# A TAGMEMIC CLAUSE ANALYSIS OF MANDARIN CHINESE 

Thesis for the Degree of M. A. MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY CAMERON JAY BEATTY 1970


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A TAGNEMIC CLAUSE ANALYSIS OF MANDARIN CHINESE

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## ABSTRACT

## A Tagmemic Clause Analysis of Mandarin Chinese by <br> Cameron Jay Beatty

The study of Mandarin Chinese clause types has been undertaken from the point of view of Tagmemic theory and analytical technique. Using the text of a Chinese fairy tale, "The Cowherd and the Weaver-girl", as a corpus, this thesis analyzes the number and types of clauses contained therein, and discusses the relationships which obtain among them.

Analysis reveals a total of fifteen contrastive clause types. These are treated in three distinct groups:

1) 'Basic'; 2) Derivative, Group A; and 3) Derivative, Group B. The relationships among these three groups of clause types are discussed and illustrated. Also discussed non-contrastive clause variation, which is carried out through the use of peripheral tagmemes and/or the factor of dependency.

Finally, the results of the analysis are discussed in terms of their usefulness to both teachers and students of Chinese. It is concluded that such a systematized knowledge of the clause types of Mandarin Chinese and their interrelationships facilitates manipulation of the grammatical patterns of the language.

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## I. inmRonuction

A. The Problem

Most 'grammars' of Mandarin Chinese $^{\text {written }}$ prior to the second world War were teaching texts, consisting of phrase drills and english-chinese comparisons and paraphrases. So far as I have been able to discover, little formal presentation was made of the structure of the language, except in reference to existing grammars of other languages. A typical example is The Chinese Language and How to Learn it, by Sir Walter Hillier. This was a "self-teaching" text, with the only discussion of structure being a Latinbased treatment of the "moods" and "tenses" of the language (pp.64-70). This kind of approach is directly analogous to traditional Latin-based treatments of English grammar, in which the facts of the latter are made to fit the categories of the former.

With the Second World War, and a heightened national interest in the Far East, Mandarin Chinese language texts became more scientifically oriented, at least to the extent that they no longer discussed such topics as 'tense' and 'mood'. (See, for example, Chao, 1948, and the series of elementary Chinese texts published by the Yale University Institute of Far Eastern Languages.) The texts were, however, still primarily phrase books; structure was learned by induction (Chao, 1948, p.33), and little or no attention was given to overt syntactic analysis above the
phrase level.
Since world War II, linguists have begun presenting formal analyses of various aspects of the structure of Mandarin Chinese. These analyses have dealt with structure below the clause level (e.g. Hockett, 1947 and 1950, and Ho, 1966), but few descriptions have been made of the clause structure per se, and none of these have been done from the point of view of tagmemic theory.** This is the task to which the following is directed: a tagmemic analysis and description of the clause types of Mandarin Chinese.
B. The Theoretical Framework

1. The analysis will follow the tagmemic model originated by Kenneth L. Pike in his Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior (Rev. ed., 1967), and the procedures suggested by that model, presented by Longacre in his Grammar Discovery Procedures (1964) and by Elson and Pickett in their Introduction to Morphology and Syntax (1962).

Tagmemic theory is based on the view that language, as human behavior, is patterned behavior, and that the patterns are discoverable. Ianguage is seen to be "structured in three semiautonomous but interlocking modes,

* One such non-tagmemic analysis is Chinese Lexotactics: a Stratificational View, a 1967 disserもaモion by Richard Thomas Thompson. In his analysis, Thompson treats three clause types of Mandarin Chinese, which are discovered "by doing linguistic analysis" (p.l). The methods and procedures used for determining these clause types are not discussed at any length, however, and the reader is left with the impression that the numbers and kinds of clause types have been taken as given by the analyst.
phonology, grammar, and lexicon" (Longacre, 1964, p.7). Each of these modes is sufficiently distinctive that it can and should be separated out and analyzed separately from the others. This is not to say, however, that analysis of one of the modes will of itself lead to a full understanding of all the patterns of a language without reference to the other two modes, nor that relationships between the modes are unimportant or should be ignored.

Within each mode there is a hierarchy of levels of structure. These levels are "quasi-absolutes", in that while there are etic criteria for differentiating the various levels within a mode, "the specific numbers of levels which are structurally relevant to any one language are emically determined." Thus, "one language may contain more structurally-relevant levels than another, and the levels may have somewhat--but not completely--distinct diagnostic characteristics" (Pike, 1967, p.437). The units of each level are then studied with respect to their contrastive-identificational characteristics (Pike's feature mode), their variants (Pike's manifestation mode), and their distribution in sequence (i.e., in the same or higher or lower levels), in class, and in field, or matrix (Pike's distribution mode).

The basic unit in the grammatical system of a language is the tagmeme. This unit is defined by Elson and Pickett as "the correlation of a grammatical function or slot with a class of mutually substitutable items occurring in that slot. This slot-class correlation has a distri-
bution within the grammatical hierarchy of a language" (1962, p.57). A morpheme sequence "which is itself analyzable in terms of constituent tagmemes, is said to constitute a construction" (Elson and Pickett, 1962, p.59). Thus, for example, we may have noun phrase constructions (themselves analyzable into constituent tagmemes), being analyzed as fillers of tagmemes in clause level constructions. Longacre (1960, p.64) states that "the cataloguing and description of these structurally contrastive syntagmemes [constructions] may be considered to be one of the major goals of grammatical analysis."
2. The clause is defined by Longacre (1964. p.35) as "a class of syntagmemes of a median hierarchical order ranking above such syntagmemes as the phrase and word and below such syntagmemes as the sentence and discourse. It may be non-centered, centered, or relator-axis." In addition, it must express some such meaning as predication or equation. The purpose of grammatical analysis at the clause level, then, is to analyze and describe the clauses of a language, in terms of their contrastive-identificational characteristics (emic types), their variants (etic variants of emic types), and their distribution, as outlined above.

Minimal contrast between clause level constructions has been established in different ways by different analysts, although all have acreed on the necessity for a two-fold distinction. Pike (1967, p. 472 and elsewhere) uses either two internal structural differences, or one
difference in internal structure and one external, distributional difference to provide the necessary minimal contrasts, or one internal difference plus a difference in transform potential. Longacre (1964, pp.20-23) objects to the use of external distribution as a criterion, and only allows the use of either two internal structural differences or one internal difference and one difference in transform potential (p.19). Both Pike and Longacre, however, insist that at least one of the internal structural differences must involve the nuclei of the constructions in question. In my analysis of Mandarin Chinese clauses, I have followed Longacre and Pike's practice of using transform potential and internal differences as criteria for separating clause types, but have not included Pike's distributional differences as another.
C. The Data

The data for this analysis is taken from a recording of a Chinese fairy tale. It is in a narrative style, and is delivered as if being told to another native speaker. The informant is a woman, about thirty years of age, and an educated native of Peking. Additional data from other sources (from a taped discussion on the problems of teaching Chinese, end, directly, from an informant) will be used as necessary for corroborative evidence and as a means of checking the conclusions of my analysis.

The primary data and all examples will be written in the Yale System of Romanization. This system is not
necessarily better than any of the several others, but it adequately reflects the sound system of the lanquage and is the one used and recognized by most American students of the language.

The citation code after the examples used in this paper refers to the parenthesized page numbers and lines of the corpus in Appendix II.

## II. THE ANALYSIS

In the grammatical hierarchy of Nandarin Chinese, the clause ranks between the phrase level and the sentence level. In the course of the following presentation it will become necessary to make at least passing reference to these other levels (particularly in discussions of clause distribution), so it would be well to present at least a working definition of phrase and sentence before proceding.

Longacre (1964) defines phrase as ranking above the word and/or stem and below the clause in the hierarchy, and expressing such relationships as head-modifier, linkage of elements, etc. In addition, the phrase does not necessarily demonstrate a structural meaning of predication, equation, etc. In discussing the fillers of clause level tagmemes, when I state that a slot is filled by a phrase of some kind, 'phrase' is to be understood as meaning 'potential phrase'. For example, Noun Phrase may be manifested by only a noun, but if so, it must be potentially expandable into a phrase.

The Chinese sentence is often coterminous with the clause, but they differ basically in their expanded forms: the clause is expanded by its particular peripheral tagmemes (see below), while the sentence expands by the addition of slots filled by other clauses which have a coordinate, subordinate, etc. relation to it. Surther, while a clause is considered to express predication of some kind, the sentence is not required to, and this is why non-clause
sentences such as single word replies to questions (e.g. dwè 'right') are not considered in this study. (See Pike, 1967, pp.441-42.)

Certain other structural elements have been excluded from this study as irrelevant to clause structure. These are the sentence level markers of sequence (e.g. holulai 'then, later', jyou 'then'), reason (e.g. yīnwèi 'because', swơyly 'therefore'), coordination (e.g. yě 'also', hái 'still'), condition (e.g. yàushr....de hwà 'if') etc., which are mechanisms for expanding sentence level constructions, and are thus outside the scope of this paper.

In the presentation of clause types and variants, I have found it beneficial to make use of matrices. This technique, originated by Pike (1962) and incorporated by Longacre into his Grammar Discovery Procedures, greatly reduces redundancy in presentation of grammatical structures, as well as making relationships and gaps in the analysis more obvious.
A. Basic Clause Types

Analysis of the data yields seven clause types which may be considered basic in Mandarin Chinese. (The term 'basic' is used here and throughout this paper to indicate a particular group of clause types. It is not to be taken as indicating those clause types which are somehow literally basic to Chinese clause structure. I have used the term as a presentational device only, which enables me to make generalizations about relationships between clause types. See Section B, below.) These basic clause types are the

Descriptive, the Equative, the Locative, the Existential, the Non-transitive, the Transitive, and the Directional. The feature formulas for the clause types in this section, below, will be given in nuclear form. Longacre (1964, ftn. p.19, and elsewhere) defines a nuclear tagmeme as one which is obligatory, or optional but diagrostic of construction types. "Especially on the clause and phrase levels (where procedures are explicitly set up in terms of nucleus versus periphery) we often ericounter optional tagmemes of considerable relevance in defining syntagmemes. Such tagmemes can now be considered to be nuclear although optional. We thus evolve a trichotomcus classification: (1) Nuclear and obligatory, (2) Nuclear and optional, (3) Peripheral (and optional)" (ftn., p.19). All basic Chinese clause types contrast in their predicates. That is, the predicate in each basic clause type is peculiar to that construction type and may be said to be diagnostic of it. Longacre (1964, p.54) says that the contrast between given predicators may be "part of a broader pattern of contrast" among verbs, and countable as a structural contrast. In general, however, other internal structural distinctions are relied upon to provide sufficient evidence of contrast between clause types. (For my full definition of contrasts necessary for the establishing of different clause types, see I.B., above.)

Fillers of tagmemes have been left out of the following and similar formulas. This has been done for
simplicity of presentation only, and the presence of a functional symbol in a formula for a clause type is to be understood as implying the entire class of fillers of that function. Thus, the functional symbols are tagmeme labels. Fillers of Tagmemes and Symbols and Abbreviations are listed in Chapter III and Appendix I, respectively.


The descriptive clause consists of an obligatory subject-as-item, an optional comparison tagmeme, and an obligatory descriptive predicate. The comparison tagmeme, which is not necessarily unique to this clause type, is manifested by a comparative marker (e.g. bíi 'compare') and a compared item. In its expanded form, the clause would be:


The equative clause consists of an obligatory suhiect-as-item, an oblifatory equative predicate, and an oblipatory equation taqmeme. Thompson (1967) states that the equative predicate is optional, not obligatory. this is not corroborated by the data in my corpus. There were no occurrerices

[^0]of predicate-less equative clauses in the corpus. In discuesions with an informant, however, it was lcarned that there are some circumstances (ill-defined at best) in which it is possihle to omit the equative predicate. The circumstances under which this phenomenon may occur seem to be delimited by something outside the clause level. I suspect that detailed study of these so-called pre-dicate-less equative clauses would show them to be a part of the sentence or the discourse level, in the same way that one-word replies to questions relate to these levels (see p.8, above). Complete certainty on this issue would probably not come out without a complete analysis of the discourse level. It is for these reasons that I have decided to consider the Chinese sentence

| Si $\quad$ (-)Pe | Eq |
| :--- | :--- |
| t $\bar{a}$ | Shànghái ren |
| he | Shanghai person |
| He is from Shanghai, |  |

to be a dependent variant of the independent Eq cl which has a zero manifestation of the predicate tagmeme. This phenomenon is discussed more fully in my treatment of dependent clauses (Chapter II, Section E).


The locative clause consists of an obligatory subject-as-item, an obligatory locative predicate, and an obligatory location ${ }_{l}$ tagmeme.
-
4. $\mathrm{Ex} \mathrm{cl}_{1}= \pm \mathrm{IOC}_{2}, \quad+\mathrm{Px} \quad+\mathrm{Si}$ (12G-H) Nyóulángde pángbyār yǒu lyăngge syău syīngsying Nyoulang-de, side there-is two small star At Nyoulang's side there were two small stars.

This clause consists of an optional tagmeme of location, an obligatory existential predicate (usually translated as 'there is'), and an obligatory subject-as-item tagmeme.

This clause construction type created a number of problems in the analysis, due to its apparent similarity to two other clause types. One the one hand, it bears a close semantic resemblance to the locative clause described above, and might have been considered a variant of it. However, the optional location ${ }_{2}$ tagmeme of the existential clause contrasts with the obligatory location ${ }_{l}$ tagmeme in the locative clause, in both position within the clause and in manifesting set, as indicated by the subscript numbers which occur with them in the formulas. Beyond that (but perhaps equally significant), the nature of the predicate you 'existence' suggests something quite different from 'existence-in-a-place'; indicated by the locative predicate.

The other, more remote, possibility would be to consider this existential clause a kind of transitive clause, so that instead of $\pm \mathrm{Loc}_{2}+\underset{\sim}{\mathrm{Px}}+\mathrm{Si}+$ (5M) that place there-is yījyān yīshang
we would have +Sa +Ptrans +object that place have a dress There was a dress there,
thus giving some kind of life to what is essentially an inanimate entity. The primary reason for even considering this possibility is the fact that there are two predicate
morphemes yơu in Chinese. One means 'there is' as above, and the other is the transitive predicate 'have'. Here again, however, the dual structural contrast, evident in the above juxtaposition of nuclear formulas, allows their separation: $\quad \mathrm{Ioc}_{2}$ is optional but Sa is obligatory; manifesting sets for $\mathrm{Loc}_{2}$ and Sa are different; and the transitive predicate is filled by a large, open set of predicates, while $P x$ is filled by a closed set.
5. $N-t r c l=+S a$
tà
$+\mathrm{Pn}$
he walk-le
He went.
The non-transitive clause consists of an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme and an obligatory non-transitive predicate.
6. $\operatorname{Tr~cl}_{1}=\underset{\text { wo }}{+\underset{\mathrm{I}}{\text { wa }}}$


The basic transitive clause consists of an obligatory subject-as-actor, an obligatory transitive predicate, and an optional object tagmeme.
7. Dir cl =

+ Sa $\pm$ Source $\pm$ Goal + Pdir $\pm$ Purp $\pm$ Pdir
tà tsúng jèr dàu nàr chyù kà̀n tāde péngyou
he from here to there go see he-de friend He went from here to there to see his friend.

The directional clause consists of an obligatory subject-as-actor, an optional source tagmeme, an optional goal tagmeme, an obligatory directional predicate, an optional purpose tagmeme, and an optional reduplication of the directional predicate.

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B. Derivative Clause Types, Group A

Several of the above basic clause types have derivatives which are peculiar to them, but which, due to the presence of a dual structural contrast, are considered contrastive clause types. They demonstrate the transform potential which I have used as a contrastive feature in the analysis: i.e., as derivatives they undergo structural change (obligatory difference in word order, obligatory presence or absence of a particular nuclear tagmeme, etc.) which is quite different from the simple inclusion of peripheral tagmemes in the non-contrastive variants.

1. Ex $\mathrm{Cl}_{2}$, whose structure is +Si +neg Px, may be derived from Ex $\mathrm{cl}_{1}$, which $= \pm \mathrm{Ioc}_{2}+\mathrm{Px}+\mathrm{Si}$. For example, we may have an Ex $\mathrm{cl}_{1}$ like

$$
\begin{array}{cc} 
\pm \mathrm{Loc}_{2} & +\mathrm{Px} \\
\text { nar } & \text { méi you } \\
\text { there not there-is diress } & \text { dish le } \\
\text { There was no longer a dress the } \\
\text { The }
\end{array}
$$

transformed into $\mathrm{Ex} \mathrm{cl} \mathrm{Cl}_{2}$ :
+Si +neg Px
(nàrde) yīshàng méi you le
(there-de) dress not there-is -le The dress was no longer there.

On the clause level, the structural contrasts are seen in the obligatory difference in the order of the tagmemes and in the obligatory absence of the clause level location tagmeme. (The location tagmeme may occur on the phrase level as part of a syntagmeme manifesting the subject tagmeme.) Furthermore, this derivative only occurs as a negative, and the predicate must contain the chanpe-ofstatus marker le.
-
-
$\cdots$-
2. The $\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{1}$, with a structure of $+\mathrm{Sa}+\mathrm{Pt} \pm 0$, has a number of derivatives which are in emic contrast with their base.
a. In the obiect emphasis clause the structure is:


In this clause, which places grammatical emphasis on the specifier in the object tagmeme, contrast is indicated by the obligatory change in word order and by the obligatory presence of the phrase level includer dou or yê in the emphatic variant of the transitive predicate. Moreover, the structure of the object tarmeme is restricted in that a specifier must occur. Compare

with

b. Another derivative of $\mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{1}$ is the passive clause type. This construction does not occur in the data and apparently is relatively infrequent in free speech, but it is attestable in the language.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\operatorname{Tr~cl_{3}}= & +\mathrm{Sg} & \text { +Agent } & +\mathrm{Pt} \\
& \text { wo } & \text { bèi t } \mathrm{a} & \text { dăle } \\
& & \text { I was hit by he him. } & \text { hit-l- }
\end{aligned}
$$

This clause is characteriged by the occurrence of an ob-

ligatory agent tagmeme which is manifested by an agentive phrase, an obligatory difference in word order, and a subject-as-goal rather than a subject-as-actor tagmeme.
c. Still another derivative transitive clause type is the so-called ba-construction:


The ba-construction is characterized by the obligatory specified object, and by the obligatory placement of the object tagmeme before the transitive predicate.

From Professor James P. Wang, Chairman of the
Michigan State University Linguistics Department, I have learned that there is a restriction on the occurrence of the ba-construction: if the direct object of the basic transitive clause is preceded by an unstressed yí (one), that clause may not occur as a ba-construction. For example:

the direct object of which receives primary sentence stress, may occur as a ba-construction:

| Tr Cl 4 | +Sa | +Spec0 | $+\mathrm{Pt}$ | +IO |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | wo | bǎ chyán | gěi | ni |
|  | I | ba money | give | you |
|  |  | you mon |  |  |

but +Sa +Pt +IO +DO
wǒ gěi ní yīkwài chyán
I give you one-piece money
I give you one dollar,
which contains an unstressed y $\overline{\underline{i}}$ (one) as part of the direct object, may not occur as a ba-construction.
$\square$
C. Non-contrastive Clause Variants

Chinese clause construction types may vary by expansion through optional inclusion of peripheral tagmemes (e.g. time, modification, etc.), and/or by optional differences in word order. In this section of the paper, I will first present and discuss a chart which indicates the potential occurrence of peripheral tagmemes common to most of the Chinese clause types. Following the chart and illustrative examples, I will discuss those variants which occur as results of differences in word order.

Chart I is a citation matrix showing the peripheral tagmemes and their inclusion in the contrastive clause types discussed thus far. The vertical axis contains the clause types, and the horizontal axis contains the peripheral tagmemes. The cells of the matrix are filled by $X$ (actual occurrence), 0 (non-occurrence), or - (expected but not in the data).

The formulas given for the examples in the following discussion will not indicate the obligatory or optional nature of the tagmemes involved. This measure has been adopted in an attempt to further reduce redundancy in presentation; since the nuclear tagmemes for a given clause type are already known (from A, above), and since peripheral tagmemes and restrictions on their occurrence are indicated in Chart I, it becomes superfluous, if not confusing, to restate this information.

The time tagmeme ( $T$ ) occurs before or after the subject tarmeme, but not both before and after the subject

# CHART I <br> Occurrence of Peripheral Tagmemes 

|  | $T$ | Mod | Mod | Ben |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{Ex} \mathrm{cl}_{1}$ | X | X | 0 | 0 |
| Ex cl 2 | X | - | 0 | 0 |
| Eq cl | X | - | 0 | 0 |
| $\xrightarrow{\mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{1}}$ | X | X | - | X |
| $\underline{\mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl}} 2$ | - | - | - | X |
| $\mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{3}$ | - | - | - | - |
| Tr Cl 4 | X | - | - | - |
| $\mathrm{N}-\mathrm{tr} \mathrm{cl}$ | - | - | X | 0 |
| Desc cl | X | - | - | X |
| Loc cl | X | X | - | - |
| Dir cl | X | - | - | - |

The order in which I first presented the contrastive clause types has been altered in the chart, so as to group both related clause types and empty cells.

simultaneously. The class of fillers of this tagmeme varies according to its position within the clause. If it occurs after the subject, it may only be filled by a time word (e.g. syàndzài 'now') or time phrase (e.g. nèige shŕhou 'that time); if it occurs before the subject, it may be filled by either of these or by a relator-axis clause.

Examples: +Si $\pm \mathrm{T}, \quad+\mathrm{Pe}+\mathrm{Eq} \quad(2 \mathrm{G}-\mathrm{H})$ wo ywánlái shr̀ yīge tyānshangde syīngsying I before be a heaven-de star I was originally a heavenly $\bar{s}$ tar.
$+\underset{\mathrm{i}}{ \pm}+\mathrm{T} \quad+\mathrm{Sa}+\mathrm{Pt} \quad \pm \mathrm{O} \quad(2 \mathrm{~B}-\mathrm{C})$
gen tă shwo hwa nyou
de shrhou
the one time that cow
to he say speech
de time he have some fear The first time that cow spoke to him, he was a little afraid.

The benefactive tagmeme is manifested by a phrasal unit which occurs between the subject and the predicate of a clause, usually immediately preceding the predicate. Example:


Mod $_{1}$ and $M o d_{2}$ are movable and may occur in various places within a clause, thus creating a number of noncontrastive clause variants. These two tagmemes are sufficiently similar in function that they might be considered members of one class, Adverb. Also, they are mutually exclusive in post-Pn position: $+\mathrm{Sa}+\mathrm{Pn} \quad \pm \mathrm{Mod}_{2}$ t̄̀ dzơude tài kwàile he walk-de too fast-le He walked $\overline{\text { tno }}$ fast.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text {-- } \quad \text { - , } \\
& \text { • }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { - }
\end{aligned}
$$

and

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
+ \text { Sa } & +\mathrm{Pn} & \stackrel{\text { Mod }}{ } \\
\text { ta } & \text { láile } & \text { san } \\
\text { he } & \text { came } & \text { three } \\
\text { times }
\end{array}
$$

However both may occur in various places within a clause, and it is for this reason that they are considered separate tagmemes. When both occur contiguously in a clause, their positions are not interchangeable; their order must be $\operatorname{Mod}_{1}, \operatorname{Mod}_{2}$ :


In addition, Mod $_{2}$ may occur in presS position, while Mod $_{1}$ may not: $\pm \operatorname{Mod}_{2}+\mathrm{Sa}+\mathrm{Pt} \pm 0(8 \mathrm{~A}-\mathrm{B})$ jèiyàng, mănmānde yityān, yītyān, yītyānde, taxmen yǒu yīăăr chyánle this manner, slow-slow-de, one day, one day, one day-de, they have some money -le In this way, very slowly, day by day by day, they came to have a little money.

The peripheral tagmemes which comprise the horizontal
axis of Chart I include those tagmemes already discussed, which are clearly clause level tagmemes. Negative and emphasis, which are marginally relevant to clause structure, are not considered to function as separate tagmemes on the clause level, but rather function as components of the negative and emphatic variants of the tagmemes of predication, time, modification, etc. Thus, each of the tagmemes noted may be emphasized and/or negated (with the restrictions stated below), and these manifestations would be considered allo-tagmas.

Emphasis may occur immediately before the head of the noun or verb phrase filling subject, predicate, and any

peripheral tagmeme. It emphasizes that tagmeme in which it occurs.

Example:
$\begin{array}{crc}=+ \pm \mathrm{T} & +\mathrm{Si} & +\mathrm{Pl} \quad+\mathrm{Loc}_{1} \\ \text { shr dzwótyān } & \text { tā dzài wǒ jyā }\end{array}$ emph yesterday he be-at $I$ house It was yesterday that he was at my house.
or

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \begin{array}{ccc} 
\pm \mathrm{T} & +\mathrm{Si} & +\mathrm{Pl} \\
\text { dzwótyān } & \text { LLoc }_{1} \\
\text { shr̀ } \mathrm{ta} & \text { dzài wo jya }
\end{array} \\
& \text { yesterday emph he be-at } I \text { house } \\
& \text { Yesterday it was he who was at my house. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Negative, on the other hand, may occur within the subject and time tagmemes, only when an emphasis is also included therein. Whether or not there is co-occurring emphasis, negative may occur as part of the predicate, $\operatorname{Mod}_{1}, \operatorname{Mod}_{2}$, and benefactive tagmemes.

Examples: +Sa $\pm$ Mod $_{1} \quad+\mathrm{Pt} \pm 0$ tā bù cháng shwō hwà he not often say speech He doesn't speak very often.
shr tā bu chang shwō hwà emph he not often say speech It is he who doesn't speak very often.

+ Sa $\pm$ Mod $_{1}, \quad+\mathrm{Pt} \pm 0$
bù shr̀ tà bù cháng shwō hwà
not emph he not often say speech
It is not he who doesn't speak very often.
D. Derivative Clause Types, Group B

Each of the clauses discussed thus far may also occur as a relator-axis clause or a question, and some may occur as imperative clauses. The clauses in this grouping contrast with each other, with the basic clause types, and with the derivative clause types discussed in $B$, above. As a group, they form a sub-class of derivative clauses,

functionally separate from those in Section B. For purposes of discussion, this class of clause types will be referred to as Derivative Clause Types, Group B.

$$
\text { 1. Rel-ax cl = } \begin{array}{rlrl}
+ & \text { Axis:any clause } & & \text { +Relator: time } \\
\text { e.g. }+ \text { Axis: Dir cl } & & \text { +Relator: time } \\
& \text { tā lái } & & \text { de shrhou } \\
& \text { he come } & & \text { dhen he came, } \ldots
\end{array}
$$

The relator-axis clause consists of an axis tafmeme, which may be manifested by any of the clause types discussed thus far, and a relator of time. The relator may consist of a time phrase (e.g. yíhòu 'after', nèityān yè lŷtóu 'that night'), de shŕhou 'when', or the change-of-status marker - le affixed to the predicate of the axis.

Example: +Axis +Relator

| Sa Pt $\quad 0$ | Relator |
| :--- | :---: | :--- |
| ta nále neige dūngsyi | yíhou |
| he takele that thing | after |
| after he took that thing,... |  |

Multiple occurrence of the relators is restricted in that if one of the first two listed above (time phrase or de shŕhou) occurs, the other may not. Either may optionally occur with the -le in the predicate of the axis, and the -le alone may function as the time relator.

This clause type only occurs as a filler of a clause level time tagmeme, a distributional feature which is relevant, but not acceptable as diagnostic of contrast within my analysis.
2. Questions. There are two ways of forming yes-no questions in Mandarin Chinese. One of these involves the

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use of an interrogative variant of the predicate tagmeme, and the other requires the placing of the question marker -ma in clause-final position. Both question forms appear to be in relatively free variation with each other.

$$
\begin{array}{rlc}
Q 1= & +S i \quad+P d \quad \pm \text { Question } \\
& t \bar{a} \text { lei } & \text { ma } \\
& \text { he tired } & \text { ma }
\end{array}
$$

or


$$
Q 2=+S a \quad+\text { InterrogPd }
$$

tà lèibulèi
he tired-not-tired
Is he tired?


A variant of $Q 2$ questions occurs with three-tagmeme clauses (subject, predicate, and object or equation, etc.), and involves the occurrence of the interrogative predicate tagmeme as a discontinuous tagmeme.

Q2 does not occur in a negative form. Only Q1 may occur
as a negative question.
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Examples: +Si + Pd $\pm$ Question

| t̄a bulèi | ma |
| :--- | :--- |
| he not-tired | ma |
| Isn't he tired? |  |


| or |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| + Sa + Pt $\pm 0 \quad \pm$ Question |  |  |
| ní buyau neige |  |  |
| you not-want that |  |  |
| Don't you want that (one)? |  |  |

Content questions (who, what, when, etc.) are formed in the lexicon, rather than syntactically, as are the yes-no questions. That is, question words rather than contrastive grammatical patterns indicate their interrogative nature. Structurally, they are identical with the indicative clause forms.

3. The imperative is a command form, and is indicated by the filler of the subject slot, which can only be filled by the second person pronoun 'you'.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { Imper }= & + \\
& \text { na }+\mathrm{Pt} \text { ch } \overline{\mathrm{r}} \text { jè } \\
& \text { you eat the } \\
& \text { Eat this. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Imperatives frequently occur as subject-less clauses. It is possible to consider this phenomenon as either an optional non-occurrence of the subject tagmeme, or as a dependent clause variant. I have chosen the latter alternative because, in the first place, the subject-less imperative is structurally identical with the class of
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dependent clause variants, and secondly, the imperative has been grouped with the question forms (to which it is functionally similar) and with relator-axis clauses, all of which may occur as subject-less dependent clauses. This greatly simplifies presentation, since it allows all subject-less clauses to be discussed at the same time without distorting the analysis.

Chart II is a citation matrix indicating which of the eleven contrastive clause types in Chart I may have Rel-ax, Q1, Q2, or Imper as derivatives. It is convenient to view Chart II as representing a potential for multiplication, by the factors which form its horizontal axis, of the (potentially expanded) clauses in Chart I. Thus it is possible to begin with a clause type such as

add any of the peripheral tagmemes in Chart I (e.g. T, $\operatorname{Mod}_{2}$, Ben):
 and then multiply this by Rel-ax, $\mathrm{Q} 1, \mathrm{Q} 2$, or Imper:

dzwótyān tā hěn gāusyìngde dwèi nî shwō hwà le ma yesterday he very happy-de to you say speech-le ma Did he speak to you happily yesterday?
e


|  | Rel-ax | Q1 | Q2 | Imper |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ex clı | X | X | X | 0 |
| Ex $\mathrm{cl}_{2}$ | X | X | 0 | 0 |
| Eq cl | X | X | X | 0 |
| $\underline{\operatorname{Tr~cl}}$ | X | X | X | X |
| Tr cl 2 | X | X | X | 0 |
| $\mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{3}$ | X | X | 0 | 0 |
| $\underline{\mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl}} 4$ | X | X | 0 | X |
| N -tr cl | X | X | X | X |
| Desc cl | X | X | X | X-neg** |
| Loc cl | X | X | X | 0 |
| Dir cl | X | X | X | X |

(Subscript 1 or nothing = basic clause type subscript 2 or more $=$ Derivative Clause Type, Group A
** When derived into imperative form, the Desc cl may only be derived into a negative imperative and not a positive imperative.
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { Desc cl.Imper ní byé pà } \\ & \text { you not afraid } \\ \text { Don't be afraid }\end{array}$
E. Deperdent Variants. Dependert clauses are not structurally contrastive with independent clauses, i.e., adherence to my previously stated criterion of a dual structural contrast does not permit calling them emic clause types. However, they do form a class of functional variants.

Dependent clauses are variants of independent clauses and may fill any of several clause level slots. (See Fillers of Clause Level Tagmemes.) They are manifested as subject-less or predicate-less clauses. Predicate-less clauses are apparently confined in their distribution to levels above the clause level, while the subject-less variants occur on the clause and higher levels. (Those independent clauses which occur on the clause level as dependent variants are indicated in Chart III.)
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Example: Dir cl•Imper }=+ \text { Sa } \\ & \text { ni chyù ná yíjyān yifu } \\ & \text { you go take a dress } \\ & \text { Go take a dress. }\end{aligned}$
In the example, the purpose tagmeme is manifested by a Dep $\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{1}$.

Although sentence and discourse level phenomena are properly outside the scope of this paper, there is an interesting aspect of the dependent clause and its distribution in those higher-level structures, which merits some discussion here. The phenomenon in question is that of clause clustering.

Pike, in his Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics Applied
to Selected African Languages (1966), discusses the fact that "clauses occurred in a series, or cluster, such that several could share the subject of the first (omitted from the remaining clauses of the series), the object of the first (or each have its own object), and some other tagmeme or tagmemes (e.g. Location)."(pp.5-6) A similar situation obtains in Mandarin Chinese, where dependent clauses appear to occur in clusters with independent clauses, sharing at least one tagmeme with the independent clause. E.g. tā dàije jéige nyóu/chūchyư he shwěi/dzài tyân límyàn he take-je this cow/out-go drink water/be-at field-in/ (4) ${ }^{\text {shrching/ }}$
dzwo shrching/
do affair
He would take this cow out to drink water and work in the fields.
In the example, the / indicates the boundaries between clauses. The independent clause occurs initially as (1). (2) is a Dep Dir cl, (3) is a Dep Loc cl, and (4) is a Dep $\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{1}$.

According to Pike (p.36) this phenomenon may be looked at from a number of viewpoints: (1) Those clauses which form the cluster ((2), (3), and (4), above) may each be seen as constituting entire serial clauses, as variants of independent clauses conditioned by coming in emic clusters; (2) The clustering clauses may be said to share a 'portmanteau' tagmeme; or (3) The entire cluster may be considered a single complex unit. However, I have decided to treat this phenomenon as sentence level clustering, i.e., a string of sentence level tacmemes manifested by
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dependent clauses which are etic variants of independent clauses.

The major reason for handling the problem in this way is based on presentational and pedagogical expediency. It is much simpler to discuss a clause variant which may function on the clause level (as, for example, the filler of the purpose slot in a Dir cl) as well as on the sentence level as part of a cluster of clauses, than it is to bring in considerations of 'portmanteau' tagmemes or more complex units on the clause level. This decision is also justified by the fact that independent clauses are distributed in similar ways, i.e., they may fill clause level slots (as marked or unmarked relator-axis clauses) and also are distributed on the sentence level.

Another treatment of this phenomenon may be seen in Roberts (1968). He calls this phenomenon "zero substitutes" (p.i., and elsewhere), and consider it to be a part of a system of anaphora (i.e., the ways succeeding references to the same person, thing or concept, etc., are made within discourse) of Mandarin Chinese. Roberts' work is a discourse analysis of Mandarin Chinese, written within the framework of stratificational theory. His main thesis is that "there is sufficient evidence to warrant giving zero substitutes...a formal function in the grammar" (p.4).

It is not my intention to here argue the validity of his concept of a system of zero substitutes in Chinese grammar. It is apparent, however, that the phenomenon of
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'subject-less clauses' is probably part of some kind of a system which functions on the sentence level and is conditioned by it. In a tagmemic clause analysis, I have considered this phenomenon to be 'dependent variants of independent clauses', which may function on either the clause level or on a higher level. These dependent clauses, when they function on the discourse level, are conditioned by what occurs elsewhere within that level.

A more detailed study of the entire discourse level would undoubtedly do much to clarify the question of zero substitutes and dependency.

## CHART III

Clause Types which have Dependent Variants

III. FILLERS OF CLAUSE LEVEL TAGMEMES
A. Fillers of Nuclear Tacmemes. I will begin with
a list of the nuclear formulas of the fifteen contrastive clause types of Mandarin Chinese. Following that list, I will list (and discuss, as necessary) the fillers of each of the nuclear tagmemes in the formulas. Basic clauses:

| Desc cl $=+$ Si | $\pm$ Comp | +Pd |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Eq cl $=+$ Si |  | $+\mathrm{Pe}$ | +Eq |
| Loc cl $=+$ Si |  | +PI | $+\mathrm{LoC}_{1}$ |
| Ex clı $= \pm \mathrm{Loc}_{2}$ |  | $+\mathrm{Px}$ | +Si |
| $\mathrm{N}-\mathrm{tr} \mathrm{cl}=+\mathrm{Sa}$ |  | $+\mathrm{Pn}$ |  |
| $\mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl} l_{1}=+\mathrm{Sa}$ |  | $+\mathrm{Pt}$ | +0 |
| Dir cl $=+$ Sa $\pm$ S | urce $\pm$ | +Pdi | $\pm$ Purp | Derivative clauses, Group A:

$E x \mathrm{Cl}_{2}=4 \mathrm{LOc}+\mathrm{Si}+\mathrm{Px}+\mathrm{Si}+$ ney $P_{x} \quad . .$.
$\mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl} 2=+\mathrm{Sa}+0 \mathrm{e}+$ Pte
$\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{Cl}_{3}=+\mathrm{Si}+$ Agent +Pt
$\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{4}=+\mathrm{Sa}+\mathrm{Spec} 0+\mathrm{Pt}$
Derivative clauses, Group B
Rel-ax = +Axis:any cl +Relator
Q1 $=+S+P+$ Question
Q2 $=+S+$ Interrogative verb
Imper $=+S: \underline{n i}+P$

1. The classification of Sa and Si is dependent on the nature of the predicate; if the predicate is a verb of action the subject functions as actor, and if the predicate indicates scme l:ind of a state of being S functions as item. Both are filled by the same pronouns and noun phrases, with the exception of the Si of Ex $\mathrm{cl}_{1}$, which may also by filled by an independent

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clause. (When I describe the fillers of certain slots as phrases, they are to be understood as 'potential' phrases: e.g., a noun phrase may be manifested as either a single noun or a noun phrase.)
2. Predicate tagmemes of each of the basic clause types are filled by verb prrases which are peculiar to them. They all have distinctly different manifesting sets. In addition, $\mathrm{Pe}, \mathrm{Pl}, \mathrm{Px}$, and Fdir are manifested by relatively closed sets of predicates, while $\mathrm{Pd}, \mathrm{Pn}$, and Pt are open sets.
3. The equation tagmeme is filled by a noun phrase.
4. The obligatory location ${ }_{1}$ tagmeme of Loc cl may only by filled by a locative phrase (e.g. nàr 'there', syāngsyà 'country', nèige nyóupéng lǐmyàn 'in that cow pen').
5. The optional location ${ }_{2}$ tafmeme of $\mathrm{Ex} \mathrm{cl}_{1}$ may be filled by either a locative phrase (as above) or a Dep Loc cl. Example: Ex cl $\mathrm{Cl}_{1}=\mathrm{Loc}_{2}:$ dep loc cl_ $\mathrm{Px} \quad \mathrm{Si}$ dzà̀i tāde pángbyār yǒu yīge rén be-at he-de side there-is a person There was somene at his side.
6. The object tagmeme of $\mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{2}$ and Tr cl 4 may only be filled by a noun phrase, but that of $\mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl} l_{1}$ may be filled by a noun phrase or any independent clause. Included in the category of clausal fillers of object slots are direct and indirect quotations. Indirect discourse is structurally identical to direct discourse. That is, there is no grammatical relator to indicate which is which, the difference between them being made evident solely by

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:
,
-
the larger verbal context. Both of these 'quotation' clauses are in the form of independent clauses.

Example: $\operatorname{Tr~} \mathrm{Cl}_{1}=+\mathrm{Sa}+\mathrm{Pt} \pm 0$
tच shwo wo tīng nîde hwà
he say I hear you-de speech
This clause may be read as 'He said: "I hear what you say"', or as 'He said that I hear what you say', depending on the context.
7. Source and goal tagmemes are filled by relatoraxis phrases of place: Source $=+$ tsúng (from) +locative phrase; Goal $=+$ dàu $(t o)+$ locative phrase.
8. The purpose slot of Dir cl is filled by Dep $\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{1}$, or by Dep $\mathrm{N}-\mathrm{tr} \mathrm{cl}$.
9. Comp of Desc cl is filled by a comparative phrase.
10. Item slot is filled by a noun phrase.
11. Agent is filled by a relator-axis phrase, the relator of which is a passive marker (e.g. bèi 'by'). The axix may be any noun phrase.
B. Peripheral Tagmeme Fillers. The peripheral tagmemes which function at the clause level in Mandarin Chinese are the following: $T, M o d_{1}, M o d_{2}$, and Ben.

1. The time tagmeme may be filled by a time phrase (e.g. syàndzài 'now', nèige shŕhou 'that time', etc.) or a relator-axis clause.
2. $\mathrm{Mod}_{1}$ is filled by adverbs of frequency (e. $\boldsymbol{F}$. chángcháng 'often'), or manner (e.q. hěn qāusyingde 'very happily').
3. $\operatorname{Mod}_{2}$ is filled by an adverb of manner (e.g. hěn

4
. '
kwaide 'very quickly'), or an adverb of number.
7. Ben is filled by a relator-axis phrase, the relator of which consists of a benefactive marker (e.g. dwei 'to', gěi 'to', tí 'for', etc.). The axis is a noun phrase. There are restrictions on the occurrence of the relators with certain verbs, but that problem is more pertinent to the phrase level and cannot be considered here.

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 .IV. SUMPARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Analysis has revealed a total inventory of fifteen contrastive clause types in Mandarin Chinese. Seven of these clause types may be considered 'basic' in the language, with the remaining eight types being derived, via transform, from members of the basic set. The clause types were established according to the criterion of either two internal structural differences or one internal contrast and a difference in transform potential. External distribution was not considered as a countable contrastive feature.

Etic variations of these clause types are achieved by expansion of the emic types through the inclusion of peripheral tacmemes (time, modification, etc.) and by the optional differing order of occurrence of these elements, and/or by multiplication by the factor of dependency.

Clauses were found to be distributed in the clause level and in the sentence and discourse level. This statement applies to independent as well as to dependent clauses, as may be seen in my treatments of individual clause types and variants.

Certain aspects of the analysis have implications for the teaching of Mandarin Chinese. Foremost among these is the recogrition and use of transforms and transform potential, which is of great benefit as an identificationalcontrastive feature in taguemic analysis. This same transformational capability is relevant to a teaching situation, where two constructions which are known to
contrast structurally (e.g. $\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{Cl}_{1}$ and $\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{2}$ ) may be shown to be directly related via a generally stated transform.

Knowledge of the clause structure and of the relationships which obtain between certain types makes it possible to go beyond the mere 'cataloguing' of construction types, and approach the language from a process point of view. This also has a direct bearing on the teaching of the language: from this view-point it thus becomes possible for the teacher of Chinese (with the information supplied by the tagmemic clause analysis) to begin with the seven 'basic' clause construction types, transform some of these to related but contrastive derivative types, add peripheral tagmemes as needed, and, firally, multiply the result by the factor of dependency (see Chart III). Schematically, the process would resemble the following:


In the diagram, the lines indicate the paths along which
a particular clause construction might be developed. In the manipulative process, it is possible to move directly from a step to a final step (e.g. Step lo Step 5), to bypass an intermediate step (e.g. Step 1 to Step 3), or to stop at any point in the process.

Example:

1. Basic type $\quad \mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{1}:+\mathrm{Sa}+\mathrm{Pt} \pm 0$
2. Derivative type $\mathrm{A} \mathrm{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{4}:+\mathrm{Sa}+\mathrm{Spec} 0 \quad+\mathrm{Pt}$
3. Peripheral Variant $\operatorname{Tr~cl_{4}}:+\mathrm{Sa} \pm T{ }^{\left(\mathrm{Mod}_{1}\right.}+\mathrm{Spec} 0+\mathrm{Pt}$
4. Derivative type B
 he last year emph the three time ba you-de thing take-le ma Did he take your things for the third time last year?
or
5. Dependent Variant
 tā/ chyūnyán/ di sān tisz / bǎ níde dūngsyi/ nádzơule/ yīhōu he last year the three time ba you-de thing take-le after After he took your things for the thírd time last yeär,...

Of course, a statement of the clause level structure of a language is not of itself sufficient for a full understanding of that language. There are other structural levels (e.g. the phrase, word, and sentence) and mechanisms (e.g. co-occurrence restrictions) which must also be carefully analyzed. However, a tagmemic analysis of the type presented here does provide a powerful tool for both the language teacher and the student. It makes it easier to go beyond rote memorization of patterns to the manipulation of those patterns, and to the production of
novel utterances. And that, after all, is the goal of language learning.

APEENDIX I
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMEOIS
A. Clause Types

1. Rasic
a. Desc $c l=$ Descriptive clause
b. Eq cl = Equative clause
c. Loc cl = Locative clause
d. Ex cla $=$ Basic existential clause
e. $N$-tr cl $=$ Non-transitive clause
f. $\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{1}=$ Basic transitive clause
g. Dircl $=$ Directional clause
2. Derivative, Group A
a. Ex $\mathrm{cl}_{2}=$ Subject-emphasis existential clause
b. $\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{cl}_{2}=$ Object-emphasis transitive clause
c. $\operatorname{Tr} \mathrm{Cl}_{3}=$ Passive transitive clause
d. $\operatorname{Tr~cl} 4_{4}=\underline{B a}-c o n s t r u c t i o n$
3. Derivative, Group B
a. Rel-ax $c l=$ Relator-axis clause
b. Q1 = Marked question
c. Q2 = Interrogative predicate question
d. Imper $=$ Imperative
B. Nuclear Tagmemes
4. Si = Subject-as-item
5. Sa = Subject-as-actor
6. $S g=$ Subject-as-goal
7. Pd = Descriptive predicate
8. $\mathrm{Pe}=$ Equative predicate
9. Px = Existential predicate
10. Pn = Non-transitive predicate
11. Pdir $=$ Directional predicate
12. Pt = Transitive predicate
13. Pte = Emphatic variant of a transitive predicate
14. Interrog $=$ Interrogative predicate
15. Eq $=$ Equation
16. O Object
17. Oe $=$ Object-emphasis
18. Spec0 $=$ Specified object
19. Loc $_{1}=$ Locative (of Loc cl)
20. $\mathrm{Loc}_{2}=$ Locative (of $\mathrm{Ex} \mathrm{cl}{ }_{2}$ )
21. Source $=$ Source
22. Goal = Goal
23. Purp = Purpose
24. Comp = Comparison
25. Item $=$ Item
26. Agent $=$ Agentive phrase
27. Inc $=$ Phrase level includer
28. Question $=$ fuestion
C. Feripheral Tagmemes
29. $T=$ Time
30. Mod $_{1}=$ Pre-predicate modification
31. $\operatorname{Mod}_{2}=$ Post-predicate modification
32. Ben = Benefactive
D. Dependent Variants
33. Dep cl = Dependent clause

THE CORPUS
The Chinese text which follows is, as explained in the introduction, written in the Yale System of Romanization. The translation of the text is a compromise, in that while it attempts to be literal, the attempt is abandoned when the meaning would be obscured without a free translation. Chinese word order is maintained, however, so that the structure is not affected.

All content words have been translated, but certain morphemes have been incorporated, untranslated, into the English version. These include pause words, time and aspect markers, and various other grammatical particles.

What I have called pause words occur in various places within the Chinese sentence. In an initial position, they are probably more properly considered sentence (or paragraph) introduces, since they usually sugnal a change in contextual direction. These include noma and ne, which mean something like 'so' or 'well' or 'then'; and (the seemingly universal) ah. Ne also occurs medially, and finally (usually in questions). Another morpheme ne occurs finally as part of a discontinuous sentence level phrase meaning something like 'not yet'.

Examples: neman, taxmen you dzǒu (30)
nemma, they again go
Then they moved off again.
dàu wânshàngde shŕhou ne, gēn nèige nyóu... (1M) arrive evening-de time ne, with that cow...

In the evening , (he) and that cow...
tam jùdzài nair ne ( 1 H )
he live-at where ne Where did he live?
tā hái méi lái ne
he still not come ne
fie hasn't arrived yest.
The time and aspect markers include -le, which indicates a completed action or a change of status; -gmo, an experiential suffix; and -ie, an indicator of continuance, usually translated as '-ing'.

Examples: tāde fừchin mǔchin dou sžle. (lC) he-de father mother all dead-le His parents were both dead.
tā tsūnglái méiyơu kàngwo nèmma hǎukànde...(7E-F)
he before not see-gwo so pretty-de... He had never before seen such a pretty...
tyāntyān dzăushàng tam dàije jè ie nyóu chūchyù ( 1 K ) day-day morning he take-je this cow outgo Every morning he would take that cow out.

Another particle which was not translated is ba, a clause-firal indicator of probability. In this corpus, it only occurs with hau: hǎu ba
o $k$ ba
guess so (reluctant assent)
A ba also occurs as a grammatical particle in certain transitive clauses. It occurs in $\operatorname{Tr~cl} 4$, where the object precedes the transitive predicate, and is handled in my discussion of transitive clauses.
-de, another untranslated particle, is a subordinating particle which indicates that what precedes it modifies what follows. This is true of words (tāde tàitài he-de wife his wife),

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phrases, and clauses (ta láide shŕhou he come-de time when he comes).

This phenomenon is further discussed in my treatment of relator-axis clauses.
A. Jīntyān wǒ shwō yīge Jūnpgwóde chwánshwō. Dzài hěn jyǒu today I say one Chinese-de folk-tale. be-at very old
B. hěn jyǒu yǐchyán gư shŕhơu, yǒu yīge syāngsyà rén. Wǒmen very old before ancient time, there-is one country person. we
C. jyàu tā Nyóuláng. Tāde fùcrin mưchin dōu sžle. Tā gēn name he Nyoulang. he-de father mother all dead-le. he with
D. tāde gēge gēn sǎudz jùdzài ȳ̄ikwar. Kěshr̀ tāde gēge sǎudz he-de brother with sister-in-law live-at together. but he-de
E. dwèi tā hěn bưhǎu. Chángcháng ràng tā dzwò hěn dwō hěn brother sister-in-law to he very not good. often let he do
F. dwōde shr̀chǐng. Swǒyǐ tā tyāntyān dōu hěn máng, hěn very much very much-de affair. therefore he daily all very
G. lèi.
busy, very tired.
H. Tā jùdzài nǎr ne? Tā jưdzài - bùshr jùdzài yīge hǎukànde he live-at where ne? he live-at - not-emph live-at one pretty
I. fángdz lǐtóu. Jùdzài yīge nyóupéng lǐtóu. Tā yě méiyǒu house in. live-at one cow-pen in. he also not-have
J. shěmma péngyou. Tā dzwèi hǎude yige péngyou jyou sh̀r what (any) friend. he most good-de one friend only be
K. yīqe nyóu. Tyāntyān dzǎushàng tā dàije jèige nyóu chūchyù. one cow. daily morning he take-je this cow out-go.
L. Chūchyù hē shwěi, ch̄̄ tsǎu, dzài tyán lǐmyàn dzwò shrchǐng. out-go drink water, eat grass, be-at field in do affair.
M. Dàu wănshàngde shŕrhou ne, gēn nèige nyóu yīkwar jù, yīkwàr arrive evening-de time ne, with that cow together live, together
N. shwèijyàu. Tā gēn nèige nyóu dzài ȳ̄ikwàr hěn dwō hěn sleep. he with that cow be-at together very many very
O. dwō nyán. Dàuhōulái tā gēn nyóu jyoou shr̀ hǎu péngyoule. many year. finally he with cow just be good friend-le
P. Tā yơude shŕrhòu chángcháng syǎng̣chǐlái tāde fùchin mưchin. he sometimes often bring-to-mind he-de father mother.
Q. Tā hěn nángwò. Yơude shŕhòu tā jyòu kū. Kěshr nèige he very sad. sometimes he then cry. but that
-
A. nyóu ne, jyòu gén tā shwō hwà le. Shwō shěmma hwà? Shwō cow ne, then with he say speech le. say what speech? say
B. rén shwōde hwà. Dì yī tsz̀ nèige nyóu gén tá shwō hwà de person say-de speech. the first time that cow with he say
C. shŕhòu tā yǒu yīdyǎr pà. Yīnwèi tā bù j̄̄̄dàu shr̀ shéi speech-de time he have some fear. because he not know be who
D. dzài shwō hwà. Dàuhòulái tā tsái jřdàu shr̀ nèige nyóu gēn tá be-at say speech. finally he then know be that cow with he
E. shwo hwà. Nèige nyóu gēn tā shwō, tā shwō: "Nǐ bùyàu say speech. that cow to he say, he say: "you not-imper
F. nánewò. Wǒ hwèi bāng níde. Wǒ shr̀ nǐde hǎu péngyou. sad. I able help you-de (problem). I be you-de good friend.
G. Wǒ búshr̀ yīge jēnde nyớu. Wǒ ywánlái shr̀ yīge tyānshàngde I not-be a true cow. I formerly be a heaven-de
H. syīngsying. Nèmma hòulái ne, wǒ yīnwèi dzwò tswòle shěmma star. nemma later ne, I because do wrong-1e what(some)
I. shřchîng, swǒyỳ yù Hwáng dàdi ifǎ wó dàu jèige shřjyè shàng affair, therefore Yu Hwang -god punish me to this earth-on
J. lái dzwò nyớu. Búgwò, yíhōu wǒ hái yàu hwéi dàu tyānshàng come do cow. but, later I still want return to heaven
K. chyù." Yīnwèi tā jr̄́à̀u tā yǒu yīge péngyou, tāde hǎu go." because he know he have a friend, he-de good
L. péngyou shr̀ yíge syānrén, swǒyí jèige Nyóuláng, tā jyou friend be a immortal, therefore this Nyoulang, he then
M. bútài nángwò.
not-too sad.
N. Hǎu. Syàndzài wǒmen dzàilái shwō tyānshàngde shr̀chǐng. ok. now we again-come say heaven-de affair.
0. Nèige tyānshàng yơu hěn dwō hěn hăukàn hěn hǎukànde nyǔháidz. that heaven there-is very many very pretty very pretty-de
P. Tāmen dōu shr̀ syanren. Yǒu hǎu jípe nyǔháidz. girls. they all be immortals. there-is good some girls.
Q. Tàmen dzàai tyānshàng. Tāmen jyòu jr̄ - bú shr̀ jr̄ bù they be-at heaven. they only weave - not-emph weave cloth -
R. shr̀ j̄̄ nèijưng hěn hǎukàn hěn hǎukànde bù. Yīnwèi emph weave that-kind very pretty very pretty-de cloth. because
A. tāmen dzài tyānshàng tyāntyān jyơushř j̄ bù, dzài they be-at heaven daily only weave cloth, be-at
B. tyānshàng tyāntyān jyoushr̀ kàn nèi jǔge rén, méiyǒu heaven daily only see that some person, not-have
C. shěmma chǐgwàide shřchǐng. Yơu yī tyān tāmen jyou syǎng: what (any) strange-de affair. there-is one day they then think:
D. "Yàushr wơmen nénggou dàu dìshàng chyù wǎr, dwō hǎu ne." "if we able to earth go play, much good ne."
E. Tāmen tsúng yùntsái shàngtóu kànkàn syàtóu. Hǎusyàng
they from clouds on look below. seem-like
F. shěmma dōu gēr tyānshàng bū yǐyàng. Swơy̌̌i yǒu y $\bar{i}$ tyān what all with heaven not same. therefore there-is one day
G. yǒu jǐge nèige syānrén, yǒu jǐge jānyǔ, tāmen jyou yīkwàr there-is some that imriortal, there-is some weaver-girl, they
H. tsúng tyān shàngtóu fēe, fēe fēe, fēi dàu dìshàng then together from sky on fly, fly, fly, fly to earth
I. láile. Búshr̀ fēi dau chéng lǐtóu. Shr̀ fēi dàu syāngsyà come-le. not-emph fly to city in. emph fly to country
J. chyù. Tāmen dzài syāngsyà. Tāmen jyou tōutōude kàn. go. they be-at country. they then secret-de look.
K. Kànkàn. Yơu shùlín, yǒu tyán, háiyǒu hěn dwōde fángdz. look. there-is forest, there-is field, also-there-is very
L. Tāmen fyoushř tōutōu kànkàn fángdz lǐtoude rén. "Ou: many-de house. they only secret look house in-de person. "Oh:
M. Fángdz lǐtóude rén, támen chwánde yīfu gén tyānshàngde
$c$ house in-de person, they wear-de clothing with heaven-de
N. bù yīyàng. Chr̄̃e dūngsyi bù yíyàng. T'āmen dzwòde shrchǐng not same. eat-de thing not same. they do-de affair
0. yě bú tài yīyàng." Nèmma, tāmen yờu dzǒu. Dzǒu dàu yīge also not too same." nemma, they again go. go to a
P. hé. Dàule nèige héde pángbyār, tāmen jyòu kàn. Nèige river. arrive-le that river-de side, they then look. that
Q. héde shwěi bú tài shēn. Nèige héde shw̌ei yě hěn gānjing. river-de water not too deep. that river-de water also very
R. Tāmen jyòu syǎnẹ: "Yàushr dzài jèr syưdzǎu, dàgài hěn hǎu." clean. they then think: "if be-at here bathe, probably very
A. Yīnwèi héde pánébyār yǒu yīge syǎu shùlín, jèr yě méiyơu good. because river-de side have a small forest, here also
B. byé rén nénggòu kàn tāmen. Háiyơu, tāmen jywéde dìshang not-have other person able see them. besides, they feel
C. bǐjyāu rè. Tyānshang bú hwèi tà̀i rè. Tyānshang yě bú hwèi earth rather hot. heaven not able too hot. heaven also not
D. tài lěng. Swǒyy tāmen jǐge syānnyǔ, tāmen jǐge j̄̄nyư able too cold. therefore they some immortal, they some
E. Jyơu dzài hé límyan syl̂dzǎu. Tāmen bǎ nèige hǎukànde weaver-girl then be-at river in bathe. they ba that pretty
F. yīfu jyơu fàngdzài - yǒude fàngdzài nè̀ige shū shàng, yð̛ude jyòu clothing then put-at - some put-at that tree on, some then
G. fàngdzài nèice tsău shàng. Tāmen dzài hé ly̆tou yībyār put-at that grass on. they be-at river in while
H. wǎr, yībyār syàu, yībyār wăr shwěi. play, while laugh, while play water.
I. Jèige shŕhou jèige Nyóuláng fēn nèige nyóu, tāmen jyou this time this Nyoulang with that cow, they then
J. dzài shùlín wàitóu yīge tsǎudì shàng. Dzài nàr syōusyi. be-at forest outside a ground on. be-at there rest.
K. Nèige nyóu shwō hwà le gēn Nyóuláng shwō, shwō: "Hèi. wǒ that cow say speech le with lyyoulang say, say: "hey. I
L. gàusung nǐ. Nǐ yǒuméiyǒu tīngjyàn yǒu hǎu jǐe nyǔháidz? tell you. you question hear there-is good some girl?
M. Tämen dzài syàu." Nèige Nyóuláng tīngyitīng. Shwō: "Hèi. they be-at laugh." that Noulang listen. say: "hey.
N. wǒ tīngjyàn hǎu jǐge nyǔrénde shēngyín. Hǎusyàng tīngjyàn I hear good some girl-de sound. seem-like hear
0. tāmen dzài syàu, tämen dzài shwō hwà, tāmen hěn gāusyìnçde they be-at laugh, they be-at say speech, they very happy-de
P. yàngdz." Nèige nyóu shwō: "Wǒ gàusung ní. nzài jèisyē manner." that cow say: "I tell you. bepat this-several
Q. nyǔháidz lǐtóu yǒu yīpe shr̀ nǐde tàitài." Nyóuláng girl in there-is one be you-de wife." Nyoulang
R. shwō: "Hùshwō: w̌̌ dzěma chyúng: wǒ dzěmma hwèi yǒu say: "nonsense: I how poor: I how able have
A. tàitài?" Nèige Lǎu Nyóu shwō: "Shr̀ jēnde." Tā shwō: "Wǒ wife?" that Lau Nyou say: "be true." he say: "I
B. gàusung nî. Nǐ jyòu dzơu. Dàule nèiçe hé pángbyān de tell you. you just go. arrive-le that river side de
C. shŕhòu, nî jyơu kànjyàn dzài nèige shū shàng yǒu yīge time, you then see be-at that tree on there-is a
D. hěn hăukànde yīfu. Ni jyòu bǎ nèige shūshàng hěn hǎukàn very pretty-de clothing. you just ba that tree-on very pretty
E. de yīfu jyou nálái. Nî jyòu pǎuhwéilái." Nyóuláng shwō: "Ò de clothing then take. you then run-back-come." Nyoulang,
F. wǒ bù kěyî dzwo jèijyàn shřchîng. Dzěmma kěy̌̌ chyù ná say: "oh, I not able do this affair. how be able go take
G. nyưrénde yīfu ne?" Iǎu Nyóu shwō: "Wǒ bù hwèi jyàu nǐ girl-de clothing ne?" Lau Nyou say: "I not able cause you
H. dzwò hwàide shr̀chǐng. Dwèibudwèi? Wǒ tsúnglái méiyǒu do bad-de affair. right (question)? I before not
I. jyàu n⿳⺈ dzwo yīge hwàide shrchìng. Swǒy ${ }^{Y}$ nî tīng wǒde hwà. cause you do a bad-de affair. therefore you listen me-de
J. Nèmma, ní chyù ná nèige yīfu, búhwèi tswò." Houlái nèige speech. nemma, you go take that clothing, not-able wrong."
K. Nyóuláng shwō: "Hǎu ba." Tā jyou màn màn màn màn màn màn then than Nyoulang say: "ok ba." he then slow slow slow slow
L. de dzơu. Dzǒu dàu nèige shùľ̌nde pánebyār, tā jyou slow slow de go. go to that forest-de side, he then
M. kànjyàn nàr yðu yīge yīshang. Tā jyòu nále nèige see there there-is a dress. he then take-le that
N. yīshang jyơu hwéilái. Tā yě bù gǎn kàn rén dzài nǎr. dress then return-come. he also not dare look person be-at where.
0 . Tā shěmma dōu bù gãn kàn. Tả nále nèige yīfu jyòu dzǒu dàu he what all not dare look. he take-1e that clothing then
P. shùľ̌n ľ̌. Kěshr̀ tā dzǒude tài kwàile. Swǒyǐ tā pèngle go to forest in. but he walk-de too fast-le. therefore he
Q. nèisye shū. Nèisyē shū fyơu yǒu shēnqyīn. Dzài hé hit-1e that-several tree. that-several tree then have sound.
R. límyànde nèisyě syānnyư jyòu tíngjyànle nè̀ige shēngyínle. be-at river in-de that-several immortal then hear-le that sound-le
A. Dàjyā yīkàn. òu, yơu yīge rén bǎ yīfu nádzơule: Swǒyí everyone look. oh, there-is a person ba clothing take-go-le:
B. byéde syānnyǔmen dōu hěn kwàide nále tāmen džjǐde yīfu, therefore other immortals all very fast-de take-le they own-de
C. chwān shàng, jyōu dōu pǎule. Kěshř yơu y īge syānnyư clothing, wear on, then all run-le. but there-is one immortal
D. tā méiyǒu yīfu. Swǒyǐ tā jyòu dzài hé lǐmyan shwo, tā she not-have clothing. therefore she then be-at river in say,
E. shwō: "Èi, èi, èi: Nèiwei syānsheng. Chǐng ni bǎ wǒde she say: "hey, hey, hey: that man. please you ba me-de
F. yIfu gěi wǒ, hǎubuhǎu ne?" Jèige Nyóuláng ne, tā tīngjyàn clothing give me, ok(question) ne?" this Nyoulang ne, he
G. nèige syānnyǔ shwo hwàle. Tā bù j̄̄dàu dzěmma bàn. T $\bar{a}$ hear that immortal say speech-le. he not know how move. he
H. Jyou chyù wèn nèige Lǎu Nyóu. Tā shwō: "Lǎu Nýou, Lǎu then go ask that Lau Nyou. he say: "Lau Nyou, Lau
I. Nyóu, nǐ jyàu wơ ná yīfu. Nǐ kàn syāndzài wơ nále yīfu. Nyou, you cause me take clothing. you see now I take-le
J. Dzěmma bàn ne?" Lǎu Nyǒu shwō: "Bù yàujǐn. Nǐ búyàu clothing. how move ne?" Lau Nyou say: "not important.
K. gwăn. Nǐ jyou dzwd̀dzài jèr. wơ chyu gwan." Houlái nèige you not-imper handle. you just sit-at here. I go handle."
L. Lǎu Nyóu nále nèige yīfu, jyòu dàu nèige shùlín then that Lau Nyou then take-le that clothing, then to that
M. wàimyan chyù. Jèige Nyóuláng ne, tà jyòu dzwòdzài jèige forest outside go. this Nyoulang ne, he then sit-at this
N. tsăudì shàngmyan. Tā kěyǐ tīngjyàn tāmen dzài shwo hwà. grass on. he able hear they be-at say speech.
0. Kěshř tāmen shwō shěmma hwà? Nèige Lǎu Nyóu gén nèige but they say what speech? that Lau Nyou with that
P. jr̄yǔ, tāmen shwō shěmma hwà ne? Tā tīng bù chīngchu. weaver-girl, they say what speech ne? he hear not clear.
Q. Tā jywéde hěn bù hǎu. Dzěmma kěyị chyù ná yīge nyưrénde he feel very not good. how able go take a woman-de
 clothing ne? he self just sit-at there seem-like scold self.
A. Jywéde dìjǐ hěn bù hǎu. Jywéde hěn nánẹwò. Gwòle feel self very not good. feel very sad. pass-le
B. yīhwǎr, nèige Lǎu Nyơu jyòu láile. Dzài Lǎu Nyóu de some time, that Lau Nyou then come-le. be-at Lau Nyou de
c. hơutóu ne, hái yơu yïge rén. Nèiçe rén shr̀ shéi ne? back ne, still there-is a person. that person is who ne?
D. Nybuláng, tā jànchilái yīkàn. oú, hǎu pyàulyàng. Yíge Nyoulang, he stand up look. oh!, good beautiful. a
E. hěn hǎukàn hěn hǎukàn de yīge nyǔrén. Tā tsúnglái very pretty very pretty de one woman. he before
F. méiyǒu kàngwò nèmma hǎukànde nyưrén. Hòulái nèiģe Lǎu not see-gwo so pretty-de woman. then that Lau
G. Nyóu jyou shwō, shwō: "Ei Nyóuláng, Nyóuláng.... Nyou then say, say: "hey Nyoulang, Nyoulang....(long pause)
H. Jèige nyưháidz hěn ywànyi dzwò níde tàitài. Tā shwo this girl very want do(be) you-de wife. she say
I. tā hwèi bāng nîde." Nyóuláng shwō: "Shr jeñe ma? Wǒ she able help you-de (affairs)." Nyoulang say: "is true ma? I
J. hěn chyúng. Wǒ shěmma chyán dōu méiyǒu. Wǒ yīmáu very poor. I what(any) money all not-have. I one-dime
K. chyán dōu méiyơu." Nèise nyǔháidz jyòu dyǎn tóu. Shěmma money all not-have." that girl just bow head. what(any)
L. hwà yě méiyơu shwō. Hòulái tā hěn gāusyìng. Tā jyou dàile speech also not say. then he very happy. he then take-le
M. nèige nyưháidz hwéi jyā chyù kàn tāde gēge, kàn tāde that eirl return home go see he-de brother, see he-de
N. sǎudz. Nèmma, tāmen syàndzài ne, jyơu jùdzài nèige sister-in-law. nemma, they now ne, just live-at that
0. nyóupéng lĭmyàn. Hái jùdzài nèige nyóupéng lǐmyàn. cow pen in. still live-at that cow pen in.
P: Nèige Nyóulángde tàitài ne, jyoushr̀ nèige jr̄nyǔ. T Ta that Nyoulang-de wife ne, just be that weaver-girl. she
Q. tyāntyān wǎnshàng $j \bar{r}$ bù. J $\bar{r}$ hěn dwō hěn haukànde bù. daily evening weave cloth. weave very much very pretty-de
R. Dì èr tyān tāmen jyòu kěyí chyù mài chyán. Jyou màle cloth. the second day they then able go sell money. thensell-le
A. hěn dwo hěn dwōde chyán. Jèiyàng, màn mānde, yītyān very much very much-de money. this-way, slow slow-de, one-
B. yītyān yītyānde, tāmen jyou yơu yīdyǎr chyánle. Swǒy day one-day one-day-de, they then have some money-le. therefore
C. tāmen jyơu kěyǐ dau byéde dìfang chyū mǎile yīge syǎusyǎude they then able to other place go buy-le a small-small-de
D. fángdz. Nyóuláng gèn Jrnyư gēn nèige Lǎu Nyóu, tāmen house. Nyoulang with Jrnyu with that Lau Nyou, they
E. jùdzài nèige syǎu fángdz ľ̌. Bú jùdzài tāde gēge jyā live-at that small house in. not live-at he-de brother house
F. lítou.
in.
G. Gwòle hǎu jǐ nyán, tămen jyơu yǒule lyăngge syǎuháidz. pass-le good some year, they then have-le two child.
H. Nè, dāngrán tāmende shēnghwó hěn kwài lè, hěn syìngfú. ne, of course they-de life very happy, very prosperous.
I. Kěshr̀ yðu yī tyān, J̄̄nyư hěn nángwòde gēn nèige Nyóuláng but there-is one day, Jrnyu very sad-de to that Nyoulang
J. shwō, tā shwō: "Wó gàusung nī. Yù Hwáng dàdì shwō wǒ bù say, she say: "I tell you. Yu Hwang -god say I not
K. yīnggāi dzài dzwo nìde tàitài. Wǒ y īnggāi dàu tyānshàng should be-at do(be) you-de wife. I should to heaven
L. chyù. Yīnwèi tyānshàng háiyǒu hěn dwō hěn dwōde shrchǐng go. because heaven still have very much very much-de affair
M. wǒ dōu yīnggāi chyù dzwò, wǒ bù nénggou lǎu dzwò yīge
I all should go do, I not able always do(be) a
N. rénde tàitài." Tā shwō: "Syàndzài nǐ yǐjīng yǒu lyǎngge person-de wife." she say: "now you already have two
0. syǎuháidzle. Jèi lyǎngge sy̌auháidz ne, yě bù syǔyàu child-le. this two child ne, also not need
P. chyánle. Nǐ kěyî dài dài tāmen lyǎngge rén, bǎ tāmen lyǎngge money-le. you able carry they two person, ba they two
Q. dài dà. Tāmen lyăngge rén ne, dōu hěn tsúngmíng. Jyānglái a raise. they two person ne, all very smart. future a
R. hwè̀ bāng nǐde máng. Nèmma wo yàu dàu tyānshàng chyùle." able help you-de busy-ness. nemma $I$ want to heaven go."
A. Lyăngere syǎuháidz dōu kū. Lyǎngege syǎuháidz shwō: two child all cry. two child say:
B. "Màma nǐ bú yàu dzǒu. Māna nǐ bú yàu dzǒu." Kěshř Jr̄nyư "mama you not-imper go. mama you not-imper go." but Jrnyu
C. shwō: "Méiyǒu f̌adz. Māma y īdìng yàu dzơu. Nîmen lyǎngge say: "not-have way. mama indeed must go. you two
D. syǎuháidz gwàigwàide gēn Bàba dzài yīkwàr jù. Yíding child good-de with papa be-at together live. indeed
E. yàu tīng Bàbade hwà, hăuhău nyàn shư, hǎuhǎu dzwò shr̀. must listen papa-de speech, good study book, good do affair.
F. Mäma jyānglai hwéilái kàn nimen."
mama future return-come see you."
G. Houlái yơu y $\bar{i}$ tyān dzăushàng nè̀ige Jr̄nyư jyou méiyǒule. then there-is one day morning that Jrnyu just not-there-is-le.
H. Bù j̄̆rdàu năr chyùle. Dạ̀à̀i shr̀ dàu tyānshang chyùle. not know where go-le. probably emph to heaven go-le.
I. Nè, Nyóuláng, tāde tàitài dzơule. T̄a hěn à t tāde tàitài. ne, Nyoulang, he-de wife go-le. he very love he-de wife.
J. Nè, tāde tàitài dzơule yīhòu, t̄̄a hěn náncwò. Swǒyǐ ne, he-de wife go-le after, he very sad. therefore
K. syăuháidz yě kū. Tā yě bù chr̄ fàn, yě bù dzwò shr. child also cry. he also not eat food, also not do affair.
L. Tyāntyān dzwòdzài nèige ywándz lítou kànje tyānshang, daily sit-at that yard in look-je heaven,
M. tāde tàitài. Yù Hwáng dàdi kànle. Yù Hwáng dàdì yě he-de wife. Yu Hwang -god see-le. Yu Hwang -god also
N. jywéde hěn nángwò. SwǒyY̌ yǒu y $\bar{i}$ tyān Yù Hwáng dàji feel very sad. therefore there-is one day Yu Hwang -god
0 . jyou bǎ tāmen lyăngge rén dōu jyàule. Jyàu dàu yīge then ba they two person all call-le. call to a
P. dìfang. Búshr̀ tyānshàng. Jyàu dàu yīge tèbyéde dìfang.
place. not be heaven. call to a special place.
Q. Houlái Yù Hwáng dàdì jyou shwō, t $\bar{a}$ shwō: "W才 kàn nǐmen then Yu Hwang -god then say, he say: "I see you
R. lyǎngge rén hěn kélyán. Yaushr nîmen lyăngge rén, yị̣e two person very pitiful. if you two person, one
A. lǎu dzài tyānshàng, ȳ̄ge lău dzà̀i dishang, lău bù nénggou always be-at heaven, one always be-at earth, always not able
B. jyànmyàn, jèi jēnde shr hěn kělyán." Tā shwo: "Wơ meet, this true emph very pitiful." he say: "I
C. syǎng gěi nǐmen yīge j̄̄hwèi. Nèmma, Jřnyư ne, kěyị plan give you a chance. nemma, Jrnyu ne, able
D. chángcháng kànkàn tāde syǎuháidz. Sya̛uháidz ye kěy̌u often see her-de child. child also able
E. chángcháng kànkàn tāde mưchin. Ha̛ubuhǎu ne?" Yù Hwáng dàdì often see he-de mother. ok(question) ne?" Yu Hwang
F. jyòu shwō, t̄̄à shwo: "Ah, nimen shr ywanyi měige -god then say, he say: "ah, you or want each
G. ywéde chī hàu jyàn yī tsz myàn ne, nimen háishr ywanyi month-de seventh day meet one time face ne, you or want
H. měi nyánde chī ywè límyande dì chíi tyān jyàn y $\bar{i}$ tsz̀ each year-de seventh month in-de the seventh day meet one
I. myàn ne, háishr shěmma shěmma?" Neige Yù Hwánd dàdi a time face ne, or what what?" that Yu Hwang -god a
J. shwo hãu jǐge. Kěshr jèige Nyóuláng ne, (nĩ j̄rdaù tà sh̀r say good some. but this Nyoulang ne, (you know he be
K. yīge rén) tā dì ȳ̄ tsz̀ kànjyàn yīge shén. Nèmma, nèige shén a person) he the first time see a spirit. nemma, that spirit
L. yǐjing houmyàn you hǎu dwo chwánde hēn hǎukande already behind there-is good many wear-de very pretty
M. yîfu de rén. Tā dāngrán hên pà. Swoyì yù Hwáng dàdí clothing-de person. he naturally very fear. therefore
N. shwōde nèisyē hwà, tā dōu méiyou tīng chingchu. Tā yě Yu Hwang -god say-de that-several speech, he all not hear
0. bù gǎn wèn Yù Hwáng dàdì. Tā y̌e bù gân shwô: "Chîng ní clear. he also not dare ask Yu Hwang -god. he also not dare
P. shwo man yīdyar. Chîng nî dzài shwō yītsz̀." Tā dōu say: "please you say slow a little. please you again say one
Q. bu gǎn shwō. Tā jyou tingjyàn yīge, shwo "Méi nyánde chī time." he all not dare say. he only hear one, say "each year-de
R. ywè límyande dì chì tyān nimen hwópwo lyănfee rén seventh month in-de the seventh day you alive two person
A. jyànmyàn. Hǎubuhǎu ne?" Tā jyou tīngjyàn jèige. meet. ok(question) ne?" he orly hear this.
 therefore he then say, he say: "ok ba. each year-deseventh
C. ywè chī hàu wǒ yàushr nénggou kànfyàn wǒde tàitài de hwà, month seventh day I if able see me-de wife de hwa,
D. ne, w̌ yě hěn gāusyìng." Yù Hwáng dàdì shwō: "Hǎu. Nèmma ne, I also very happy." Yu Hwang -god say: "ok. nemma
E. yàushr nŶ ywànyi méi nyán chī ywè chī hàu kàn nŶ tài tài if you want each year seventh month seventh day see you
F. de hwà, nèmma, měi nyán dàu nèi tyān de shŕrhòu, wǒ ràng wife de hwa, nemma, each year arrive that day de time, I let
G. nǐmen jyànmyàn." Jèige shŕhòu dāngrán jyou yơu rén bǎ you meet." this time naturally then there-is person ba
H. jèige hwà syěsyàláile. Dàuhoulái, jèige Nyóuláng tsái this speech write-down-le. finally, this Nyoulang then
I. jř̃àu. Ơu, ywánlái yơu hǎu jǐge. Tā kěyŶ sywǎndzé yīge. know. oh, originally there-is good some. he able choose one.
J. Tā bù yīdìng shr chī ywè chī hàu tsái nénggou kànkàn tā he not necessarily be seventh month seventh day then : able see
K. tàitàide. Yěsyư yī nyán kěyî kàn lyãng tsz̀, yī nyán kěyí he wife-de. perhaps one year able see two time, one year able
L. kàn sān tsz̀. Kěshř syàndzà̀i j̄̄nh èi jyòu méiyð̛ule. see three time. but now chance then not-there-is-le.
M. SwơyŶ méiyơu fǎaz. Nèmma, dàu syàndzài, dzà̀i Jūnggwóde therefore not-there-is way. nemma, to now, be-at China-de
N. yīnlìde chī ywè - dāngrán dàu chyōiutyān de shŕròu - (dōu yơu calendar-de seventh month - of course to fall de time - (all
0. chyōutyānde shřhou), nì tái tóu kàn tyānshànģa shírhòu, have fall-de time), you raise head look heaven de time,
P. tyänshàng yơu yīge hěn lyàng hěn lyàng de yïge yīnghé. heaven have a very bright very bright de one silver river.
Q. Kěshr̀ dàu chī ywè de shrhou, jèige yīng hé tèbyé lyàng. but arrive seventh month de time, this river special bright.
R. Dzà̀ yīnghéde yībyār yơu yīge hěn lyàng hěn lyàng de be-at silver river-de one side there-is a very bright very
A. syīngsying. Yīnwèi wơmen syàndzàide hwà shwo shr "tȳ̄an bright-de star. because we now-de speech say be
B. chîng syīng dzwò", nà jyòu shr wơmen dzài gùshr lǐtóude Heavenly Weaver Girl", that just be we be-at story in-de
C. jeìge J̄̄nyư syīng. Dzài héde lìngwài yībyar a yě this Jrnyu star. be-at river-de other side a also
D. yơu yīge hěn lyàng hěn lyàngde syīng. Shr méiyơu nèige there-is a very bright very bright-de star. emph not that
E. J̄̄nyư syīng lyàng. Jèige syīng jyou shr wormen gư shŕroù Jrnyu star bright. this star only be we old time
F. jyaude chyán nyóu syīng. Nè, syàndzài jèi shr wơmen gùshr call-de Celestial Cowherd star. ne, now this be we story
G. IYtóude jèige Nyóuláng. Nyóulángde pángbyar you in-de this Nyoulang. Nyoulang-de side there-is
H. lyângge syau syīngsying. Tīngshwo jyou shr Nyóuláng two small star. hear-say just be Nyoulang
I. gēn Jrnyưde lyǎngge érdz. Tīngshwo deài měi nyánde and Jrnyu-de two child. hear-say be-at each year-de
J. chī ywè chū chī de jdi tȳ̄̄n yè lítóu, yơu hǎu jǐge nyǎur seventh month seventh day de this day night in, there-is good
K. fēilái, fēilái. Hău jûbǎi, hǎu jŭchyãnde nyǎu feilái. some bird fly-come, fly-come. good some-hundred, good
L. Fēiláile yīhou, tāmen jyou byānle yīge chyáu. Nèmma some-thousand bird fly-come. fly-come after, they then tecome-le
M. jeìge J̄̄nyư (wơ bù j̄̄dau shr Jr̄nyư kěyí dzơu gwolái, a bridge. nemma this Jrnyu (I not know be Jrnyu abie walk
N. dàqài shr J $\bar{n} y \bar{u}$ ) tā jyou kěyí tsúng jèige chyáu across come, probably be Jrnyu) she then able from this
O. dzơu gwòlái. Lái kản....
bridge go across-come. come see....(interrupted)
P. Ah, yðu hǎu dwo hău dwō nèige. Wơmen jyàudzwò chywé. ah, there-is good many good many that. we call magpie.
Q. Dàgài shr̀ syǐchywè. Bū j̄̄rdàu jǔchyān háishr jǐwande. probably be magpie. not know some-thousand or some-ten-thousand-d.
R. Tāmen jyou dzwôchéng yīe chyáu. Nè hòulái ne, jèipe they then create a bridge. ne later ne, this
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A. Jr̄nyǔ t̄̄ jyō kěyî tsúng nèife chyáu, tsúng nèisye nyâurde Jrnyu she then able from that bridge, from that-several bird-de
B. shēnshang jyòu džu gwollái. Dàule héde jèibyār lái kàn body-on then walk across-come. arrive-le river-de this-side
C. Nyóuláne, lái kàn tāde lyǎnçe syǎuháidz. Dàu dì èr come see Nyoulang, come see she-de two cnild. to the second
D. tyān J̄̄nyǔ yòu tsúng jèisyē nyǎurde shēnshang dzơu dàu day Jrnyu again from this-several bird-de body-on go to
E. hé nèibyār chyù. Nèmma, dàgài mingnyánde chī ywè ch̄̄i river that-side go. nemma, probably next-year-de seventh month
F. hàu de shŕhòu, dzài lái kàn tāde háidz. Jèige jyou shr seventh day-de time, again come see she-de child. this just
G. Jūngegwóde chwánshwo "Nyóuláng gēn Jrinyư". be China-de folk-tale "The Cowherd and the Weaver Girl".
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[^0]:    ** For converience in presentation, 1 have not attempted to translate de and several other untranslatable grammatical particIes, either in examples or in the corpus. They are explained in the introduction to Appendix II, the Corpus.

