎng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>mái diàn'r cái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>buy a-little food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>xiàwǔ afternoon</td>
<td>xià bān</td>
<td>finish work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>căishichǎng market</td>
<td></td>
<td>kāi mén be open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>xià bān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>wǒ</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>mái gei Xiaomíng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>buy for Xiaoming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>qiúxié.</td>
<td>sandshoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *jintiān* '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 *jintiān* 'today' as set up in (1) - i.e. *jintiān* *zhōngwǔ* 'midday (today)' in clause (8), *jintiān* (jintiān)
"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), \( mǎi cài, cāishǐchāng \) '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 \( shū \) '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 \( jiānwàng \) '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 context 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, cāishichǎng '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. cài shì chǎng 'markets' in (13)
  
10. jǐngguó cài shì chǎng,  
    pass-by market  
    (and as I) went past the markets;

13. cài shì chǎng hái kǎi mén mà!  
    market still open door MOD  
    'the markets would still be open!'

- if treated as known to speaker and listener: e.g. tǔ shū guǎn lì yuàn '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. Tǔ shū guǎn lì yuàn zhāo le bǎn tīán...  
    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 'T' in (35)^8

34. wǒ ya, yī qǐ chuāng  
    I TEXT once rise bed  
    'As soon as I got up'

35. (wǒ) jiù gěi nǐ mén zuò zǎo fān...  
    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 chū fā diăn) 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.
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 bāihuòdàlōu
   '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. Eh, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ jìè-lái le ma?
   '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 yà in the following example: e.g.

Theme Rheme
34. Wǒ yà, yì qí chuáng
   '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 yà '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 yà, yì qí chuáng
   'As soon as I got up'
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

Theme  Rheme

35. (wǒ) jiù  gěi nǐmen zuò  zāofān...
'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 cāishíchāng '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. cāishíchāng 'the markets' in the following clause:

Theme: experiential  Rheme
13. cāishíchāng  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  nǐr  le?  nà
'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  nàr  yǒu  shìjiān 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:
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 で 'you', but is usually used without:

```
Theme: textual  Rheme
37.  Na mingtian qujie ma!
     well tomorrow go borrow MOD
     'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'
```

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>jīnɡguò cāishichānɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>pass-by market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'(I) went past the markets'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cāishichānɡ</td>
<td>hái kāi mén ma!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>market</td>
<td>still open door MOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the markets would still be open!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hái yōu kēwài huódōnɡ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'(I) had after-class activities.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Huódōnɡ</td>
<td>jièshù, activity conclude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'(By the time) the activities were over'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 māng '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:

1. Áiyā, jíntiān māng-sì le!
   oh-dear today busy die ASP
   'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'  

2. A, māng 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 jiāodiān) 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. Áiyā, jíntiān māng-sì le!
   oh-dear today busy die ASP
   'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

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

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

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

5. māi cài,
   buy food
   'going shopping,'  

6. huí-lái,
   return come
   '(now that I've) come home,'
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 (cāishíchāng '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):

```
13. cāishíchāng 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

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, jīntīān māng-sī 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. Ėi,
    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. //Ēi // 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. Ėi '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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>interpersonal</td>
<td>experiential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Āiyā, jīntiān măng-sì 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>interpersonal</td>
<td>experiential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Āiyā nār 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Given</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30. Wǒ bù zhídào,
   I NEG know
   'I didn't know,'

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].

The grammar of a Chinese text

Figure 1.4: 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, āi'ya '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) Ā 'Oh (tell me more) and (12) Hài 'Hey (but despite what you just said...).
Table 1.2: Flow of information between Theme & New in a section of Memory

Mum's initial experiential Theme indicating the overall time, jintiān '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, māng-sī 'really busy'. This summary is questioned by Dad in the New of the following clause, (māng) shènmé '(busy with) what', and then exemplified by Mum in the News of clauses (3-4) (shàng / xià) bān '(starting / finishing) work' and (5) (māi) 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, cāishichǎng '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) yíhòu, i.e. New of (12). He then reintroduces cāishichǎng '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. bāihuǒdǎlóu 'the department store' as New of the following two clauses (15-16), and then focussing on a different type of goods, i.e. qiūxiē 'sandshoes' as the New of clause (17).
Textual organisation from 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.
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme / Presumed</th>
<th>New / Presented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. jìntiān (wǒ)</td>
<td>māng-sì le!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today I</td>
<td>busy die ASP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (nǐ) you</td>
<td>māng shénme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>busy what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. shàng bān</td>
<td>xià bān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go-to work</td>
<td>finish work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. māi cāi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. hui-lai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. zhōngwǔ (wǒ)</td>
<td>hái děi zuò fān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midday I</td>
<td>still must cook meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. zhōngwǔ (wǒ)</td>
<td>dào yóu jú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midday I</td>
<td>reach post office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ji le yī fēng xīn,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>post ASP one MEAS letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ji le yī fēng xīn,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>pass-by market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. jīngguō cāishichāng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>still buy ASP a-little food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. hái mǎi le dìǎn cài,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>still buy ASP a-little food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. xiàwǔ (wǒ)</td>
<td>xià bān yīhòu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afternoon I</td>
<td>finish work after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. cāishichāng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>market I</td>
<td>hái kāi mén' r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Ōiyā nǎr</td>
<td>yǒu shì jiān ne?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh-dear where</td>
<td>exist time MOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. xià le bān</td>
<td>xià le bān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>finish ASP work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. wǒ I</td>
<td>hái děi qù bāihuìdálǒu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>still must go department store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. gěi Xiǎomíng mǎi qū xìxiè.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>for Xiao ming buy sandshoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

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).

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, *Wō kàn kan* ‘I’ll have a look’ (61), is flatly overridden by a further command from Mum, *Yīhuòr 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 * Ai, zhēn tāoyán!* ‘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
'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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity exchanged</th>
<th>(a) goods-&amp;-services</th>
<th>(b) information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) giving</td>
<td>'offer'</td>
<td>'statement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) demanding</td>
<td>'command'</td>
<td>'question'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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) Ṣi '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.
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Bà, Mā...</td>
<td>greeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dad Mum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Dad, Mum...'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Shàng nǎr le?</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go-to where ASP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Where have (you) been?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Zěnmé zhèmé wǎn a?</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>how so late MOD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Why are (you) so late?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Jīntiān xīngqīliū,</td>
<td>statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>today Saturday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Today's Saturday,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>xià le kě</td>
<td>statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>finish ASP class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'when (I) finished class'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>hǎi yǒu kǎiwǎi huǎndōng.</td>
<td>statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>still exist class-outside activity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(I) had after-class activities.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Qióng nǐ mǎn - tóu - dà - hàn de!</td>
<td>(exclamation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>look you full head big sweat MOD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Look at you all covered in sweat!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Ò, nǐ yào de qiúxiè, wǒ gěi nǐ mái le.</td>
<td>statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oh you want SUB sandshoes I for you buy ASP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Oh, those sandshoes you wanted, I got (them) for you.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Àiyà, tài hǎo le!</td>
<td>(exclamation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oh too good ASP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Oh, great!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Wǒ hái pà</td>
<td>statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I still fear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I was afraid'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>nǐ wàng le ne.</td>
<td>statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you forget ASP MOD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'you'd forgotten.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Zǎi nǎr?</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>be-at where</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Where are (they)_CF?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Wǒ kàn kàn.</td>
<td>offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I look look</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I'll have a look.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Yíhúl'ér zǎi kàn,</td>
<td>command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-while further look</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Look at (them) in a while,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>nǐ xiān qù xī yī xi.</td>
<td>command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you first go wash one wash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'go and have a wash first.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Ói.</td>
<td>(interjection)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>okay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Alright.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1.4:** Basic speech functions of moves in a section of *Memory*
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>role + commodity</th>
<th>initiating</th>
<th>responding (expected)</th>
<th>responding (alternative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>give goods-&amp;-services</td>
<td>offer</td>
<td>acceptance</td>
<td>rejection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demand goods-&amp;-services</td>
<td>command</td>
<td>undertaking</td>
<td>refusal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give information</td>
<td>statement</td>
<td>acknowledgment</td>
<td>contradiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demand information</td>
<td>question</td>
<td>answer</td>
<td>disclaimer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

| X:49 | Bà, Mā... Dad Mum 'Dad, Mum...' |
| M:50 | Shàng nǎr le? go-to where ASP 'Where have (you) been?' |
| 51  | Zēnmē zhème wàn 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  | hǎi yǒu kěwèi huòdòng. still exist class-outside activity '(I) had after-class activities.' |
| M:55 | Qiáo nǐ mān - tóu - dà - hàn de! look you full head big sweat MOD 'Look at you all covered in sweat!' |
| M:56 | Ò, nǐ yào de qiúxíé, wǒ gěi nǐ mái le. oh you want SUB sandshoes I for you buy ASP 'Oh, those sandshoes you wanted, I got (them) for you.' |
| X:57 | Àiyā, 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 kàn. I look look 'I'll have a look.' |
| M:62 | Yíhuír zài kàn. a-while further look 'Look at (them) in a while,' |
| 63  | nǐ xiān qù xǐ yī xi. you first go wash one wash 'go and have a wash first.' |
| X:64 | Òi. okay 'Alright.' |

**Table 1.5: Initiating and responding moves in a section of Memory**
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].

![Diagram of the semantic system of NEGOTIATION](image)

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.

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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 copart 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 context 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 nǐ de 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. Èi, wǒ yào de nǐ běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ jìé-lái 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 yì 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. hái yǒu kēwài 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
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. wǒ 'I', nǐ '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).

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: mǎng 'busy':

M:1. Āiyā, jiàntiān mǎng-sī le! oh-dear today busy die ASP 'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

D:2. Ā, mǎng shēnmé 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. nǐ shēnmé shíshòu gēn wǒ shuō guo? you what time with I speak ASP 'When did you mention (it) to me?'

D:23. Chì zǎofàn de shíshòu 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 shùyǔ 'stating word'), as in Mum's recital of her actions in (8):

8. Zhōngwǔ dǎo yóujiū midday reach post office 'At lunchtime (I) went to the post-office'
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:

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.

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. cāishicháng 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 mìngtiān 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 shi-fēi "yes-no" (Zhu 1982: 202)):

18. Ei, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ jiè-lai le ma?

'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):

19. Shènme? shènme shū?

'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:

16. wǒ hái děi qù bāihuódáolóu

'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

1. Àiyā, jīntiān máng-si le!

'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.

19. Shenme? shenme shu?
   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. Ei.
   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):

![Mood System Diagram]

**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:
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1. 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:

23. Chī zāofān 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:

14. Āiyā nār yǒu shíjīān ne?  
Oh-dear where exist time MOD  
'Oh, where would there be the time?'

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

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 1.12:** The MOOD system in *Memory*: positive and negative clauses

**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:

```
7. hái děi zuò fán.
    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:

```
40. Wǒ jīntiān wǎnshāng 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].
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

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*. 
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 interactants 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. The grammar of a Chinese text

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>jíntiān</td>
<td>máng-sì</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>today</td>
<td>busy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>máng</td>
<td>busy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>shàng + bān</td>
<td>go-to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>xià + bān</td>
<td>finish work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>mái + cài</td>
<td>buy food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>zuó + fàn</td>
<td>cook meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>zhōngwǔ</td>
<td>yóuju</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>midday</td>
<td>post-office</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>ji + xīn</td>
<td>post letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>cāishíchāng</td>
<td>market</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>mái + cài</td>
<td>buy food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>xiàwǔ</td>
<td>cāishíchāng + kāi mén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>afternoon</td>
<td>market be open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>shìjīān</td>
<td>xià + bān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>time</td>
<td>finish work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>báihuǒdālòu</td>
<td>shàng bān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>department-store</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>mái + qiúxié.</td>
<td>buy sandshoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mài 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: cāishíchǎng '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 jī 'post' and xīn '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.
```

69
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 māng-sī '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 dēi '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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circumstance</th>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>le!</th>
<th>Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āiyā, jintiān</td>
<td>(wō )</td>
<td>máng-si</td>
<td>busy die</td>
<td>ASP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh-dear today</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Á,</td>
<td>(nǐ )</td>
<td>máng</td>
<td>shénme</td>
<td>ya?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh you</td>
<td>busy</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>MOD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Process</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āiyō,</td>
<td>shàng</td>
<td>bān</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>go-to work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xià</td>
<td>bān, finish work</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Process</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mǎi</td>
<td>cāi; buy food</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(wō )</td>
<td>huí-lái, return</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Process</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(wō )</td>
<td>hái dēi</td>
<td>zuò</td>
<td>fān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>I still must</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>meal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 cāi 'buy food' or jī 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 (shìjíànl) '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. māng '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)):

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clauses</th>
<th>Process type</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ascriptive</td>
<td>'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ascriptive</td>
<td>'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process type</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>material</td>
<td>representing the outside world, i.e. doings or happenings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ascriptive</td>
<td>describing the outside world, ascribing qualities or states to entities or situations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relational</td>
<td>identifying relationships between entities in the outside world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mental</td>
<td>consciously processing the outside world through the inner world of the consciousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbal</td>
<td>symbolically expressing the outside or inner world through language</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. Āiyō, shàng bān
   'Oh, going to work,'
   Process: material
   oh go-to work

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

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

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

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

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. Āiyă nār yǒu shíjiān ne?
    'Oh, where would there be any time - i.e. where would I have had the time?'
    Process: relational
    Aiya nār yǒu shíjiān ne? oh-dear where exist time MOD

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

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

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.
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. Nǐ zēnme zhème jiānwàng?
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. nǐ shénme shíhòu gèn wǒ shuō guò?
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. Wǒ 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. Nǐ zēnme bú zì jǐ qu jiē?
you how NEG self go borrow
'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?'

26. Wǒ shàngwū bān,
I morning go-to work
'In the morning I went to work,'

27. zhōngwǔ pèi wāiguó kēhù,
midday escort foreign client
'At lunchtime (I had to) look after a foreign client,'

28. xiàwù 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:
29.  Nǎr  yǒu  shíjīān?  
   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:

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 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.
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

7. (wǒ) hái děi zuò fán,
   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-lái,
   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. cāishíchāng hái kāi mén ma!
    the markets still open door MOD
    'the markets would still be open!'

40. Wǒ jīntiān wǎnshàng 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;subject&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;verb&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;object&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. (wǒ)</td>
<td>mǎi</td>
<td>cài,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I buy</td>
<td>food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>cāishíchāng</td>
<td>kāi mén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>markets</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 cāishíchāng '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)?:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;subject&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;verb&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. (wǒ)</td>
<td>huí-lái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I return come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. wǒ</td>
<td>yòng.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I use</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(wǒ )</td>
<td>huí-lai,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>return come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Now that I've) come home</td>
<td>action of returning takes place through the Medium 'T (Mum)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Huódōng</td>
<td>jiéshû,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activity</td>
<td>conclude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'(By the time) the activities were over'</td>
<td>i.e. action of finishing takes place through Medium 'activities'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

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. cāishíchǎng 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 cāishíchǎng,
I pass-by market
'(I) went past the markets'
i.e. 'markets' is the location of 'passing by'

Medium Process Range
8. (wǒ) dào yóujuì
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'
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, ..., zênme 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 zênme 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 zênme 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 shênme? 'what is Y doing' where Y represents the Agent, or Y bā X zuò le shênme? '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](image)

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 măng-si '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. Äiyä, jìntiān măng-si le! oh-dear today busy die ASP
   'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

Similarly in the following example, an ascriptive process like jiànwâng '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 zènme zhème jiànwâng?
    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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carrier</th>
<th>Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Nǐ      | jiànwâng        | You are forgetful

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

47. "mēi yǒu nèi běn shū tāoyān."
   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) māng shēnme
    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 tāoyān!
    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':

```
(74. Hái shuō wǒ jiànwàng ne!
    still say I forgetful MOD
    'And (you) say')
```

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 zènme '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 zènme '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 ASCRPTIVE PROCESS TYPE, as set
out in Fig. 1.18.
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.

```
60. (Qiuxie) zai nadr?
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.

```
14. nadr you shijian
where exist time
‘where would there be the time’
```

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor (Location)</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Possessed (Existent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(wǒ) I</td>
<td>yǒu</td>
<td>kēwài huódòng.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'(I) had after-class activities.'

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identified</th>
<th>Identifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jintiān</td>
<td>xīngqīlìù,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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 shì 'be', as in the following modified example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identified</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Identifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jintiān</td>
<td>bù shì</td>
<td>xīngqīlìù.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>NEG be</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identified</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Identifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Huódòng</td>
<td>jiēshù,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activity conclude</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'(By the time) the activities were over'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yījìng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wǔ diǎn le,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'(it) was already five o'clock,'
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 ná r? 'where is X?', where X represents the Existent, and ná r 'where' represents the Location; existential Ná r yǒu X? 'where is there X?', where ná r 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](image)

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senser</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Phenomenon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wǒ</td>
<td>kàn</td>
<td>(qiūxié)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 mān-tōu-dà-hàn 'you all covered with sweat' in the following example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senser</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Phenomenon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(nǐ )</td>
<td>qiáo</td>
<td>nǐ mān - tōu - dà - hàn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senser</th>
<th>Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wǒ hái pà</td>
<td>'I was afraid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mǐ wàng le ne.</td>
<td>'that you'd forgotten.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

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:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Process} & \text{Sayer} & \text{Receiver} \\
\text{Verbiage} & \text{shuō} & \text{mèi} \\
\text{say} & \text{you} & \text{NEG:perf} \\
\text{produce} & \text{with} & \text{I} \\
\end{array}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Process} & \text{Verbiage} & \text{Sayer} \\
\text{Verbiage} & \text{zhè jiān shì} & \text{tī - qí guò} \\
\text{mention up} & \text{this MEAS matter} & \text{ASP} \\
\text{ASP} & \text{I} & \text{mention up} \\
\end{array}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Process} & \text{Verbiage} & \text{Sayer} \\
\text{Verbiage} & \text{zhè jiān shì} & \text{tī - qí guò} \\
\text{mention up} & \text{this MEAS matter} & \text{ASP} \\
\text{ASP} & \text{I} & \text{mention up} \\
\end{array}
\]

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:

44. Sayer Process
   Nǐ shuō
   you say
   'Did you say'

45. Carrier Process
   wǒ tāoyàn?
   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](image)

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.
The grammar of a Chinese text

e.g.

different clause types, as in the following examples (circumstances indicated in italics):

1. Aiya, jintian mang-si oh-dear today busy die le! ASP

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

8. Zhongwu dao zhongwu midday reach youju post office

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

22. ni shenme shihou gen w6 you what time with I shuo guo? 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>process type</th>
<th>material</th>
<th>ascriptive</th>
<th>relational</th>
<th>mental</th>
<th>verbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>circumstance type</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Process: ascriptive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jǐntiān</td>
<td>máng-sì le!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh-dear today</td>
<td>busy die ASP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Process: mental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zǎi kàn,</td>
<td>a-while further look</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Process: material</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Túshū-guǎnliyuán</td>
<td>zhǎo le</td>
<td>bāntiān...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>library attendant</td>
<td>look-for ASP</td>
<td>half-day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carrier</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nǐ zhěnmé</td>
<td>zhěme jianwàng?</td>
<td>you how so forgetful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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 'Did you say') 45. wǒ tāoyān? '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 zēnme 'how (come)') a particular state exists, as in the following ascriptive clause:

51. Zēnme zhèmē wǎn a? '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:

Ag nt Cause Process
25. Nǐ zēnme bú zìjí qu jiē? '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):

Med d Ag nt Bene fit Process
18. wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ jiē-lai le ma? '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 yǐzhōng 'already' in the relational clause (66):
Medium Process

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,'

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. Yihuítì zài kàn,
a-while further look
'Look at (them) in a while,'

Agent ? Process
63. nǐ xiān qù xǐ yì xiān.
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 bàn
finish ASP work
'Having finished work,'

Medium Process Range
16. wǒ hái děi qù bāihuòdàlóu
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 'yihou' 'after' indicates that the second action happens after the first, while the element 'hai', as in clause(16) above, signals that this particular action comes at the end of a series of actions:

| Time | Process | Range | ?
|------|---------|-------|------
| xiaowu | xia ban | yihou, | after | 'in the afternoon after finishing work,'
| Medium | ? | Process | Range |
| caishichang | hai | kai | men'r | 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 focused on recounting the actions of the participants during their individual busy days.

![Figure 1.22: The system of CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE in Memory](image)

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.

**Figure 1.24: 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...
1. The grammar of a Chinese text

[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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Affected</th>
<th>Whole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>jīntiān</td>
<td>máng-si</td>
<td>busy to death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>type</td>
<td>māng</td>
<td>bān</td>
<td>work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>shàng + affect.</td>
<td>bān</td>
<td>work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>xià + affect.</td>
<td>bān</td>
<td>work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>mǎi + affect.</td>
<td>cāi</td>
<td>food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>huí-lái</td>
<td>subtype</td>
<td>return come</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>zuò + affect.</td>
<td>fán</td>
<td>meal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>part</td>
<td>zhōngwǔ</td>
<td>dào + affect.</td>
<td>yóuju</td>
<td>post-office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>ji + affect.</td>
<td>xìn</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>jǐngguò + affect.</td>
<td>cāishichāng</td>
<td>subtype</td>
<td>market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>mǎi + affect.</td>
<td>cāi</td>
<td>food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>part</td>
<td>xiàwǔ</td>
<td>xià + affect.</td>
<td>bān</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>cāishichāng + action</td>
<td>kāi mén'r</td>
<td>be open</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>subtype</td>
<td>shíjiān</td>
<td>time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>xià + affect.</td>
<td>bān</td>
<td>work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>wǒ</td>
<td>qù + affect.</td>
<td>bǎihuódálódí</td>
<td>department-store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>mǎi + affect.</td>
<td>qúxié</td>
<td>sandshoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.10: CONTENT RELATIONS choices in the opening section of Memory
Table 1.11: TRANSITIVITY choices in the opening section of Memory
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 1.4.3.5 above as circumstances of Sequence, such as hai '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.

1. The grammar of a Chinese text
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
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>functional type</th>
<th>system</th>
<th>functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>textual</td>
<td>THEME</td>
<td>Theme, Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
<td>Given, New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interpersonal</td>
<td>MOOD</td>
<td>Predicator, Negotiator, Polarity, Element, Vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiential</td>
<td>TRANSITIVITY</td>
<td>Process (various types), Participant(s) (various types), Circumstance(s) (various types)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. cāishíchāng 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
Furthermore, the different functional systems seem to define different kinds of structure. Textual structures work globally, dividing the clause into two interdependent 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:

```
Figure 2.2: The rank scale in Chinese
```

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 cèngcì fènxīfá "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. Eí, wō 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: wō 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 /
you for me borrow come
```

```
stage 4: nǐ /
you
```

```
stage 5: gěi wǒ /
for me
```

```
gěi wǒ jiè-lai
for me borrow come
```

2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese
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:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Medium} & \text{Agent} & \text{Circ: benefit} & \text{Process} \\
\text{18.} & \text{Éi, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ jiè-lai le ma?} & \text{oh, I want SUB that MEAS book you for me borrow come ASP MOD} & \text{Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 *d* in clause (2) and *éi* 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

\(^1\) In a level analysis version, function labels such as *zhāyà* 'subject', *wèiyà* '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 *zhōngxīn yǔ*) 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Benefit</th>
<th>Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Êi, wò yào de nèi běn shū, mǐ gěi wǒ jìè -lai le ma?</td>
<td>oh, I want SUB that MEAS book you for me borrow come ASP MOD</td>
<td>'Oh, that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18’.</td>
<td>Êi, shū mǐ gěi wǒ jìè le ma?</td>
<td>oh, book you for me borrow ASP MOD</td>
<td>'Oh, the book, did you borrow (it) for me?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. *Xiaoming*
   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'*
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. mǎng-sì '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 'T, Xiāoming '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 duányǔ '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 *ni* 'you' in clause (18) above, and those traditionally known as proper nouns (i.e. names of individuals) such as *Xiāomíng* 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:

\[
\text{unexpanded Thing} \quad \text{specified Thing} \\
{\text{shū}} \quad \text{‘a book, books’} \quad 18. \quad {\text{nèi bēn shū}} \quad \text{‘that book’}
\]

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, *bēn*, 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 *liàngcī* ‘measure word’), since they normally appear when the Thing is measured by amount, expressed by a numeral such as *yi* 'one' with the measure *fēng* in clause (9) below:

\[
\text{unexpanded Thing} \quad \text{specified Thing} \\
{\text{xīn}} \quad \text{‘a letter, letters’} \quad 9. \quad {\text{yi fēng xīn}} \quad \text{‘one letter, a (particular) letter,’}
\]

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:

\[
\text{unexpanded Thing} \quad \text{described Thing} \\
{\text{shū}} \quad \text{‘a book, books’} \quad \text{wǒ yào de shū} \quad \text{‘the book I want’}
\]

Both specifying and describing elements may occur together, as in the original example from the text:

\[
(18) \quad \text{wǒ yào de nèi bēn shū...} \\
\text{I want SUB that MEAS book} \\
\text{‘that book I wanted...’}
\]

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. 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.

### Table: Nominal group functions in Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>function structure</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>subclass</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Thing</td>
<td>unique interactant</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>nǐ 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unique individual</td>
<td>proper noun</td>
<td>Xidoming 'Xiaoming'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unspecified entity</td>
<td>common noun</td>
<td>fàn 'meal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>point in time</td>
<td>time noun</td>
<td>jintiān 'today'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Deictic ^ Measure</td>
<td>relation to speaker</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>nèi běn shū 'that book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^Thing</td>
<td>type of entity</td>
<td>measure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pointed out entity</td>
<td>common noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Numerator ^ Measure</td>
<td>amount</td>
<td>numeral</td>
<td>yì fēng xīn 'one letter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^Thing</td>
<td>type of entity</td>
<td>measure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quantified entity</td>
<td>common noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Descriptor ^ Thing</td>
<td>description</td>
<td>(part of) clause</td>
<td>wǒ yào de shū 'the book I wanted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>described entity</td>
<td>common noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Modelling grammatical structure 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:

---

2 These function labels are largely adapted from Halliday's description of English (1994: Ch.6); the term "Descriptor" is my own.
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

unexpanded Event extended Event
jie' 'borrow' 18. jie-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
mang 'be busy' 1. mang-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, 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. māi (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.

---

3 The different uses of this term are discussed in McDonald 1996: Section 2.
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>function structure</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>subclass</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Event</td>
<td>undifferentiated action, state, relation, etc</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>mái 'buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tāoyàn 'be annoying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zài 'to be at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zhídào 'know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shuō 'say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Event ^ Extension</td>
<td>action, state, etc</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>máng-sī 'busy die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. result</td>
<td></td>
<td>postverb</td>
<td>jiè-lái 'borrow come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. direction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. (Modality)</td>
<td>obligation to perform</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
<td>děi 'must'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Predicator)</td>
<td>action, etc</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>zuō 'make'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.4: Verbal group functions in Chinese

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 mǎi qiūxié.
   for Xiaoming buy sandshoe
   'to buy sandshoes for Xiaoming.'

22. nǐ shénme shíhou 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.
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>function structure</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>subclass</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minor Process</td>
<td>associated action</td>
<td>coverb</td>
<td>gēi wǒ 'for me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^</td>
<td>entity involved in</td>
<td>nominal group</td>
<td>gēn wǒ 'with me, to me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Participant</td>
<td>associated action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 zhèmé 'so' in the ascriptive clause (20) below:

20. Nǐ zhèmé 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 dēi qù bāihuòdálóu
    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. bú '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 bú 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. **Aiya, jīntiān máng-si le!**
   **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. **cǎishichāng hái kāi mén ma!**
   **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):

18. **wǒ yào de nèi běn shū...**
   **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 *yīhòu* 'after' at the end of clause (12) below indicates a relationship of sequence in time between this and the following clause:

12. **Hái, xiàwǔ xià bān yīhòu,**
   **Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,**

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 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.
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>group class</th>
<th>word class</th>
<th>Chinese equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominal</td>
<td>common noun</td>
<td>pǔtōng mingcixing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mingcixing</td>
<td>proper noun</td>
<td>zhuānyǒu mingcixing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>dàicī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>numeral</td>
<td>shùcī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>zhīshícī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>measure</td>
<td>lǐángcī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbal</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>dōngcī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōngcixing</td>
<td>postverb</td>
<td>hòudōngcī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
<td>zhūdōngcī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coverb</td>
<td>tōngdōngcī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverb</td>
<td>fúcī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>particle</td>
<td>zhūcī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conjunction</td>
<td>liánzī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

18.  我要 de 内 běn shù...
    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 (shù 'book'). The last half of this nominal group, i.e. nèi běn shù '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descriptor</th>
<th>Thing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. [lw6yaol] de ... shu...</td>
<td>I want SUB book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the book (which) I wanted'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descriptor</th>
<th>Thing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71. [Inlr^gwfi ggiril jiel] de sha...</td>
<td>you get I for you borrow SUB book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the book you got me to borrow for you...'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mei you nei ben shu 'not having that book':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carrier</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47. [l méi you nei bën shu ] zhēn tāoyăn.</td>
<td>NEG exist that MEAS book really annoying</td>
<td>'not having that book is really annoying.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME</th>
<th>INFORMATION</th>
<th>MOOD</th>
<th>TRANSITIVITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Gi-</td>
<td>Predicator</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rheme</td>
<td>New</td>
<td>Negotiator</td>
<td>Sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ven</td>
<td></td>
<td>Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Range</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>cāishíchāng</td>
<td>hái</td>
<td>kāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>market</td>
<td>still</td>
<td>mén'r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>open</td>
<td>ma!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>door</td>
<td>MOD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26. Wǒ shàngwǔ shàng bān,</td>
<td>'In the morning I went to work,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. zhōngwǔ péi wàiguó kēhù,</td>
<td>'At lunchtime (I) looked after a foreign client,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. xiàwǔ kāi huì...</td>
<td>'In the afternoon (I) had a meeting...'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 29. Nǎr yǒu shíjiān? | '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>shàngwǔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'In the morning I went to work,'</td>
<td>shàng bān, attend work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>zhōngwǔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>péi wàiguó kēhù, escort foreign client</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'At lunchtime (I) looked after a foreign client,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wǒ)</td>
<td>xiàwǔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kāi hui...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'In the afternoon (I) had a meeting...'</td>
<td>hold meeting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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):

```
26. Wǒ shàngwǔ shāng 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. shāngwǔ '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):

```
(26) wǒ 'I' shāngwǔ '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.
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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:

26. Wǒ shàngwǔ shàng bān,  
    'In the morning I went to work,'

27. (wǒ) zhōngwǔ péi wàiguó kēhù,  
28. (wǒ) xiàwǔ kāi huì...

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. Nàr yǒu shíjīān?
    '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. shānghū '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, ná'r 'where', is both Theme and New (in this and following examples, the function labels have been superimposed on the culminative representation):

```
  Theme
  New

29. Ná'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:
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

30. Wǒ bù zhīdào,
'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 (ni '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':

31. nǐ méi gēn wǒ shuō.
'you didn't tell me.'

It is important to reemphasize 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 (32-31) 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):
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32. Zaoshang (wǒ) yī qǐ chuáng
   early-morning I once rise bed
   'First thing this morning as soon as (I) got up,'

33. (wǒ) jiù tǐ-qi guo zhè jiàn shìr.
   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 zǎofān...
   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 T, 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 T, 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):
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34. Wǒ yā, yī qǐ chuángh
I TEXT once rise bed
'As soon as I got up'

35. (wǒ) jiū gěi nǐmen zuò zǎofān...
I then for you 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:

14. Āiyā nǎr yǒu shījiān 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 use of 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":

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2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

2. A, máng shénme yā?
   '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:

Exclamation

1. Aiyā, jīntiān máng-sī le!
   '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 děi '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':

Modality Predicator

16. wǒ hǎi děi qù bǎihuòdālóu
    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':

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:

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

31.  nǐ  méi  shuō.
    you  NEG:perf  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' 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 *zíjǐ* '(your)self' comes between the negative *bù* 'not' and the Predicator *qù jiē* 'go borrow':

25.  nǐ  zěnme  bù  zíjǐ  qù  jiē?
    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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prosody</th>
<th>pre-Predicator</th>
<th>post-Predicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>options</td>
<td>[modalised], [negative] etc</td>
<td>[assessed]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. wǒ hái děi I still must bǎihuǒdǎlóu department store

30. Wǒ bù zhidào, I NEG know

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOOD</th>
<th>Predicator</th>
<th>Negotiator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRANSITIVITY</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>cāishichāng hái kāi mén'nr ma!</td>
<td>market still open door MOD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. *ná*r 'where', realised grammatically as a Location participant in the relational clause (14) below:

MOOD  TRANSITIVITY  Element  Location  Process  Existent  
14. Āiyā ná*r yóu 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  TRANSITIVITY  Element  Process  Range  
2. Ā, máng shénme ya?  
oh busy what MOD  
'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'

or a particular time, e.g. *shénme shihòu* 'what time, when', realised as a circumstance of Time in the verbal clause (22) below:

MOOD  TRANSITIVITY  Element  Process  Time  Receiver  
22. nǐ shénme shihòu gěn wǒ shuō guò?  
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. *zēnme* 'how', realised as a circumstance of Cause in clause (20) below:

MOOD  TRANSITIVITY  Element  Process  Carrier  Cause  Degree  
20. nǐ zēnme zhēnme jiānwàng?  
you how so forgetful  
'How could you be so forgetful?'
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. Zhōngwǔ</td>
<td>dào</td>
<td>yóu jū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midday</td>
<td>reach</td>
<td>post office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'At lunchtime (I) went to the post-office'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ji le</td>
<td>yi fēng xīn,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post</td>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>one MEAS letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'and posted a letter,'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. jīngguǒ</td>
<td>cǎi shì chāng,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass-by</td>
<td>market</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(and as I) went past the markets,'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td>Range</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. hái</td>
<td>mǎi le</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>still</td>
<td>buy ASP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I did some more shopping.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?
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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Predicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nā'r</td>
<td>yǒu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>shíjiān?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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:

8. Zhōngwǔ  dào  yóujuí
midday    reach  post office

declarative
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:

8.  Zhōngwǔ dào yóuju
     midday reach post office

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:

12. Hái, xiàwù xià bān yǐhòu,
     'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

13. cāishíchāng hái kāi mén' ma!
     'the markets would still still be open!'
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

14. Āiyā nār yǒu shìjiān 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:

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 ɡēn '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:

```
42. Āi, 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:

```
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:

```
44. Nǐ shuō
    you say
    'Did you say'
```

```
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:

46.  
\[
\begin{align*}
Polarity \\
Bu_1, \quad bu_1... \\
\text{no} \quad \text{no} \\
'No, \quad no...'
\end{align*}
\]

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:

46.  
\[
\begin{align*}
Polarity & \quad Predicator \\
w_0 \quad shi \quad shuo \\
I \quad \text{be} \quad \text{say} \\
\text{I said'}
\end{align*}
\]

47.  
\[
\begin{align*}
Polarity & \quad ?Predicator \\
[\text{I mei} \quad y_0u \quad n_0i \text{ b hen shu}] \quad zhen \\
\text{NEG} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{that MEAS book really} \\
't\text{not having that book is really annoying.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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. ydu 'have'. As was explained in section 1.4.3.2.2 above, an ascriptive process like taoyan '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 mei you nei ben shu '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 ydu 'have' preceded by a negative Polarity mei 'not', but it has no mood type in itself. From the point of view of its transitivity structure, therefore, (47) has a single Process taoyan '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.  Āi, zhēn tăoyăn! 'Oh, how annoying!'

M:43.  Shēnme? 'What?'

44.  Nǐ shuō wǒ tăoyăn? 'Did you say I'm annoying?'

46.a  Bù, bli... 'No, no...'

46.b  wǒ shì shuō I [mèi yǒu nèi běn shū] zhēn tăoyăn. '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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polarity</th>
<th>Predicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46.b wǒ shì shuō 47.</td>
<td>I be say NEG exist that MEAS book really annoying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.b wǒ shì shuō 47.</td>
<td>I said not having that book is really annoying.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 yán of tāoyán '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. Ni shuō you say
45. wǒ I tāoyán? 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 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mood type</th>
<th>speech function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>declarative</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Ai, zhēn tǎoyàn!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh-dear</td>
<td>really annoying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Oh, how annoying!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogative: elemental</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Shénme?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>'What?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>declarative</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Nǐ shuō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Did you say I'm annoying?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no mood type)</td>
<td>statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.a</td>
<td>Bù, bù...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'No, no...'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>declarative</td>
<td>statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.b</td>
<td>wǒ shì shuō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I be say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[l méi yǒu nèi běn shū l] zhēn tǎoyàn.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG exist that MEAS book really annoying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I said not having that book is really annoying.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>interrogative</th>
<th>Predicator</th>
<th>Negotiator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44'</td>
<td>Nǐ shuō</td>
<td>wǒ tǎoyàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you say</td>
<td>I annoying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma?</td>
<td>MOD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Did you say I'm annoying?'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

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

**declarative + Exclamation sub-prosody**

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

**declarative + Polarity sub-prosody (negative)**

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

**declarative + Polarity sub-prosody (positive)**

46. Bù, bù... wǒ shuō
    no no I be say
    'No, no...I said'

**declarative + Negotiator sub-prosody**

13. cāishichǎng hái mén'r ma!
    market still open door MOD
    'the markets would still be open!'
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

declarative + rising tone contour

44. Ni shuo
   you say
   'Did you say I'm annoying?'

45. wo taoyan
   I annoying

interrogative: polar + Exclamation sub-prosody

18. Ai,...nhei ben shu, ni gei wo jieli le ma?
   oh, that MEAS book you for me borrow come ASP MOD
   'Oh, that book..., did you borrow (it) for me?'

interrogative: elemental

20. Ni zhenme zheme jiawang
   you how so forgetful
   'How could you be so forgetful?'

interrogative: elemental (no Predicator)

43. Shenme?
   what
   'What?'

interrogative: elemental + Negator sub-prosody

25. Ni zhenme bu zi ji je?
    you how NEG self go borrow
    'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?'

interrogative: elemental, corresponding to statement ("rhetorical question")

29. Naer you shijian
    where exist time
    'Where would there be the time?'

imperative

62. Yihuir zu k'an,
    a-while further look
    'Look at (them) in a while,'

imperative, Negotiator sub-prosody

37. Na mingtian q ji 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.

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:

An equivalent representation would be to use a series of "boxes" underneath the clause, with each box labelled to represent a function:

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

13. Medium Sequence Process Range
   cāishíchāng hái kāi mén
   market still open door
   MOOD

Medium Sequence Process Range
13. cāishíchāng 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. cāishíchāng hái kāi mén
   market still open door
   MOOD
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 mǐ gěi wǒ jiè -lai le
   I want SUB that MEAS you for I borrow come

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 mǐ gěi wǒ jiè -lai le
   I want SUB that MEAS you for I borrow come

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 zāofàn* 'eat breakfast' is joined by *de* to the noun *shǐhou* '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>23.</th>
<th>[I Chī zāofàn I]</th>
<th>de</th>
<th>shǐhou</th>
<th>shuō</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clause function group function</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Process</td>
<td>Descriptor</td>
<td>Thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group function</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

18. [lwō yào l] de nèi bēn shū...
   I want SUB that MEAS book

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:

18. wō yào de nèi bēn shū, nǐ gěi wō 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":

22. nǐ shénme shíhou gěn wō 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. [lǐ ràng wō gěi nǐ jiè l] de shū, wō jiè-hui-lai le.
   you get I for you borrow SUB book I borrow return come ASP

143
The particle *le* also appears in other positions, between a Process and a following participant, as in (9):

9. Process | Medium
---|---
ji | le | yi fēng xin,
post | ASP | one MEAS letter
'and posted a letter,'

or between a Process and a following circumstance, as in (72):

72. Agent | Process | Time: duration
---|---|---
library attendant | zhǎo | bāntiān...
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 from Descriptor to Thing, so much so that if the Thing were omitted, it would still be understood; for example:

18'. [lwǒ yào lǐ] de
I want SUB
'I want the one I wanted'

However, in the case of *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.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>shū</th>
<th>wǒ</th>
<th>jiě</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>borrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. jie shu
    
    Process | Medium
    
    shu

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 gei baba 'for Dad':

68. gei baba jie shu.
    
    for Dad | borrow | book
    
    gei baba

We know from the context here that the person doing the borrowing is in fact Xiaoming, the speaker (wo T) 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. wo gei baba jie shu.
    
    Agent | Benefit | Process | Medium
    
    gei baba

Having done this, we see an almost identical array of functions to clause (71), but in a different order:

68. wo gei baba jie shu.
    
    Agent | Benefit | Process | Medium
    
    gei baba

71. shu wo jie
    
    Process | Agent | Medium
    
    jie
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, an 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.
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

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. [l méi yǒu nèi běn shū l] zhēn tāoyàn.

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 bú 'not' and zǐjǐ 'self' are omitted from the analysis):

25. Ni zěnmé bu zǐjǐ qù jiè?

A similar example occurs in (63) below, 'You go and have a wash first', (in this example, the doubling of the second Process xi '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. mǐ xiān qù xī yì xi.
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

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

In these cases, however, as suggested by the numbering, I have recognised two separate clauses. 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. material</th>
<th>Medium\Process</th>
<th>2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. middle: unranged</td>
<td>Medium\Process</td>
<td>(65) Huódòng jiéshù, '(By the time) the activities were over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process (Medium omitted)</td>
<td>(6) hui-lái, '(now that I’ve) come home.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium\Process1\Process2</td>
<td>(63) nǐ xiǎn qù yǐ yì xi. 'go and have a wash first.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ranged:</td>
<td>Medium\Process\Range</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium\Process\Range</td>
<td>(13) cāishìcháng hái kāi mén...! 'the markets would still be open!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process\Range (Medium omitted)</td>
<td>(3) shàng bān 'going to work,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process\Aspect\Range (Medium omitted)</td>
<td>(15) xià le bān 'Having finished work,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process\Range\Aspect (Medium omitted)</td>
<td>(50) Shàng nǎ'r le? 'Where have (you) been?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. effective</td>
<td>Agent\Process\Medium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process\Medium (Agent omitted)</td>
<td>(68) gěi bāba jié shū. 'to borrow a book for Dad.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agent\Process (Medium omitted)</td>
<td>(40) Wǒ jīntiān wànshàng yào yòng. 'I need to use (it) this evening.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process\Aspect\Medium (Agent omitted)</td>
<td>(9) ji le yì fēng xìn 'and posted a letter,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agent\Process1\Process2 (Medium omitted)</td>
<td>(25) Nǐ zěnme bù zìjǐ qu jiè? 'Why didn’t you go and borrow it yourself?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium\Agent\Process^Aspect</td>
<td>(18) ...wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ jìe-lái le...? '...that book I wanted, did you borrow (it) for me?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agent\Process\Aspect (Medium omitted)</td>
<td>(72) Túshū-guǎnliyuán zhào le bāntiān... 'The library attendant spent ages looking for (it).’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ascriptive</td>
<td>Carrier\Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | Carrier\Process | (20) Nǐ zěnme zhéme jiānwàng? 'How could you be so forgetful?'
| | Process (Carrier omitted) | (51) Zěnme zhéme wān...? '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!' |
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process type</th>
<th>template / actual structure</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. relational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. locational</td>
<td>Existential^Process^Location</td>
<td>(60) Zài nǎIr? 'Where are (they)?)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. existential</td>
<td>Location^Process^Existential</td>
<td>(29) NǎIr yǒu shìjīān? 'Where would there have been the time?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process^Existential (Location omitted)</td>
<td>(54) hái yǒu kēwài huódòng. '(I) had after-class activities.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. identifying</td>
<td>Identified^Process^Identifier</td>
<td>(52) Jīntiān xīngqīliū, 'Today's Saturday,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Identified^Identifier (Process omitted)</td>
<td>(66) yǐyǐng wǔ diǎn le, 'it was already five o'clock.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. mental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. phenomenal</td>
<td>Sensor^Process^Phenomenon</td>
<td>(55) Qiáo nǐ mán-tòu-dà-hán...! 'Look at you all covered in sweat!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process^Phenomenon</td>
<td>(24) Wǒ méi tīng-jiān... 'I didn't hear...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process^Phenomenon (Sensor omitted)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. reporting</td>
<td>Sensor^Process^[reported clause]</td>
<td>(58-59) Wǒ hái pā nǐ wàng le... 'I was afraid you'd forgotten.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sensor^Process^[reported clause]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. verbal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. received</td>
<td>Sayer^Receiver^Process</td>
<td>(31) nǐ méi gēn wǒ shuō. 'you didn't tell me.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sayer^Receiver^Process</td>
<td>(22) nǐ shénme shìhòu gēn wǒ shuō guò? 'When did you mention (it) to me?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sayer^Receiver^Process^Aspect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. verbalised</td>
<td>Sayer^Process^Verbiage</td>
<td>33. jiù-tí-qi guò zhè shìr. '(I) mentioned this matter.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process^Aspect^Verbiage (Sayer omitted)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. quoting</td>
<td>Sayer^Process^[quoted clause]</td>
<td>(44-45) Nǐ shuō wǒ tāoyán? 'Did you say I'm annoying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sayer^Process^[quoted clause]</td>
<td>(74-75) Hái shuō wǒ jiānwàng... 'And (you) say I'm forgetful.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Process^[quoted clause] (Sayer omitted)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.6: Types of transitivity structures in Memory
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 jiānwàng?
   you how so forgetful
   'How could you be so 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:

M:21. Jiànwàng?
   forgetful
   'Forgetful?'

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

M:25. Nǐ zěnme bù zìjǐ qu jié?
   you how NEG self go borrow
   'Why didn't you go and borrow it yourself?'

D:27. zhòngwǔ péi wàiguó kēhù,
   midday escort foreign client
   'At lunchtime (I had to) look after a foreign client,'

D:28. xiàwǔ kāi hui...
   afternoon hold meeting
   'In the afternoon (I) had a meeting...'

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, shānwǔ '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. māi cài;  
*buy food*  
'going shopping,'  
6. huí-lái,  
*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 yóuju
*midday reach post office*  
'At lunchtime (I) went to the post-office'  
9. jí le yī fēng xīn,  
*post ASP one MEAS letter*  
'and posted a letter,'  
10. jīngguò cāishichǎng,  
*pass-by market*  
'(and as I) went past the markets,'  
11. hái mǎi le diǎnr 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 \textit{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. Hái, xiàwǔ xià bān yīhòu,
    hey afternoon finish work after
    'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

13. cāishíchāng 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 \textit{yīhòu} '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 \textit{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 bāihuòdālóu
    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 \textit{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 \textit{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);
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. Záoshang yī qǐ chuáng  
   early-morning once rise bed  
   'First thing this morning as soon as (I) got up,'

33. jiù tí - qǐ guō 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. Yihul'r zài kàn,  
   a-while further look  
   'Look at (them) in a while,'

63. mǐ xiān qù xǐ yì 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. Aiýō, shàng bān 1  
   oh go-to work  
   'Oh, going to work,'

4. xià bān, 2  
   finish work  
   'finishing work,'
5. mǎi cài;
   buy food
   going shopping,'

In contrast, clauses (12-13) are relatively closely bound together, in that the first is marked by the conjunction yǐnhòu '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. Hái, xiàwǔ xià bān yǐnhòu, β
    'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

13. cāishíchǎng hái kāi mén'r ma! α
    '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. Aī, zhēn tāoyān! exclamation
   'Oh, how annoying!'

M:43. Shénme? question
   'What?'

44. Nǐ shuō 45. wǒ tāoyān? question
   you say I annoying
   'Did you say I'm annoying?'

D:46.a Bù, bù... statement
   'No, no...'

46.b wǒ shì shuō 47. [l méi yǒu nèi běn shū l] zhēn tāoyān. 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 mǎng '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. | Jintiān 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.
2. Modelling grammatical structure in Chinese

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 function in only one of the relevant clauses - an embedded Process is indicated [IProc.1].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>textual</th>
<th>interpersonal</th>
<th>experiential</th>
<th>logical</th>
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<tr>
<td>unit</td>
<td>message</td>
<td>information</td>
<td>predication</td>
<td>experience</td>
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<td>49.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>move</td>
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<td>52.</td>
<td>T</td>
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<td>Pred.</td>
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<td>53.</td>
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<td>54.</td>
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<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Pred.</td>
<td>[IProc.1] Proc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pred.</td>
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<td>59.</td>
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<td>60.</td>
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<td>62.</td>
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<td>63.</td>
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<td>Pred.</td>
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<td>64.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>move</td>
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<td>66.</td>
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<td>67.</td>
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<td>Pred.</td>
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<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>(T)</td>
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<td>Pred.</td>
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<td>69.</td>
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<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>(T)</td>
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<td>(Pred.)</td>
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<td>71.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N N</td>
<td>Pred.</td>
<td>[IProc.1] Proc</td>
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<td>73.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>move</td>
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<td>74.</td>
<td>(T)</td>
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<td>Pred.</td>
<td>Proc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>75.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Proc.</td>
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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 Bā '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 qíáo (nǐ) 'look (at you)', and (māntóu) 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 yāo de '(that) you wanted', functioning as Descriptor to the Head qiúxiē 'sandshoes'. Xiaoming’s reaction starts with an exclamation (57) containing only an interpersonal Theme àiyì '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 xiào '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...jíéshū '(after) (...the activities) were over', wǔ diǎn le 'it was five o'clock', hǎi qù le '(I) then went... jíe 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 (jíe) shū 'to borrow a book'. Dad’s responding move to this in (69), ǒ '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-huí -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, bǎntiān 'for ages'. Dad in reply (73) can only manage a responding move, a simple reaction like his former move ô '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 context 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: yúyì "language meaning" is reserved specifically for the stratum of semantics, with yúyìxué (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.

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 instantiated in 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

Extract from a xiängshēng (crosstalk, comic dialogue), between a principal (dòugén 'provoke laughter') and a feed (pènggén '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.
3. Text data and grammatical description

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](image)

**Figure 3.1: The system network for THEME in Memory**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M33.</td>
<td>experiential theme: implicit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wǒ) jǐù ti-qu</td>
<td>zhe jian shi'r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I then mention up</td>
<td>ASP this MEAS matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'(I) mentioned this matter.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M16.</td>
<td>explicit: explicit: non-emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wǒ hai de qi baihuodalaou</td>
<td>I still must go department store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I still had to go to the department store'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M34.</td>
<td>experiential theme: explicit: emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo ya yi qi chuang</td>
<td>ITEXT once rise bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'As soon as I got up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M42.</td>
<td>non-experiential theme: interpersonal theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ai, zhen tao yan!</td>
<td>oh-dear really annoying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Oh, how annoying!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M41.</td>
<td>non-experiential theme: textual theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na mei banfa.</td>
<td>then NEG-exist means</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Well it can't be helped.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1.</td>
<td>non-experiential theme: interpersonal theme &amp; experiential: explicit: non-emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiya, jintian mang-si le!</td>
<td>oh-dear today busy die ASP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M37.</td>
<td>non-experiential theme: textual theme &amp; experiential: explicit: non-emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na mingtian qujie ma!</td>
<td>well tomorrow go borrow MOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M26.</td>
<td>experiential theme: explicit: non-emphatic &amp; referring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo shangwu shang ban,</td>
<td>I morning go-to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'In the morning I went to work,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M29.</td>
<td>experiential theme: explicit: non-emphatic &amp; introducing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niar you shijiian?</td>
<td>where exist time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Where would (I) have had the time?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: Examples of THEME features instantiated in Memory
3. Text data and grammatical description

![Diagram of THEME system network in Boasting]

**Figure 3.2:** The system network for THEME in Boasting
### 3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>B43.</strong></td>
<td>experiential theme: implicit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| "(Wǒ) méi hē - zuǐ ya."
I NEG:perf drink drunk MOD |
| "(I’m) not drunk."
| |
| **B12.** | experiential theme: explicit: non-emphatic |
| Theme | Rheme |
| Lìā rēn zāi 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, bū xīng."
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) yǒu chuǎi - shàng 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 |
| Ọ, 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 shéitou yě bù lìsuo 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.'
|
3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B2.</td>
<td>experiential theme; transitivity role: Participant: not disposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nǐ</td>
<td>kān - de - chūlai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you see</td>
<td>POT:pos. out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you can tell.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| B48b.  | experiential theme: transitivity role: Participant: disposed |
| Theme  | Rheme |
| bō shǒudiàntōng | tāo - chu - lai de. |
| DISP hand-torch | pull out come MOD |
| '(he) pulls out a torch.' |

| B51.   | experiential theme: transitivity role: Circumstance |
| Theme  | Rheme |
| Wāng zhūōzi shang yī gē... | |
| towards table top once place |
| 'Puts it on the table.' |

| B54.   | experiential theme: transitivity role: Process |
| Theme  | Rheme |
| chū le yī ge guāngzhū’r. | |
| emit ASP one MEAS light-column |
| 'and a column of light comes out.' |

| B2.    | experiential theme: explicit: non-emphatic & referring |
| Theme  | Rheme |
| nǐ kān - de - chūlai. | |
| 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
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).

3. Text data and grammatical description

Figure 3.3  The system of INFORMATION in Memory and Boasting
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Textual Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>thematically equivalent: clause</td>
<td>Given New Āiyā, jintiān máng-sí le! oh-dear today busy die ASP 'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M18</td>
<td>thematically equivalent: part of clause</td>
<td>Given New ... wǒ yào de nèi běn shū ... I want SUB that MEAS book '...that book I wanted...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M6-7</td>
<td>thematically equivalent: clause complex</td>
<td>Given New hùi-lái, 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.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>thematically equivalent: New within Rheme</td>
<td>Given New Ā, máng shénme ya? oh busy what MOD 'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M29</td>
<td>thematically equivalent: New within Theme</td>
<td>Given New Nǐ yǒu shìjīān? where exist time 'Where would (I) have had the time?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>thematically non-equivalent: interjection</td>
<td>Given New Āiyā, ... oh 'Oh, ...'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1.</td>
<td>fresh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Āiyā, jintiān māng-sī le! oh-dear today busy die ASP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M34.</th>
<th>contrastive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Given Wǒ ya, yī qǐ chuáng I TEXT once rise bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'As soon as I got up'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M36.</th>
<th>reinforcing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Given Wǒ chī zāofān de shǐhòu hāi shuō le! I eat breakfast SUB time still speak ASP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I also spoke of (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3: Realisations of INFORMATION features in Memory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B9.</td>
<td>thematically equivalent: clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New -ven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Gi- O, tā dào pà zhèyàng. INT s/he however fear like-this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Oh, he's afraid of that.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B22.</th>
<th>thematically equivalent: part of clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New nǐ de jiǔ wā...'' you SUB alcohol TEXT 'your drinking...''</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B1-2.</th>
<th>thematically equivalent: clause complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New -ven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Gi- Zhēn hē - zui le, really drink drunk ASP 'If(someone)'s really drunk,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nǐ kàn - de - chūlái. you see CAN out 'you can tell.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| B16.   | thematically equivalent: New within Rheme  
Given New  
liǎ́  rén  duìchuí.  
two+MEAS person mutual-boast  
'the two of them boast to each other.' |
| B23.   | thematically equivalent: New within Theme  
Gi- New -ven  
Ô,  rénjiá  bú  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  
(Liǎ́  rén  zài  yìkuàí'r  hē  jiǔ,  dì?  
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  
Ô,  rénjiá  bú  xíng.  
INT other-person NEG okay  
'Oh, the other guy's no good.' |
| B3.    | reinforcing  
Gi- New -ven  
Ô,  zhēn  hē  zúi  le,  
INT really drink drunk ASP  
'Oh, (if)(they're) really drunk,' |
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, Xiāoméi and Yúróng, going shopping with various vendors: a seller of *bīngguăn’r* (iceblocks), two clothes sellers at a market stall, and a sales assistant in a shoe shop.
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.

![MOOD systems in Memory](image)

Figure 3.4: MOOD systems in *Memory*

² This text is taken from a different program of the same TV series as *Memory* - see explanation of the features of this series in section 1.1.0 above.
### 3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
<th>Text and Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>M26.</strong> declarative</td>
<td>Predicator</td>
<td>Wǒ  shàngwǔ  shàng bān,  I morning go-to work  'In the morning I went to work,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M2.</strong> interrogative: elemental</td>
<td>Predicator</td>
<td>Á,  māng  shénme  ya?  oh  busy  what  'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M18.</strong> interrogative: polar</td>
<td>Predicator</td>
<td>Íi, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ jiè-lái 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?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M62.</strong> imperative</td>
<td>Predicator</td>
<td>Yihúr zài  kān,  a-while further look  'Look at (them) in a while,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M30.</strong> negative: neutral</td>
<td>Polarity</td>
<td>Wǒ  bù  zhídào,  I NEG know  'I didn't know,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M31.</strong> negative: completed</td>
<td>Polarity</td>
<td>nǐ  méi  gěn wǒ  shuō.  you NEG:perf with I speak  'you didn't tell me.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M23.</strong> positive: neutral</td>
<td>Predicator</td>
<td>Chī zǎofān de shíhōu  shuō  de.  eat breakfast SUB time speak MOD  'I mentioned (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M46.</strong> positive: emphatic</td>
<td>Polarity</td>
<td>Bù, bù... wǒ  shì  shuō  no no I be say  'No, no...I said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M40.</strong> interactant: speaker</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Wǒ  jīntiān wǎnshǎng  yào  yòng.  I today evening need use  'I need to use (it) this evening.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3.5: Examples of MOOD features instantiated in Memory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M31.</td>
<td>interactant: addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Predicator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nǐ méi gēn wǒ shuō.</td>
<td>'you didn't tell me.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Predicator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M13.</td>
<td>assessed: certain: asserted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cāishichǎng hái kāi mén ma!</td>
<td>'the markets would still be open!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M23.</td>
<td>assessed: certain: established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chī zāofàn de shǐhòu shuō de.</td>
<td>'I mentioned (it) when (we) were having breakfast.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M14.</td>
<td>assessed: uncertain: open-ended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àiyā nǎr yǒu shǐjiān ne?</td>
<td>'Oh, where would there be the time?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.</td>
<td>assessed: uncertain: softened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, mǎng shénme yā? oh busy what MOD</td>
<td>'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M7.</td>
<td>modalised: obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hài dèi zuò fàn. still must cook meal</td>
<td>'(I) still have to do the cooking.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M40.</td>
<td>modalised: inclination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wǒ jīntiān wǎnshĀng yào yòng. I today evening need use</td>
<td>'I need to use (it) this evening.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M64.</td>
<td>minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eǐ. okay</td>
<td>'Alright.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Text data and grammatical description

Figure 3.5: MOOD systems in *Shopping*
### 3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause feature</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>S11.</strong> declarative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicator</td>
<td>Zhāo (give-change)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'That's one dollar seventy-six cents change.' (lit. (I) give you...change')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S75.</strong> interrogative: elemental: process: happening</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Element</td>
<td>Nǐ (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S37.</strong> interrogative: elemental: process: quality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Element</td>
<td>Wèi!...sānshíjiǔ kuài zhěnme yàng? (Hey thirty-nine dollar what-like)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S67.</strong> interrogative: elemental: participant: quantity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Element</td>
<td>Duōshǎo (how much)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S47.</strong> interrogative: elemental: circumstance: degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicator Element</td>
<td>Nǐ (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S35.</strong> interrogative: elemental: circumstance: place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Element Predicator</td>
<td>Sìshí kuài qián yī jiàn, nǐ shǎng nǐr qù mǎi (forty dollar money one MEAS you to where go buy MOD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S50.</strong> interrogative: polar: balanced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicator Polarity Predicator</td>
<td>yǒu (exist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S29.</strong> interrogative: polar: positive bias</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicator Negotiator</td>
<td>Nǐ (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S9.</strong> interrogative: polar: strong positive bias</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarity Predicator Negotiator</td>
<td>Ài yóu, nǐ (oh-dear you)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S18.</td>
<td>imperative: untagged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Predicator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kuài lāi mǎi! quick come buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Come and buy!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| S12.   | imperative: tagged |
|        | Pre-dicator Tag |
|        | Yō...bāng wǒ fāng-jǐn tībāo lǐ, 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 tīng hǎokān de, colour CONC very good-looking MOD |
|        | 'The colour looks very good' |

| S17.   | negative |
|        | Polarity Predicator |
|        | kěshì zhèi zhòng shìyàng xiānzǐ yǐng bù shìmào 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 jù xiāng mǎi zhèi zhòng yánghī de xiē! 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 duò dà hǎo de? you want how big size SUB |
|        | 'What size do you take?' |

| S2.    | interactant: speaker + addressee |
|        | Subject Predicator |
|        | zānmén jīn-qiū kàn kan a. you-me enter go look look MOD |
|        | 'let's go in (and) have a look.' |

| S24.   | non-interactant |
|        | Subject Predicator |
|        | yánghī tīng xīn de. style very new MOD |
|        | 'It's the latest style.' |

| S16.   | assessed: certain: established |
|        | Predicator Negotiator |
|        | Yánsè dào tīng hǎokān de. colour CONC very good-looking MOD |
|        | 'The colour looks very good' |
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].
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](image)

![Figure 3.7: The system of interrogative mood in Shopping](image)

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...
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:

![Diagram 3.8](image)

**Figure 3.8** The system of ASSESSMENT in *Memory*

![Diagram 3.9](image)

**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 (wómen '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 (nǐn '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 bú 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, bú 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:
3. Text data and grammatical description

S7. Yao naiyou de haiishi xiaodu de?
'Do (you) want milk or red bean ones?'

S8. Liang genru xiaodu de.
'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 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
### 3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M6.</td>
<td>material: middle: unranged</td>
<td>(wǒ) hui-lai, I return come 'now that I've come home.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M13.</td>
<td>material: middle: ranged</td>
<td>cāishíchǎng hái kǎi mén ma! market still open door MOD 'the markets would still be open!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M9.</td>
<td>material: effective</td>
<td>(wǒ) jí le yì fēng xìn, I post ASP one MEAS letter 'and (I) posted a letter.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1.</td>
<td>ascriptive: unranged</td>
<td>Aiya, jīntiān (wǒ) māng-sī le! oh-dear today I busy die ASP 'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2.</td>
<td>ascriptive: ranged</td>
<td>À, (nǐ) māng shénme ya? oh you busy what MOD 'Oh, what have (you) been busy with?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M45.</td>
<td>ascriptive: ascribed to entity</td>
<td>wǒ tāoyán? I annoying 'I'm annoying?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M47.</td>
<td>ascriptive: ascribed to situation</td>
<td>méi yǒu néi běn shū zhēn tāoyán. NEG exist that MEAS book really annoying 'not having that book is really annoying.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M60.</td>
<td>relational: location</td>
<td>(qíxué ) zài nǎr? sandshoes be-at where 'Where are (the shoes)_ATT?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M54.</td>
<td>relational: existential</td>
<td>(wǒ) hái yǒu kèwài huódòng. I still exist class-outside activity '(I) had after-class activities.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause feature</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **M52.** relational: identifying | *Jintiān xīngqīliú,*  
Today Saturday  
'Today's Saturday,' |
| **M55.** mental: phenomenal | **Qiáo** nǐ màn - tòu - 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 - qí guò zhè jiàn shìr.  
I then mention up ASP this MEAS matter  
'(I) mentioned this matter.' |
| **M44.** verbal: quoting | a Nǐ shuō "b wǒ tāoyăn?  
you say I annoying  
'Did you say I'm annoying?'
| **M7.** sequential | hái děi zuò fàn.  
still must cook meal  
'(I) still have to do the cooking.' |
| **M40.** circumstantial: time: location | Wǒ jīntiān wǎnshāng yào yòng.  
I today evening need use  
'I need to use (it) this evening.' |
| **M72.** circumstantial: time: duration | Túshū-guǎnliuyuán zhǎo le bāntiān...  
library attendant look-for ASP half-day  
'The library attendant spent ages looking for (it).'
|
Table 3.7: Examples of TRANSITIVITY features instantiated in *Memory*
Figure 3.11: The system of TRANSITIVITY in *In the classroom*
3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| CR59.  | material: middle: un ranged | Zhè shí zhēnggè chéngshí dōu shuì le.  
By this time the whole city was asleep. |
| CR23.  | material: middle: ranged | (wǒ) shàng xué de shíhou,  
'(that) when (I) was at school, |
| CR18.  | material: effective | yì ge rén lá - shàng chuānglián,  
'Alone, (I) drew the curtains,' |
| CR26.  | ascriptive: extended | Qítake Sōxiàng zdngshi cháng de méi yóu biàn,  
'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,' |
| CR6.   | relational: existential | wǔbǎi lǐ wài yǒu ge cūnzhāng,  
'two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village,' |
| CR25.  | relational: identifying | nà shí wǒ tiánmí de wǎngshí.  
'that was my happy past,' |
| CR39.  | relational: attributive | Wǒ yǎnquăn yì piàn móhu,  
The scene before me was blurred,' |
| CR24.  | mental: phenomenal | wǒ shì duōme xīhuān [xìè zuòwén] ,  
'I really loved writing compositions,' |
| CR29-30. | mental: reporting | a wǒ hái juède 'b tā bǐng méiyǒu wán.  
'I still felt (that) it wasn’t finished.' |
### 3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause feature</th>
<th>CR11. verbal: addressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Wǒ tóngzhūō xiǎoshēng duì wǒ shuō.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I same-desk small voice towards I say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'My desk-mate said to me quietly.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR3-4. verbal: quoting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;b Xiànzáì, nǐmen de fēijī diào - zài le shāmò shàng, now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall at ASP:compl. desert on &quot;Your plane has crashed in the desert.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;a tā jiānshì shuō, s/he explain say 'he explained,'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR9. scopal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>méi rén zhī zhēn dài wū yàng dōngxi...... each person only allow take five type thing 'each person is only allowed to take five things...’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR21. sequential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wǒ yòu néng kāishǐ xiě zuòwén le. I further can begin write composition ASP:compl/perf 'I could then begin writing compositions again.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR3. circumstantial: time: location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xiànzáì, nǐmen de fēijī diào - zài le shāmò shàng, now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall at ASP:compl. desert on &quot;Your plane has crashed in the desert.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR47. circumstantial: time: duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chá le bānyè zìdiān, consult ASP:perf half-night dictionary 'looked up (words in) the dictionary for half the night,'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR1. circumstantial: place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lǎoshī zài hēibān shàng xiě zhe: teacher at blackboard on write ASP:dur 'the teacher wrote on the board:'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CR32. circumstantial: manner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wǒ zài yǐnyuē děngdài zhe shénme, I ASP:prog indistinct wait ASP:dur something 'I was vaguely waiting for something,'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

Figure 3.12: The system of relational processes in *Memory*

![Diagram of relational processes in *Memory*](image)

Figure 3.13: The system of relational processes in *In the classroom*

![Diagram of relational processes in *In the classroom*](image)

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:

Figure 3.14: A combined network for the system of relational processes in the two texts

![Combined network for relational processes](image)

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 *cūnzhūāng* 'a village' in an original existential example from the text, vs 'the village' in its modified locational variant:

CR6. wūbāi hū wài yǒu ge cūnzhūāng,
500 li away exist MEAS village
'two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village,'
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 *shi* 'be' as shown in the following examples of an attributive clause (CR14) and an identifying clause (CR25):

**CR14.** Zhè xiānrán *shi* yì piān zuòwén,
This obviously be one MEAS composition
'This obviously was a composition,'

**CR25.** nà *shi* wǒ tiānmi 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:

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 3.15:** The system of circumstances of Time in *Memory*

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 shì zhěnggè chéngshì dōu shuì le. 
   '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](image)
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. 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 TRANSLITTIVITY features instantiated in each text, with the relationship between the clauses indicated to the left of each clause.

---

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.
3. Text data and grammatical description

The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Memory*

![Diagram showing the system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Memory*]

The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Disappointed in America*

![Diagram showing the system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS in *Disappointed in America*]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
<th>expanding: continuing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8-9.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Zhōngwǔ dào yóujiú</td>
<td>midday reach post office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ji le yi fēng xin,</td>
<td>post ASP one MEAS letter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
<th>expanding: dependent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12-13.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>β</td>
<td>Hái, xiàwǔ xià bān yíhòu,</td>
<td>hey afternoon finish work after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α</td>
<td>cāishíchāng hái kāi mén ma!</td>
<td>market still open door MOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clause</td>
<td>feature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5.</td>
<td>expansion: continuing: repeat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Āiyō, shàng bān oh go-to work 'Oh, going to work,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>xià bān, finish work 'finishing work,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mài cái; buy food going shopping,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 44-45. projection: verbal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Nǐ shuō you say 'Did you say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;b&quot;</td>
<td>wǒ tāoyàn? I annoying 'I'm annoying?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 58-59. projection: mental

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Wǒ hái pà I still fear 'I was afraid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;b&quot;</td>
<td>nǐ wàng le ne. you forget ASP MOD 'you'd forgotten.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.9:  Examples of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS features instantiated in Memory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-6.</td>
<td>expansion: elaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dānshì wǒ bù shì zhūānjìà, but I NEG be expert 'But I'm not an expert.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=2</td>
<td>wǒ zhī shì biǎodá wǒ zìjǐ de xǐāngfā. I only be express I self SUB opinion 'I'm only expressing my own opinions.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 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, \(\searrow\). In these statements, the following conventions are used to indicate the three main kinds of structural features:

1. \(+ Function\) Function present
   \(\emptyset\) Function absent (i.e. ellipsed)
   ( ) Function optionally present
2. \(FunctionA^\uparrow FunctionB\); one Function is ordered before another Function;
   \(#^\uparrow FunctionA\) 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
3. Text data and grammatical description

FunctionA^# Function ordered before clause boundary, i.e. at the end of the clause

 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.

![Diagram of system network for THEME in Memory with realisation statements]

Figure 3.19: The system network for THEME in Memory with realisation statements
3. Text data and grammatical description

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: 212)
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.

![Diagram of the system network for INFORMATION in Memory and Boasting]

**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.
3. Text data and grammatical description

**Figure 3.21:** The system network for MOOD in Memory with realisation statements
3. Text data and grammatical description

<table>
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<tr>
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Figure 3.22: The system network for MOOD in Shopping with realisation statements
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. nei ge rén chuān de yīfu zhēn piào liang 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 dēi 'must, have to':

74. kěshì zánmen hái dēi 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 shēnme shihòu gēn wǒ shuō guò? 
you what time with I speak ASP 
'When did you mention (it) to me?'

M23. Chī zāofān de shihòu 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. 你的三十有七号没有？
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'. 你是三十有七号或者没有？
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. 帮我进去把手提包放进包里，好吗？
oh help I place enter shopping-bag in good MOD
'Oh, (could you) help me put (the change) in my bag, please?'
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:

   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 *bā* in the following example:

S33. Wēi, piányi yídiǎnr bā!  
    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'. Wēi, piányi yídiǎnr, 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''. Wēi, piányi yídiǎnr, hǎo bù hǎo?  
    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''' . Wēi, piányi yídiǎnr, hǎo bā?  
    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.
Figure 3.23: The system of TRANSITIVITY in Memory
The relationship between experiential systemic features and their structural realisations is arguably a more complex one than the textual and interpersonal types examined in
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 shì wǒ tiānmí de wāngshí.  
that be I sweet SUB past  
'that was my happy past.'

CR25'. Wǒ tiānmí de wāngshí shì 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 xiē zuòwén 'writing compositions', subsequently identified as wǒ tiānmì de wāngshī '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 ná '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 yihòu 'after' in the following example:

M12. tài, xiàwù xià bān yihòu,
    hey afternoon finish work after
    'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

M13. cáishíchāng hài kāi mén ma!
    market still open door MOD
    'the markets would still be open!'

or both of them together, as in the following example:

D61. nǐ qu le zhīhòu,
    you go ASP:compl after
    'after you've gone'

D62. nǐ jiù huì bēi zhūā-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 hài '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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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 lijí hui juéde
    you immediately can feel
    'You straightaway might feel'

D59. nǐ dào le yì ge ziyou 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 shàng de qǐshi, dōu shì 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:
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" (qǐshìjù); 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 xùcì 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.
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 (xingrongci 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 bing "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.
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 fujù "complex sentence" into dêngli "paratactic" and zhûcûng "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 Lû 1947, Li & Liu 1957, Chao 1968, Zhu 1982. In his comparison of the notion of fujù 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>In the classroom</td>
<td>CR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>The composition</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Back in the classroom</td>
<td>BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Tommy's composition</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Wenli's volunteer letter</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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 CI-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.

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
4. Verbal group systems in text

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR1</td>
<td>xǐě 'write'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>the teacher wrote on the board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR2</td>
<td>tǐng 'stop'</td>
<td>x2</td>
<td>(and then) stopped writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR4</td>
<td>shuō 'say'</td>
<td>x3</td>
<td>(and then) said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR11</td>
<td>shuō 'say'</td>
<td>x4</td>
<td>(and then) the person sitting next to me said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR12</td>
<td>huì 'return'</td>
<td>x5</td>
<td>(and then the teacher said) go back and write it up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR13</td>
<td>xiāng 'ring'</td>
<td>x6</td>
<td>(and then) the bell rang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of these processes is linked to other verbal elements in various ways. The process xǐě 'write' in clause (CR1) is preceded by a two processes specifying when, xìà '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 xǐě 'write' in (CR1) do not represent independent happenings in themselves but must be interpreted in relation to xǐě '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR1</td>
<td>xìà 'be finished'</td>
<td>x7</td>
<td>five minutes before class finished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zài 'be located'</td>
<td>x8</td>
<td>on the blackboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xǐě 'write'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>the teacher wrote</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process tǐng 'stop' in clause (CR2) is followed by another process xìà '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 xìà based on the meaning of the first process goes a structural dependency, where xìà in this sense is dependent on the meaning of the preceding verb tǐng'stop', i.e. in a hypotactic relationship with it. (These kinds of elements can be reinterpreted experientially as Event
and Extension in a compound verbal group - see section 4.1.4 below). The relationship between these two processes may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR2</td>
<td>ting 'stop'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>stopped (his pen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xià 'down'</td>
<td>+β</td>
<td>(and) (this action) came to a halt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process in clause (CR4), *shuō* 'say', is immediately preceded by another process *jiēshī* '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 *jiēshī* 'explain' indicates the manner of speaking: i.e. "said in explanation'. The two alternative analyses of the processes in clause (CR4) are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR4</td>
<td><em>jiēshī</em> 'explain'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>the teacher explained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>shuō</em> 'say'</td>
<td>=2</td>
<td>saying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td><em>jiēshī</em> 'explain'</td>
<td>8β</td>
<td>the teacher in explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>shuō</em> 'say'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>said</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 "; *jiēshī* '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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR3</td>
<td>diào 'fall'</td>
<td>&quot;11&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;your plane has fallen, i.e. crashed&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR4</td>
<td><em>shuō</em> 'say'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>the teacher said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR5</td>
<td>huó 'live'</td>
<td>&quot;12&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;you're still alive&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR3</td>
<td>diào 'fall'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>the plane fell (out of the sky)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zài 'be located'</td>
<td></td>
<td>(and it) ended up located in the desert</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR5</td>
<td>huó 'live'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>you're still alive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR6</td>
<td>yǒu 'exist'</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>250 km away there's a village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR7</td>
<td>zuō 'leave'</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>you can leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR9</td>
<td>dài 'take'</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>you're allowed to take five things</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process in clause (CR7), zuō 'leave', is followed in clause 8 by a process of opposite meaning, liū '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':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR7</td>
<td>zuō 'leave'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>you can leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR8</td>
<td>liū 'stay'</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>(or) you can stay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR8</td>
<td>liū 'stay'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xià 'down'</td>
<td></td>
<td>in the same position</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The processes in clauses (CR7), (CR8) and (CR9) are each preceded by processes indicating meanings of permission, kěyī 'can' in (CR7) and (CR8), and zhūn '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.
4. Verbal group systems in text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR7</td>
<td>kěyǐ 'can'</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>you can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zǒu 'leave'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR8</td>
<td>kěyǐ 'can'</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>(or) you can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liù - xià 'stay'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>stay on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR9</td>
<td>zhǎn 'are allowed to'</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>you are only allowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dài 'take'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>to take five kinds of things</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A similar relationship exists between the two processes in clause 10:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR10</td>
<td>yào 'must'</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>you ‘d have to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ná 'take'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>take a compass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ná 'take'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>you must take a compass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>shuō 'say'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>said the person next to me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR11</td>
<td>duì 'face towards'</td>
<td>xβ</td>
<td>to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shuō 'say'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>said</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 hui '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 liù-xià 'stay down, i.e. stay put' in (CR8), i.e. return and go; or alternatively with hui '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 hui 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):
4. Verbal group systems in text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR12</td>
<td>hui 'return'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>return (home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>qu 'go'</td>
<td>+β</td>
<td>and go (away from here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hui 'return'</td>
<td>xβ</td>
<td>back (home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qu 'go'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following process, xiè '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR12</td>
<td>hui 'return'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>go back home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiè 'write'</td>
<td>x2</td>
<td>and write the scenario</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 =
- extension +
- enhancement x

**Projection:**
- locution "
- idea ,

**Parataxis:**
- initial 1
- continuing 2, 3, 4 etc

**Hypotaxis:**
- dependent β, γ, δ etc
- dominant α
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Chinese Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>( x'y_\text{xìà} ) 'before finishing (class)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( x'β_\text{zài} ) 'on (the board)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \alpha_\text{xìe} ) 'the teacher wrote'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR2</td>
<td>( x_2 )</td>
<td>( \alpha_\text{ting} ) 'stopped'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( +β_\text{xìà} ) 'down - to a halt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR3</td>
<td>( x_3 )</td>
<td>( &quot;11 ) ( \alpha_\text{diáo} ) 'your plane has fallen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( +β_\text{zài} ) 'into (the desert)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>( xβ_\text{jìěshì} ) 'the teacher explaining'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \alpha_\text{shuō} ) 'said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR5</td>
<td>&quot;12</td>
<td>( 1_\text{huó} ) 'you are alive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR6</td>
<td></td>
<td>( +2_\text{yìu} ) 'there's (a village)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR7</td>
<td>( +3 )</td>
<td>1 ( \beta_\text{kěyì} ) 'you can'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \alpha_\text{zǒu} ) 'leave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR8</td>
<td></td>
<td>( +2 ) ( \beta_\text{kěyì} ) 'you can'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \alpha_\text{liù} ) 'stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( +β_\text{xìà} ) 'down - behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR9</td>
<td>( +4 )</td>
<td>( \beta_\text{zhūn} ) 'everyone is allowed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \alpha_\text{dài} ) 'to take (5 things)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR10</td>
<td>( x_4 )</td>
<td>( &quot;1 ) ( \beta_\text{yào} ) 'you would have to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \alpha_\text{nà} ) 'take (a compass)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>( xβ_\text{duì} ) 'to (me)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \alpha_\text{shuō} ) 'said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR12</td>
<td>( x_5 )</td>
<td>1 ( \alpha_\text{huí} ) 'return (home)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( +β_\text{qu} ) 'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR13</td>
<td>( x_6 )</td>
<td>( x_\text{xìàng} ) 'the bell rang'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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. | "Na shi w0men y6u-sheng yllái diyi ci zuó féiji, | "That was the first time in our lives we'd been in a plane,' |
| C2. | w0men méi y6u qián, | 'we didn't have any money.' |
| C3. | k6 Shàngdi yuányí géi w0men zhèi ge jihui. | 'but God wanted to give us this opportunity.' |
| C4. | Néi tiān tiānqì féicháng h3o, | 'That day the weather was really good,' |
| C5. | méi y6u fēng, | 'there was no wind' |
| C6. | méi y6u yún, | 'there were no clouds,' |
| C7. | méi y6u yíqiè; | 'there was no anything,' |
| C8. | shéngshi lián Shàngdi dōu zài duí w0men wēixiào. | 'So much so that even God was smiling on us,' |
| C9. | Ké tā shi zài yòng lián de líng yì miăn dui zhe w0men xiào, | 'but (the fact) that he was laughing at us on the other side of his face' |
| C10. | zhè shi dāng w0men de féiji mèng de diào - xia - lai shi | 'this was something that when our plane abruptly dropped (from the sky)' |
| C11. | w0men cán mingbai de. | 'only then did we understand.' |

Table 4.2 Passage 2: the opening stage of *The composition*

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:
4. Verbal group systems in text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>nexus</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>shi 'be'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>that was our first time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>yǒu 'exist'</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>we had no money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td>hǎo 'be fine, good'</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>the weather was good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C9</td>
<td>shi 'be'</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>it wasn't till then (that we understood)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 shì diyī 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 diyī 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 shì wǒmen [l zuò fēijī l] de diyī 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 diyī 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>nexus</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>shi 'be'</td>
<td>ξβ</td>
<td>for the first time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zuò 'travel'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>we travelled by plane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>shi 'be'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>that was the first time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zuò 'travel'</td>
<td>[1 2]</td>
<td>we travelled by plane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>nexus</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>yǒu 'exist, have'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>we had no money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>gěi 'give'</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>but God wanted to give us the opportunity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The process in clause (C3) is preceded by a process yuanyi '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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>nexus</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>yuanyi 'wish'</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>God wanted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gěi 'give'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>to give us the opportunity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process in clause 4, hāo '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>nexus</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td>hāo 'be fine, good'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>the weather was fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5</td>
<td>yōu 'exist'</td>
<td>=2</td>
<td>there was no wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6</td>
<td>yōu 'exist'</td>
<td>=3</td>
<td>there were no clouds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7</td>
<td>yōu 'exist'</td>
<td>=4</td>
<td>there wasn't anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C8</td>
<td>wēixiào 'smile'</td>
<td>=5</td>
<td>(so much so that) God was smiling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 dui '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':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>nexus</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C8</td>
<td>zài 'was at'</td>
<td>x_γ</td>
<td>God was in the process of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dui 'facing'</td>
<td>x_δ</td>
<td>at us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wēixiào 'smiled'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>smiling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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), mīngbai '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 mīngbai 'understand': "it was only at such and such a time that we understood" (C10-11): i.e. in a relationship of hypotactic
4. Verbal group systems in text

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>nexus</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C9</td>
<td>shi 'be'</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>the fact that he was (laughing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C10</td>
<td>shi 'be'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>this was something that (we understood)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>nexus</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C9</td>
<td>zai 'was at'</td>
<td>xβ</td>
<td>he was in the process of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yong 'used'</td>
<td>xγ</td>
<td>with the other side of his face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dui 'facing'</td>
<td>xβ</td>
<td>at us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiào 'laughed'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>laughing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 dăng...shi 'at...the time', i.e. 'when', hypotactically enhancing the process mingbai 'understand' in clause (C11):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause</th>
<th>process</th>
<th>nexus</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C10</td>
<td>diào 'fell'</td>
<td>xβ</td>
<td>when the plane fell (out of the sky)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C11</td>
<td>mingbai 'understood'</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>we understood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process diào 'fall' in clause (C10) is followed by two processes indicating the direction of this motion, xià 'down', and its orientation, lài '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):
The full range of relationships between the processes in this passage is set out in Fig. 4.3 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Nexus</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>α β shi ‘(it) was (the first time)’</td>
<td>the plane fell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>α zuò ‘(we) travelled (in a plane)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 yǒu ‘(we didn’t) have (money)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>‘yuàn yīl ‘(but God) wanted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘gěi ‘to give (us the opportunity)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 hǎo ‘(the weather) was good’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>=2 yǒu ‘there were (no clouds)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>=3 yǒu ‘there was (no rain)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>=4 yǒu ‘there was(n’t anything)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>=5</td>
<td>‘zài ‘(God) was in the process of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘dúi ‘at (us)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘wěixiào ‘smiling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1 shi ‘(but the fact that he) was’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘zài ‘was in the process of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘yòng ‘using (the other side of his face)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘dúi ‘at (us)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘xiào ‘laughing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>=2 shì ‘(this) was (something that)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>α diào ‘(when our plane) dropped’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+β xia ‘down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+γ lai ‘towards (the ground)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>α mángbái ‘(only (then we) understood)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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"):

\[
\text{Theme} \quad \text{Rheme}
\]

CR3. Xiànzài, nǐmen de fēijī diào - zai le shāmò shàng,

"Now your plane has crashed in the desert."

CR3'. Nǐmen de fēijī xiànzài diào - zai le shāmò shàng,

"Your plane has now crashed in the desert."

CR3" *Shāmò shàng xiànzài nǐmen de fēijī diào - zai le.

"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 gěi 'for' is unlikely to function as Theme (C23'):

\[
\text{Theme} \quad \text{Rheme}
\]

C23. tā gěi wǒmen liū- xía le yīxiē dōngxi.

s/he for I+PLUR leave down ASP.compl some thing

'he left us some things.'

C23'. gěi wǒmen tā liū- xía le yīxiē 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 unthemtic, i.e. unlikely to be the starting point of the message. The nominal group *yixiē dòngxi* 'some things' in (C23) above could be made thematic by moving it to the beginning of the clause, as in (C23"):

(C23") *Yixiē dòngxi tā gěi wǒmen liú-xia le.*

'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 *yixiē dòngxi* '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 *yī zhāng zuǐ* 'a mouth':

```
CR40. mǎnyàn zhī shèng-xia yī zhāng zuǐ
'all that filled my eyes was a mouth'
```

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"):

```
CR41. zài nàr yī- zhāng- yī- hé.
'(which was) opening and closing.'
```

```
C23" Yǒu yixiē dòngxi tā gěi wǒmen liú-xia le.
'There were some things' 
```

'which he left for us.'

Logically such structures can be analysed as two processes in a relationship of paratactic elaboration:
4. Verbal group systems in text

1. 存在一些东西

文本上，然而，它更可能分析第一过程及其论证为一种类型化的主题在单个句法，即一个主题不与已知的，而是与新：即

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>存在一些东西</td>
<td>他留给我们</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>存在一些东西</td>
<td>他留给我们</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are, in fact, numerous instances of such structures in this text. Very often, however, the fact that 你 is potentially at least a full process allows it to "attract" other clause functions: in the following example, the process 你, reinterpreted interpersonally as Predicator, is preceded by the interpersonal functions Adjunct and Modality:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>存在一些东西</td>
<td>他留给我们</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>存在一些东西</td>
<td>他留给我们</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

You can also function in this way with circumstantial elements, for example (你) 常常在 (there are) times in clause (C59), which can be analysed either logically as two clauses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>存在一些东西</td>
<td>他留给我们</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or textually as a single clause with a marked (non-Given) Theme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>存在一些东西</td>
<td>他留给我们</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A similar function is performed by 你 in clause (CR27) below, where it introduces the Theme / New zuòwén kě 'composition class', emphasised by the scopal adverb zhī 'only', and then linked to the following process duǎn 'was short'. In this case 你 also
marks the Theme as contrastive, as is obvious from the Theme of the previous clause qitā kē 'other classes': e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR26. Qitā kē hàoxiàng zōngshi cháng de méi yǒu biān,</td>
<td>other class seem always long EXT NEG exist limit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

logical 1 textual 2

CR27. zhī yǒu zuòwén kē duān de zhī shì 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 shì '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:

CR24. wǒ shì duōme xīhuān xiě zuòwén,
'I really loved writing compositions,'

This kind of "focusing" role of shì 'be' was already pointed out in the analysis of the second passage in section 4.1.1 above, where shì (among other things) marked a contrast between wēixiào 'smile' in C7 and yòng liǎn de líng yì miàn '(laughing) on the other side of his face' in C8:

8. shènzhī lián Shāngdī duō zài dì wǒmen wēixiào.
'so much so that even God was smiling on us,'

9. Kē tā shì zài yòng liǎn de líng yì miàn dì zhe wǒmen xiào,
'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 shì '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:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Adjunct} & \text{Polarity} & \text{Predicator} \\
\text{CR30. tā bīng mēiyǒu wán.} & \text{it EMPH NEG:perf finish} & \text{’(that) it wasn’t finished.’}
\end{array}
\]

The element realising the Polarity in this example, mēiyǒu, is itself verbal in class, a special negative form, interchangeable with měi (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, shì ‘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’:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{CR34. Shíshí shàng, tā shì méi wán,} & \text{reality on it be NEG:perf finish} & \text{’In fact it wasn’t finished,’}
\end{array}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{CR7. nǐmén kěyǐ zǒu} & \text{you+PLUR can leave} & \text{’you can go’}
\end{array}
\]

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 location 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Predicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR8. yē kēyī liū - xia,</td>
<td>'or (you) can stay behind,'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. xiăng 'to think' in clause T5, and xiăng 'to think about doing - to intend to do - to want to do' in clause C21:

T5. Tāngmǐ xiăng le xiăng,
Tommy think ASP:compl think
'Tommy thought a bit,'

C21. Shǎngdī, bù, wǒ bù xiǎng shuō shǎngdī...
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 hui 'could, might' in the following clause, here reinforced by the Adjunct huòxū 'perhaps':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjunct</th>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Predicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C57. Wǒ huòxū hui yào nèi píng fūtējiā,</td>
<td>'I perhaps might have wanted the bottle of vodka,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I perhaps can need that bottle vodka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 yuàn yì 'wish' in the following clause:
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, zhūn 'is allowed to', median yào 'need to, have to' and high bǐxū 'must':

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 yídǐng 'definitely' precedes the Modality yào 'need to, must', effectively increasing the value of the obligation from median to high:

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 bǐxū 'must', with clause C27 where a modality of (negative) inclination is expressed by the Adjunct nǐngyūăn 'rather':

Somewhat 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 bǐxū 'must', with clause C27 where a modality of (negative) inclination is expressed by the Adjunct nǐngyūăn 'rather':

Adjunct Modality Predicator
CR10. "Nǐ yídǐng yào ná zhīnázhēn.”
; “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 bǐxū 'must', with clause C27 where a modality of (negative) inclination is expressed by the Adjunct nǐngyūăn 'rather':

Modality Predicator
CR26. Wǒmen bǐxū xuǎnzé,
I+PLUR must choose
‘We had to choose,’
The Adjunct in CR27, ningyuàn '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':

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 géi wǒmen 'for us':

Alternatively the coverb géi 'for' could be analysed as a minor Predicator, just as it was analysed above as a minor process in the transitivity structure: e.g.

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:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Modality} & \text{Predicator} & \text{Predicator} \\
\hline
\text{kěyǐ} & \text{qǔ} & \text{huǒ} \\
\text{can} & \text{get} & \text{fire} \\
\text{which (you) could (use to) make fires or cook.}
\end{array}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{Modality} & \text{Predicator} \\
\hline
\text{CR61. wǒ} & \text{yǐjīng nēng dào-bēi-rú-liū le.} \\
\text{I already can reverse recite like stream} & \text{ASP:perf} \\
\text{'I could already recite it off by heart.'}
\end{array}
\]

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 hui 'can' in W58:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{Modality} & \text{Predicator} & \text{Predicator} \\
\hline
\text{W60. “Qíshí nǐ yì bèizi yě zuò - bu - chéng Tāngmī,} & \text{in-fact you one lifetime even act NEG:pot succeed Tommy} \\
\text{‘In fact you'll never be able to be Tommy in your whole life,'} \\
\end{array}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
\text{W66. “wǒ wàng - bu - liǎo jiù de...”} & \text{I forget NEG:pot. complete old} & \text{SUB} \\
\text{‘I can't forget the old...’} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 bidēi 'must':
4. Verbal group systems in text

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 fulfill, 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 kě qián] de wū fèn 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 xiē '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 wū fèn 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
represented as follows, where single vertical lines | represent group boundaries, and a
bracket plus a vertical line [ ] represents an embedded clause:

CR1. [ | Xià kē qián | ] de wǔ fèn zhōng | lǎoshī | .... | Xiè zhēi...

'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 kē lìng, literally 'the
finish class bell':


'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 hēibān shāng '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' Mingdān zài hēibān shāng

'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:

CR1. | | Xia ke qian | de | wu | fen | zhong | laoshi
Circumstance: time Agent

CR1. | | finish class before | SUB | five | minute | clock | teacher

CR1. | | Circumstance: place Process Medium

CR1. | | place | Process | Medium

CR1. | | l | zai | heibian shang | xi | zhe | shengjing | hanghaiitu... at | blackboard on | write | ASP:dur | bible | navigation-map

CR1. | | 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, zai naru '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 zheng 'just, right (at that moment)' in the following example:

CR39. wu nei ke masusu de xin zheng zai naru

CR39. | | that | MEAS | numb-limp | SUB | heart | just | at | there

CR39. | | bengbeng | luantiao ne! | throbbing | confused-beat | MOD

CR39. | | 'my numb heart was thumping wildly!'

This same meaning can also be indicated by just the coverb without its following nominal group: e.g. zai 'at' in the following example:

C8. shenzi lian Shangdi dou zai dui wumen weixiao.

C8. | | so far as to even God all at towards I+PLUR | smile

C8. | | '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. | | Ke | shi | zai | yong lian de | ling yi miann

9. | | but | she | be | ASP:prog | use | face | SUB | other one | face

9. | | 'but (the fact) that he was using the other side of his face'
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 tīng - 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 *ting* '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:

CR58. ránhòu mányi de hé - shāng le yānjīng.  
'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:

```
2. Tā tīng - 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. *xiāo* wǒmen 'to laugh at / make fun of us'.
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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C10. <em>diào-xia-lai</em></td>
<td>&quot;drop down&quot;, i.e. fall out of the sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR2. <em>ting-xia</em></td>
<td>&quot;stop down&quot;, i.e. come to a halt - cf English &quot;slow down&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C72. <em>huó-xialai</em></td>
<td>&quot;live down&quot;, i.e. survive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR8. <em>liú-xia</em></td>
<td>&quot;stay down&quot;, i.e. to stay behind, to stay where you are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR40. <em>shēng-xia</em></td>
<td>&quot;leave down&quot; i.e. to be left behind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *ting-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause rank functions Agent</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Extension</th>
<th>Medium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR2. Tā</td>
<td>ting - xia</td>
<td>l bǐ</td>
<td>pen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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 *zài* 'at' seems to be linked equally to the preceding verb *diào* 'drop' and the following nominal group *shāmò shang* 'in the desert':

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In this case, there seem to be contradictory criteria. On the one hand, the combination of postverb zai 'at' plus nominal group shämò shang 'in the desert' seems identical both in meaning and in terms of the relationship between verbal and nominal elements to the coverbial phrase zai hēibān 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 (jiāngtái shang) 'stood on (the platform)'
C16 lùò-zai le (shàtān shang) 'have fallen on to (a sandbank)'
C77 huò-zai (shämò li) 'are living in (the desert)'
BC17 tāng-zai (chuíán shang) 'lay on (the bed)'
BC34 zuò-zai (jiaoshi li) 'sat in (the classroom)'
W29 tiē-zai le (chuángtou) 'stuck (it) on' (the head of the bed)'
W30 pà-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  
CR1. | Xià kè qián lǐ de wǔ fēn zhōng lǐ lǎoshi lǐ finish class before SUB five minute clock teacher 

Place  
Process Medium 
| zài hēibiānshàng xiě zhé lǐ shèngjīng, hánghài tú... 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. | Xiànzǎi lǐ mên de fēījī lǐ diào - zài lǐ shāmò shāng, 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 zài comes to mean something like ‘insert into’: 

BC44. suīrán wǒ bā tā yòng - zài wǒ de zuòwén shī, 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 as 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. jìngguó cāishíchāng, 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 bā shū gē - zài zhūō shāng bā! you DISP book place at table on MOD ‘Put the book on the table!’ 

4. Verbal group systems in text
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 jǐxù 'continue' in the example below:

T14. Tā jǐxù 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 qìlái:
    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 jǐxù 'continue' can be separated from the following verb by some intervening element, as in the following modified example:

T6'. kāishǐ mānmān'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 nēng '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 **yǒu** néng kāishī 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 *kāishī* 'begin' can be used before a verb indicating a settled state, such as the ascriptive process *jūsāng* 'be depressed, disheartened' which is not normally susceptible to progressing through time. In the following example, *kāishī* '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 kāishī jūsāng *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 zōngshí 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Agent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR1.</td>
<td>l[Xià kè qian I] de wù fén zhǒng l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Agent</td>
<td>Five minutes before class finished, the teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However the two examples are distinct in constituency in that in CR1 the *clause xìa kè qiān* 'before finishing class' is clearly embedded in the nominal group whose head is *wù fén zhǒng* '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):

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\alpha & \text{Carrier} & \text{Process} & \times \beta \\
\text{CR28. Qiṭā kē} & \text{cháng} & \text{de} & \text{méi yǒu} \\
\text{other class} & \text{long} & \text{EXT} & \text{NEG exist} \\
\text{mei y6u bian} & & & \text{limit}
\end{array}
\]

'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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause rank functions</th>
<th>Carrier</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Extension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>group rank functions</td>
<td>Qiṭā ke</td>
<td>cháng</td>
<td>de [l méi yǒu biān l]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other class</td>
<td>long EXT</td>
<td>NEG exist</td>
<td>limit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Other classes...were endlessly long,'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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 shī '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

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 tīng - xià bi,  
s/he stop down pen  
'He put down his pen,'

CR70. Wǒ xuǎn - hǎo le [I shūyǔ wǒ] de dòngxi,  
I choose complete ASP:compl. belong-to I SUB thing  
'I finished choosing the things that would be mine,'

**verbal group: complex**

Clause function: Process  
Group function: Event Extension

CR3. “Xiānzài, nǐmen de fēijǐ diào - zài le shāmò shāng,”  
now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall at ASP:compl. desert on  
'Your plane has crashed in the desert.'

CR26. Qítā kè hǎoxiāng zǒngshì cháng de [I měi yǒu biǎn l]  
other class seem always long EXT NEG exist limit  
'Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,'

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
T6. kāishī xiě
begin write
'(and) began writing:'

Process
1
C28. Yixī rén zhǔn bèi lìkāi,
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.

C59. yǒu shíhòu, jǐ jī huǐ shī rén hàoshōu xiē.
exist time alcohol can cause person easy-endure some
'sometimes alcohol can help people endure (things) better,'

C50. "Dāng wǒ xiǎng rǎng Bāobī jīn wǔ 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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Time} & \text{Agent} & \text{Process} & \text{Medium} & \text{Range} \\
\text{C56. kěyǐ qū huǒ zuò fàn.} & \text{can get fire make meal} & \text{'which (you) could (use to) make fires or cook.'}
\end{array}
\]

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:
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 - shàng le yánjìng.
   afterwards satisfied MAN close on ASP:compl eye
   'and then contentedly closed my eyes.'

C8. shènzhì lián shàngdí dōu zài dui wǒmen wěixiào.
   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.

C26. Wǒmen bǐxū xuānzé,  
   I+PLUR must choose
   'We had to (were obliged to) choose,'

C71. zuìhòu wǒ hái yào gěi wǒmen xuǎn yī 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.
4. Verbal group systems in text

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
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.

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>degree type</th>
<th>low</th>
<th>median</th>
<th>high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>probability</td>
<td>[l CR51] hui 'might'</td>
<td>[l W56 l] jiāng 'will'</td>
<td>W24. yiding yao 'definitely will'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potentiality:unphased</td>
<td>CR22. nèng 'can'</td>
<td>C25. nènggōu 'can'</td>
<td>T37. zhīdē 'can only'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potentiality:phased</td>
<td></td>
<td>W64 zuò-bu-chéng 'won't be able to be'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obligation</td>
<td>CR9. zhūn 'be allowed to'</td>
<td>T4. yao 'must'</td>
<td>C26 bīxū 'must' CR10 (yiding) yao '(definitely) must' CR22 rēn-bu-zhū (bu) 'can't help (not)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inclination</td>
<td>C37. xiāng 'want to'</td>
<td>C3.yuàn 'be willing to'</td>
<td>W66. yuàn 'be willing to' C27. níngyuàn 'would rather'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.5: Realisations of MODALITY features in Wenli's Composition

probability: low

C43. tā ji kāyī zài bāitiān zhē-yáng.

't it both can at daytime block sun
't it could both block out the sun during the day.'

[ICR51] ...[l bù hui yǒu rénhé cuòwù l]...
NEG can exist any mistake
'...(that) couldn't have any mistakes.'
4. Verbal group systems in text

probability: median

[W58I] ...[I

明天 到 将 如何 ..."

'... what tomorrow would be like...'

probability: high

W24. "我 肯定 会 克服 重重 担心 的。"

'I will overcome endless difficulties;'

potentiality: unphased: low

CR22. "我 你能 再 开始 写作文 吗。"

'I further can begin writing compositions again.'

C25. "很多 这样的 时刻 总是 存在 的。"

'Apologies for my bad behavior.'

potentiality: unphased: high

T37. "他已经 不能 写 了。"

'(and) could only write.'

potentiality: phased (:high)

W60. "其实 你 一生 甚至 不能 实现。"

'In fact you'll never be able to be Tommy in your whole life,'

obligation: low

CR9. "每个人 只 允许 带 五 件 东西..."

'each person is only allowed to take five things...''

CR7. "我们需要 必须 选择。"

'We had to choose,'

obligation: median

T4. "至少 必须 写 150 字。"

'(He) had to write at least 150 words,'

obligation: high

CR10. "你 肯定 要 带 南京。"

'You’d have to take a compass.''

CR23. "我 真的 不能 忍受 你 骗 我。

'I really can’t help telling you,'

C26. "我们都 必须 选择。"

'We had to choose,'
inclusion: low

C37. & shi xiàng zài kàn tā shì
but be want at read it time

'but (I) wanted when (I) read it'

inclusion: median

W68. Wǒ shènzhì bù yuàn shāng zǐ lì de xīn,
I so-far-as-to NEG wish hurt self SUB heart

'I didn't even want to hurt myself,'

W69. suīrán wǒ yīngyuàn 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 yiding 'definitely' in the following example, which changes the degree from median to high:

CR10. “Nǐ yiding yào ná zhān nānzhēn.”

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 rènhē 'any' in the following example which normally appears only in negative clauses:

[ICR50I] bù huì yǒu rènhē 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. Wǒ zhēn de rèn - bu - zhù bù gāosu 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. Zài shuō, shāmò hǎoxiāng yě zhāo - bu - dào mǔchāi
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. zhè gāibiàn - bu - liǎo tā méi tiān [l yòng kuàizi chǐ fàn
this change NEG:pot complete she each day use chopstick eat meal

'yong féizào xí liǎn lǐ de xīguān, use soap wash face SUB habit
use this couldn't change her everyday habit of eating with chopsticks (or) washing her face with soap,'
"Qishi ni yi beizi ye zuo - bu - cheng Tāngmǐ, '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 zhāo-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 zhāo-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.
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Figure 4.6: The basic system of \textsc{Aspect} in \textit{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 \textit{zài (nà'r)} coverbial 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):

\textbf{CR60. Zhè shí zhěnggè chéngshì dōu shuì le.}
\begin{verbatim}
this time whole city all sleep ASP:compl
\end{verbatim}
\begin{itemize}
  \item By this time the whole city was asleep.'
\end{itemize}

or by extent:

\textbf{CR46. Wǒ rěng \textit{le} yìdǐ \textit{zhītuán}.}
\begin{verbatim}
I throw ASP:compl whole-floor paper-ball
\end{verbatim}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 'I covered the floor with balls of paper.'
\end{itemize}

by place in a series:

\textbf{CR51. Wǎnshāng, wǒ yǒu \textit{le} yì píān.}
\begin{verbatim}
evening I exist ASP:compl one MEAS
\end{verbatim}
\begin{itemize}
  \item [\textit{I bù huì yǒu rěnhé cuòwù}] de yǐngyǔ zuòwén,
  \item \textit{NEG can exist any mistake SUB English composition}
  \item 'By evening I had an English composition that couldn't have any mistakes.'
\end{itemize}
by Range:

CR3. "Xiànzãi, nïmen de fêijî diào - zai le shâmô shâng," now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall at ASP:compl. desert on "Your plane has crashed in the desert."

or Medium:

CR58. chî le sànpian ânnâjîn, eat ASP:perf three pill analgesic 'took three sleeping pills,

or by simple completion:

CR61. Xìngqìyì, wô jiào le wô 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 [l wô yīhîù dêngdài guo l] de móu zhông yuêhui. 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. diànp 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 dàzão dài zhe nèi zhâng further one morning bring ASP:dur that MEAS [l zhï yîu jī bǎi zì l] de zhî, 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. "Nïmen hái huî zhe, you+PLUR still live ASP:dur 'You’re still alive,'

The feature [progressive] indicates the process is unbounded by being repeated:

CR17. Nà yîhû de hăojiâ tiânh, that after SUB good few day wô yîzhî zài xiàng zhê 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. bêngbêng 'throbbing' in the following example:
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
\( \text{yǐnyuē} \) 'vaguely'):

\[
\text{CR33.}\overset{\text{wǒ}}{\text{zài}} \quad \overset{\text{yǐnyuē}}{\text{dēngdài}} \quad \overset{\text{zhe}}{\text{shénme}},
\]

'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. Verbal group systems in text

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.

![Diagram of the basic system of PHASE in Wenli's Composition](image)

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" (shìchéngshì), 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" (būchōng) (Liu at al 1983: 329) - hence the common name for the syntactic function performed by postverbs, bùyù 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 *büchōng* "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. "Qīshí nǐ yī bèizi yě zuò - bu - chéng Tommy,
    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'. "Yěxiū guò jī nián nǐ hái zuò - de - chéng Tommy,
    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. cōng mān chuāng de zāwū zhōng chōu - chu yi dā bái zhī,
    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.

    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 shì dāng wǒmen de fēijī mèng de diào - xiá - 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. dā - kāi dèng,
    make start light
    ‘turned on the light,’

C70. Wǒ xuǎn - hǎo le [l shūyù wǒ l] de dōngxi,
    I choose complete ASP:compl. belong-to I SUB thing
    ‘I finished choosing the things that would be mine,’
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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:

- lose go everything time
  '(that you)’ve lost everything,'

displacement:

- he left behind some things for us.'

and phasal:

- immediately 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 kāishī 'begin', as exemplified in (T6) (see the discussion in section 4.4.1.1 below):

- began writing:

On the other hand, it ignores the systematic relationship with such forms as xiāng-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:

- this idea as soon as she thought of (it)’
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 liăo 'complete, finish', guò 'pass by, cross' and zhào '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.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Process} & \text{Range} \\
\text{CR3.} & \text{"Xiànzài, nǐmen de fēijī diào - zài le shān.\text{"}} \\
\text{now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall at ASP:compl. mountain}\end{array}
\]

"Your plane has crashed in the desert."

or Recipient: e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Process} & \text{Recipient} \\
61. & \text{ránhòu mǎnyì de jīāo - gěi le lǎoshī.} \\
\text{afterwards satisfied MAN hand to teacher}
\end{array}
\]

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.
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 mánɡ-sī le!
     oh-dear today busy die ASP
     'Oh, today (I've) been really busy!'

M.2. Ā, mánɡ 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 introduction 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:

![System network notation](image)

**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 linguistic 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
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.

Figure 3.4: MOOD systems in Memory
4. Verbal group systems in text

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 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 discussion 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).
4. Verbal group systems in text

Figure 4.11: Optional interpersonal systems in Wenli's Composition with attached probabilities

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: xxi-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.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the framing narration</td>
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<td></td>
<td>from the beginning of</td>
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<td></td>
<td>part (iv) describing</td>
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<td></td>
<td>the delighted reaction</td>
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<td></td>
<td>of Wenli to Tommy's</td>
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<td></td>
<td>simple solution, which</td>
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<td></td>
<td>inspires her to write</td>
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<td>a volunteer letter in</td>
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<td>the cliched political</td>
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<td>terminology of her</td>
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<td>childhood. Wenli</td>
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<td>determines to take</td>
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<td>Tommy as the model for</td>
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<td>the rest of her life,</td>
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<td>and reminisces</td>
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<td>nostalgically on her</td>
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<td>early attempts to</td>
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<td></td>
<td>write. At this point</td>
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<td></td>
<td>the original narrator</td>
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<td>comes back into the</td>
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<td></td>
<td>narration to tell</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wenli she won't ever</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;be a Tommy&quot;. Sometime</td>
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<td></td>
<td>later, Wenli returns</td>
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<td>and miserably agrees</td>
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<td>with the narrator's</td>
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<td>assessment, who then</td>
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<td>cheers her up by</td>
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<td></td>
<td>encouraging her to at</td>
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<td></td>
<td>least have a go.</td>
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</table>

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. Yù-chóng-shí Wénli zhēng zài lǐng yì chū
    with this same time Wenli ASP:prog. at other one place
    kāixin 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.
The external narration deals with the writing of the composition and falls into a 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, jinxing (kāoshi) '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 xiē '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 xiē '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, kāishì 'begin' (T6), and jīxiù 'continue' (T14), respectively. In Phase 4a as an alternative, the Process is linked to the preceding Processes by a conjunctive element jiēzhe1 '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 zhídè '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, qilai '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 ˈthink' is mostly marked for completed aspect, i.e. ˈthink le, followed by a bounding expression of duration. In Phase 3a this duration is indicated by repeating the Process, i.e. ˈthink le ˈthink (T5), giving the sense of short duration 'thought a bit'. In Phase 4a the duration is indicated more specifically by a Circumstance of measure ˈseveral minutes' (T21); similarly in Phase 5a, ˈa good while' (T34); and with a different Process (T36), ˈsighed' plus Circumstance of measure ˈmouthful 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, ˈout from inside', metaphorically 'from out of consciousness'. In Phase 5a this is used negatively to indicate Tommy's initial lack of success ˈdidn'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, ˈthought up' (T47). Semantically, Tommy's change to a positive mood (in the psychological sense) is reinforced by the Process ˈlaugh' 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, ˈstop', marked for phasal phase 'stop (down)' (T12) and again (T43), in a very similar way to the Process 'begin writing' in (T49), with the opposite direction, '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. ˈscratched' (T32) and (T44), and ˈgazed' (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 ˈbe disheartened' is marked for temporal phase '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 *shū* '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 *shū le shū* 'counted a bit, did a count of' (T19); or by adding a Circumstance of measure, *yì 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 zi* '21 words (T13), and *149* '149' (T57); or with the attributive Process *shì* 'be', e.g. the second count (T18) *yǒu shì 24 ge zi* '(That) was another 24 words'; while the progressive totals are indicated by the number preceded by a Circumstance of scope *yīgòng 45 (ge zi)* 'altogether 47 (words)' (T20), *yīgòng 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...yì ge Bāobī* 'more (by) one Bobby'. He then performs one last act of writing (59), with the Process *xiě* 'write' marked for displacement phase, Extension *shāng* '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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Setting the scene</th>
<th>Preparing</th>
<th>Writing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>2. <strong>zài jīnxīng</strong> (kāoshì) mat.; asp: prog. 'was doing (exam)'</td>
<td>5. <strong>xiāng le</strong> (xiàng) ment.; aspect: compl. 'thought a bit,'</td>
<td>6. <strong>kāishī xiě</strong> 1 mat; time = 2 mat. 'began writing'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. (timù) <strong>shì</strong>: (wǒ de gǒu) ident. '(the topic) was: (my dog).'</td>
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<td>4. <strong>yào xiě</strong> mat; modal: oblig. 'had to write'</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14. <strong>jìxù xiě</strong> 1 mat; time = 2 mat. 'continued writing'</td>
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<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td></td>
<td>21. <strong>xiāng le</strong> (jī fèn zhōng) ment; asp: compl. 'thought for a few minutes'</td>
<td>22. (jiēzhe) <strong>xiě</strong> mat. 'then wrote'</td>
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<td>5a</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>34. <strong>xiāng le</strong> (hào yì huīr) ment; asp: compl. 'thought for quite a while'</td>
<td>35. <strong>měi xiāng</strong> - <strong>chu</strong> ment; phase: non-lit.dir.; pol: neg: perf. 'couldn’t think of'</td>
<td>37. <strong>zhīdé xiě</strong> mat; modal: prob. 'could only write'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>35. <strong>měi xiāng</strong> - <strong>chu</strong> ment; phase: non-lit.dir.; pol: neg: perf. 'couldn’t think of'</td>
<td>36. <strong>tān le</strong> (kǒu qì) mat; asp: compl. 'sighed'</td>
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### 4. Verbal group systems in text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Setting the scene</th>
<th>Preparing</th>
<th>Writing</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td></td>
<td>47. <strong>xiăng</strong> - <em>chu</em> ment.; phase: non-lit.dir. 'thought of'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 7a    |                   | 48. (gāoxìng de) **xiào** *zhe* mat.; asp.dur. 'laughing happily'  
49. (fēikuài de) **xiě** - *qilai* mat.; phase: non-lit.dir. 'started writing rapidly' |         |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Breaking off</th>
<th>Reckoning</th>
<th>Finishing</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>12. <strong>ting - xialai</strong> mat.; phase: non-lit.dir. 'stopped'</td>
<td>13. (21 ge zi) attrib. '21 words'</td>
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<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td></td>
<td>18. (Yòu) <strong>shi</strong> (24 ge zi) attrib. 'it was another 24 words' 19. <strong>shù le</strong> (shu) mat;asp:compl. 'did a count' 20. (yīgōng) (45) attrib. 'altogether 45'</td>
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<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>32. <strong>náo zhe</strong> (tóu) mat; asp:dur. 'scratched his head' 33. <strong>wāng zhe</strong> (tiānhuābān) ment; asp:dur. 'gazed at the ceiling'</td>
<td>30. (yòu) <strong>shù le</strong> (yí biàn) mat;asp:compl. 'counted once more' 31. (yīgōng) (67 zi) attrib. 'altogether 67 words'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase</td>
<td>Breaking off</td>
<td>Reckoning</td>
<td>Finishing</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 6a    | 43. **ting** - **xialai** mat.; phase: non-lit.dir. 'stopped'  
44. **náo zhe** (tóu) mat; asp:dur. 'scratched his head'  
45. **wáng zhe** (tiānhuābān) ment; asp:dur. 'gazed at the ceiling'  
46. **kāishī jūsāng le** 1 mat: time = 2 mat.; asp:compl. 'was beginning to get disheartened' | | |
| 7a    | 56. **shū le** (yí biań zi) mat;asp:compl. 'counted the words'  
57. (149) attrib. '149' | | 58. (duó) **jiā le** (yí ge Bàoáí) mat; asp:compl. 'added another Bobby'  
59. **xiě - shang** mat; phase: result 'wrote on (it)'  
60. **jiào - 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 yī tiáo gǒu, I exist one MEAS dog
‘I have a dog.’

T8. wǒ jiào tā Bāoūī, I call it Bobby
‘I call it Bobby.’

T9. wǒ ài wǒde gǒu, I love I SUB dog
‘I love my dog.’

T10. tā quānshēn dōu shí hēisè de, it whole-body all be black-colour SUB
‘it’s black all over.’

T11. zhǐ yǒu bǐzi shì 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 you ‘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 Bāoūī qù gōngyuán sānbù, 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 jiǔ bú dài tā qù sānbù.” 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 géi Bāobī xǐ zǎo, 'I often give Bobby a bath,'

T24. tā xǐhuan it like 'it likes'

T25. xǐ zǎo, wash bath 'to have a bath,'

T26. bīngqiē, wǒ yě xǐhuan moreover I also like 'and I like'

T27. géi 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 géi '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 mimics Phase 4b, this time in relation to chi tang 'eating sweets', starting with with Bobby's reaction in a mental clause (T38), Process xihuan 'like', projecting a simple action in a material clause (T39), Process chi 'eat', and followed by Tommy's wish to bring about this action, Modality yuanyi 'wish' (T40), only blocked by the negative state indicated in a relational existential clause, (T41) (rigu) jiali mei you tang '(if) there are no sweets at home'.

Phase 6b opens with Tommy attempting to get Bobby to come inside in a causative material clause (T50) expressed by the complex verbal group rang...jin 'let / make...enter', with the clause marked for inclination modality, xiang 'want', followed by a verbal clause (T51) with the Process jiao '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) ruiguō...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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>part</th>
<th>I: In the classroom</th>
<th>II: The composition</th>
<th>III: Back in the classroom</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phase</td>
<td>i. the composition assignment</td>
<td>i-iii. the composition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. the reading of the first draft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. (part) other classes vs composition class</td>
<td>i. the reading of the first draft</td>
<td>ii. being in the classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. (part) thinking about writing the composition</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>iii. (part) writing compositions - the sweet past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.12: 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".
Part I: In the classroom

Phase i: The composition assignment

CR1. Xia ke qian de wu fen zhong, finish class before SUB five minute clock

'Five minutes before the end of class'

laoshi zai heibian shang xie zhe: teacher at blackboard on write ASP:dur

'the teacher wrote on the board:'

shengjing, hanghaitu, yi benn guanyu ye sheng dongwu de shu, bible navigation-map one MEAS about wild animal SUB book

'Bible, navigation map, a book on wild animals,'

qiang, shoudiandong, jiangluosan, daiyi, shui (mei ren san bei), gun pocket-torch parachute overcoat water each person three cup

'gun, pocket torch, parachute, overcoat, water (each person three cups),'

huochai, zhinanzhen, futejia, guantou (mei ren san ting), match compass vodka tin can each person three MEAS

'matches, compass, vodka, cans (of food) (three for each person),'

taiyangjing, yao, yuyi, sunglasses medicine raincoat

'sunglasses, medicine, raincoat.'

CR2. Ta ting - xia bi, s/he stop down pen

'The put down his pen,'

CR3. Xianzai, nimen de feiji diao - zai le shamo shang, now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall at ASP:compl. desert on

"Your plane has crashed in the desert."

CR4. ta jieshi shuo, s/he explain say

'He explained,'

CR5. Nimen hai huo zhe, you+PLUR still live ASP:dur

'You're still alive,'

CR6. wubai li wai you ge cuinzhuang, 500 li away exist MEAS village

'two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village,'

CR7. nimen keyi zou you+PLUR can leave

'you can go'

CR8. ye keyi liu - xia, also can stay down

'(or you) can stay behind,'

CR9. mei ren zhi zun dai wu yang dongxi...... each person only allow take five type thing

'each person is only allowed to take five things...."

CR10. Ni yiding yao na zhinanzhen, you definite must take compass

'You'd have to choose a compass.'

CR11. Wo tongzhuo xiaosheng dui wo shuo. I same-desk small voice towards I say

'My desk-mate said to me quietly.'
The narrator sets up the classroom scene, with the teacher writing a list of words on the board (CR1), Process 写 '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 停 '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 掉 '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 活 '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, 可以 'can, may' (CR7-8), 允 '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 必 'must' plus a high value Adjunct 一定 '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 回 'return' marked for directional phase, 去 'away (from here)', this element also acting as an indicator of purpose for the following Process 写 'write'. The force of this command is somewhat softened by the addition of what is experientially a circumstance of Measure 一下 '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 响 '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. 这显然是写了一篇作文,
'this obviously was a composition,'

CR15. 虽然没有题目.
'although NEG exist topic '

CR16. 那之后好几天，我不断地思考这个事情.
'that after SUB good few day I continually ASP:prog think this MEAS matter'
On Saturday afternoon I didn't go anywhere,

Alone, (I) drew the curtains,

'turned on the light,'

from the mass of things on the bed pulled out a pad of white paper,'

'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 xǐnghǎi 'think' marked for progressive aspect, indicating that it happened repeatedly over this period of time, reinforced by the circumstance yízhí '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

I really can't help telling you,'

'that when I was at school,'

'I really loved writing compositions,'

'that was my happy past.'
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 regon 'bear, endure' marked for negative potential phase, ren-bu-zhu '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 xihudn 'like' (CR24), relational Process shi 'be' (CR 25), and two ascriptive Processes chdn 'long' (CR26) and duan 'short' (CR27). Both ascriptive clauses are marked for extent phase, indicating the contrasting length of the two types of classes, meiyou bian 'without limit' (CR26), and zhi shi yi shunjian 'only an instant' (CR27).

**Phase iv: The reading of the first draft**

CR28. shenzhi zhongyi ji o gao zhihou, so-far-as-to finally hand-in draft after 'so much so that after I finally handed in the draft,'

CR29. wo hai juede I still feel 'I still felt'

CR30. ta bing meiyou wan. EMPH NEG:perf finish '(that) it wasn’t finished.'

CR31. W6 zhidao, I know 'I knew'

CR32. wo zai yinu e dengdai zhe shenme, I ASP:prog indistinct wait ASP: dur something 'I was vaguely waiting for something,'

CR33. xiang wo yihou dengdai guo de mou zhong yuehui. like 1 afterwards wait ASP: exp. SUB certain type appointment 'like some date I would have waited for afterwards.'

CR34. Shishi shang, ta shi mei w blank. reality on it be NEG:perf finish 'In fact it wasn’t finished,'

CR35. dang laoshi zhan - zai jiangtai shang, when teacher stand at lecture-platform on 'when the teacher stood on the platform,'

CR36. yibi an dui quanban tongxue langdu w6 de zuowen, same-time towards whole-class classmate read-aloud I SUB composition 'reading out my composition to the whole class,'
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 upakan '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 ęngdé '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 ęngdé 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 yihou '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 unken '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...shi '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 yī piàn mòhu 'a blur' (CR40), the second (CR41), existential Process shēng '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. Zhéngzhèng yì ge zhōumò guò - qu le,
        whole one MEAS weekend pass go ASP:compl/perf
        'A whole weekend passed,'

CR44. yì tiān bàn, duān de zhī shí yì shùnjīān.
        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 yīdǐ zhǐtuān,
        I throw ASP:compl whole-floor paper-ball
        'I covered the floor with balls of paper,'

CR46. diān guō wǔshū cì yān,
        light ASP:exp countless time cigarette
        'lit countless cigarettes,'

CR47. chá le bānyè zìdiǎn,
        consult ASP:compl half-night dictionary
        'looked up (words in) the dictionary for half the night,'

CR48. yòu yī dàzhāo dāi zhe nèi zhǎng
        further one morning bring ASP:dur that MEAS
        'early the next morning, taking that piece of paper'
        zhǐ yòu jī bài zì de zhī,
        only exist few 100 character SUB paper
        'with only a few hundred words on it,'

CR49. qù le sān ge dǐngfāng.
        go ASP:compl three MEAS place
        'I went to three (different) places.'

CR50. Wánshàng, wǒ yǒu le yi pian
        evening I exist ASP:compl. one MEAS
        'By evening I had an'
        bú huì yǒu rēnhé cuòwù de yīngyǔ zuòwén,
        NEG can exist any mistake SUB English composition
        'English composition that couldn't have any mistakes.'
CR51. wǒ hùi - dao jiā,
I return to home
'I went home,'

CR52. yǒu rěng le jǐ ge zhītúān,
further throw ASP:compl few MEAS paper-ball
'threw a few more balls of paper (on the floor),'

CR53. yǒu diànm le jǐ cì yān,
further light ASP:perf few time cigarette
'lit a few more cigarettes,'

CR54. chāo le hǎo jǐ biān.
copy ASP:compl good few time
'made quite a few copies.'

CR55. Wǒ kān zhe nà zhāng zhēngjié de zhǐ,
I look ASP:dur that MEAS whole-clean SUB paper
'I looked at that clean sheet of paper,'

CR56. xiē - shāng zǐjì de míngzi,
write on self SUB name
'wrote my name on (it),'

CR57. chī le sān piān ānnǎijīn,
eat ASP:perf three pill analgesic
'took three sleeping pills,'

CR58. ránhòu màn yì de hé - shāng le yānjīng.
afterwards satisfied MAN close on ASP:compl eye
'and then contentedly closed my eyes.'

CR59. zhè shí zhēnggè chéngshì dōu shuǐ le.
this time whole city all sleep ASP:compl
'By this time the whole city was asleep.'

CR60. Xīngqíyī, 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 nèng dào-béi-ru-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) yìdī 'the whole floor', and (CR48) bàn'ěr 'half the night', and non-specific in (CR47), wǔshí 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 shì* '(by) this time', and in extent by the participant *zhēnggè 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  **zhīdào,**  
I  *know*  
'I knew'

BC2. tā  **bìng méi wán,**  
s/he  EMPH NEG perf finish  
'it really wasn’t finished,'

BC3. wǒ  **yòu zài yīnyuē**  
I  further ASP:prog indistinct  
'I was again vaguely waiting for something,'

**4. Verbal group systems in text**
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.
4. Verbal group systems in text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the classroom</th>
<th>Back in the classroom</th>
<th>effect of changes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CR29. juédé 'feel'</td>
<td>BC1 zhídào 'know'</td>
<td>increasing degree of certainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR30.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR31. zhídào 'know'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR32.</td>
<td>BC3. yòu 'again'</td>
<td>indicating repeated action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR33. yǐhòu 'afterwards'</td>
<td>BC4. cóngqián 'previously'</td>
<td>changing time location of action from past in future to past in past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR34.</td>
<td>BC5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR35.</td>
<td>BC6.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR36.</td>
<td>BC7.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR37.</td>
<td>BC8.</td>
<td>lexical variation, grammatically identical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR38.</td>
<td>BC9.</td>
<td>lexical variation, grammatically identical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR40.</td>
<td>BC11.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR41.</td>
<td>BC12.</td>
<td>lexical variation, grammatically identical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR42. zěcái xiàng 'only this seemed'</td>
<td>BC13. zě bìng bù xiàng this did not seem'</td>
<td>polarity changed from reluctant positive to emphatic negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) yídīng bù 'definitely not', then low positive probability (CR16) yěxū '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. Wǎnshāng, wǒ tǎng - zài chuánɡ shànɡ,
       'In the evening, I lay on (my) bed.'
BC18. wǎnɡ zhe tiānhuábān, 'gazing at the ceiling.'
BC19. wǒ zài qiān bāi ci de wèn zǐjǐ:
       'I asked myself over and over again:’
4. Verbal group systems in text

BC20. nǐ zhēnde yǐwéi
you really consider
'don't you really think'

BC21. [l nǐ men zǎo yǐ jiē shòu l] de yí qiè bù shí
you+PLUR long-since receive SUB everything NEG be
gēn shēn-dì-gǔ de mǎ?
deep-rooted SUB MOD
'that everything you long ago accepted is deep-rooted?'

BC22. wǒ zài méi yì ge qīng chén zǒu - jīn jiào shì,
I at each one MEAS early-morning walk in classroom
'Early every morning I walked into the classroom,'

BC23. zhè shì suǒ yǒu de mèng dōu yǐ jǐng 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. zhěr, nǐ qiáo
here you look
'Here, you look,'

BC25. chábùdùō tóng yáng de fāng jiàn,
almost same-type SUB room
'almost the same type of room,'

BC26. chábùdùō tóng yáng de guāng xiàn,
almost same-type SUB light-ray
'almost the same type of light,'

BC27. Shī jì nián jiù xiǎoshí le.
ten some year then vanish ASP:compl
'more than ten years have vanished.'

BC28. Xuāng qítā kě yī yáng cháng de [l méi yǒu biān l],
like other class same long EXT NEG exist limit
'like other classes become endlessly long,'

BC29. yǒu xiāng zuò wéi kě niè yáng duān de [l zhī shì yì shūn jiǎn 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.

BC30. bū guān fāshēng shénme shì,
no-matter happen what thing
'no matter what happens,'

BC31. bū guān zài guó duō shào nián...
no-matter further pass how-many year
'no matter how many more years are to be passed,'

BC32. wǒ xīn zhōng yǐn yù de dēng dài dào dǐ shí shén me 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 tàng '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 *yīwéi* 'consider', the projected clause (BC21) marked for strong positive bias (see 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 *jìn* '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 *xiāoshí* '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 concessive clauses introduced by *bùguǎn* 'no matter', both with unmarked Processes and containing indefinite question words, *shénme* 'what (happens)' (BC30), *duóshào* 'how many (years pass)' (BC31), followed by a final clinching question, *...shì shénme?* 'what is...?' the request for information emphasised by the Adjunct *dàodī* '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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BC33.</th>
<th>Nà yīhòu de hǎo jǐ tiān, wǒ yǐzhí zuò - zài jiào shì li.</th>
<th>For quite a few days after that, I kept thinking about this.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC34.</td>
<td>Wǒ xiǎng wàngcháng yǐyáng zuò - zài jiào shì li,</td>
<td>I sat in the classroom as I used to do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I sat in the classroom as I used to do,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC35.</td>
<td>zhè shì [wǒ xǐhuàn l] de fāngjiān,</td>
<td>This was the room I liked,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'This was the room I liked,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC36.</td>
<td>zhè shì [wǒ xǐhuàn l] de guāngxiàn,</td>
<td>'This was the light I liked,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'This was the light I liked,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC37.</td>
<td>wǒ zhèn de rén - bu - zhǔ bu gāosù nǐ,</td>
<td>I really can't help telling you,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I really can't help telling you,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC38.</td>
<td>wǒ shì duōme xǐhuàn [l xiě zuòwén l],</td>
<td>I really loved writing compositions,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I really loved writing compositions,'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC39.</td>
<td>nà shì wǒ měihǎo de jìyì.</td>
<td>'that was my beautiful memory.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 cěng 'once (in the past)'; and then her emotional state (BC43), Process ãndān '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. “Na shi wo men you-sheng yilai diyi ci zuo feiji, 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. women mei you qian, I+PLUR NEG exist money

‘we didn't have any money,’

C3. ke Shangdi yuanyi gei wo men zhe ge hui. but God wish give I+PLUR this MEAS opportunity

‘but God wanted to give us this opportunity,’

C4. Nei tian tianqi feichang hao, that day weather extremely good

‘That day the weather was really good,’

C5. mei you feng, NEG exist wind

‘there was no wind’

C6. mei you yun, NEG exist cloud

‘there were no clouds,’

C7. mei you yi; NEG exist everything

‘there was no anything.’

C8. shenzi lian Shangdi dou zuai dui wo men weixiao. so-far-as-to even God all ASP:prog towards I+PLUR smile

‘So much so that God was smiling on us,’

C9. Ke ta shi zai you sheng yi mi an but s/he be ASP:prog use face SUB other one face
dui zhe wo men xiao, towards ASP:dur. I PLUR laugh

‘but (the fact) that he was laughing at us on the other side of his face’

C10. zhe shi dang wo men de feiji meng de diao - xia - lai shi this be when we SUB plane abrupt MAN drop down come time

was something that when our plane abruptly dropped

C11. womencai mingbai de. I+PLUR only-then understand MOD

only then did we understand.

C12. Feiji xiaoshi le, plane vanish ASP:compl

‘The plane disappeared,’

C13. women hai huo zhe, we still live ASP:dur

‘we were still alive,’

C14. mei ren zhidaowei shen me, NEG+exist person know why

‘nobody knew why,’
4. Verbal group systems in text

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 *xiăoshì* 'disappear' marked for completed aspect; (C14) the passengers survive, Process *huò*
'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 *bā* 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 *huò* '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 *zúi hǎo de* 'the best'. She then turns her mind to the provider of these things (C21), *Shāngdì* '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 *fāngqí* '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.

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Phase ii: Choosing

C26. Wómen bǐxū xuǎnzé, I+PLUR must choose
'Ve had to choose,'

C27. suǒrán wǒ nǐngyuàn bù xuǎnzé. although I rather-wish NEG choose
'even though I would rather not have to choose.'

C28. Yíxiē rén zhānbèi likāi, some person prepare leave
'Some people got ready to leave,'

C29. yīnwèi wǒhǎi lǐ wài yǒu ge cūnzhūāng; because 500 lǐ away exist MEAS village
'because 250 kilometres away there was a village,'

C30. ér wǒ yuǎnyì liù - xīa. however I wish leave down
'but I wanted to stay.'

C31. zhè dào bù guǎng shì yīnwèi wǒ xiǎng - dào this however NEG only be because I think reach
'this wasn’t only because I thought'

C32. huǒxī huì yǒu bié de fēijī lái jiū 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 lǐ shēng pà zà lèi even-more because I be MEAS life fear further tire
'because I was the sort of person who doesn’t like to tire themselves.'

C34. Wǒ yào [l shǐyǔ wǒ] de nèi fēn shǔ hé guǎntóu. 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 guǎnyú yēshēng dōngwù de shū—— I need that MEAS about wild animal SUB book
'I wanted the book on wild animals——

C36. [l wǒ xiǎng dú tā l] bù shì wèi [l zhāngwǒ shénme zhīshī I want read it NEG be for grasp what knowledge
'you (the reason) I wanted to read it wasn’t to gain some knowledge to resist outside aggression,'

C37. ér shì xiǎng zài kǎn tā shì but be want at read it time
'but (I) wanted when (I) read it'

C38. nèng lí yǎnqián de chūjīng yuǎn yìdiān. 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 jiāngluōsān. I still need that MEAS parachute
'I also wanted the parachute,'

C40. tā huǒxī zǎi [l xià yǔ l] de shihou 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 [l hánlèng l] de shihou bùrú dàyì nuǎn. at cold SUB time not-equal overcoat warm
'when it was cold, wasn’t as good as the overcoat'
4. Verbal group systems in text

C42. dàn tài gěng quànmian; but it even-more comprehensive but it was more all-round(useful);

C43. tài jì kēyī zài báitiān zhē-yáng. it both can at daytime block sun 'it could both block out the sun during the day.'

C44. yě kēyī zài yèwǎn yù - hán. also can at night keep-out cold 'and prevent the cold at night.'

C45. Zuì zhùyāo de, dā - qi tài, most important SUB put up it 'Most important, (if you) put it up.'

C46. jìu shì yī gé jiā then be one MEAS home '(it) was a home'

C47. kēyī ān - shēn - lǐ - míng. can shelter body establish life '(where you) could settle down and carry on with life.'

C48. Tā hái shì yí gé xīnhào, it still be one MEAS signal 'It was also a signal,'

C49. rígùò zhēn yǒu qī tài fēijī cōng zhělǐ fēi - guo déhuā. if really exist other plane from here fly past in-case 'if another aeroplane really were to fly by here.'

C50. Wǒ hěn xiāngyāo huǒchái, I very want match 'I really wanted the matches,'

C51. dàn wǒ gàng xiāngyāo yān, but I even-more want cigarette 'but I wanted the cigarettes even more.'

C52. wǒ bù zhīdào I not know 'I didn't know'

C53. [l méi yǒu yān lǐ de rìzǐ duì wǒ lái shuō shǐ shénme, NÉG 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 lǐ de huǒchái duì wǒ therefore NEG+exist cigarette SUB match towards I génbèn měi yòng. basic NEG+exist use 'So matches without cigarettes were quite useless to me.'

C55. Zài shuō, shāmò hǎoxiǎng yě zhá - bù - diāo mǔcháí 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. kēyī qū huǒ zuò fàn. can get fire make meal 'which (you) could (use to) make fires or cook.'

C57. Wǒ huǒ xù hùi yāo nèi píng fútèjiā, I perhaps can need that bottle vodka 'I perhaps might have wanted the bottle of vodka,'

C58. shéi zhīdào, who know 'who knows,'
In this phase the narrator switches from the communal women '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 xuǎnzé '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 xiăngyào '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 xuān'ze 'choose', marked for contrasting modality: (C26) for high obligation, bǐxū 'must'; and (C27) for median inclination nínghuànr '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 yuányì 'wish', Process liú 'stay' marked for displacement phase xiā '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 xiăng '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 huòxū 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 shì '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 shì '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 shì 'is not (this)' and (C37) (ér) shì '(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) xiăng '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.
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, huòxū '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, kēyī '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 rúguǒ...dehuà 'if (in the case that)'.

The next choice is presented as one between two alternatives, both stated using the Process xiāngyào '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 zhāo-bu-dào 'couldn't find (firewood)'; the second (C56) a positive unphased probability kēyī '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 huòxū 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) shei zhldào 'who knows', a modalised statement (C59), low probability huì 'can', another rhetorical question indicating her alternative preference tā wěishénme bù shì...'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 xuǎnzé '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 \textit{gándào} 'feel' introducing a general participant / reader \textit{nǐ} 'you' and the projected clause (C68), Process \textit{shī} 'lose' (C68) marked for orientation phase, \textit{qù} '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'.

\textit{Phase iii: The final choice}

| C70. | Wǒ **xuǎn** - hǎo | le | [l shùyǔ wǒ | de | dōngxi, | I choose complete ASP:compl. belong-to I SUB thing |
| C71. | zuihòu wǒ hái yào gěi wǒmen xuǎn yì ge hǎo jiějú: | final I still must for I+PLUR choose one MEAS good outcome |
| C72. | wǒmen dōu húó - xialai le, | I+PLUR all live down ASP:compl 'we all survived;' |
| C73. | bǐngqié wǒmen zhèng zuò - zài yì ge | furthermore I+PLUR ASP:prog sit at one MEAS |
| C74. | guó zhe yì duàn xīn shènghuó. | pass ASP:dur one section new life 'having a new stretch of life:' |
| C75. | Dān nǐ huòxù bù xiǎng xiāo, | but you perhaps NEG want laugh 'But perhaps you won't want to laugh,' |
| C76. | wǒmen hái zài pīnming de xuánzé... | I+PLUR still ASP:prog risk-life MAN choose 'we're still trying very hard to choose...' |
| C77. | yínwèi wǒmen yìfán huó - zài shāmò lǐ.' | 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, \textit{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 \textit{huòxù bù xiǎng} '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 lǐ ē zhe zuōli
Wenli grin ASP: dur mouth
‘Wenli grinned’

W2. mǐ zhe yán, narrow ASP: dur eye
‘screwed up her eyes’

W3. bú - guān - bú - gǔ de xiǎo de yānqiàn - tōngliàng,
NEG care NEG attend MAN laugh EXT before-eyes brightly-lit
‘(and) laughed wholeheartedly as she saw the light,’

W4. wǔshí yuanlái nǐcí yǎnqìdān - tōngliàng,
before-eyes brightly-lit
‘of course, everything is this simple.’

W5. Nà yǐhòu de hǎo jī tiān, Wénli yízhí zǎi xiāng zhè jiān 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.’

weekend SUB afternoon Wenli where even NEG: perf go
‘On Saturday afternoon Wenli didn’t go anywhere,’
4. Verbal group systems in text

W7. 外 one MEAS person pull on window-curtain 'Alone, (she) drew the curtains,'

W8. 打 make start light 'turned on the light,'

W9. 拉 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. 她 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 列 'grin' (W1), and Process 眯 'narrow (eyes)' (W2) marked for durative aspect, indicating that they are coterminous with and form the background for the third, Process 笑 ‘laugh’ (W3) marked for extent phase, with an embedded ascriptive clause realising Extension, Process 亮 'brightly lit' used metaphorically for mental illumination, i.e. she "saw the light". The following clause (W4) is also an ascriptive one, Process 简单 '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. “东风吹, east-wind blow ‘The East wind blows;’

W12. 鼓 war-drum beat 'the war drums beat,'

W13. 世界 now world on after-all who fear who 'who in the world now is afraid of who...''

W14. 记忆 most familiar SUB wording shrink short ASP:dur 天 he 天 and Tommy between SUB difference 'The most familiar words in her memory reduced the distance between her and Tommy.'

W15. 温暖 jixù write Wenli continued writing: 'Wenli continued writing:'

W16. “我 volunteer 'I volunteer'
4. Verbal group systems in text

W17. zuó yí ge Tāngmǐ,  
act-as one MEAS Tommy  
'to be a Tommy,'

W18. yīnwèi Tāngmǐ shì zāi yǔzhòu lǐngdǎo xia de xiānjīn dàiāibāo,  
because Tommy be at universe leadership under SUB advanced representative  
'tommy is an advanced representative under the leadership of the universe,'

W19. shì huóxué huóyòng de sīxiǎng diànfān,  
be flexible-study flexible-use SUB ideology model  
'(he) is the ideological model for flexible study, flexible use,'

W20. shì zhǔguǎn shìjiè hé kèguǎn shìjiè de yǒu jí jièhé,  
be subjective world and objective world SUB organic combination  
'(he) is the organic combination of the subjective world and the objective world,'

W21. shì zhíguān shìjìe hé kéguān shìjìe de yú jìéhe,  
be subjective world and objective world SUB organic combination  
'(he) is the organic combination of the subjective world and the objective world,'

W22. shì zhíguān shìjìe hé kéguān shìjìe de yú jìéhe,  
be subjective world and objective world SUB organic combination  
'(he) is the organic combination of the subjective world and the objective world,'

W23. Wénlǐ juéxīn yǐ xiá.  
Wenli resolution already lay-down  
'Wenli had already formed her resolution.'

W24. Wǒ yídǐng yào kěfǔ chóngháng kùnǎn,  
'I will overcome endless difficulties,'

W25. yī Tāngmǐ wéi bāngyǎng, zhào Tāngmǐ de huà qū zuó,  
take Tommy as model according-to Tommy SUB word go do  
'acting with Tommy as my model, according to Tommy's words,'

W26. zǒu - jīn - rì - xīn - yùè - yí de xīn shīdài!"  
walk in day new month different SUB new age  
'(I) will enter a new age that changes with each passing day!"'

W27. Wénlǐ kàn zhe nèi zhāng zhēngjiē de zhī.  
Wenli look ASP:dur that MEAS whole-clean SUB paper  
'Wenli looked at that clean sheet of paper,'

W28. Xìe - shàng zìjǐ de míngzì,  
write on self SUB name  
'wrote her name on (it),'

W29. tū - hǎo yì céng jiāoshū,  
spread complete one layer glue  
'spread over (it) a layer of glue,'

W30. ránhòu mānyì de tiě - zài le chuánghǒu.  
afterwards satisfied MAN stick at ASP:compl bedhead  
'then, satisfied, stuck (it) on the head of the bed.'

This phase contains the text of Wénlǐ'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 Wénlǐ 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 Wénlǐ 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 clichéd words has the effect of bringing Wenli closer to Tommy (W14), Process suō 'shrink' marked for result phase, duān '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, jǐxù '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 zhīyuàn 'volunteer', projected attributive Process zuò 'to act as', both unmarked, followed by a series of unmarked relational clauses with Process shí '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 yídīng yào 'definitely will', Process / Predicator kēfú '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 yī Tāngmǐ wéi bāngyàng '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, shāng 'on' indicating that the writing came in contact with the (unspecified) paper, spreading a layer of glue on the back (W29), Process tī 'spread' marked for result phase, hǎo 'complete satisfactorily', and finally sticking it in the head of her bed (W30), Process tī 'stick' marked for target phase and for completed aspect, singling this action out as the last in a series.
Phase ii: Meditation on writing compositions

W31. Та пá - zai chuâng shang
she lie-prone at bed on
'she lay on her bed'

W32. chóu le hên jiù,
gaze ASP:compl very long-time
'(and) gazed (at it) for a long while,'

W33. zhè shí tiān jiānjian hêi le.
this time sky gradually black ASP:compl
'by this time, the sky had gradually grown dark.'

W34. Та xiâng - qi xùdùó cóngqián de shì,
she think up very-many previous SUB matter
'She thought of many things (that had happened) in the past,'

W35. xiâng - qi xiâoxué shí yí piàn zuòwén de tîmù
think up primary-school time one MEAS composition SUB topic
'thought of the title of the composition she had written in primary school'

W36. shí: wǒ de jiānlái.
be I SUB future
'(which) was: my future.'

W37. Xiâng - qi
think up
(She) thought of

W38. tà cèng zhàn - zai yì ge wǔ cèng lóu de chuângkǒu
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. dàidài de wâng zhe jiēshàng 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 yídâng ______ yâo zhâng - dà.
I definitely will grow big
'I will grow up.'

W42. Xiâng - qi
think up
(She) thought of

W43. tà jiù nèiyâng kâishǐ rénzhēn de zài mèi yì pián
she just that-way begin serious MAN at each one MEAS
zuòwén li bǔdiǎn kēhuâ 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. xiâng - qi tà zhèxiē nián lái xīnzhîng yînyînyuēyû de dēngdài,
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. xiâng - qi tà yuēláiyuâ bù zhênhshí de xīnqíng,
think up s/he more-and-more NEG real SUB mood
yîjī tà [l yòu cí èr dé - dâo l] de mānzú hê pînghêng...
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...'

4. Verbal group systems in text
4. Verbal group systems in text

Suddenly Wenli thought of the small notebook which she had filled with notes, maxims, and epigrams, and afterwards supplemented with many matchlessly perfect adjectives.

A warm glow welled up in her heart.

She curled up on the bed

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 pà 'lie prone' marked for target phase, gazes at her letter for a long while (W32), process chōu '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 xiāng '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 yídīng yào 'definitely will' (cf the similar declaration in (W24) above).

The following projection (W43) recalls the start of her writing career, process kěhuà 'portray' marked for temporal phase, kāishī '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 yòng '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. Wénli lìzì
       Wenli resolve
'Wenli determined'

W51. zài yǒu-shèng-zhī-nián zuò yí ge Tāngmí, at exist life SUB year act-as one MEAS Tommy
'be a Tommy for the rest of her life,'

W52. tā hái yào xiě yi piān xīn zuòwén, s/he still want write one MEAS new composition
'she had to write a new composition,'

W53. zhè niántou shì tā yì xiǎng - qilái this thought cause she once think up
'this idea as soon as she thought of (it)'

W54. jiù jídòng.
then excite
'made her excited.'

W55. Tā shuō s/he say
'She said'

W56. zhè gǎibiàn - bu - liǎo tā měi tiān [l yòng kuāizi chī fàn this change NEG:pot complete she each day use chopstick eat meal
yòng fēi zào xī liǎn | de xīguān, use soap wash face SUB habit
'this couldn't change her everyday habit of eating with chopsticks (or) washing her face with soap,'

W57. què shì tā juéde however make s/he feel
'but made her feel'

W58. [{ Měiguó dà bu da lǐkè | yǐjí America fight NEG fight Iraq and tomorrow in-the-end will-be like-what
yǐjíng bù 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, qilái '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, gāibiàn-bu-liǎo i.e. 'can't change', but gives her a new view (W57), causative logical complex shì...juède '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 xià, 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 shì rèn - bu - zhù gāosu Wénli shuò: however I still be tolerate NEG:pot stand tell Wénli say 'However I still couldn't help telling Wénli:'
W60. “Qīshí nǐ yì bēixi yě zuò - bu - chéng Tángmí. 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,' because Tommy NEG be mixed-blood
W61. yǐnwèi Tángmí bu shì húnxuě.” because Tommy NEG be mixed-blood 'because Tommy isn't a mixed blood.'
W62. Guó le bān nián, pass ASP:compl half year 'Half a year later,'
W63. Wénli lái zāo wǒ, Wenli come look-for I 'Wenli came to see me,' Wenli come look-for I
W64. “Wǒ yěxū zhèn é zuò - bu - chéng Tángmí 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, she said miserably,' she said miserably,'
W66. “wǒ wàng - bu - liǎo jiù de...” I forget NEG:pot. complete old SUB 'I can't forget the old...'
W67. “Yěxū nǐ xīng,” perhaps you be-okay 'Perhaps you'll be okay,'
W68. Wǒ shènhū shì yuàn shāng zǐ jǐ de xīn, I so-far-as-to NEG wish hurt self SUB heart 'I didn't even want to hurt myself,'
W69. “Nǐ kěyǐ shì zhe you can try ASP:dur. 'You can try'
W70. zài zuò wén léi zuò, at composition in act-as 'being (him) in a composition,'
W71. yì ci zuò - bu - hǎo one time do NEG:pot good '(if you) can't be (him) properly once'
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, *rèn-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-chēng* '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-líāo* '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-hāo* '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 xíào '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).

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 semiotising 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
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 an 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. Contextualising verbal group marking

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, is 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. Contextualising verbal group marking

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
5. Contextualising verbal group marking

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
Appendix 1: Texts for Chapters 1-3

Memory

M = Mum; D = Dad; X = Xiǎomíng

M:1. Āiyā, jǐntiān máng-sì 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-lái,
      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. ji le yì fēng xīn,
      post ASP one MEAS letter
      'and posted a letter,'

10. jīngguó cāishiháng,
      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. Hái, xiàwǔ xià bān yǐhòu,
      hey afternoon finish work after
      'Hey, in the afternoon after finishing work,'

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

M:14. Āiyā nàr 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 bǎihuǒdálóu
   I must go department store
   'I still had to go to the department store.'

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

D:18.  Éí, wǒ yào de nèi běn shū, nǐ gěi wǒ jiè-lái le ma?
   oh, I want 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 zhèmèi jiànwàng?
   you how so forgetful
   'How could you be so forgetful?'

M:21. Jiànwàng?
   forgetful
   'Forgetful?'

22. nǐ shénme shíhòu gěn wǒ shuō guò?
   you what time with I speak ASP
   'When did you mention (it) to me?'

D:23. Chī zǎofán 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 bù 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 pèi wàiguó kèhù,
   midday escort foreign client
   'At lunchtime (I had to) look after a foreign client,'

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

29. Nǎr yǒu shíjīān?
   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 gěn wǒ shuō.
   you NEG:perf with I speak
   'you didn't tell me.'
Appendix 1: Texts for Chapters 1-3

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

33. jiù tí - qí guo zhè jiàn shí'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 nǐ men zuò zăofān...
then for you PL make breakfast
'I made breakfast for you both...'

D:36. Wǒ chī zăofān 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 mìngtiān qù jiè ma!
well tomorrow go borrow MOD
'Well go and borrow (it) tomorrow then!'

D:38. Mìngtiān tūshūguăn bù kāi mén.
tomorrow library NEG open door
'Tomorrow the library is'nt open.'

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

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

then NEG-exist means
'Well it can't be helped.'

D:42. Āi, zhēn tăoyăn!
oh-dear really annoying
'Oh, how annoying!'

M:43. Shénmé?
what
'What?'

44. Nǐ shuō
you say
'Did you say'

45. wǒ tăoyăn?
I annoying
'T'm annoying?'

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

47. méi yǒu nèi běn shū zhēn tăoyăn.
NEG exist that MEAS book really annoying
'not having that book is really annoying.'
M:48. Æ!
    'Ah!'

X:49. Bà, Mā...
    'Dad, Mum...

M:50. Shàng nǎ'r le?
    'Where have (you) been?'

51. Zěnme zhènme wǎn a?
    'Why are you so late?'

X:52. Jīntiān xīngqíliù,
    'Today's Saturday,'

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

54. hǎi yǒu kèwài huódòng.
    '(I) had after-class activities.'

M:55. Qiáo nǐ mǎn-tū dà hàn de!
    'Look at you all covered in sweat!' MOD

M:56. Ó, nǐ yào de qiūxié, wǒ gěi nǐ mǎi le.
    'Oh, those sandals you wanted, I got (them) for you.'

X:57. Àiyā, tài hǎo le!
    'Oh, great!'

58. Wǒ hái pà
    'I was afraid'

59. nǐ wàng le ne.
    'you'd forgotten.'

60. Zài nǎ'r?
    'Where are (they)??'

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

M:62. Yíhuír zài kàn,
    'Look at (them) in a while,'

63. nǐ xiān qu xǐ yì xi.
    'go and have a wash first.'
X:64. _Entry_.
   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 tūshūguǎn_
   I still go ASP library
   'then I went to the library'

68.  _gěi bāba  jiè shū._
   for Dad borrow book
   'to borrow a book for Dad.'

D:69.  _Ó?_
   oh
   'Oh?'

M:70.  _Shénme?_
   what
   'What?'

X:71.  _Bā, nǐ ràng wǒ  gěi nǐ  jiè de shū, wǒ jiè - hui - lai le._
   Dad you get I for you borrow SUB book I borrow return come ASP
   'Dad, that book you got me to borrow for you, I got (it) for you.'

72.  _Tūshū-guǎnliyuán  zhǎo le bāntiān..._
   library attendant look-for ASP half-day
   'The library attendant spent ages looking for (it).'</n
D:73.  _Ó..._
   oh
   'Oh...'

M:74.  _Hái shuō_
   still say
   'And (you) say'

75.  _wǒ  jiànwàng  ne!_
   I forgetful MOD
   'I'm forgetful!'
Boasting

(A = principal; B = the feed)

A: 1. Zhènde 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. Ộ, 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. Hńg.
INT
'Hm.'

A: 5b. tā pá
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. Ộ, tā dào pá zhèyáng.
INT s/he however fear like-this
'Oh, he's afraid of that.'

INT
'Hm.'

B: 11. Shi a.
be MOD
'Yep.'

A: 12. Liā rén zài yikuǎi'r hē jíǔ, á?
two+MEAS person at together drink alcohol INT
'Two people drinking together, ah?'

13. liā rén dōu zuì le.
two+MEAS person all drunk ASP
'Both of them drunk.'

B: 14. Zènmeyàng?
like-how
'(So) what happens?'
Appendix 1: Texts for Chapters 1-3

A:15. Nǐ kàn ne,
you look TEXT
'See,'

16. liǎ rén duichuí.
two+MEAS person mutual-boast
'the two of them boast to each other.'

B:17. Ò, liǎ rén chuīnìu.
INT two+MEAS person boast
'Oh, the two of them boast.'

A:18. Shéi yě bù chéngrèn
whoever even NEG admits
'Neither of them will admit'

19. shéi zui le.
whoever drunk ASP
'he’s drunk.'

B:20. Shì a?
be MOD
'Yeh?'

A:21. "Wǒ kàn nǐ,
I look you
"I see you,'

22. nǐ de jiǔ wa, bù xìng."
you SUB alcohol TEXT NEG okay
your drinking, ‘s no good.’'

B:23. Ò, rénjiā bù xǐng.
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. nǐ jiǔ zui 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. "Nǐ 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 zǎi hē bàn jìn
   I further drink half catty
   “If I drink another half catty,”

32. méi guǎnxi.”
   NEG+exist connection
   “it won’t make any difference.”

B:33. Chūncui 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 zúi ya?”
   you NEG:perf drunk MOD
   “You’re not drunk?”

B:37. Hńg.
   INT
   ‘Hm.’

A:38. “Zán liǎ yí duì yi píng’r de hé.”
   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. shètou dōu duǎn la.”
   tongue already short ASP+MOD
   ‘(your) tongue’s got shorter.’

B:42. Tā nèi shètou yě bú lísuò la.
   s/he that tongue also not nimble ASP+MOD
   ‘His tongue’s not nimble either.’

A:43. “Méi hē - zúi ya.”
   NEG:perf hē - zúi ya
   “(I’m) not drunk.”

B:44. Hé, hé.
   INT INT
   ‘Ha, ha!’

A:45. “Méi hē - zúi,
   NEG:perf hē - zúi
   “(If) you’re not drunk,”

46. nǐ lái zhètóu’r.”
   you come here
   ‘you come here.’

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B:47. Shenme ya?
   what MOD 'What?'

A:48a. Cong doûr litou a...
   from pocket inside TEXT 'From his pocket,'

B:49. Hà.
   INT 'Hm.'

A:48b. bâ shôudiântóng tao - chu - lai de.
   pull out come MOD '(he) pulls out a torch.'

B:50. Shôudiânbàng.
   hand-torch 'A torch.'

A:51. Wâng zhuôzi shang yî gē...
   towards table top once place 'Puts it on the table,'

B:52. Gân-má ya?
   do-what MOD 'What for?'

A:53. yî ên diâmén,
   once press switch 'presses the switch,'

54. chû le yî ge guângzhù'r.
   emit ASP one MEAS light-column 'and a column of light comes out.'

B:55. Êi, nêi ge guâng chû - lai le.
   INT that MEAS light exit come ASP 'Oh, the light comes out.'

A:56. "Nî kàn zhêi ge."
   you look this MEAS "'You look at this!''

B:57. A?
   INT 'Uh?'

A:58. "Nî shûnzhe wô zhêi zhùzi pâ - shang - qu!"
   you along I this column climb up go "You climb up this column of mine!"

B:59. Ô, nêi shi zhùzi la?!
   INT that be column ASP+MOD 'Oh, that's a column!'

A:60. "Nî pâ!"
   you climb "'Climb!''

B:61. Nêi ge zênmeyâng a?
   that MEAS what-like MOD 'What does that one do?'

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that MEAS also not vague MOD

'He's not stupid either.'

B:63. Huo.

INT

'Hm.'

A:64. 'Zhe ... suan - de - liao shenme ya?'

this reckon POT complete what MOD

'What's this mean?'

B:65. O.

INT

'O h.'

A:66. 'Zanmen jiujia pei ge zuizi ya.'

you-me+PLUR then climb this MEAS column MOD

'We're going to climb this column.'

B:67. A.

INT

'Ah.'

A:68. 'Ni bie lai zhei tiao!'

you don't bring this set

'Don't try that one on me!'

B:69. Hrig?

INT

'Hm?'

A:70. 'Wo dong.'

I understand

'I understand.'

B:71. O.

INT

'Oh.'

A:72. 'Rang wo get I

'(You) I'll get me'

73. shang - qu a...

ascend go TEXT to go up,'

B:74. A.

INT

'Ah.'

A:75. 'Wo pei dao ban daoer,

I climb reach half-way

'(and when) I get half way,'

76. ni yi guan diannen,

you once turn-off switch

'you'll turn off the switch'

77. wo diao - xia - lai le!'

I fall down come ASP '(and) I'll fall down!'
Text 3: **Shopping**

X = Xiāoméi; Y = Yúrónɡ; B = Bǐngɡùn’r (iceblock) seller; C1 = Clothes seller 1; C2 = Clothes seller 2; S = Shop assistant

X: 1. Ėi, dà jiānjià!  
   'Oh, a discount (sale)!

2. zánmen jìn-qu kàn kan a.  
   let’s go in (and) have a look.

Y: 3. Hǎo a.  
   'Okay.'

B: 4. Bǐngɡùn’r! Bǐngɡùn’r! Nài yóu bǐngɡùn’r! Xiāo dòu bǐngɡùn’r!  
   Iceblocks! Iceblocks! Milk iceblocks! Red bean iceblocks!

Y: 5. Mǎi liǎnɡ gěn’r bǐngɡùn’r.  
   'I’ll have two iceblocks'

B: 6. Yào nǎi yóu de hái shí xiāo dòu de?  
   Do (you) want milk or red bean ones?

Y: 7. Liǎnɡ gěn’r xiāo dòu de.  
   'Two red bean ones.'

B: 8. Yīɡōnɡ liǎnɡ máo sì.  
   'That’ll be twenty four cents altogether.'

Y: 9. Āiyō, nǐ méi yǒu línɡ qián ma?  
   'Oh, don’t you have any change?'

B: 10. Měi yǒu.  
   'No.'

   That’s one dollar seventy-six cents change.’ (lit. (I) give you....change')

Y: 12. Yō.... bāng wǒ fānɡ-jìn tībāo li, hǎo ma?  
   'Oh, (could you) help me put (the change) in my bag, please?'

X: 13. Ėi, nǐ kàn nèi jiàn.  
   'Oh, look at that one.'

Y: 14. Nǐ juéde  
   'Do you think'

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15. hǎokān ma?
good-looking MOD
'it looks good?'

Y:16. Yǎnse dào tīng hǎokān de,
colour CONC very good-looking MOD
'The colour looks very good'

17. kēshì zhè zhǒng shíyàng xiǎnzài yījīng 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 jiānjiā!
big discount
'A discount (sale).'

20. Sǐshì kuài qián yì jiàn lā!
fifty dollar money one MEAS ASP+MOD
'Forty dollars each!'

X:21. Nǐ kàn,
look
'Look'

22. nèi ge rén chuān de yīfu zhēn piàoliàng a!
that MEAS person wear SUB clothes really pretty MOD
'the clothes that person is wearing are really pretty.'

Y:23. Shì yà,
MOD
'Yes'

24. yàngzǐ tíng xīn de.
style very new MOD
'It's the latest style.'

you-me cross go look look MOD
'Let's go over (and) have a look.'

26. Nǐ kàn,
look
'Do you think'

27. zhèi jiàn hǎokān ma?
this MEAS good-looking MOD
'this one looks good?'

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.'
well-then you buy one MEAS MOD
'Well why don’t you buy one then?'

X:32. Hǎo.  
good
'Okay.'

Y:33. Wèi, piányì yídiǎnr ba!  
hey cheap a-little MOD
'Hey, (could you make it) a bit cheaper?'

C1:34. Yǐjīng gòu piányì de le!  
already enough cheap MOD ASP
'(It)’s already cheap enough'

C2:35. Sìshí kuài qián yì jiān, nǐ shàng nǎr qù mǎi ya!  
fifty dollar money one MEAS you to where go buy MOD
'For forty dollars each, where (else) can you get (something like this)?'

X:36. Zòu, zòu, zòu...  
leave leave leave
'Let’s go...'

C1:37. Wèi!...sānshíjiǔ kuài zěnmeyáng?  
hey thirty-nine dollar what-like
'Hey, what about thirty-nine dollars?'

X:38. Sānshíjiǔ kuài?  
thirty-nine dollar
'Thirty-nine dollars?'

39. Cāi bú yào ne!  
still NEG want MOD
'(I) still don’t want it!'

C1:40. Hǎo, hǎo...  
good good
'Okay, okay...'

41. Sānshíbā, sānshíbā kuài!  
thirty-eight thirty-eight dollar
'Thirty-eight, thirty-eight dollars!'

X:42. Hǎo.  
good
'Okay'

Y:43. Èi, nǐ kàn nèi shuāng hēi píxié,  
oh you look that pair black leather-shoes
'Oh, look at that pair of black leather shoes'

44. Tīng hǎokàn de.  
very good-looking SUB
'(they) look really good.'

X:45. Àiyá, wǒ jiù xiǎng mǎi zhè 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. Láojiā, 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?'
Appendix 1: Texts for Chapters 1-3

S: 47. Nǐ yào duō dà hào de?
   you want how big size SUB
   'What size do you take?'

       thirty-six size half
   'Thirty-six and a half.'

49. Yǒu diǎnr xiǎo,
    exist little small
   'They're a little small,'

50. yǒu méi yǒu sānqī hào de?
    exist NEG exist thirty-seven size SUB
   'Do you have them in a thirty-seven?'

S: 51. Nǐ děng yì děng a,
       you wait one wait MOD
   'Just wait a bit,'

52. wǒ qù kàn kàn.
    I go look look
   'I'll go and have a look.'

53. Sānqī 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 yāo?
    you want NEG want
   'would you like (it)?'

X: 56. Huáng de?
       yellow SUB
   'Yellow?'

Y: 57. Nǐ shì shí kàn ba!
       you try try look MOD
   'Try them on and see!'

X: 58. Hǎo,
      good
   'Okay.'

59. gěi wǒ kàn kàn.
     give I look look
   'let me have a look.'

60. Ng, nǐ kàn
    hm you see
   'Hm, you think'

61. zěnmeiyǎng?
    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,'
Appendix 1: Texts for Chapters 1-3

63. bǐ nèi shuāng hēi de hǎokān.
than that pair black SUB good-looking 'better than the black ones.'

X:64. Ng, ūng shūfu de.
hm very comfortable SUB 'Hm, (they)'re very comfortable.'

65. Hǎo,
good 'Okay,'

66. jiǔ 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. Sānshíbā kuài.
'thirty-eight dollar 'Thirty-eight dollars.'

X:69. Àiyō, hái chà yī kuài wū.
oh-dear still fall-short one dollar five 'Oh no, I'm a dollar fifty short.'

Y:70. Wǒ zhěr yǒu liǎng kuài,
'I here exist two dollar 'I've got two dollars'

71. kěshì zānmén hái dēi zuò chē ne!
but you-me still must travel vehicle MOD 'but we still need to catch the bus!'

X:72. Zhēn dāomei!
really unlucky 'What bad luck!'

Y:73. Xià cì zài mǎi ba.
next time further buy MOD 'Get them next time.'

74. Dui le!
correct ASP 'Oh, that's right!'

X:75. Nǐ zěnme la?
you how ASP+MOD 'What's the matter?'

Y:76. Zōu ba!
go MOD 'Let's go!'
Appendix 1: Texts for Chapters 1-3

Text 4: **In the classroom**

1. **Xià kè qián de wǔ fēn zhōng,**
   *finish class before five minute clock*
   ‘Five minutes before the end of class’
   láoshī zài bāi bāi shăn xiě zhé:
   *teacher at blackboard on write*
   ‘the teacher wrote on the board:’
   shēngjīng, hángháitú, yì bēng guānyú yěshēng dòngwù de shū,
   *bible navigation-map one MEAS about wild animal SUB book*
   ‘Bible, navigation map, a book on wild animals,’
   qiāng, pōkēttōu, chānchē, duōguì, 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, zhēnzhēn, fùtèjiā, guāntou (měi rén sān tīng),
   *matches compass vodka tin can each person three MEAS*
   ‘matches, compass, vodka, cans (of food) (three for each person),’
   tāiyángjīng, yào, yǔyī.
   *sunglasses medicine raincoat*
   ‘sunglasses, medicine, raincoat.’

2. Tā tíng - xià bǐ,
   *He put down his pen,*
   s/he stop down pen

3. **Xiànzāi, nián de fēijī diào zài shāmò shǎng,**
   *now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall at desert on*
   ‘Your plane has crashed in the desert.’

4. tā jiēshì shuō,
   *he explained,*
   s/he explain say

5. Nǐmen hái huó zhe,
   *you+PLUR still live*
   ‘You’re still alive,’

6. wǔbāi lǐ wài yī yǒu ge cúnzhūāng,
   *two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village,*
   500 lǐ away exist MEAS village

7. **nǐmen kěyǐ zǒu,**
   *you+PLUR can leave*
   ‘you can go’

8. yě kěyǐ liú - xià,
   *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...’

    *you definite must take compass*
    ‘You’d have to choose a compass.’

11. Wǒ tóngzhūo xiǎoshēng dui wǒ shuō.
    *I same-desk small voice towards I say*
    ‘My desk-mate said to me quietly.’

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12. “Hui - qu xiě yi xia qiányīn-hòuguō hé nǐmen de juédìng.”
   “Go back (home) and write one time cause-effect and your+PLUR SUB decision
   ‘At this moment the bell rang for the end of class.’

   ‘At this time the finish class bell sound ASP:compl
   ‘This obviously was a composition,’

14. Zhè xiǎnrán shì yì piān zuòwén,
   ‘This obviously be one MEAS composition
   ‘This obviously was a composition,’

15. suīrán méi yǒu tīmù.
   ‘even if there was no topic.’

   ‘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 xiǎwù, wǒ nǎr yě méi qù, weekend SUB afternoon I wherever even NEG:perf go
   ‘On Saturday afternoon I didn’t go anywhere,’

18. yī gè rén lá - shāng chuānglián,
   ‘Alone, (I) drew the curtains,
   ‘I could then begin writing compositions again.’

19. dā - kǎi dēng,
   ‘turned on the light,
   ‘I really can’t help telling you,’

20. cóng mán chuāng de zāiwù 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 yǒu néng kǎishǐ xiě zuòwén le.
    ‘I further can begin write composition ASP:compl/perf
    ‘I really loved writing compositions,’

22. Wǒ zhēndè rén - bu - zhù bù gāosu nǐ,
    ‘I really can’t help telling you,’

23. shàng xué de shìhòu,
    ‘that when I was at school,
    ‘that was my happy past.’

24. wǒ shì duōme xǐhuān [l xiě zuòwén l],
    ‘I be how-much like write composition
    ‘I really loved writing compositions,’

25. nà shì wǒ tiánní de wǎngshì.
    ‘that be I sweet SUB past
    ‘that was my happy past.’

26. Qitā kē háoxiàng zǒngshí cháng de méi yǒu biān,
    ‘Other class seem always long EXT NEG exist limit
    ‘Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long,’

27. zhī yǒu zuòwén kě duān de zhī shì yì shùnjìān
    ‘only exist composition class short EXT only be one moment
    ‘only the composition class was as brief as the twinkling of an eye;’
28. shènzhí zhōngyuē jiāo gāo 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 bǐng méiyǒu wán.
it EMPH NEG:perf finish
'(that) it wasn't finished,'

31. Wǒ zhīdào,
I know
'I knew'

32. wǒ zài yīnyuē dèngdài zhe shénme,
I ASP:prog indistinct wait ASP:dur something
'I was vaguely waiting for something,'

33. xiāng [wǒ yīhòu dèngdài guǒ lǐ] de mǒu zhōng yuēhui.
like I afterwards wait ASP:exp. SUB certain type appointment
'like some date I would have waited for afterwards,'

34. Shishí shāng, tā shì méi wán,
reality on it be NEG:perf finish
'In fact it wasn't finished,'

35. dāng láoshī zhān - zài jiāngtái shāng,
when teacher stand at lecture-platform on
'when the teacher stood on the platform,'

36. yībīăn dūi 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,'

37. yībīăn tòu - guò jīngpiān yǒuyí-wúyí de
same-time penetrate past lense deliberate-accidental MAN
'and half deliberately through his glasses,'

38. wǒ nèi kē máosù suǒ xīn zhèng zài nàr
I that MEAS numb-limp SUB heart ASP:prog at there
'my numb heart was'
bèngbèng luàn-tiāo ne!
throb confused-beat ASP:imperf
'thumping wildly!'

39. Wǒ yǎnqiān yì piān móhu,
I eye-before one MEAS blurred
'The scene before me was blurred,'

40. mǎnyǎn zhī shèng - xià yī zhāng zuǐ
full-eye only leave down one MEAS mouth
'all that filled my eyes was a mouth'

41. zài nàr yī - zhāng - yī - hé.
at there once open once close
'opening and closing.'
42. Zhè cāi xiàng nà piān zuòwén zhēnzhèng de jiēwěi.
this only-then be-like that MEAS composition genuine SUB ending
'Only this seemed to be the composition’s real ending.'

43. Zhèngzhèng yì ge zhōumò guò - qù le,
whole one MEAS weekend pass go ASP:compl/perf
'A whole weekend passed,'

44. yī tiān bàn, duān de zhī shì yī 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 yī dì zhī tuán,
I throw ASP:compl whole-floor paper-ball
'I covered the floor with balls of paper,'

46. diàn guò wǔshū cì yān,
light ASP:exp countless time cigarette
'lit countless cigarettes,'

47. chá le bàn yè zì diān,
consult ASP:perf half-night dictionary
'looked up (words in) the dictionary for half the night,'

48. yòu yī dà zǎo dài zhe nèi zhāng
further one morning bring ASP:dur that MEAS
'early the next morning, taking that piece of paper'

[zhī yǒu jǐ bǎi zì lǐ]
with only a few hundred words on it,

49. qù le sān gè yī diǎn
go ASP:compl three MEAS place
'I went to three (different) places.'

50. Wǎnshàng, wǒ yǒu le yì piān
evening I exist ASP:compl one MEAS
'By evening I had an'

[bù huí yǒu rénhé cuòwù] de yīngyǔ zuòwén,
NEG can exist any mistake SUB English composition
'English composition that couldn’t have any mistakes.'

51. wǒ huí - dào jiā,
I return to home
'I went home,'

52. yòu rèng le jí ge zhī tuán,
throw ASP:compl few MEAS paper-ball
'threw a few more balls of paper (on the floor),'

53. yòu diǎn le jí cì yān,
lit a few more cigarettes,'

54. chāo le hǎo jǐ biān.
made quite a few copies,'

55. Wǒ kàn zhe nà zhāng zhēngjié de zhǐ,
I look ASP:dur that MEAS whole-clean SUB paper
'I looked at that clean sheet of paper,'
56. xǐě - shàng   zǐjǐ   de   míngzì,
   write on self SUB name
   'wrote my name on (it),'

57. chī   le   sàn   piān   ānnǎijīn,
   eat ASP:perf three pill analgesic
   'took three sleeping pills,'

58. ránhòu   màn yì   de   hé - shāng   le   yǎnjīng.
   afterwards satisfied MAN close on ASP:compl eye
   'and then contentedly closed my eyes.'

59. Zhè   shì   zhēnggè   chéngshì   dōu   shuì   le.
   this time whole city all sleep ASP:compl
   'By this time the whole city was asleep.'

60. Xīngqiūyī,   wǒ   jiào   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.'
Disappointed in America

A:1 Nème, guānyú shénme zhūtí ne?
Well, concerning what topic MOD
'Well, what topic (should I talk) about?'

B:2. Nǐ shuō nèi ge Méiguó...
you talk that MEAS America
'Talk about um America...'

3. = nǐ gānggāng shuō...
you just-now talk
'you were talking just now...'

concerning towards America SUB hope and disappointment right
'About hope and disappointment about America, yes.'

5. Dānshì wǒ bù shì zhuānjìā,
but I NEG be expert
'But I'm not an expert,'

6. wǒ zhǐ shì biǎodá wǒ zìjǐ de xiǎngfā.
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. Yǐnwèi wǒ yìzhí juédé,
because I continually feel
'Because I've always thought'

9. shuō, rúguǒ, wǒ gāngcái gěn nǐ jiāng de
say if I just-now 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 xiǎng zhèmèi yī ge guójìa
for-example resemble such one MEAS country
'like for example such a country'

12. yǒu yī tāo wǎnzhěng de fālù de xítōng - "legal system",
exist one set complete SUB law SUB system legal system be MOD
'that has a complete legal system, "legal system", no?'

13. lái bǎozhàng tài de gōngpíng de jīngzhěng,
come protect SUB fair SUB competition
'to protect its fair competition'

14. dānshì quán shìjì de race and culture and suǒyǒu de sīxiāng
but whole world SUB race and culture and all SUB ideology
'dòu néng gōu zài nèibian jīngzhěng;
all can at there compete
'but where all the races and cultures and ideologies in the world can compete;'

15. nème zhè ge guójìa, zhī yǒu yì ge guójìa,
well this MEAS country only exist one MEAS country
'well this country, there's only one country'
16. jiù shì Mgíguó.
   precisely be America
   (and) that's America.'

17. Wǒ běnlái yíwéi
   I originally consider
   'I used to think'

18. nà shì yì 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. dànzhi wǒ hòulái cái jiùde
    but I afterwards only-then feel
    'but it wasn't till afterwards that I realised'

21. tā hǎishí yǒu fēicháng yánzhòng de "discrimination" de.
    it still-be exist extremely serious SUB discrimination SUB
    'that it has very serious "discrimination".'

22. Shǒuxiān, shì zhǒngzǔ shàng de.
    firstly be race on
    'Firstly, in terms of race.'

23. Tā rènwéi
    it consider
    'It thinks'

24. cóng luòhòu de guójiā lái de rén de sīxiāng, yě shì 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 shì bú yídīng de.
    this MEAS be NEG necessarily SUB
    'This isn't necessarily the case.'

26. Di èr diǎn, jiūshì shuō, tā de duì wénhuà de qíshí,
    number two point precisely-be say it SUB towards culture SUB discrimination
    'secondly, that is to say, its cultural discrimination,'

27. yǐnwéi tā de nèi ge cānzhào xì, tā de nèi ge "standard system",
    because it SUB that MEAS reference-system it SUB that MEAS standard system
    tā yǒu zhème yì ge sīxiāng,
    it exist thus one MEAS thinking
    'Because its system of reference, its "standard system", it has this kind of thinking'

28. tā yǒu yì ge biāozhùn:
    it exist one MEAS criterion
    'it has a criterion'

29. zhèi ge biāozhùn shì yī shènme 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 shì Yīnggélán ne,
    perhaps be England TEXT
    perhaps it's an English (person)
31. yěxū shì Áiérlán ne,
perhaps be Ireland
perhaps it's an Irish (person)'

32. yěxū shì... fānzhèng shì 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 jū yì ge lìzi,
I cite one MEAS example
'Let me give an example,'

34. cóng yǐxué shāng lái shuō.
from medicine on come say
'taking the case of medicine.'

35. Nèmē, Yāzhōu dē yǐxué zài Mēiguó jiù shòu-dào qìshi.
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. shì fēicháng yǒu xiàogú de,
be extremely exist effect SUB
'to be really effective,'

38. dui hěn duō jìbìng de zhīliāo shì 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. Nèmē, 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. shì yòng zhōngyī zhì de;
use Chinese-medicine treat SUB
'use Chinese medicine to treat (them)'

41. érqiē zhèngmíng
furthermore prove
'and (this) proves'

42. shì yǒu xiàogú de.
be exist effect SUB
'that (it) is effective.'

43. Dānshí zài Mēiguó, Mēiguórén bù zhūn, bù zhūn Yāzhōurén yòng zhōngyàò
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 zhi bìng;
come treat illness
'to treat illness'

45. tāmén rènwéi
they consider
'they think'

46. zhōngyàò shì huāngtáng de.
Chinese-drug be absurd SUB
'Chinese medicine is absurd.'
47. Hên duō hên duō wénhuà shàng de qíshi, dou 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. Ėrqiè xiánzài duì yímín de xiǎnzhì 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 zhīn... bù xiǎng yìqián,
   NEG allow NEG resemble previously
   'They don't let...it's not like before'

51. nǐ kěyǐ chéng yī sōu chuán,
   you can travel one MEAS boat
   '(when) you could get on a boat'

52. nǐ zhǐyào zài zhèi ge "trip", zài zhèi ge lǚtú libian bù sīwáng dehuā,
   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 Méiguó,
   you reach America
   '(when) you reached America'

54. nǐ jiù hui yǒu yí ge fēicháng zhànxīn de tiānǐ, you then could exist one MEAS extremely brand-new SUB world
   'you could have a completely new world'

55. nǐ xiǎng-jīn bānfǎ
   you think exhaust means
   'You think of every way'

56. dào Méiguó,
   reach America
   'to get to America'

57. lijīng qiān xīn wàn kù, go-through 1,000 hardship 10,000 suffering
   'go through all sorts of hardships'

58. nǐ lijī hui juéde
   you immediately can feel
   'You straightaway might feel'

59. nǐ dào le yì ge zìyóu de shìjiè. you reach ASP:xompl one MEAS free SUB world
   '(that) you've reached a free world.'

60. Dànshi xiánzài bù shì: but now NEG be
   'But now that's not how it is:'

61. nǐ qù le zhīhòu, you go ASP:xompl after
   'after you've gone'

62. nǐ jiù hui bèi zhuā-qilái, you then could PASS arrest up
   'You can be arrested'
63. nǐ shì tòu - dù de, 
you be stealthily cross SUB 
'(on the grounds that) you’ve entered illegally'

64. xiànzài yǐjīng méi yǒu zi yóu yìmín nèi ge gǎnǐn àn le, 
now already NEG exist free immigration that MEAS concept ASP:perf 
'Now there has ceased to be the concept of free immigration'

65. shì jì shàng méi yǒu yī kuài zi yóu 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 Méigúó ràng rén zúi shī wàng 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. [Xia ke qian] de wu fen zhong,
   finish class before five minute clock
   ‘Five minutes before the end of class’

2. Lao shi zai heiban shang xie zhe:
   teacher at blackboard on write
   ‘the teacher wrote on the board’

3. Shengjing, hanghai, yi ben guanyu yesheng dongwu de shu,
   bible navigation-map one MEAS about wild animal book
   ‘Bible, navigation map, a book on wild animals’

4. Qiang, shoudiantong, jiangluosan, dayi, shui (mei ren san bei),
   gun pocket-torch parachute overcoat water each person three cup
   ‘gun, pocket torch, parachute, overcoat, water (each person three cups)’

5. Huochai, zhinnanzhen, futeqia, guantou (mei ren san ting),
   match compass vodka tin can each person three MEAS
   ‘matches, compass, vodka, cans (of food) (three for each person)’

6. Taiyangqing, yao, yuyi.
   sunglasses medicine raincoat
   ‘sunglasses, medicine, raincoat’

2. Ta ting - xia bi,
   s/he stop down pen
   ‘He put down his pen’

3. “Xiannai, nimen de feiji diao - zai le shamo shang,”
   now you+PLUR SUB aeroplane fall at ASPxompl. desert on
   ‘Your plane has crashed in the desert’

4. Ta jiensi shuo,
   s/he explain say
   ‘he explained’

5. “Nimen hai huo zhe,
   you+PLUR still live ASP:dur
   ‘You’re still alive’

6. Wubai li wai you ge cunzhuang,
   500 li away exist MEAS village
   ‘two hundred and fifty kilometres away is a village’

7. Nimen keyi zou
   you+PLUR can leave
   ‘you can go’

8. Ye keyi liu - xia,
   also can stay down
   ‘or (you) can stay behind’

9. Mei ren zhi zhun dui wu yang dongxi...”
   each person only allow take five type thing
   ‘each person is only allowed to take five things...’

10. “Ni yiding yao na zhinnanzhen.”
    you definite must take compass
    ‘You’d have to take a compass’

11. Wo tongzhuo xiaosheng dui wo shuo.
    I same-desk small voice towards I say
    ‘My desk-mate said to me quietly’
12. “Huí - qu xiě yì xià qián yín hòu guǒ hé nǐmen de jué dìng.”
return go write one time cause-effect and you+PLUR SUB decision
‘Go back (home) and write what happened and your decision.’

this time finish class bell sound ASP:compl
‘At this moment the bell rang for the end of class.’

15. Zhè xiànrán shì yì piān zuò wén,
this obviously be one MEAS composition
‘This obviously was a composition,’

16. suīrán méi yǒu tí mù.
although NEG exist topic
‘even if there was no topic.’

17. Nà yí hòu de hǎo jǐ tiān,
that after SUB good few day
wǒ yǐzhī 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 nàr yě méi qù,
weekend SUB afternoon I wherever even NEG:perf go
‘On Saturday afternoon I didn’t go anywhere.’

19. yī ge rén lá - shàng 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 chuāng de zá wù zhōng chōu - chū 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 yǒu néng kāishǐ xiě zuò wén le.
I further can begin write composition ASP:compl/perf
‘I could then begin writing compositions again.’

23. Wǒ zhēndé rén - bù - zhù bù gào su nǐ,
I really tolerate NEG:pot. stand not tell you
‘I really can’t help telling you,’

24. shàng xué de shí hou,
attend school SUB time
‘(that) when I was at school,

25. wǒ shì duō mēi xī huān xiě zuò wén,
I be how-much like write composition
‘I really loved composition class,’

26. nà shì wǒ tiān mǐ de wǎng shí.
that be I sweet SUB past
‘that was my happy past.’

27. Qī tā kè hào xiāng zǒng shí chóng de méi yǒu biān,
other class seem always long EXT NEG exist limit
‘Other classes always seemed to be endlessly long;’

28. zhī yǒu zuò wén kě dù duān de zhī shì yī shēn jiān
only exist composition class short EXT only be one moment
‘only the composition class was as brief as the twinkling of an eye;’
Appendix 2. Texts for Chapter 4

29. shènzhī zhōngyǔ jīāo gāo 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 bīng méi yǒu wán it EMPH NEG:perf finish
'(that) it wasn’t finished.'

32. Wǒ zhīdāo, I know
'I knew'

33. wǒ zài yǐnyūe dēngdài zhe shénme, I ASP:prog indistinct wait ASP:dur something
'I was vaguely waiting for something,'

34. xiǎng [wǒ yǐhòu dēngdài guò lǐ] de móu zhōng yuēhuì resemblance I afterwards wait ASP:exp. SUB certain type appointment
'like some date I would have waited for afterwards.'

35. Shíshí shàng, tā shì méi wán reality on it be NEG:perf finish
'In fact it wasn’t finished,'

36. dāng láoshi zhǎn - zài jiāngtái shàng, when teacher stand at lecture-platform on
'when the teacher stood on the platform,'

37. yìbiān dui quánbān tónɡxué lǎngdú wǒ de zuòwén, same-time towards whole-class classmate read-aloud I SUB composition
'reading out my composition to the whole class,'

38. yìbiān tòu - guò jīngpíān yǒuyì - wúyì de same-time penetrate past lense deliberate-accidental MAN
'and half deliberately gazing at me through his glasses,'

39. wǒ nèi kē mássū de xīn zhèng zài nà'ér I that MEAS numb-limp SUB heart ASP:prog at there
'bèngbèng luǎn-tiáo ne! throbs confused-beat MOD
'my numb heart was thumping wildly!'

40. Wǒ yǎnqián yì piàn móhu, I eye-before one MEAS blurred
'The scene before me was

41. shèng - xià yì zhānɡ zuǐ full-eye only leave down one MEAS mouth
'all that filled my eyes was a mouth'

42. zài nà'ér yì - zhānɡ - yī - hé. at there once open once close
'opening and closing.'

43. Zhè cāi xiǎnɡ nà piān zuòwén zhènzhèng de jièwéi. this only-then resemble that MEAS composition genuine SUB ending
'Only this seemed to be the composition’s real ending.'
44. Zhēngzhēng yí ge zhōumò guò - qu le,
'A whole weekend passed,'

45. yì tiān bàn, duān de zhī shì yí shùnjiān.
'a day and a half was as brief as the twinkling of an eye.'

46. Wǒ réng le yī dì yī diǎn zìnǐ,
'I covered the floor with balls of paper,'

47. diǎn guò wūshù cì yān,
'lit countless cigarettes,'

48. chá le bānyè zìdìiān,
'looked up (words in) the dictionary for half the night,'

49. yòu yì dàzǎo dāi zhe nèi zhāng
early the next morning, taking that piece of paper with only a few hundred words on it,'

50. qù le sān ge dìfāng.
'I went to three (different) places.'

51. Wànshang, wǒ yǒu le yī piān
'I went home,'

52. wǒ huí - dao jiā,
'I went home,'

53. yòu réng le jī ge zhītuān,
'threw a few more balls of paper (on the floor),'

54. yòu diǎn le jī cì yān,
'lit a few more cigarettes,'

55. chāo le hǎo jǐ biān.
'made quite a few copies.'

56. Wǒ kàn zhe nà zhāng zhēngjié de zhǐ,
'I looked at that clean sheet of paper,'

57. xiě - shāng zǐ jī de míngzì,
'wrote my name on (it),'

58. chǐ le sān piàn ānnǎijìn,
'took three sleeping pills,'
59. 后来满意地合上了眼睛。
and then contentedly closed my eyes.'

60. 这时整个城市都睡了。
'By this time the whole city was asleep.'

61. 星期一，我把我的作文交了。
'I already can reverse recite like stream ASP:perf 'I could already recite it off by heart.'

Wenli's Composition II: The composition

1. "那是在我们一生中第一次坐飞机，
' "That was the first time in our lives we'd been in a plane,'

2. 我们没有钱，
'we didn't have any money,'

3. 但是上帝给了我们这个机会，
'but God wanted to give us this opportunity.'

4. 那天天气非常好，
'That day the weather was really good,'

5. 没有风，
'there was no wind'

6. 没有云，
'there were no clouds,'

7. 没有一切，
'there was no anything.'

8. 所以连上帝都对我们也微笑。
'So much so that God was smiling on us,'

9. 但是她的脸用另一张脸笑，
'but (the fact) that he was laughing at us on the other side of his face'

10. 这时当我们在飞机上梦的时候，
'was something that when our plane abruptly dropped (from the sky)'

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11. wǒmen cǎi míngbāi de. I+PLUR only-then understand MOD only then did we understand.

12. Fēijī xiàoshì 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 zhīdào wèishénme, NEG+exist person know why 'nobody knew why,'

15. yě méi rén gāosu wǒmen. also NEG+exist person tell we 'nor did anyone tell us.'

16. Wǒmen xiàng yī qún niǎo yìyàng zhòuràn I+PLUR like one flock bird same abrupt luò - zài le shàitān shāng, 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 - qilái. 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 jīù, I+PLUR can live how long 'how long we could stay live,'

20. dàn [lì néng huó zhe lǐ yōngyuǎn shì [lì zuì hǎo lǐ] 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 shàngdi... God no I NEG want say God 'God, no, I don't want to mention God...'

22. zōngzhí, nèi ge [lǐ bǐ wǒmen dà lǐ] de rén in-summary that MEAS compare we great SUB person bīng bù xiǎng fàngqí 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 liū- xià le yīxiē dōngxi. s/he for I+PLUR leave down ASP:compl some thing 'he left us some things,'

24. Zōng shì zhěiyàng, always be this-way 'It's always the way,'

25. hěn duō zhěiyàng de shìkè, zōng yǒu shénme very many this-kind SUB moment always exist something 'a lot of these sorts of times there is always something'
nênggou bā nǐ liú - xialai.
'that can enable you to stay behind.'

26. Wômen bixū xuǎnzé,
I+PLUR must choose
'We had to choose,'

27. suīrán wǒ nǐngyuàn bù xuǎnzé.
although I rather-wish NEG choose
even though I would rather not have to choose.'

28. Yixiē rèn zhǔnbèi lí - kai,
some person separate away
'Some people got ready to leave,'

29. yìnwèi wǒ wú bì wèi yǒu ge cǔnzhùāng;
because 500 li away exist MEAS village
'because 250 kilometres away there was a village,'

30. ér wǒ yuàn yì liú - xia.
however I wish leave down
'but I wanted to stay,'

31. zhè dào bù guǎng shì yǐn wèi wǒ xiăng - dào
this however NEG only be because I think reach
'this wasn't only because I thought'

32. huòxì hui yǒu biè fèi jī lài jiǔ wômen,
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 shì ge [Ishēngpà zì lèi ASP:dur self SUB person
'even more because I was the sort of person who doesn't like to tire themselves,'

34. Wô yào [I shēng pà zài lèi 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. Wô yào néi bèn guān yù yěshèng dòngwù de shū,
I need that MEAS about wild animal SUB book
'I wanted the book on wild animals——'

36. [I wǒ xiǎng dū tà lǐ] bù shì wèi [I zhǎngwò shènme zhīshì
I want read it NEG be for grasp what knowledge
'(the reason) I wanted to read it wasn't to gain some knowledge to resist outside
aggression,'

37. ér shì xiǎng zài kān tā shì
but be want at read it time
'but (I) wanted when (I) read it'

38. nêng lǐ yànqián de chūjīng 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. Wô hái yào néi ge jiàngluòsān,
I still need that MEAS parachute
'I also wanted the parachute,'
40. ta huoxu zai [I xia yu l] de shihou buyu youyi hao, it fall rain SUB time not-equal raincoat good  
'it perhaps when it rained, wasn't as good as the raincoat'
41. zai [I hanteng l] de shihou buyu dayi nuan, at cold SUB time not-equal overcoat warm  
'when it was cold, wasn't as good as the overcoat'
42. dan ta geng quanmi; but it even-more comprehensive  
'but it was more all-round(useful);'
43. ta ji keyi zai batian zhuyang, it both can at daytime block sun  
'it could both block out the sun during the day,'  
44. ye keyi zai yewan yu han. also can at night keep-out cold  
'and prevent the cold at night.'
45. Zui zhuiao de, da qi ta, most important SUB put up it  
'Most important, (if you) put it up.'
46. jiushi yige jia then be one MEAS home  
'(it) was a home'
47. keyi an shenli ming. can shelter body establish life  
'(where you) could settle down and carry on with life.'
48. Ta hai yige xinhao, it still be one MEAS signal  
'It was also a signal,'
49. ruguoyan qita feiji cong jie fei guodehua. if another aeroplane really were to fly by here.  
'if another aeroplane really were to fly by here.'
50. Wode heng xiangyao huochai, I very want match  
'I really wanted the matches;'  
51. dan wo geng xiangyao yan, but I even-more want cigarette  
'but I wanted the cigarettes even more.'
52. wo bu zhidao I not know  
'I didn't know'
53. [I mei you yan l] de rizi duowolai shuoshenme, 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. soudi [I mei yan l] de huochai duowolai therefore NEG+exist cigarette SUB match towards I  
genben mei yong. basic NEG+exist use  
'So matches without cigarettes were quite useless to me.'
55. Zai shudou, shamodaoxiang ye zhao - bu dao muchai 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. kēyí qǐ huǒ zuò fàn.
can get fire make meal
'which (you) could (use to) make fires or cook.'

57. Wǒ huòxūn hui yáo nèi píng fùtèjiā,
I perhaps can need that bottle vodka
'I perhaps might have wanted the bottle of vodka,'

58. shéi zhídào,
who know
'who knows,'

59. yòu shìhòu, jiǔ hui shǐ rèn hǎoshòu xiè,
est time alcohol can cause person easy-endure some
'sometimes alcohol can help people endure (things) better,'

60. Kě tā wèishénme bù shì [l wǒ xīhuàn] de
but it why NEG be I like SUB
língwài yì zhòng jiǔ ne?
other one kind alcohol MOD
'But why wasn't it another type of alcohol that I liked?

61. [l Miǎnqiǎng l] de chènzui, hái shì 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. wéi yóu liúyóu
in-order exist reason
'in order to have a reason'

64. dui zǐjī shuō:
towards self say
'to say to myself:'

65. hǎohào zài shātān shàng zuò ge rénguāngyǔ ba!
well at sandbank on do MEAS sunbathe MOD
'have a good sunbathe on a sandbank!'

66. Rènhé zhēnzhèng de xiāngshòu dōu shì nèmé 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. shǐ - qu le yīqiè de shìhòu,
lose go ASP:compl. everything SUB time
'(that you)’ve lost everything,

69. nǐ bǔrǔ gēn zǐjī kāi ge hào wànxiào.
you better with self play MEAS good joke
'you might as well have a good joke with yourself,'

70. Wǒ xuǎn - hǎo le [l shūyù wǒ l] 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 jiējú:
final I still must for I+PLUR choose one MEAS good outcome
'(so) finally I have to choose us a good ending:'
Appendix 2. Texts for Chapter 4

72. wǒmen dōu huó - xialai le,
we all survived,
I+PLUR all live down ASP:perf

73. bingqiè wǒmen zhèng zuò - zai yi ge
furthermore I+PLUR ASP:prog sit at one MEAS
míngliàng de jiàoshi li
bright SUB classroom in,
and we're sitting in a bright classroom,'

74. guò zhe yi duàn xīn shēnghuó.
pass ASP:dur one section new life
'having a new stretch of life.'

75. Dàn nǐ huòxū 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. yǐnwéi wǒmen yǐrán 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 zhīdào,
I know
'I knew'

2. tā bīng méi wán,
s/he EMPH NEG:perf finish
'it really wasn't finished,'

3. wǒ yóu zài yǐnyuē děngdài zhe shénme,
I further ASP:prog indistinct wait ASP:dur something
'I was again vaguely waiting for something,'

4. xiǎng wǒ cóngqiān [lǐ děngdài guǒ lè de mǒu zhōng yuēhùi.
resemble I previous wait ASP:exp SUB ceratin kind date
'like some date I had previously waited for: '

5. Shishi shāng, tā shì méi wán.
reality on it be NEG:perf finish
'In fact it wasn't finished,'

6. dāng lǎoshī zhàn - zai jiāngtái shāng,
when teacher stand at lecture-platform on
'when the teacher stood on the platform,'

7. yībiān dui quánbān tóngxué làngdú
same-time towards whole-class classmate read-aloud
'I SUB composition
'reading out my composition to the whole class,'
8. yìbiān tòu-guò jìngpiàn yǒuyí-wùyì de same-time penetrate past lense deliberate-accidental MAN
kàn-shàng wǒ yì yǎn shì, look on I one eye time
'the half deliberately looking at me through his glasses,'
9. wǒ nèi kē chānwèi wéi de xīn zhēng 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-xià yī zhǎng 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 jiéwéi. genuine SUB ending
'But this seemed not to be the composition's real ending.'
14. wǒ shènzhì yǒu zhōng gānjué, I so-far-as-to exist type feeling
'I even had a kind of feeling:'
15. nà yídīng bù shì [wǒ xiē lǐ] de zuòwén, that definitely NEG be I write SUB composition
'that definitely wasn't the composition I had written,'
16. wǒ nà shí yě xǔ zhèng zài shānmò 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. Wànshǎng, wǒ tǎng - zài chuāng shàng, evening I lie at bed on
'my evening, I lay on (my) bed,'
18. wàng zhe tiānhuābān, gaze ASP:dur ceiling
'gazing at the ceiling,'
19. wǒ zài qiān bǎi ci de wén zìjǐ: I ASP:prog 1000 100 time MAN ask self
'I asked myself over and over again:'
20. nǐ zhěnđé yǐwéi you really consider
'don't you really think'
21. [lǐmén zǎoyǐ jǐshòu lǐ] de yǐqiè bù shì you+PLUR long-since receive SUB everything NEG be
gēn-shēn-di-gǔ de ma? deep-rooted SUB MOD
'that everything you long ago accepted is deep-rooted?'
Appendix 2. Texts for Chapter 4

22. Wǒ zài měi yī ge qǐngchén zǒu - jìn jiǎoshì,
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 yǐjǐng 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. Zhèr, nǐ qiáo
here you look
'Here, you look,'

25. chábuduō tóngyáng de fángjiān,
almost same-type SUB room
'almost the same type of room,'

26. chábuduō tóngyáng de guāngxiàn,
almost same-type SUB light-ray
'almost the same type of light,'

27. Shí jī nián jiǔ xiǎoshì le.
ten some year then vanish ASP:perf
'more than ten years have vanished.'

28. Xiāng qītā kē yìyuàn cháng de [l měi yǒu biān l],
like other class same long EXT NEG exist limit
'like other classes become endlessly long,'

29. yòu xiàng zuòwén kē nèiyàng duǎn de [l zhī shì yī 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. bùguān fāshēng shénme shì,
no-matter happen what thing
'no matter what happens,'

31. bùguān zài guò duōshao nián...
no-matter further pass how-many year
'no matter how many more years are to be passed,'

32. wǒ xīn zhōng yǐnyuē de děngdài dàōdī shì 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 yīhòu de hǎo jǐ tiān, wǒ yízhí 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 xiāng wǎngcháng yìyuàn zuò - zài jiǎošì li,
I like habitual same sit at classroom in
'I sat in the classroom as I used to do,'

35. zhè shì [l wǒ xǐhuān l] de fángjiān,
this be I like SUB room
'This was the room I liked,'

36. zhè shì [l wǒ xǐhuān l] de guāngxiàn,
this be I like SUB light-ray
'this was the light I liked,'

37. wǒ zhènghè rén - bu - zhù bú gāosu nǐ,
I really tolerate NEG:pot. stand not tell you
'I really can't help telling you,'
Appendix 2. Texts for Chapter 4

38. wǒ shí duōme xǐhuan [I xiě zuòwén l],
I really loved writing compositions,'

39. nà shì wǒ měihǎo de jiýi.
that be I beautiful SUB memory
'that was my beautiful memory.'

40. wǒ shènzhì céng wéi-cǐ luò guo lèi,
'I even shed tears over this,'

41. nà shì wǒ de jiă yī.
that be because exist day I discover
'that was because one day I discovered'

42. di yí ge [I xiě - chu “bāqiān fēng bāo chuí - bu - dǎo,
no. one MEAS write out 8,000 MEAS storm blow NEG:pot topple
jiǔwàn ge lèitíng yē nán - hōng” zhé yāng jīngcái jūzi l]
90,000 MEAS thunderbolt also difficult rumble this-kind brilliant sentence
de rěn bìng bù shí 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 zhěnghài wèi-cǐ àndàn le hāo duō tiān,
'I was really low because of this dismal ASP:compl good many day
'I was really low because of this for quite a few days,'

44. suīrán wǒ bā tā yōng - zài wǒ de zuòwén shì,
although I DISP it use at I SUB composition time
'although when I used it in my composition,'

45. tā sīhú tóngyìng jīngcái.
it seem same-kind brilliant
'it seemed equally brilliant.'

Wenli's Composition IV: Tommy's composition

1. Yu - cí - tóng - shí Wénli zhèng zài líng yí chū
with this same time Wenli ASP:prog. at other one place
kǎixīn de xiào zhe.
happy MAN laugh ASP:dur
'At the same time in another place, Wenli was laughing happily.'

2. Yī ge [I jiào Tángmù l] de nán hái
one MEAS be-called Tommy SUB male-child
zài jīnxíng tà de zuòwén kāoshi,
ASP:prog undergo s/he SUB composition exam
'Although Tommy was doing his composition exam,'

3. tǐmù shí: wǒ de gōu.
topic be I SUB dog
'the topic was: my dog.'

4. Zhīshāo yào xiě 150 zì.
at-least must write 150 word
'(He) had to write at least 150 words.'
5. Tommy think ASP:compl think 'Tommy thought a bit,'

6. begin write '(and) began writing:'

7. 'I have a dog,'

8. I call it Bobby 'I call it Bobby,'

9. 'I love my dog,'

10. 'it's black all over,'

11. 'except for (its) nose (which) is white."

12. Tommy stop down 'Tommy stopped,'

13. 21 words.'

14. He continued writing:'

15. 'every day I take Bobby to the park for a walk,'

16. 'but if it's raining,'

17. 'I don't take him for a walk."

18. Another 24 words,'

19. 'he counted (them)"

20. altogether 45 words.'
21. Tommy think ASP:compl. a few minutes' clock
   'Tommy thought for a few minutes'

22. 'and then wrote,'

23. "I often give Bobby a bath,'

24. it like 'it likes'

25. wash bath 'to have a bath,'

26. moreover I also like 'and I like'

27. 'giving it a bath,'

28. I +PLUR all like 'we both like'

29. do this MEAS matter 'doing this.'

30. 'He counted once more,'

31. altogether 67 words.'

32. 'Tommy scratched his head,'

33. 'gazed at the ceiling,'

34. 'thought for quite a while,'

35. 'but couldn't think of anything.'

36. 'He sighed,'
37. zhǐ dé xiě:
   only-can write
   "(and) could only write:"
38. "Bàobí hěn xǐhuan
   Bobby very like
   ‘Bobby really likes’
39. chī táng,
   eat sweets
   ‘to eat sweets,’
40. wǒ yě yuàn yì gěi tā táng chī,
   I also wish give it sweets eat
   ‘I also want to give him sweets to eat,’
41. dàn rúguǒ jiā lí 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 - xiàlài,
   Tommy stop down
   ‘Tommy paused,’
44. nǎo zhe tóu,
   scratch ASP: dur head
   ‘scratched (his) head,’
45. wàng zhe tiān huābàn,
   gaze ASP: dur ceiling
   ‘gazed at the ceiling,’
46. tā kāishí jùsāng le...
   he begin disheartened ASP: compl.
   ‘he was beginning to get disheartened...’
47. Tūrán, tā xiǎng - chū yí ge hǎo zhǔyì,
   suddenly s/he think out one MEAS good idea
   ‘Suddenly he thought of a good idea,’
48. Tāngmǐ gào xìng de xiào zhe,
   Tommy happy MAN laugh ASP: dur.
   ‘Tommy laughed happily,’
49. suíjí fēikuài de xiě - qùlái:
   immediately fly-quick MAN write begin
   ‘and straightaway started writing rapidly:’
50. “Dāng wǒ xiǎng ràng Bāobí jìn wǔ shí,
    when I want get Bobby enter house time
    ‘When I want to get Bobby to come inside,’
51. wǒ jiù jiào: Bāobí;
    I then call Bobby
    ‘I call: Bobby;’
52. rúguǒ tā méi jìn wǔ,
    if it NEG: perf enter house
    ‘if it doesn’t come inside,’
Wenli's Composition V: Wenli's volunteer letter

1. Wénli liě zhe zuǐ
   Wenli grinning mouth
   'Wenli grinning'

2. mī zhe yǎn,
   narrow eye
   '(and) screwing up her eyes'

3. bù - guān - bù - gù de xiào de yānqián - tōngliàng,
   NEG care NEG attend MAN laugh EXT before-eyes brightly-lit
   'laughed wholeheartedly as she saw the light,'

4. wánshī yuánlái rúcǐ jiāndān.
   all-things after-all like-this simple
   'of course, everything is this simple.'

5. Nà yīhòu de hǎo jī tiān, Wénli yīzhǐ 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, Wénli nǎr yě méi qù,
   weekend SUB afternoon Wenli where even NEG:perf go
   'On Saturday afternoon Wenli didn't go anywhere,'

7. yī ge rén lā - shang chuānglián,
   one MEAS person pull on window-curtain
   'Alone, (she) drew the curtains,'
8. dā - kāi dēng,

'turned on the light,'

9. cōng mǎn chuāng de záwù zhōng chōu - chū yì dà bái zhǐ,

'from the mass of things on the bed pulled out a pad of white paper,'

10. tā yòu néng xiě zhìyuànshū le.

'she could then write a volunteer letter again.'

11. "Dōngfēng chuí, east wind blow

'The East wind blows,'

12. zhàngū lèi

'the war drums beat,'

13. xiànzài shíjiè shàng jiù jīng shéi pà shéi...

'who in the world now is afraid of who...''

14. Jiéyì zhòng zuì shèuxí de zìyǎn suǒ-duǎn zhe

'The most familiar words in her memory reduced the distance between her and Tommy.'

15. Wénlí jìxù xiě;

'Wenli continued writing:'

16. "Wǒ zhìyuàn

'I volunteer

'"I volunteer'

17. zuò yī ge Tāngmí, act-as one MEAS Tommy

'to be a Tommy,'

18. yīnwèi Tāngmí shì zài yǔzhòu lǐngdào xià de xiānjīn dàibiǎo, because Tommy be at universe leadership under SUB advanced representative

'because Tommy is an advanced representative under the leadership of the universe,'

19. shì huóxué huóyòng de sīxiāng diānfān, be flexible-study flexible-use SUB ideology model

'(he) is the ideological model for flexible study, flexible use,'

20. shì zhǔguān shì jiào hé kēguān shì jiào de yǒu jiē, be subjective world and objective world SUB organic combination

'(he) is the organic combination of the subjective world and the objective world,'

21. shì shídiǎn de xūyāo, wèilái de zhàohuàn be age SUB necessity future SUB beckon

'(he) is the necessity of the age, the beckoning of the future,'

22. shì [l gǎizào shìjiéguān l] de jiàn jū zhònggrèn." be transform world-view SUB arduous important-task

'(he) is the arduous task of transforming (the) world-view."'
Appendix 2. Texts for Chapter 4

23. Wenli juéxīn yǐ xià.
Wenli resolution already lay-down
'Wenli had already formed her resolution.'

24. "Wǒ yídīng yào kěfú chōngchōng kùnnán,
I definitely will overcome layer-layer difficulty
'I will overcome endless difficulties,'

25. yī Tāngmǐ wéi bāngyàng, 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 - jīn rì - xīn - yù - yī 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. Wenli kàn zhe nèi zhāng zhēngjié de zhǐ.
Wenli look ASP:dur that MEAS whole-clean SUB paper
'Wenli looked at that clean sheet of paper,'

28. Xiě - shàng zǐjī de míngzi,
write on self SUB name
'wrote her name on (it),'

29. tǔ - hǎo yì céng jiāoshū,
spread complete one layer glue
'spread over (it) a layer of glue,'

30. ránhòu mǎnyī de tiē - zài le chuángtòu.
afterwards satisfied MAN stick at ASP:compl bedhead
'then, satisfied, stuck (it) on the head of the bed.'

31. Tā pā - zāi chuáng shāng
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 jiānjian hēi le.
this time sky gradually black ASP:compl
'by this time, the sky had gradually grown dark.'

34. Tā xiǎng - qí xūduō cóngqián de shì,
she think up very-many previous SUB matter
'She thought of many things (that had happened) in the past,

35. xiǎng - qí xiǎoxué shí yī piān zuòwén de tīmù
think up primary-school time one MEAS composition SUB topic
'thought of the title of the composition she had written in primary school'

36. shí: wǒ de jiānglái.
be I SUB future
'(which) was: my future,'

37. Xiǎng - qí
think up (She) thought of

38. tā céng zhàn - zài yī ge wù 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'
Appendix 2. Texts for Chapter 4

39. dāidài 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. bīng dui zìjī shuō:
   and towards self say
   'and (how) she had said to herself:'

41. wǒ yídīng yào zhāng - dà.
   I definitely will grow big
   'I will grow up.'

42. Xiāng - qí
   think up
   (She) thought of

43. tā jíù nēiyàng kāishǐ rěnzhēn de zài měi yì piàn
   she just that-way begin serious MAN at each one MEAS
   zuòwén lǐ bùduàn kēhuá zhe zíjī,
   composition in unceasing portray ASP:dur self
   '(how) just like that she had begun conscientiously in every composition to
   unceasingly portray herself,'

44. xiāng - qí tā zhèxī nián lái xīnzhōng yīnyinyuèyuè 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. xiāng - qí tā . yuèlái yuè bù zhénshí de xīnqíng,
   think up s/he more-and-more NEG real SUB mood
   yījī tā [l yǒu cǐ ér dé - dào 1] de mánzú 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, Wénli xiāng - qí xiǎo shíhou nèi ge [l xǐ - mān le
   suddenly Wenli think up young time that MEAS write full ASP:compl
   yǔlù gèyán jīngjù lǐ yǐjī [l hòuli yǒu bù-shàng xǔduō
   note maxim epigram and afterwards further supplement up very-many
   wùbǐ wánmèi de xǐngróngcì lǐ de bi jībēn,
   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 jīng yōng - qí yì gū
   heart actually well up one MEAS warm SUB blood-flow
   'a warm glow welled up in her heart,'

48. Tā suǒ - zài chuāng shàng
   s/he shrink at bed on
   She curled up on the bed

49. yǒu kǎixīn de xiǎo le.
   further happy MAN laugh ASP:compl
   'and laughed again happily,'

50. Wénli lìzhī
   Wenli resolve
   'Wenli determined'

51. zài yǒu-shēnzhī-nián zuò yì 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,
'she had to write a new composition,'
53. zhè niàntou shǐ tā yì xiǎng - qīlái
'this idea as soon as she thought of (it)'
54. jiǔ jǐndōng.
'through excited.'
55. Tā shuō
'she said'
56. zhè gǎibiān - bù - liǎo tā měi tiān [l yòng kuàizi chī fàn
'this couldn't change her everyday habit of eating with chopsticks (or) washing
yòng fèizáo xǐ liǎn] de xīguān,
her face with soap,'
57. què shǐ tā juéde
'but made her feel'
58. [l Měiguó dǎ bu da [lākè] yījī [l míngtiān dào dì jiāng rúhé l]
'America fight NEG:pot fight Iraq and tomorrow in-the-end will-be like-what
yījīng bù zài huà xià,
already NEG at word under
'that whether America fought with Iraq and what tomorrow would be like were
que shǐ tā juéde
'but made her feel'
59. Búguō wǒ hái shí rèn - bù zhù gào su Wénlǐ shuō:
'I still be tolerate NEG:pot stand tell Wenli say
'However I still couldn't help telling Wenli:'
60. "Qǐshí nǐ yī bēizi yě zuò - bù - chéng Tāngmǔ,
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. yǐnwèi Tāngmǔ bù shì hùnxué.
'because Tommy NEG be mixed-blood
'because Tommy isn't a mixed blood.''
62. Guò le bàn nián,
'Half a year later,'
63. Wénlǐ lái zhǎo wǒ,
'Wenli come look-for I
'Wenli came to see me,'
64. "Wǒ yěxǔ zhēndé zuò - bù - chéng Tāngmǔ 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,
'she said miserably,'
66. "wǒ wàng - bù - liǎo jù de..."
'I forget NEG:pot. complete old SUB
"I can't forget the old...""
67. "Yěxǔ nǐ xǐng,"
Perhaps you be-okay
"Perhaps you'll be okay,"

68. Wǒ shènzhì bù yuàn shāng zǐjǐ de xīn,
so-far-as-to NEG wish hurt self SUB heart
'I didn't even want to hurt myself,'

69. "Nǐ kěyǐ shì zhè
you can try ASP:dur.
'You can try'

70. zài zuòwén lǐ zuò,
at composition in act-as
'being (him) in a composition,'

71. yī cì zuò - bù hǎo
one time do NEG:pot good
'(if you) can't be (him) properly once'

72. hái yǒu xià yī cì,
still exist next one time
'there's still the next time,'

73. nà bù yě tīng 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 yī cì kāixin de xiào le.
'once again laughed happily.'
Appendix 3: Texts for Chapters 1-4

character versions
25 你想怎么对自己去信？
妈妈：24 我每天都……
爸爸：23 你早饭吃得怎么样。
你：22 你什么时候给我做过了？
妈妈：21 食饭～
爸爸：20 你呢？我怎么学？
妈妈：19 什么？什么事？
爸爸：18 我将美容来打扮我将来了吗？
爸爸：17 我听见苹果糖。
爸爸：16 我还得去百货大楼。
出来：15 下班。
妈妈：14 我呢？我有时间吗？
出来：13 应该到饭开饭前！
爸爸：12 脑，下午下班以后。
出来：11 还没起来了。
出来：10 经过菜市后。
出来：9 跑了一趟信。
出来：8 中午到邮局。
出来：7 这事情做！
出来：6 回来。
出来：5 写菜。
出来：4 下班。
妈妈：3 菜吗？上菜。
爸爸：2 菜，什么吃？
妈妈：1 菜吗？今天吃完了！
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，
Appendix 3

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……
     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 嗨，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 咱们去看看呀。
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？
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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 唉，你看那双黑皮鞋，

44 挺好看的。

小梅：45 唉呀，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 3 6 号半。

49 有点儿小，

50 有没有 3 7 号的？

售货员：51 你等一等啊，

52 我去看看。

53 3 7 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 给我看一看，

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。”

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这时下课铃响了，
这显然是一篇作文，
虽然没有题目，
那以后的好几天，
我一直在想这件事。
周末的下午，我哪儿也没去，
一个人拉上窗帘，
打开灯，
从满床的杂物中抽出一张白纸，
我又能开始写作文了。 
我真的忍不住告诉你，
上学的时候，
我是多么喜欢写作文，
那是我甜蜜的往事。
其它课好像总是长得没有边，
只有作文课短得只是一瞬间；
甚至终于交稿之后，
我还觉得
它并没有完。
我知道，
我在隐约等待着什么，
像我以后等待过的某种约会。
事实上，它是没完，
当老师站在讲台上，
一边对全班同学朗读我的作文，
一边透过镜片有意无意地瞟上我一眼时，
那颗麻麻酥酥的心正在那儿蹦蹦乱跳呢！
我眼前一片模糊，
满眼只剩下一张嘴
在那儿一张一合。
这才像那篇作文真正的结尾。
整整一个周末过去了，
一天半，短得只是一瞬间。
我扔了一地纸团，
点过无数次烟，
查了半夜字典，
又一大早带着那张只有几百字的纸
去了三个地方。
晚上，我有一篇不会有任何错误的英语作文。
我回到家，
又扔了几个纸团，
又点了几次烟，
抄了好几遍。
我看着那张整洁的纸，
写上自己的名字，
吃了三片安乃近，
然后满意地合上了眼睛。
这时整个城市都睡了。
星期一，我交了我的作文，
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，

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there is only country,
比如，象这么一个国家
有一套完整的法律的系统 - legal system，是吗？
来保障它的公平的竞争，
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，
那么，这个国家，只有一个国家，
就是美国。
我本来以为，
那是一个非常非常伟大的国家
- 确实它现在也很伟大
- 但是我后来才觉得，
它还是有非常严重的discrimination 的。
首先是种族上的。
它认为，
从落后的国家来的人的思想， 也是落后的，
这个是不一定的。
第二点，就是说，它的对文化的歧视，
因为它的那个参照系，它的那个 standard system, 它有这么一个思想，
它有一个标准，
这个标准是以什么人为前提的呢？
也许是英格兰呢，
也许是爱尔兰呢，
也许是…… 反正是白人的那个标准。
我举一个例子，
从医学上来说，
那么，亚洲的医学在美国就受到歧视，
中医，中医，几千年以来都被证明
是非常有效果的。
对很多疾病的治疗是有效的。
那么，中国人很多很多人从小到大治病
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，
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 又一大早带着那张写了几百字的纸
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。
(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 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
（三）又在教室内

Anna
Appendix 3

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 我像人学一样坐在教室里，
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。
望着天花板，
想了好一会儿，
但没想出什么。
他叹了口气，
只得写：
“鲍比很喜欢
吃糖，
我也愿意给他糖吃，
但如果家里没有糖，
我就不给他吃糖，”
汤米停下来，
挠着头，
望着天花板，
他开始沮丧了……
突然，他想出了一个好主意，
汤米高兴地笑着，
随即飞快地写起来：
“当我让鲍比进屋时，
我就叫：鲍比；
如果它没进屋，
我就再叫：鲍比，鲍比；
如果它还没进屋，
我就大声叫：鲍比，鲍比，鲍比；”
汤米数了一遍字，
149。
他在结尾多加了一个鲍比，
写上自己的名字，
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 眯了很久，
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
47 完美的形容词的笔记本——
48 心头竟涌起一股温暖的血流。
49 她缩在床上
50 开心地笑了。
51 文利立志
52 在有生之年做一个汤米，
53 她还要写一篇新作文，
54 这念头使她—想起来
55 就激动。
56 她说
57 这改变不了她每天用筷子吃饭用肥皂洗脸的习惯，
58 却使她觉得
59 美国打不打伊拉克以及明天到底如何已经不在话下。
60 不过我还是忍不住告诉文利说：
61 “其实你一辈子也做不成汤米，
62 因为汤米不是混血。”
63 过了半年，
64 文利来找我，
65 “我也许真的做不成汤米了，”
66 她暗然地说，
“我忘不了旧的⋯⋯”
“也许你行，”
我甚至不愿伤自己的心，
“你可以试着
在作文里做，
一次做不好，
还有下一次，
那不也挺好玩的？”
我看到文利
又一次开心地笑了。

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