# A TAGMEMIC CLAUSE ANALYSIS OF MANDARIN CHINESE

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

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## A TAGMEMIC CLAUSE ANALYSIS OF MANDARIN CHINESE

bу

Cameron Jay Beatty

#### A Thesis

Submitted to
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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#### ABSTRACT

A Tagmemic Clause Analysis of Mandarin Chinese
by
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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 in 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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#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### I. INTRODUCTION

#### A. The Problem

Most 'grammars' of Mandarin Chinese 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 <a href="The Chinese Language">The Chinese Language</a> and <a href="How to Learnite">How to Learnite</a>, by Sir Walter Hillier. This was a "self-teaching" text, with the only discussion of structure being a Latin-based 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
- 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. Language is seen to be "structured in three semiautonomous but interlocking modes,

<sup>\*\*</sup> One such non-tagmemic analysis is Chinese Lexotactics: a Stratificational View, a 1967 dissertation by Richard Thomas Thompson. In his analysis, Thompson treats three clause types of Mandarin Chinese, which are discovered "by doing linguistic analysis" (p.1). 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.

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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 under
standing 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-

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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 agreed 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, and, 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 language 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.

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#### II. THE ANALYSIS

In the grammatical hierarchy of Mandarin 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. Further, 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. <a href="dweight">dweight</a>'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. houlai 'then, later', jyou 'then'), reason (e.g. yinwei 'because', swoyi 'therefore'), coordination (e.g. ye 'also', hai 'still'), condition (e.g. yaushr...de hwa '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 Iongacre into his <u>Grammar Discovery Procedures</u>, 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 <u>not</u> 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

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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 <u>but diagnostic</u> of construction types. "Especially on the clause and phrase levels (where procedures are explicitly set up in terms of nucleus versus periphery) we often encounter optional tagmemes of considerable relevance in defining syntagmemes. Such tagmemes can now be considered to be nuclear although optional. We thus evolve a trichotomous 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.

1. Desc cl = +Si 
$$\pm$$
Comp +Pd (7I-J)

wo
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The descriptive clause consists of an obligatory subjectas-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. <u>bi</u> 'compare') and a compared item.
In its expanded form, the clause would be:

The equative clause consists of an obligatory subjectas-item, an obligatory equative predicate, and an obligatory
equation tagmeme. Thompson (1967) states that the equative
predicate is optional, not obligatory. this is not corroborated by the data in my corpus. There were no occurrences

<sup>\*\*</sup> For convenience in presentation, I have not attempted to translate de and several other untranslatable grammatical particles, either in examples or in the corpus. They are explained in the introduction to Appendix II, the Corpus.

of predicate-less equative clauses in the corpus. In discussions with an informant, however, it was learned that there are some circumstances (ill-defined at best) in which it is possible 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 a detailed study of these so-called predicate-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

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 subjectas-item, an obligatory locative predicate, and an obligatory location, tagmeme.

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4. Ex cl<sub>1</sub> = ±Loc<sub>2</sub> +Px +Si (12G-H)

Nyoulangde pangbyar you lyangge syau syingsying

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 tagmeme of the existential clause contrasts with the obligatory location 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 +Loc2 +Px +Si (5M)

nar you yijyan yishang that place there-is a dress,

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

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morphemes <u>you</u> 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: Loc<sub>2</sub> is optional but Sa is obligatory; manifesting sets for Loc<sub>2</sub> and Sa are different; and the transitive predicate is filled by a large, open set of predicates, while Px is filled by a closed set.

The non-transitive clause consists of an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme and an obligatory non-transitive predicate.

6. Tr 
$$cl_1 = +Sa$$

wo
gausung ni yige gushr
I tell you a story.

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

7. Dir cl =
+Sa +Source +Goal +Pdir +Purp +Pdir
ta tsung jer dau nar chyu kan tade pengyou
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 subjectas-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  $cl_2$ , whose structure is +Si +neg Px, may be derived from Ex  $cl_1$ , which =  $\pm Loc_2$  +Px +Si. For example, we may have an Ex  $cl_1$  like

+Loc<sub>2</sub> +Px +Si
nar méi you yishang le
there not there-is dress -le
There was no longer a dress there,

transformed into Ex cl2:

+Si +neg Px

(narde) yishang mei 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 change-of-status marker le.

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- 2. The Tr  $cl_1$ , with a structure of  $+Sa_1+Pt_2$ , has a number of derivatives which are in emic contrast with their base.
  - a. In the object 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 ye in the emphatic variant of the transitive predicate. Moreover, the structure of the object tagmeme is restricted in that a specifier must occur. Compare

with

b. Another derivative of Tr cl<sub>1</sub> 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.

This clause is characterized by the occurrence of an ob-

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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 <u>ba</u>-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 <u>ba</u>-construction: if the direct object of the basic transitive clause is preceded by an unstressed <u>yī</u> (one), that clause may not occur as a <u>ba</u>-construction. For example:

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

but +Sa +Pt +IO +DO

wo gei ni yikwai chyan I give you one-piece money I give you one dollar,

which contains an unstressed <u>yi</u> (one) as part of the direct object, may not occur as a <u>ba</u>-construction.

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### 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), O (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 tagmeme, but not both before and after the subject

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CHART I
Occurrence of Peripheral Tagmemes

	. T	. Mod <sub>l</sub>	Mod <sub>2</sub>	Ben .
Ex cl <sub>1</sub>	. х	Х	0	0
Ex cl <sub>2</sub>	X	-	0	0
Eq cl	Х	-	0	0
Tr cl <sub>1</sub>	X	Х	-	Х
Tr cl <sub>2</sub>	-	-	-	X
Tr cl3	-	-	-	-
Tr cl <sub>4</sub>	Х	-	_	-
N-tr cl	_		Х	0
Desc cl	Х	-	-	X
Loc cl	Х	Х	-	-
Dir cl	Х	-	-	-

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.

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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. syandzai 'now') or time phrase (e.g. neige shrhou 'that time); if it occurs before the subject, it may be filled by either of these or by a relator-axis clause.

Examples: +Si +T +Pe +Eq (2G-H)

wo ywanlai shr yige tyanshangde syingsying

I before be a heaven-de star

I was originally a heavenly star.

(2B-C)+Sa +Pt +0 di yi tsz neige nyou gen ta shwo hwa you yidyar pa de shrhou ta the one time that cow to he say speech de time he have some 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:

+Si +Ben +Pd (1D-E)

tade gege saudz dwei ta hen buhau

he-de brother sister-in-law to he very not-good

His brother and sister-in-law were very unkind to him.

Mod<sub>1</sub> and Mod<sub>2</sub> are movable and may occur in various places within a clause, thus creating a number of non-contrastive 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: +Sa +Pn ±Mod<sub>2</sub>

ta dzoude tai kwaile

ta dzoude tai kwaile he walk-de too fast-le He walked too fast.

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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 interchangable; their order must be Mod<sub>1</sub>,Mod<sub>2</sub>:

+Sa +Freq +Mod<sub>2</sub> +Pt +0

tā chángcháng hén gausyingde cháng ger
he often very happy-de sing song
He often very happily sings songs.

In addition, Mod<sub>2</sub> may occur in pre-S position, while Mod<sub>1</sub>

may not: 

+Mod<sub>2</sub> +Sa +Pt +O (8A-B)

jeiyang, manmande

yityan, yityan, yityande, tamen you yidyar chyanle

yityan, yityande, tamen you yidyar chyanle this manner, slow-slow-de, 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

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

Example: #+T +Si +Pl +Loc<sub>1</sub>
shr dzwotyan ta dzai wo jya
emph yesterday he be-at I house
It was yesterday that he was at my house.

or +T +Si +Pl +Loc<sub>1</sub>
dzwótyan shr ta dzai wo jya
yesterday emph he be-at I house
Yesterday it was he who was at my house.

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, Mod, Mod, and benefactive tagmemes.

Examples: +Sa +Mod<sub>1</sub> +Pt +0

ta bu chang shwo hwa
he not often say speech
He doesn't speak very often.

+Sa ±Mod<sub>1</sub> +Pt ±0
shr ta bù cháng shwo hwa
emph he not often say speech
It is he who doesn't speak very often.

+Sa ±Mod<sub>1</sub> +Pt ±O

bu shr ta bu chang shwo hwa

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,

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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.

1. Rel-ax cl = +Axis:any clause +Relator:time
e.g. +Axis:Dir cl +Relator:time
ta lai de shrhou
he come
When he came...

The relator-axis clause consists of an axis tagmeme, 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. yihou 'after', neityan ye litou 'that night'), de shrhou 'when', or the change-of-status marker -le affixed to the predicate of the axis.

Example: +Axis +Relator

Sa Pt 0 Relator

ta nale neige dungsyi yihou

he take-le 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 deshrhou) 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.

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A variant of Q2 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 amnegative form. Only Q1 may occur as a negative question.

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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'.

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, Ql, 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

Tr cl<sub>1</sub>: +Sa +Pt +O tā shwo hwa he say speech.

add any of the peripheral tagmemes in Chart I (e.g. T, Mod, Ben):

Tr cl<sub>1</sub>: ±T +Sa ±Mod<sub>2</sub> ±Ben +Pt ±0

dzwótyan ta hén gausyingde dwei ni shwo hwa
yesterday he very happy-de to you say speech,

and then multiply this by Rel-ax, Q1, Q2, or Imper:

Tr cl<sub>1</sub>·Q1: T +Sa ±Mod<sub>2</sub> ±Ben +Pt ±O ±Questio:
dzwótyan ta hén gausyingde dwei ni shwo hwa le ma
yesterday he very happy-de to you say speech-le ma
Did he speak to you happily yesterday?

CHART II

Derivative Clause Types, Group B

	Rel-ax	Ql	Q2	Imper
Ex cl	х	Х	Х	0
Ex cl <sub>2</sub>	х	Х	0	0
Eq cl	х	X	Х	0
Tr cl	х	X	Х	Х
Tr cl <sub>2</sub>	X	X	Х	0
Tr cl3	X	X	0	0
Tr cl <sub>4</sub>	X	X	0	X
N-tr cl	х	X	Х	X
Desc cl	х	Х	Х	X-neg**
Loc cl	X	Х	Х	0
Dir cl	X	Х	X	Х

(Subscript 1 or nothing = basic clause type subscript 2 or more = Derivative Clause Type, Group A

Desc cl·Imper ni byé pà you not afraid Don't be afraid

<sup>\*\*</sup> When derived into imperative form, the Desc cl may only be derived into a negative imperative and not a positive imperative.

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E. Dependent Variants. Dependent 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.)

Example: Dir cl·Imper =+Sa +Pdir +Purp

ni chyu na yijyan yifu
you go take a dress
Go take a dress.

In the example, the purpose tagmeme is manifested by a Dep Tr cl<sub>1</sub>.

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

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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, sharing at least one tagmeme with the independent clause.

E.g. (1) (2) (3)

ta daije jeige nyou/chuchyu he shwei/dzai tyan limyan
he take-je this cow/out-go drink water/be-at field-in/
(4)
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 Tr cl<sub>1</sub>.

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 tagmemes manifested by

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 considers 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

'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

	Dep cl
Ex cl	0
Ex cl <sub>2</sub>	0
Eq cl	Х
Tr cl <sub>1</sub>	<b>X</b>
Tr cl <sub>2</sub>	X
Tr cl <sub>3</sub>	X
Tr cl <sub>4</sub>	X
N-tr cl	Х
Desc cl	Х
Loc cl	X
Dir cl	X

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#### III. FILLERS OF CLAUSE LEVEL TAGMEMES

A. Fillers of Nuclear Tagmemes. 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:

## Derivative clauses, Group A:

Ex 
$$cl_2 = 4Loc + Si + Px + 5i + neg Px$$

Tr  $cl_2 = +Sa + 0e + Pte$ 

Tr  $cl_3 = +Si + Agent + Pt$ 

Tr  $cl_4 = +Sa + Spec0 + Pt$ 

Derivative clauses, Group B

Rel-ax = +Axis:any cl +Relator

Q1 = +S +P +Question

Q2 = +S +Interrogative verb

Imper = +S:ni +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 some kind 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 cl<sub>1</sub>, 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 phrases which are peculiar to them. They all have distinctly different manifesting sets. In addition, Pe, Pl, Px, and Pdir are manifested by relatively closed sets of predicates, while Pd, Pn, and Pt are open sets.
  - 3. The equation tagmeme is filled by a noun phrase.
- 4. The obligatory location tagmeme of Loc cl may only by filled by a locative phrase (e.g. nar 'there', syangsya' country', neige nyoupeng limyan 'in that cow pen').
- 5. The optional location tagmeme of Ex cl may be filled by either a locative phrase (as above) or a Dep Loc cl.

  Example: Ex cl = Loc tel loc cl Px Si dzai tade pangbyar you yige ren be-at he-de side there-is a person There was someone at his side.
- 6. The object tagmeme of Tr cl<sub>2</sub> and Tr cl<sub>4</sub> may only be filled by a noun phrase, but that of Tr cl<sub>1</sub> 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: Tr cl<sub>1</sub> = +Sa +Pt  $\pm 0$ tā shwo wo ting nide hwa 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 =  $+\underline{tsung}(from) + locative$ phrase; Goal =  $+\underline{dau}(to) + locative$  phrase.
- 8. The purpose slot of Dir cl is filled by Dep Tr cl, or by Dep N-tr cl.
  - 9. Comp of Desc cl is filled by a comparative phrase.
  - 10. Item slot is filled by a noun phrase.
- ll. Agent is filled by a relator-axis phrase, the relator of which is a passive marker (e.g. <u>bèi</u> '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, Mod, Mod, and Ben.
- 1. The time tagmeme may be filled by a time phrase (e.g. syandzai 'now', neige shrhou 'that time', etc.) or a relator-axis clause.
- 2. Mod<sub>1</sub> is filled by adverbs of frequency (e.g. chángcháng 'often'), or manner (e.g. hen gausyingde 'very happily').
  - 3. Mod<sub>2</sub> is filled by an adverb of manner (e.g. <u>h\u00e9n</u>

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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', gei 'to', ti '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.

#### IV. SUMMARY 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 tagmemes (time, modification, etc.) and by the optional differing order of occurrence of these elements, and/or by multiplication by the factor of dependency.

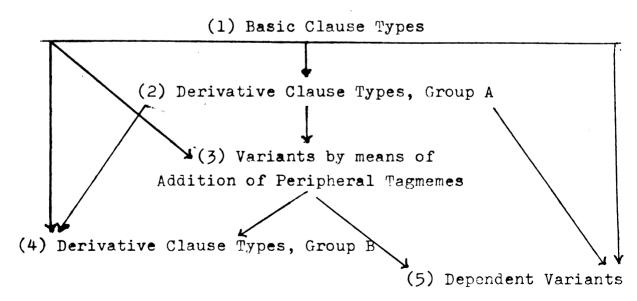
Clauses were found to be distributed in the clause level and in the sentence and discourse level. This statement applies to independent as well as to dependent clauses, as may be seen in my treatments of individual clause types and variants.

Certain aspects of the analysis have implications for the teaching of Mandarin Chinese. Foremost among these is the recognition and use of transforms and transform potential, which is of great benefit as an identificational-contrastive feature in tagmemic analysis. This same transformational capability is relevant to a teaching situation, where two constructions which are known to

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contrast structurally (e.g.  ${\rm Tr}\ {\rm cl}_1$  and  ${\rm Tr}\ {\rm cl}_2$ ) 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, finally, 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 1 to Step 5), to bypass an intermediate step (e.g. Step 1 to Step 3), or to stop at any point in the process.

## Example:

or

- 1. Basic type Tr  $cl_1$ : +Sa +Pt  $\pm 0$
- 2. Derivative type A Tr cl, : +Sa +SpecO +Pt
- 3. Peripheral Variant  $Tr cl_4 : +Sa +T +Mod_1 +SpecO +Pt$
- 4. Derivative type B
- +Sa +T +Mod<sub>1</sub> +SpecO +Pt +Quest ta/chyunyan /shr di san tsz /ba nide dungsyi/nadzoule/ma 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?

# 5. Dependent Variant

+Sa ±T ±Mod<sub>1</sub> +SpecO +Pt ±relator tā/ chyunyán/ di san tsz / ba nide dungsyi/ nádzoule/ yihou he last year the three time ba you-de thing take-le after After he took your things for the third time last year,...

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

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novel utterances. And that, after all, is the goal of language learning.

#### APPENDIX I

### ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOIS

## A. Clause Types

### 1. Basic

- a. Desc cl = Descriptive clause
- b. Eq cl = Equative clause
- c. Loc cl = Locative clause
- d. Ex cl, = Basic existential clause
- e. N-tr cl = Non-transitive clause
- f. Tr cl<sub>1</sub> = Basic transitive clause
- g. Dir cl = Directional clause

## 2. Derivative, Group A

- a. Ex cl<sub>2</sub> = Subject-emphasis existential clause
- b. Tr  $cl_2$  = Object-emphasis transitive clause
- c. Tr cl<sub>3</sub> = Passive transitive clause
- d. Tr  $cl_4 = \underline{Ba}$ -construction

## 3. Derivative, Group B

- a. Rel-ax cl = Relator-axis clause
- b. Q1 = Marked question
- d. Imper = Imperative

## B. Nuclear Tagmemes

- 1. Si = Subject-as-item
- 2. Sa = Subject-as-actor
- 3. Sg = Subject-as-goal
- 4. Pd = Descriptive predicate
- 5. Pe = Equative predicate

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- 6. Pl = Locative predicate
- 7. Px = Existential predicate
- 8. Pn = Non-transitive predicate
- 9. Pdir = Directional predicate
- 10. Pt = Transitive predicate
- 11. Pte = Emphatic variant of a transitive predicate
- 12. Interrog = Interrogative predicate
- 13. Eq = Equation
- 14. O = Object
- 15. Oe = Object-emphasis
- 16. Spec0 = Specified object
- 17. Loc<sub>1</sub> = Locative (of Loc cl)
- 18.  $Loc_2$  = Locative (of Ex  $cl_2$ )
- 19. Source = Source
- 20. Goal = Goal
- 21. Purp = Purpose
- 22. Comp = Comparison
- 23. Item = Item
- 24. Agent = Agentive phrase
- 25. Inc = Phrase level includer
- 26. Question = Question
- C. Peripheral Tagmemes
  - 1. T = Time
  - .2. Mod<sub>1</sub> = Pre-predicate modification
  - 3. Mod<sub>2</sub> = Post-predicate modification
  - 4. Ben = Benefactive
- D. Dependent Variants
  - 1. Dep cl = Dependent clause

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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) introducers, since they usually sugnal a change in contextual direction. These include nemma 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: nemma, tamen you dzou (30) nemma, they again go
Then they moved off again.

dau wanshangde shrhou ne, gen neige nyou... (1M) arrive evening-de time ne, with that cow...
In the evening, (he) and that cow...

tā judzāi nar ne (1 H) he live-at where ne Where did he live?

tā hái méi lái ne he still not come ne He hasn't arrived yet.

The time and aspect markers include -le, which indicates a completed action or a change of status; -gwo, an experiential suffix; and -je, an indicator of continuance, usually translated as '-ing'.

Examples: tade fuchin muchin dou szle. (1 C) he-de father mother all dead-le His parents were both dead.

tā tsunglai meiyou kangwo nemma haukande...(7E-F) he before not see-gwo so pretty-de...
He had never before seen such a pretty...

tyantyan dzaushang ta daije jeige nyou chuchyu (1 K) day-day morning he take-je this cow out-go Every morning he would take that cow out.

Another particle which was not translated is <u>ba</u>, a clause-final indicator of probability. In this corpus, it only occurs with <u>hau</u>: hau ba o k <u>ba</u> I guess so (reluctant assent)

A <u>ba</u> also occurs as a grammatical particle in certain transitive clauses. It occurs in  ${\rm Tr}\ {\rm cl}_4$ , 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 (tade taitai he-de wife his wife),

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

This phenomenon is further discussed in my treatment of relator-axis clauses.

- A. Jintyan wó shwo yige Junggwode chwanshwo. Dzai hen jyou today I say one Chinese-de folk-tale. be-at very old
- B. hến jyốu yichyán gử shrhou, yốu yige syangsyà rén. Women very old before ancient time, there-is one country person. we
- C. jyau ta Nyóulang. Tade fuchin muchin dou szle. Ta gen name he Nyoulang. he-de father mother all dead-le. he with
- D. tade gege gen saudz judzai yikwar. Késhr tade gege saudz he-de brother with sister-in-law live-at together. but he-de
- E. dwei ta hen bùhau. Chángcháng rang ta dzwo hen dwo hen brother sister-in-law to he very not good. often let he do
- F. dwode shrching. Swoyi ta tyantyan dou hen mang, hen very much very much-de affair. therefore he daily all very
- G. lei. busy, very tired.
- H. Tā jūdzāi năr ne? Tā jūdzāi bùshr jūdzāi yīge haukande he live-at where ne? he live-at not-emph live-at one pretty
- I. fángdz litóu. Judzai yige nyóupéng litóu. Tā yĕ méiyǒu house in. live-at one cow-pen in. he also not-have
- J. shěmma péngyou. Tā dzwei haude yige péngyou jyou shrwhat(any) friend. he most good-de one friend only be
- K. yīge nyóu. Tyantyan dzaushang ta daije jeige nyóu chuchyù. one cow. daily morning he take-je this cow out-go.
- L. Chuchyù he shwei, chr tsau, dzai tyán limyan dzwo shrching. out-go drink water, eat grass, be-at field in do affair.
- M. Dau wanshangde shrhou ne, gen neige nyou yikwar ju, yikwar arrive evening-de time ne, with that cow together live, together
- N. shweijyau. Tā gen neige nyou dzai yikwar hen dwo hen sleep. he with that cow be-at together very many very
- O. dwo nyan. Dauhoulai ta gen nyou jyou shr hau pengyoule. many year. finally he with cow just be good friend-le
- P. Tā youde shrhou changchang syangchilai tāde fuchin muchin. he sometimes often bring-to-mind he-de father mother.
- Q. Tā hen nángwo. Youde shrhou tā jyou ku. Keshr neige he very sad. sometimes he then cry. but that

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- A. nyóu ne; jyòu gen ta shwo hwà le. Shwo shemma hwà? Shwo cow ne, then with he say speech le. say what speech? say
- B. rén shwode hwà. Dì yī tsz nèige nyóu gén tá shwo hwà de person say-de speech. the first time that cow with he say
- C. shrhou tā you yidyar pa. Yinwei tā bù jrdau shr shei speech-de time he have some fear. because he not know be who
- D. dzai shwo hwa. Dauhoulai ta tsai jrdau shr neige nyou gen ta be-at say speech. finally he then know be that cow with he
- E. shwo hwa. Neige nyou gen ta shwo, ta shwo: "Ni buyau say speech. that cow to he say, he say: "you not-imper
- F. nángwo. Wo hwèi bang nide. Wo shr nide hau péngyou. sad. I able help you-de (problem). I be you-de good friend.
- G. Wo búshr yige jende nyou. Wo ywanlai shr yige tyanshangde I not-be a true cow. I formerly be a heaven-de
- H. syingsying. Nemma houlai ne, wo yinwei dzwo tswole shemma star. nemma later ne, I because do wrong-le what(some)
- I. shrching, swoyi Yu Hwang dadilfa wo dau jeige shrjye shang affair, therefore Yu Hwang -god punish me to this earth-on
- J. lai dzwo nyou. Búgwo, yíhou wo hai yau hwéi dau tyanshang come do cow. but, later I still want return to heaven
- K. chyù." Yīnwei tā jrdau tā you yīge péngyou, tāde hau go." because he know he have a friend, he-de good
- L. péngyou shr yige syanrén, swoyi jeige Nyouláng, ta jyou friend be a immortal, therefore this Nyoulang, he then
- M. bútai nángwo. not-too sad.
- N. Hau. Syandzai women dzailai shwo tyanshangde shrching. ok. now we again-come say heaven-de affair.
- O. Neige tyanshang you hen dwo hen haukan hen haukande nyuhaidz. that heaven there-is very many very pretty very pretty-de
- P. Tamen dou shr syanren. You hau jige nyuhaidz. girls. they all be immortals. there-is good some girls.
- Q. Tamen dzai tyanshang. Tamen jyou jr bu shr jr bu they be-at heaven. they only weave not-emph weave cloth -
- R. shr jr neijung hen haukan hen haukande bù. Yinwei emph weave that-kind very pretty very pretty-de cloth. because

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- A. tamen dzai tyanshang tyantyan jyoushr jr bù, dzai they be-at heaven daily only weave cloth, be-at
- B. tyanshang tyantyan jyoushr kan nei jige ren, meiyou heaven daily only see that some person, not-have
- C. shemma chigwaide shrching. You yī tyan tamen jyou syang: what(any) strange-de affair. there-is one day they then think:
- D. "Yaushr women nenggou dau dishang chyu war, dwo hau ne."
  "if we able to earth go play, much good ne."
- E. Tamen tsúng yùntsái shàngtóu kànkàn syatóu. Hausyang they from clouds on look below. seem-like
- F. shemma dou gen tyanshang bu yiyang. Swoyi you yi tyan what all with heaven not same. therefore there-is one day
- G. you jige neige syanren, you jige jrnyu, tamen jyou yikwar there-is some that immortal, there-is some weaver-girl, they
- H. tsung tyan shangtou fei, fei, fei dau dishang then together from sky on fly, fly, fly, fly to earth
- I. laile. Bushr fei dau chéng litou. Shr fei dau syangsya come-le. not-emph fly to city in. emph fly to country
- J. chyu. Tamen dzai syangsya. Tamen jyou toutoude kan. go. they be-at country. they then secret-de look.
- K. Kankan. You shulin, you tyan, haiyou hen dwode fangdz. look. there-is forest, there-is field, also-there-is very
- L. Tamen jyoushr toutou kankan fangdz litoude ren. "Ou! many-de house. they only secret look house in-de person. "Oh!
- M. Fangdz litoude ren, tamen chwande yifu gen tyanshangde house in-de person, they wear-de clothing with heaven-de
- N. bù yiyang. Chrde dungsyi bu yiyang. Tamen dzwode shrching not same. eat-de thing not same. they do-de affair
- O. ye bú tài yiyang." Nemma, tamen you dzou. Dzou dau yige also not too same." nemma, they again go. go to a
- P. hé. Daule neige héde pángbyar, tamen jyou kan. Neige river. arrive-le that river-de side, they then look. that
- Q. hede shwei bu tai shen. Neige hede shwei ye hen ganjing. river-de water not too deep. that river-de water also very
- R. Tamen jyou syang: "Yaushr dzai jer syidzau, dagai hen hau." clean. they then think: "if be-at here bathe, probably very

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- A. Yīnwei héde pángbyār yǒu yīge syǎu shùlin, jèr yě méiyǒu good. because river-de side have a small forest, here also
- B. byé rén nénggou kan tamen. Háiyou, tamen jywéde dishang not-have other person able see them. besides, they feel
- C. bijyau re. Tyanshang bú hwei tai re. Tyanshang yế bú hwei earth rather hot. heaven not able too hot. heaven also not
- D. tai leng. Swoyi tamen jige syannyu, tamen jige jrnyu able too cold. therefore they some immortal, they some
- E. jyou dzai hé limyan syldzau. Tamen ba neige haukande weaver-girl then be-at river in bathe. they ba that pretty
- F. yifu jyou fangdzai youde fangdzai neige shu shang, youde jyou clothing then put-at some put-at that tree on, some then
- G. fangdzai neige tsau shang. Tamen dzai he litou yibyar put-at that grass on. they be-at river in while
- H. war, yibyar syau, yibyar war shwei. play, while laugh, while play water.
- I. Jeige shrhou jeige Nyoulang gen neige nyou, tamen jyou this time this Nyoulang with that cow, they then
- J. dzai shulin waitou yige tsaudi shang. Dzai nar syousyi. be-at forest outside a ground on. be-at there rest.
- K. Neige nyou shwo hwa le gen Nyoulang shwo, shwo: "Hèi. Wo that cow say speech le with Nyoulang say, say: "hey. I
- L. gausung ni. Ni youmeiyou tingjyan you hau jige nyuhaidz? tell you. you question hear there-is good some girl?
- M. Tamen dzai syau." Neige Nyoulang tingyiting. Shwo: "Hei. they be-at laugh." that Nyoulang listen. say: "hey.
- N. Wo tingjyan hau jige nyurende shengyin. Hausyang tingjyan I hear good some girl-de sound. seem-like hear
- O. tamen dzai syau, tamen dzai shwo hwa, tamen hen gausyingde they be-at laugh, they be-at say speech, they very happy-de
- P. yangdz." Neige nyou shwo: "Wo gausung ni. Dzai jeisye manner." that cow say: "I tell you. bepat this-several
- Q. nyuhaidz litou you yige shr nide taitai." Nyoulang girl in there-is one be you-de wife." Nyoulang
- R. shwo: "Hushwo! Wo dzemma chyung! Wo dzemma hwei you say: "nonsense! I how poor! I how able have

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- A. tàitài?" Nèige Lau Nyou shwo: "Shr jende." Ta shwo: "Wo wife?" that Lau Nyou say: "be true." he say: "I
- B. gausung ni. Ni jyou dzou. Daule neige he pangbyan de tell you. you just go. arrive-le that river side de
- C. shrhou, ni jyou kanjyan dzai neige shu shang you yige time, you then see be-at that tree on there-is a
- D. hen haukande yifu. Ni jyou ba neige shushang hen haukan very pretty-de clothing. you just ba that tree-on very pretty
- E. de yifu jyou nálái. Ni jyou pauhweilái." Nyouláng shwo: "Ou de clothing then take. you then run-back-come." Nyoulang
- F. wo bù keyi dzwo jeijyan shrching. Dzemma keyi chyu na say: "oh, I not able do this affair. how be able go take
- G. nyurende yifu ne?" Lau Nyou shwo: "Wo bù hwei jyau ni girl-de clothing ne?" Lau Nyou say: "I not able cause you
- H. dzwo hwaide shrching. Dweibudwei? Wo tsunglai meiyou do bad-de affair. right (question)? I before not
- I. jyau ni dzwo yige hwaide shrching. Swoyi ni ting wode hwa. cause you do a bad-de affair. therefore you listen me-de
- J. Nemma, ni chyù na neige yifu, buhwei tswo." Houlai neige speech. nemma, you go take that clothing, not-able wrong."
- K. Nyoulang shwo: "Hau ba." Ta jyou man man man man man man then than Nyoulang say: "ok ba." he then slow slow slow slow
- L. de dzou. Dzou dau neige shulinde pangbyar, ta jyou slow slow de go. go to that forest-de side, he then
- M. kanjyan nar you yige yishang. Tā jyou nale neige see there there-is a dress. he then take-<u>le</u> that
- N. yīshang jyou hweilai. Tā ye bu gan kan ren dzai nar. dress then return-come. he also not dare look person be-at where.
- O. Tā shemma dou bù gắn kàn. Tā nále neige yifu jyou dzou dau he what all not dare look. he take-le that clothing then
- P. shulin li. Keshr ta dzoude tai kwaile. Swoyi ta pengle go to forest in. but he walk-de too fast-le. therefore he
- Q. neisye shu. Neisye shu jyou you shengyin. Dzai he hit-le that-several tree. that-several tree then have sound.
- R. limyande neisye syannyu jyou tingjyanle neige shengyinle. be-at river in-de that-several immortal then hear-le that sound-le

- A. Dajya yikan. Ou, you yige ren ba yifu nadzoule! Swoyi everyone look. oh, there-is a person ba clothing take-go-le!
- B. byéde syannyumen dou hén kwaide nale tamen dzjide yifu, therefore other immortals all very fast-de take-le they own-de
- C. chwan shang, jyou dou paule. Keshr you yige syannyu clothing, wear on, then all run-le. but there-is one immortal
- D. tā méiyǒu yīfu. Swoyi tā jyòu dzài he limyan shwo, tā she not-have clothing. therefore she then be-at river in say,
- E. shwo: "Ei, ei, ei! Neiwei syansheng. Ching ni ba wode she say: "hey, hey, hey! that man. please you ba me-de
- F: yIfu gei wo, haubuhau ne?" Jeige Nyoulang ne, ta tingjyan clothing give me, ok(question) ne?" this Nyoulang ne, he
- G. neige syannyú shwo hwale. Tā bù jrdau dzemma ban. Tā hear that immortal say speech-le. he not know how move. he
- H. jyou chyù wen neige Lau Nyou. Tā shwo: "Lau Nyou, Lau then go ask that Lau Nyou. he say: "Lau Nyou, Lau
- I. Nyou, ni jyau wo na yifu. Ni kan syandzai wo nale yifu. Nyou, you cause me take clothing. you see now I take-le
- J. Dzemma ban ne?" Lau Nyou shwo: "Bu yaujin. Ni buyau clothing. how move ne?" Lau Nyou say: "not important.
- K. gwan. Ni jyou dzwodzai jer. Wo chyu gwan." Houlai neige you not-imper handle. you just sit-at here. I go handle."
- L. Lau Nyou nale neige yifu, jyou dau neige shulin then that Lau Nyou then take-le that clothing, then to that
- M. waimyan chyù. Jeige Nyóuláng ne, tā jyòu dzwòdzai jeige forest outside go. this Nyoulang ne, he then sit-at this
- N. tsaudi shangmyan. Ta keyi tingjyan tamen dzai shwo hwa. grass on. he able hear they be-at say speech.
- O. Keshr tamen shwo shemma hwa? Neige Lau Nyou gen neige but they say what speech? that Lau Nyou with that
- P. jrnyu, tamen shwo shemma hwa ne? Ta ting bu chingchu. weaver-girl, they say what speech ne? he hear not clear.
- Q. Tā jywéde hén bù hau. Dzemma kéyi chyu ná yige nyurénde he feel very not good. how able go take a woman-de
- R. yifu ne? Ta dzji jyou dzwodzai nar hausyang ma dzji. clothing ne? he self just sit-at there seem-like scold self.

- A. Jywéde dzji hen bù hau. Jywéde hen nángwo. Gwole feel self very not good. feel very sad. pass-le
- B. yīhwar, neige Lau Nyou jyou laile. Dzai Lau Nyou de some time, that Lau Nyou then come-le. be-at Lau Nyou de
- C. houtou ne, hai you yige ren. Neige ren shr shei ne? back ne, still there-is a person. that person is who ne?
- D. Nyóuláng, tā janchilái yīkan. Ou!, hau pyaulyang. Yīge Nyoulang, he stand up look. oh!, good beautiful. a
- E. hen haukan hen haukan de yige nyuren. Tā tsunglai very pretty very pretty de one woman. he before
- F. méiyou kangwo nemma haukande nyurén. Houlai neige Lau not see-gwo so pretty-de woman. then that Lau
- G. Nyou jyou shwo, shwo: "Ei Nyoulang, Nyoulang.... (long pause)
- H. Jeige nyuhaidz hen ywanyi dzwo nide taitai. Tā shwo this girl very want do(be) you-de wife. she say
- I. ta hwei bang nide." Nyoulang shwo: "Shr jende ma? Wo she able help you-de (affairs)." Nyoulang say: "is true ma? I
- J. hen chyúng. Wổ shemma chyán dou méiyou. Wổ yimáu very poor. I what(any) money all not-have. I one-dime
- K. chyán dou méiyou." Neige nyúháidz jyou dyán tou. Shémma money all not-have." that girl just bow head. what(any)
- L. hwa yế méiyou shwo. Houlai ta hen gausying. Ta jyou daile speech also not say. then he very happy. he then take-le
- M. nèige nyuhaidz hwei jya chyu kan tade gege, kan tade that girl return home go see he-de brother, see he-de
- N. saudz. Nemma, tamen syandzai ne, jyou judzai neige sister-in-law. nemma, they now ne, just live-at that
- O. nyóupéng limyan. Hai judzai neige nyóupéng limyan. cow pen in. still live-at that cow pen in.
- P. Neige Nyoulangde taitai ne, jyoushr neige jrnyu. Ta that Nyoulang-de wife ne, just be that weaver-girl. she
- Q. tyantyan wanshang jr bu. Jr hen dwo hen haukande bu. daily evening weave cloth. weave very much very pretty-de
- R. Di er tyan tamen jyou keyi chyu mai chyan. Jyou maile cloth. the second day they then able go sell money. then sell-le

- A. hen dwo hen dwode chyan. Jeiyang, man mande, yityan very much very much-de money. this-way, slow slow-de, one-
- B. yityan yityande, tamen jyou you yidyar chyanle. Swoyi day one-day one-day-de, they then have some money-le. therefore
- C. tamen jyou keyi dau byede difang chyu maile yige syausyaude they then able to other place go buy-le a small-small-de
- D. fangdz. Nyoulang gen Jrnyu gen neige Lau Nyou, tamen house. Nyoulang with Jrnyu with that Lau Nyou, they
- E. judzai neige syau fangdz li. Bu judzai tade gege jya live-at that small house in. not live-at he-de brother house
- F. litou.
- G. Gwole hau ji nyan, tamen jyou youle lyangge syauhaidz. pass-le good some year, they then have-le two child.
- H. Ne, dangran tamende shenghwo hen kwai le, hen syingfu.
  ne, of course they-de life very happy, very prosperous.
- I. Keshr you yi tyan, Jrnyu hen nangwode gen neige Nyoulang but there-is one day, Jrnyu very sad-de to that Nyoulang
- J. shwo, ta shwo: "Wo gausung ni. Yu Hwang dadi shwo wo bu say, she say: "I tell you. Yu Hwang -god say I not
- K. yinggai dzai dzwo nide taitai. Wo yinggai dau tyanshang should be-at do(be) you-de wife. I should to heaven
- L. chyu. Yinwei tyanshang haiyou hen dwo hen dwode shrching go. because heaven still have very much very much-de affair
- M. wổ dou yinggai chyù dzwo, wổ bù nénggou lấu dzwo yige I all should go do, I not able always do(be) a
- N. rende taitai." Tā shwo: "Syandzai ni yijing you lyangge person-de wife." she say: "now you already have two
- O. syauhaidzle. Jei lyangge syauhaidz ne, ye bu syuyau child-le. this two child ne, also not need
- P. chyanle. Ni keyi dai dai tamen lyangge ren, ba tamen lyangge money-le. you able carry they two person, ba they two
- Q. dai da. Tamen lyangge ren ne, dou hen tsungming. Jyanglai a raise. they two person ne, all very smart. future a
- R. hwei bang nide mang. Nemma wo yau dau tyanshang chyule." able help you-de busy-ness. nemma I want to heaven go."

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- A. Lyangge syauhaidz dou ku. Lyangge syauhaidz shwo: two child all cry. two child say:
- B. "Mama ni bu yau dzou. Mama ni bu yau dzou." Keshr Jrnyu "mama you not-imper go. mama you not-imper go." but Jrnyu
- C. shwo: "Meiyou fadz. Mama yiding yau dzou. Nimen lyangge say: "not-have way. mama indeed must go. you two
- D. syauhaidz gwaigwaide gen Baba dzai yikwar ju. Yiding child good-de with papa be-at together live. indeed
- E. yau ting Babade hwa, hauhau nyan shu, hauhau dzwo shr. must listen papa-de speech, good study book, good do affair.
- F. Mama jyanglai hweilai kan nimen."
  mama future return-come see you."
- G. Houlai you yi tyan dzaushang neige Jrnyu jyou meiyoule. then there-is one day morning that Jrnyu just not-there-is-le.
- H. Bu jrdau nar chyule. Dagai shr dau tyanshang chyule. not know where go-le. probably emph to heaven go-le.
- I. Ne, Nyoulang, tade taitai dzoule. Ta hen ai tade taitai. ne, Nyoulang, he-de wife go-le. he very love he-de wife.
- J. Ne, tade taitai dzoule yihou, ta hen nangwo. Swoyi ne, he-de wife go-le after, he very sad. therefore
- K. syauhaidz ye ku. Ta ye bu chr fan, ye bu dzwo shr. child also cry. he also not eat food, also not do affair.
- L. Tyantyan dzwodzai neige ywandz litou kanje tyanshang, daily sit-at that yard in look-je heaven,
- M. tade taitai. Yu Hwang dadi kanle. Yu Hwang dadi ye he-de wife. Yu Hwang -god see-le. Yu Hwang -god also
- N. jywede hen nangwo. Swoyi you yi tyan Yu Hwang dadi feel very sad. therefore there-is one day Yu Hwang -god
- O. jyou ba tamen lyangge ren dou jyaule. Jyau dau yige then ba they two person all call-le. call to a
- P. difang. Bu shr tyanshang. Jyau dau yige tebyéde difang. place. not be heaven. call to a special place.
- Q. Houlai Yu Hwang dadi jyou shwo, ta shwo: "Wo kan nimen then Yu Hwang -god then say, he say: "I see you
- R. lyangge ren hen kelyan. Yaushr nimen lyangge ren, yige two person very pitiful. if you two person, one

- A. lấu dzai tyanshang, yige lấu dzai dishang, lấu bù nénggou always be-at heaven, one always be-at earth, always not able
- B. jyanmyan, jei jende shr hen kelyan." Tā shwo: "Wo meet, this true emph very pitiful." he say: "I
- C. syang gei nimen yige jihwei. Nemma, Jrnyu ne, keyi plan give you a chance. nemma, Jrnyu ne, able
- D. chángcháng kankan tade syauhaidz. Syauhaidz ye keyi often see her-de child. child also able
- E. changchang kankan tade muchin. Haubuhau ne?" Yu Hwang dadi often see he-de mother. ok(question) ne?" Yu Hwang
- F. jyou shwo, ta shwo: "Ah, nimen shr ywanyi meige -god then say, he say: 'ah, you or want each
- G. ywede chi hau jyan yi tsz myan ne, nimen haishr ywanyi month-de seventh day meet one time face ne, you or want
- H. mei nyande chi ywe limyande di chi tyan jyan yi tsz each year-de seventh month in-de the seventh day meet one
- I. myan ne, haishr shemma shemma?" Neige Yu Hwand dadi a time face ne, or what what?" that Yu Hwang -god a
- J. shwo hau jige. Keshr jeige Nyoulang ne, (ni jrdau ta shr say good some. but this Nyoulang ne, (you know he be
- K. yige ren) ta di yi tsż kanjyan yige shen. Nemma, neige shen a person) he the first time see a spirit. nemma, that spirit
- L. yijing houmyan you hau dwo chwande hen haukande already behind there-is good many wear-de very pretty
- M. yifu de ren. Ta dangran hen pa. Swoyi Yu Hwang dadi clothing-de person. he naturally very fear. therefore
- N. shwode neisye hwa, ta dou meiyou ting chingchu. Ta ye Yu Hwang -god say-de that-several speech, he all not hear
- O. bù gan wen Yu Hwang dadi. Ta ye bu gan shwo: "Ching ni clear. he also not dare ask Yu Hwang -god. he also not dare
- P. shwo man yidyar. Ching ni dzai shwo yi tsz." Ta dou say: "please you say slow a little. please you again say one
- Q. bu gan shwo. Ta jyou tingjyan yige, shwo "Mei nyande chī time." he all not dare say. he only hear one, say "each year-de
- R. ywe limyande di chi tyan nimen hwopwo lyangge ren seventh month in-de the seventh day you alive two person

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- A. jyanmyan. Haubuhau ne?" Ta jyou tingjyan jeige. meet. ok(question) ne?" he only hear this.
- B. Swoyi ta jyou shwo, ta shwo: "Hau ba. Mei nyande chi therefore he then say, he say: "ok ba. each year-de seventh
- C. ywe chi hau wo yaushr nenggou kanjyan wode taitai de hwa, month seventh day I if able see me-de wife de hwa,
- D. ne, wo ye hen gausying." Yu Hwang dadi shwo: "Hau. Nemma ne, I also very happy." Yu Hwang -god say: "ok. nemma
- E. yaushr ni ywanyi mei nyan chi ywe chi hau kan ni taitai if you want each year seventh month seventh day see you
- F. de hwa, nemma, mei nyan dau nei tyan de shrhou, wo rang wife de hwa, nemma, each year arrive that day de time, I let
- G. nimen jyanmyan." Jeige shrhou dangran jyou you ren ba you meet." this time naturally then there-is person ba
- H. jeige hwa syesyalaile. Dauhoulai, jeige Nyoulang tsai this speech write-down-le. finally, this Nyoulang then
- I. jrdau. Ou, ywanlai you hau jige. Ta keyi sywandze yige. know. oh, originally there-is good some. he able choose one.
- J. Tā bù yiding shr chi ywe chi hau tsai nenggou kankan ta he not necessarily be seventh month seventh day then able see
- K. taitaide. Yesyu yi nyan keyi kan lyang tsz, yi nyan keyi he wife-de. perhaps one year able see two time, one year able
- L. kan san tsz. Keshr syandzai jihwei jyou meiyoule. see three time. but now chance then not-there-is-le.
- M. Swoyl meiyou fadz. Nemma, dau syandzai, dzai Junggwode therefore not-there-is way. nemma, to now, be-at China-de
- N. yinlide chi ywe dangran dau chyoutyan de shrhou (dou you calendar-de seventh month of course to fall de time (all
- O. chyoutyande shrhou), ni tai tou kan tyanshangde shrhou, have fall-de time), you raise head look heaven de time,
- P. tyanshang you yige hen lyang hen lyang de yige yinghe. heaven have a very bright very bright de one silver river.
- Q. Keshr dau chi ywe de shrhou, jeige ying he tebye lyang. but arrive seventh month de time, this river special bright.
- R. Dzai yinghede yibyar you yige hen lyang hen lyang de be-at silver river-de one side there-is a very bright very

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- A. syingsying. Yinwei women syandzaide hwa shwo shr "tyan bright-de star. because we now-de speech say be
- B. ching sying dzwo", na jyou shr women dzai gushr litoude Heavenly Weaver Girl", that just be we be-at story in-de
- C. jelge Jrnyu sying. Dzai héde lingwai yibyar a ye this Jrnyu star. be-at river-de other side a also
- D. you yige hen lyang hen lyangde sying. Shr meiyou neige there-is a very bright very bright-de star. emph not that
- E. Jrnyu sying lyang. Jeige sying jyou shr women gu shrhou Jrnyu star bright. this star only be we old time
- F. jyaude chyan nyou sying. Ne, syandzai jei shr women gushr call-de Celestial Cowherd star. ne, now this be we story
- G. litoude jeige Nyoulang. Nyoulangde pangbyar you in-de this Nyoulang. Nyoulang-de side there-is
- H. lyangge syau syingsying. Tingshwo jyou shr Nyoulang two small star. hear-say just be Nyoulang
- I. gen Jrnyude lyangge erdz. Tingshwo dzai mei nyande and Jrnyu-de two child. hear-say be-at each year-de
- J. chi ywe chu chi de jei tyan ye litou, you hau jige nyaur seventh month seventh day de this day night in, there-is good
- K. fēilai, fēilai. Hau jibai, hau jichyande nyau feilai. some bird fly-come, fly-come. good some-hundred, good
- L. Feilaile yihou, tamen jyou byanle yige chyau. Nemma some-thousand bird fly-come. fly-come after, they then become-le
- M. jelge Jrnyu (wo bù jrdau shr Jrnyu keyi dzou gwolai, a bridge. nemma this Jrnyu (I not know be Jrnyu able walk
- N. dagai shr Jrnyu) ta jyou keyi tsung jeige chyau across come, probably be Jrnyu) she then able from this
- O. dzou gwolai. Lai kan.... bridge go across-come. come see....(interrupted)
- P. Ah, you hau dwo hau dwo neige. Women jyaudzwo chywe. ah, there-is good many good many that. we call magpie.
- Q. Dagai shr syichywe. Bu jrdau jichyan haishr jiwande. probably be magpie. not know some-thousand or some-ten-thousand-de
- R. Tamen jyou dzwocheng yige chyau. Ne houlai ne, jeige they then create a bridge. ne later ne, this

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- A. Jrnyu ta jyou keyi tsung neige chyau, tsung neisye nyaurde Jrnyu she then able from that bridge, from that-several bird-de
- B. shenshang jyou dzou gwolai. Daule hede jeibyar lai kan body-on then walk across-come. arrive-le river-de this-side
- C. Nyoulang, lai kan tade lyangge syauhaidz. Dau di er come see Nyoulang, come see she-de two child. to the second
- D. tyan Jrnyu you tsung jeisye nyaurde shenshang dzou dau day Jrnyu again from this-several bird-de body-on go to
- E. he neibyar chyu. Nemma, dagai mingnyande chi ywe chi river that-side go. nemma, probably next-year-de seventh month
- F. hau de shrhou, dzai lai kan tade haidz. Jeige jyou shr seventh day-de time, again come see she-de child. this just
- G. Junggwode chwanshwo "Nyoulang gen Jrnyu". be China-de folk-tale "The Cowherd and the Weaver Girl".

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