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中文副詞子句的信息順序

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THE INFORMATION STRUCTURE OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES
IN CHINESE DISCOURSE*

Yu-Fang Wang

ABSTRACT

This study investigated adverbial clauses in spoken as well as written Chinese discourse. The adverbial clauses in the spoken data were categorized into (i) initial clauses that occur in the initial position with respect to their linked material across continuing intonation, (ii) final clauses that occur in the final position with respect to their linked material across continuing intonation, and (iii) final clauses that occur in the final position with respect to their linked material across final intonation. Those in the written data were classified into (i) initial and (ii) final clauses that occur in the initial or final position, respectively, with respect to their main clauses. An analysis of the spoken and written data shows that the temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses tend to occur before their linked material/main clause, but that the causal clauses are quite different from the other adverbial clauses. Specifically, the causal clauses commonly appear in the final position with respect to their associated material in the spoken data, while the initial and final causal clauses are nearly evenly distributed in the written data. The data suggest that temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses, like topics, are presupposed parts of their sentences; i.e., all of them may be thought of as establishing frameworks for the interpretation of propositions that follow, which seem to be prototypically textual in their functioning. By contrast, causal clauses in Chinese are noticeably distinct from other adverbial clauses not

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only in spoken data, but also in written data; they play interactional as well as textual roles in discourse linking.

1. INTRODUCTION

The relationship between grammar and discourse is one of the most studied areas in linguistics. It is argued that discourse provides the only motivation for grammar (Hopper 1988). To put this in another way, the study of grammar entails both taking actual discourse as one's primary data, and explicitly relating the structure of grammar to the structure of discourse. Lately, a number of important contributions to our understanding of English adverbial clauses as they function in communication have been made; in particular, a great deal of attention has been paid to the information sequences of adverbial clauses in discourse: the adverbial clauses may anticipate as well as follow the clauses to which they are explicitly linked. For example, Chafe (1984, 1988) makes a distinction between different types of adverbial clauses, which depends on whether they are punctuated using a comma or period, and whether they are pronounced within an "integrated" or "separate" intonation contour. His distinction is also based on differences in the behavior of initial and final adverbial clauses in spoken and written discourse. He finds that an initial adverbial clause represents a limitation of focus, signaling a path or orientation in terms of which the following information is to be understood; a final clause, in contrast, only adds something to the assertion made in its main clause or modifies part of what was stated there. Other research by Ford and Thompson (1986) has revealed the predominant pattern of initial placement of conditional clauses. Examining the ways in which conditional clauses are combined in English discourse, Ford and Thompson observe that they appear most commonly in the sentence-initial position. They hold that the function of initially-placed conditional clauses in English is related to the discourse properties associated with the notion of topic. This correlation was originally suggested by Haiman (1978) in a cross-linguistic, sentence-level study on the marking and function of conditional clauses. Ford and Thompson further claim that the semantics of hypotheticality makes conditional clauses particularly useful for conveying a piece of information as given or shared background for the discourse that follows. Similar characteristics of conditional clauses in English are described by Ramsay (1987). She looks at the references of subject NP's in

conditional clauses relative to the preceding discourse based on data from an English novel and concludes that the subjects of initial conditional clauses are referentially tied to a wider scope of the preceding text than are final conditional clauses.

Two other researchers, Schleppegrell (1991) and Ford (1993, 1994), have also done studies on adverbial clauses in English spoken discourse. Pointing to intonational aspects of identifying non-subordinating *because*, which manifests itself as a preceding pause and a 'new intonational contour', Schleppegrell notes that while the subordinator *because* creates local links within the sentence, the non-subordinating *because* creates broader links by introducing sequences "which re-evoke topics and expand utterances prior to the previous clause" (1991:333). The prosodic distinction between subordinating and non-subordinating adverbial clauses in English, especially *because* clauses, is also pointed out by Ford (1993). She discusses some factors involved in the positioning of various adverbial types in English conversation. According to her analysis, initial adverbial clauses set up pivotal points in the development of talk and present explicit background for material that follows. Conversely, adverbial clauses appearing after their associated clauses only complete a unit of information without creating discourse-level links or shifts. In particular, she finds that whereas conditional clauses are most commonly used initially, causal clauses tend to occur after the material they modify. She describes *because* as the conjunction most frequently used to introduce "background, motivating, or explanatory material" (1993: 103), which is most likely to be presented in a separate intonation unit, i.e., following an utterance that ends in a final intonation. In another study, Ford (1994) focuses on the English conjunction *because* and its contexts of use, ranging from spontaneous conversations to more planned and edited written texts. She contends that while in her conversation data, there is often an immediate and clearly identifiable negotiation between conversationalists leading to elaborations introduced by *because*, in the more planned, edited texts, the use of *because* emerges in specific, identifiable rhetorical contexts, possibly as an outcome of an internal dialogue with intended recipient(s).

To recapitulate, what much of this boils down to is an argument for a functional dichotomy between adverbial clauses appearing after modified material and those introducing the material to be modified. These two positions are distinct in their functions in managing both the

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linear flow of information in a text and the attention of the listener/reader as it is guided through the text.

The form of adverbial clause sequences may vary radically among languages as well as among text types in one and the same language. It has been customary to discuss Chinese adverbial clauses as topic-comment (e.g., Chao 1968; Young 1982, 1986; Tsao 1988, amongst others). That is, a Chinese subordinate clause serves as a topic to set the evaluative framework for the main clause, so it must precede the main clause. However, Biq (1995), Tsai (1996), and Su (2002), after investigating the order of causal clauses in relation to their main clauses from a discourse perspective, suggest that causal clauses do not always precede their main clauses in Chinese and should not be treated on a par with other types of adverbial clauses. Intrigued by these inconsistent results, the present author attempts here to provide a detailed picture of the information sequences of Chinese adverbial clauses in spoken and written texts, which in turn provides a way to answer the question of how speakers of Mandarin Chinese use adverbial clauses. The main purpose here is to perform a contextual and quantitative analysis of the distribution of adverbial clauses in order to probe for principles of adverbial sequencing in Mandarin Chinese, based on a corpus containing both spoken and written data. In this paper, I show first that causal clauses are very different from the other adverbial clauses. I then focus on a few examples of initial and final adverbial clauses with respect to their main clauses in order to gain an understanding of the facts of adverbial clauses in spoken and written Chinese discourse and to suggest a different way of thinking about causal clauses than have been customary. The data used in this study come from naturally occurring fact-to-face conversations and magazine articles, which are described in the next section.

2. DATA

Writing and speech are two totally different systems: the two genres represent almost opposite ends of a continuum of text types in terms of their gradation of 'editedness' and 'plannedness', which both deserve careful investigation (Biber 1988). The two extremes of this continuum are characterized by interaction and spontaneity on the one side, and planning and editing on the other. Previous studies on the distinction

between spoken and written language (e.g., Ochs 1979; Chafe 1984) have mostly examined casual conversation as informal spoken language and expository prose as formal written language, the former underlying spoken discourse and the latter underlying written discourse¹. These studies suggest that structural or functional differences in the two poles can be used to distinguish spoken discourse from written discourse. Based on this viewpoint, the present study examines the distribution of adverbial clauses in Chinese and compares adverbial clauses appearing in spoken and written texts.

The spoken corpus comprises 23 two-party or multi-party conversations. The parties to these conversations are diverse—students, colleagues, housewives, and the like—as are the locations—in dormitories, work places, homes, and so on. The total length is about 4 hours. They were taped via audio cassettes and transcribed into intonation units, i.e., sequences of words combined under a single unified intonation contour, usually preceded by a pause (for details, see Chafe 1987; Cruttenden 1989). The valid adverbial clauses in the corpus were categorized into (1) initial clauses (which come before the material they link to), (2) final clauses (i.e., those occurring after the material they modify) in continuing intonation, and (3) final clauses in ending intonation², based on Ford's (1993) classification of adverbial clauses in her study (for the classification, see Appendix B).

The written corpus comes from two sets of data: one from *Commonwealth* (CW henceforth), a monthly news magazine (November 1994-April 1995), which contains 17 texts, about 70,800 morphemes in total, and the other from *UNITAS*, a literary monthly magazine (between March 1988 and September 1988), with 25 texts, approximately 71,000 morphemes all together³. The sequences between adjunct and nucleus

¹ As Chafe and Danielewicz (1987:86) note, speakers have to make choices very quickly when deciding what they want to say in spontaneous conversation, while writers have time to deliberate and even to revise their choices when they are not satisfied.

² While adverbial clauses following continuing intonation indicate that the present utterance is still going on, the adverbial clauses that follow ending intonation stand for independent units in their own right (for a discussion, see Ford 1993:102). In the spoken data, the adverbial clauses occurring after ending intonation appeared when the speaker, having produced a clause-final falling pitch at that point, decided it would be better to add an account or elaboration as a separate comment.

³ Although the two sets of written data are edited, revised, and polished before being exposed to a reader, they represent two kinds of texts. The former, including press

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were analyzed⁴. In written Chinese discourse, forward linking can take either a comma or no punctuation at the end of the first clause, but backward linking has no such requirement; the latter can take a preceding comma, period, or even no punctuation (Li and Thompson, 1981). Hence, various types of adverbial clauses associated with patterns of punctuation⁵ were calculated as well.

3. OVERALL FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF PATTERNS IN THE DATA

There were 489 adverbial clauses in total⁶: 270 initial adverbial clauses, making up 55.2% of the adverbial clauses, and 176 final ones, making up 36%, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Distribution of adverbial clauses by position and type in the spoken corpus*

	Temporal	Conditional	Concessive	Causal	Total
Initial	110 (87.3%)	94 (77.4%)	13 (86.6%)	53 (23.3%)	270 (55.2%)
Final	11 (8.7%)	14 (11.5%)	1 (6.7%)	150 (66.1%)	176 (36%)
No Main Clause	5 (4%)	13 (10.8%)	1 (6.7%)	24 (10.6%)	43 (8.8%)
Total	126 (100%)	121 (100%)	15 (100%)	227 (100%)	489 (100%)

Of the initial adverbial clauses, 110 were temporal, 94 were conditional, 13 were concessive, and 53 were causal. Of the final adverbial clauses, 11 were temporal, 14 were conditional, one was concessive, and 150 were causal. Adverbial clauses without their modified material were primarily causal (n=24). This table also shows that there were few concessive clauses (n=15) in the spoken data, similar to Ford's (1993). Among these adverbial clauses, temporal, conditional and concessive

reportage, press reviews, and press editorials, pertains to journalistic writing; and the latter, including fiction, biographies, prose, etc., belongs to literary writing.

⁴ A complex sentence, syntactically defined, is a unit that consists of more than one clause. It may consist of a nucleus and one or more additional nuclei, or of a nucleus and one or more margins, relatively dependent clauses that may not stand alone but nevertheless exhibit different degrees of dependency (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 169).

⁵ Important figures are printed in bold-face in the tables of this paper.

⁶ The only clauses considered for this analysis were those that related to their main clauses as adverbial clauses. Thus I did not consider relative or complement clauses.

clauses tended very much to occur before the material they modified, accounting for 87.3%, 77.4%, and 86.6% of their cases, respectively. In contrast with the former three types, only 23.3% of causal clauses appeared before their associated modified material.

All of the initial adverbial clauses in the data ended in continuing intonation contours. These cases involved intonational and grammatical signals of more-to-come. Unlike initial adverbial clauses, which always end in continuing intonation, when adverbial clauses occur after their associated modified material, they may link to that material across continuing or ending intonation. This distinction between continuing and final intonation reflects the speaker's decisions to signal that an utterance is not yet completed (continuing intonation) or that an utterance possibly is complete (ending intonation). Table 2 displays this division and shows the frequency of temporal, conditional and concessive clauses occurring after continuing and ending intonation as compared with that of causal clauses occurring after the same two contours.

Table 2. *Distribution of final adverbial clauses by intonation and type in the spoken corpus*

	Temporal	Conditional	Concessive	Causal	Total
Cont.	2 (18.2%)	5 (35.7%)	0 (0%)	57 (38%)	64 (36.4%)
End.	9 (81.8%)	9 (64.3%)	1 (100%)	93 (62%)	112 (63.6%)
Total	11 (100%)	14 (100%)	1 (100%)	150 (100%)	176 (100%)

This table indicates that few temporals, conditionals and concessives appeared after their linked clauses. On the contrary, causal clauses occurred more frequently after final falling intonation: 93 out of 150, or 62%, of the final causals occurred after ending intonation, whereas 57 out of 150, or 38%, of the final causals occurred after continuing intonation.

To sum up, the Chinese spoken data revealed that an extremely large portion of temporal and conditional clauses occurred before their associated material⁷, but that causal clauses appeared both before and after their associated material. This demonstrates that causal clauses are very different from temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses in their distribution in spoken Chinese discourse.

⁷ Since the frequency of occurrence of concessive clauses in the spoken data is much lower than that of the other clause types, I disregarded them in the analysis.

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As for the written data, there were 552 adverbial clauses in total⁸, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. *Distribution of adverbial clauses by position and type in the written corpus*

	Temporal	Conditional	Concessive	Causal
Initial				
ADV MN	28 (12.8%)	3 (2.8%)	4 (3.8%)	10 (8.4%)
ADV, MN	189 (86.7%)	100 (91.7%)	96 (90.6%)	57 (47.9%)
ADV; MN		2 (1.8%)	2 (1.9%)	
ADV. MN			1 (0.9%)	
(Subtotal)	217 (99.5%)	105 (96.3%)	103 (97.2%)	67 (56.3%)
Final				
MN, ADV	1 (0.5%)	2 (1.8%)	2 (1.9%)	37 (31.1%)
MN. ADV				12 (10.1%)
MN? ADV		1 (0.9%)		2 (1.7%)
MN—ADV		1 (0.9%)	1 (0.9%)	
MN! ADV				1 (0.8%)
(Subtotal)	1 (0.5%)	4 (3.7%)	3 (2.8%)	52 (43.7%)
Total	218 (100%)	109 (100%)	106 (100%)	119 (100%)

In the data, temporal clauses (n=218) outnumbered the other three types. Furthermore, an overwhelming proportion of temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses occurred before their main clauses, accounting for more than 95% of the clauses (to be more specific, 99.5%, 96.3%, and 97.2%, respectively). Moreover, these initial adverbial clauses tended to take a comma at the end of their modified clauses (86.7% for the temporals, 91.7% for the conditionals, and 90.6% for the concessives). However, causal clauses showed a nearly balanced distribution between sentence-initial and sentence-final positions with respect to their main clauses: 56.3% vs. 43.7%.

Data in both Table 1 and Table 3 indicate that the placement pattern of causal clauses is different from those of temporal, conditional and concessive clauses in spoken as well as written Chinese discourse. Though not all the causal clauses are placed after their main clauses in

⁸ Since the sizes of these two sets of data are quite similar: 285 adverbial clauses in the former and 267 in the latter, they are lumped together in the present study (for details about the two sets of data: *Commonwealth* and *UNITAS*, see Wang 2002:150-151).

written Chinese discourse, final placement of causal clauses is found in almost half of the cases (43.7%). This is significantly more frequent than the final placement of temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses. Further, as suggested by Table 2, a great number of final clauses in conversation are intonationally separated from their associated materials, as compared to final temporal and conditional clauses. These facts, along with our findings in the written data, lead us to the conclusion that causal clauses are very different from the other types of adverbial clauses in Chinese.

4. THE FUNCTIONS OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN CHINESE DISCOURSE

Although the spoken data and the written data used for this study represent two different discourse genres, the recurring information sequences of temporal, conditional, and concessive clause linking display a similar pattern; i.e., they usually precede their main clauses in Chinese discourse. But the placement of causal clauses differs from that of the other three types. In the spoken data, the final causal clauses outnumber the initial ones, yet in the written data the initial and final causal clauses are nearly evenly distributed. Before accounting for the differences between the causal clauses and the other adverbial clauses, I would like to look at the discourse functions that each type of adverbial clause plays with respect to its position to the material it modifies⁹.

4.1 Initial Adverbial Clauses

Both the spoken and written data suggest that initial adverbial clauses are used to form pivotal points in the development of talk and to present explicit background for material that follows, and that they serve as subordinating conjunctions. They signal a path or orientation in terms of which the following information is to be understood; to be specific, initial temporal clauses are commonly used to establish a temporal frame for assertions that follow; initial conditional clauses are used to establish

⁹ Since the present study focuses on the information sequences of the adverbial clauses in spoken and written discourse, two main types of adverbial clauses: initial adverbial and final adverbial clauses, are discussed here for comparison (For details about the three types of adverbial clauses in the spoken data, see Wang 1999).

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an optional situation frame for the upcoming assertion. An example is given in (1)¹⁰:

- (1) A: .. Wo-
1SG
- .. wo shi,
1SG COP
- .. jintian zuo--
today do
- .. zuo na fen zuoye shihou ho,
do that CL assignment while PRT
- .. wo turan--
1SG suddenly
- .. wo turan faxian la,
1SG suddenly find out PRT
- .. women bu shi lunliu jiang,
1PL NEG COP take turns talk
- .. huan jiang wode mo bufen shihou,
by turn talk my some parts while
- .. na wo jiu xiwang,
that 1SG then hope
- .. tingdao hen duo,
hear very many

¹⁰ The abbreviations used in the interliner translations are as follows: 1SG = first singular person, 2SG = second singular person, 3SG = third singular person, 1PL = first plural person, 2PL = second plural person, 3PL = third plural person, ADV = adverb, CL = classifier, COP = copula, CRS = current relevant state marker, DC = directional complement, EXP = experiential aspect marker, INT = intensifier, IRJ = interjection, NEG = negation, NOM = nominalizer, PFV = perfective aspect marker, PREP = preposition, PRT = clause final particle, Q = final question marker, TOP = topic marker, and GEN = genitive marker.

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- .. hen duo,_
very many
- .. hen duo de nage huikui.\
very many DE that feedback
- ... Buguan shi haode,_
no matter COP good
- .. haishi huaide,_
or bad
- .. dou neng cong bieren zuili,_
all can from other mouth
- .. zhidao,_
know
- .. wo zhege ren,_
1SG this person
- .. shi shenme yang de ren.\
COP what kind DE person
(Conversation 8)

A: 'I- I was—When I was doing that assignment today, I suddenly—, I suddenly found that—, we weren't taking turns to talk. When it came to my turn to talk about my part, well, then, I just hoped I could hear a lot of- a lot of-that I could get a lot of feedback from other people, to know- to know what I myself am like as a person.'

Speaker A tells her recipient her opinion of the activity in their psychology class, where she and her classmates discussed the good and bad points of one another's personalities. Here she uses the two temporal clauses indicated by the arrows to express temporal shifts in her talk. In the data, the temporal clauses were used mostly at the beginning of a discourse episode to set the time frame for the discourse episode that was

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to unfold, and the conditional clauses were also used to perform this function, as in (2):

(2) W: .. Nimen jia you duoshao ren?/
 2PL family have how many people

Y: ... (2.4) Hai meiyou jiehun de hoN,_
 still NEG married DE PRT

.. wo dage,_
 1SG elder brother

.. erjie,_
 second elder sister

.. ranhou jiushi baba,_
 and then father

.. mama le.\
 mother PRT

Z: .. Si ge.\
 four CL

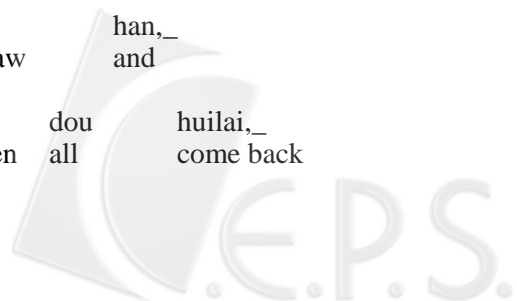
Y: .. Ranhou tamen,_
 and 3PL

→ .. ruguo,_
 if

.. wo jiejie,_
 1SG eldest sister

.. wo jiefu han,_
 1SG brother-in-law and

.. liang ge haizi dou huilai,_
 two CL children all come back



.. jiu ba ge.\
then eight CL

W: .. Oh.\
Oh

Z: .. Jiashang women liang ge jiu shi ge.\
including 1PL two CL then ten CL
(Conversation 9)

W: 'How many people are there in your family?'

Y: '(Talking about) those who are still not married, there are my elder brother, my second elder sister, and then there's (my) father and (my) mother.'

Z: 'Four.'

Y: 'And they—, if my eldest sister, brother-in-law, and (their) two children all come to visit, then eight.'

W: 'Oh.'

Z: '(And) including we two, then there's ten.'

W asks Y how many people there are in her family. Y answers the question from two points of view, unmarried and married, by presenting an option, introduced by a conditional; meanwhile, Z, her husband, adds some short answers for her. The conditional clause indicated by the arrow is associated with the prior talk in that it encodes a contingency or possibility that becomes available at the point reached in the prior talk.

By the same token, the initial *yinwei* acts as a link between causally related assertions, introducing causal material that is followed by the associated result, as manifested in (3):

→ (3) H: .. Yinwei wo cong xiao,_
because 1SG from childhood

.. cong youzhiyuan dao daxue dou shi,_
from kindergarten to university all COP

.. nannü heban,_
boy-girl co-education

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J: (0) Mm.\
mm

H: .. suoyi,_
therefore

.. dui nüsheng de xiangfa,_
toward girls DE opinions

... bu hui,_
NEG will

.. bu hui name mosheng la.\
NEG will so strange PRT
(Conversation 17)

H: 'Because from the time when I was a child, from kindergarten up to university, there were always boys and girls in the same class.'

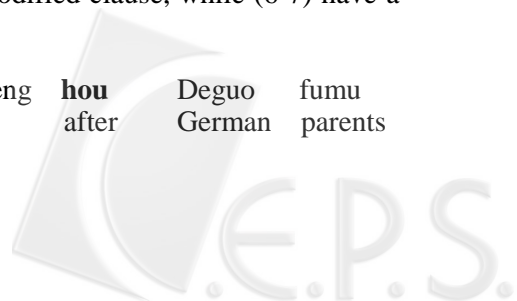
J: 'Mm.'

H: 'So, (talking about) the ways that girls think, I not—I'm not that unfamiliar.'

Prior to (3), J has told H that he does not understand girls at all. After hearing what J says, H tells J that he understands quite well girls since he went to co-ed schools from kindergarten to college. Here H expresses an opinion about understanding girls that is different from J's through a *yinwei* ... *suoyi* ... ('because ... therefore ...') conjunction.

The written data also show that initial adverbial clauses serve to set a frame for the following discourse, orienting the reader temporally, conditionally, causally, etc. to the information in the modified clauses which follow. For instance, (4-5) are initial clauses without any punctuation between them and their modified clause, while (6-7) have a comma separating them:

(4) **Zi** xiaohai chusheng **hou** Deguo fumu
since babies born after German parents



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ke qingling zinü jintie, zhidao zinü
can apply for children allowance until children

wancheng xueye weizhi.
finish studies end

(CW Vol. 167, p.32)

‘German parents can apply for child allowance from the time
that their children are born until they finish their studies.’

(5) Er shengchanxian bixu jinliang
and production-line must as much as possible

zidonghua, biaozhunhua. **Jishi** pinyong
automate standardize Even though employ

waiji laogong ye neng kongzhi pinzhi.
foreign labors also can control quality

(CW Vol. 167, p. 34)

‘Furthermore, the production-line must be automated and
standardized as much as possible. Even though foreign
laborers are employed, quality can still be controlled.’

(6) **Dang** gongye geming **hou**,
when industry revolution after

renkou daliang yongru dushi,
population a large proportion swarm cities

wei bimian jiu shiqu renkou
to avoid old downtown population

wuxian zengjia, shenghuo huanjing erhua,
unlimitedly increase living environment deteriorate

dijia gao zhang, ...
land price highly rise

(CW special issue 12, p. 83)

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‘After the industrial revolution, a large proportion of the population swarmed into the cities, (and) to avoid the population in the old center of the town increasing without limit, a deterioration in the living environment, and a rise in land prices...’

(7) Danshi **ruguo** xianzai meiyou yangcheng
but if at present NEG form

hao xiguan, weilai yao hua
good habits future must spend

qianbai bei de nuli
thousand-hundred times DE endeavor

qu gaizheng.
go correct

(CW special issue 12, p. 65)

‘However, if they don’t form good habits at this time, then in the future they will have to make a lot of effort in correction (of their bad ones).’

Here we see that initially placed adverbial clauses are prime examples of sentence-initial elements that do guiding and shifting work in the development of discourse, acting as a point of departure.

4.2 Final Adverbial Clauses

Unlike initial ones, adverbial clauses that occur after their associated modified clauses in the spoken data only complete a unit of information without providing a pivotal frame for what follows. They modify or add something to the assertion made by their associated, modified material. When placed after their modified clause but in continuous intonation, adverbial clauses present new information on elaborating the associated clause rather than create discourse-level shifts or links, as illustrated in (8-9):

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- (8) Y: ...Nashihou meiyou shiqing,_
 then NEG business
- .. jiu hui hen wuliao,_
 then will very bored
- .. meiyou keren lai,_
 NEG customers come
- .. jiu hui zhua ba jita lai tanyitan,_
 then will take CL guitar come play
- .. ye bushi tan gei renjia ting la,_
 also NEG play to others listen PRT
- .. jiushi xiang zhe zhong meiyou--
 that is like this CL NEG
- .. meiyou shi deshihou.\ (Radio Talk 2)
 NEG business while

Y: 'At that time we'd nothing to do, then we'd get very bored. (If) there were no customers, then we'd take up the guitar and play it a bit. It wasn't to play for others to listen. It was just like this (with) no—, at times when there was nothing to do.'

- (9) M: .. Zuizao shi ye--
 long ago COP also
- .. ye bu suan,_
 also NEG count
- .. tamen mei yang zai shinei,_
 3PL NEG breed at indoor

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→ .. chufei hen jiu hen jiu yiqian.\

 unless very long very long before

F: (0) Oh=.\

 oh

M: ...(0.8) Ranhou shi houlai=, _

 and COP later

.. qishi you yang Nonon, _

 actually again raise Nonon

(Conversation 14)

M: ‘At the earliest time it was— but that doesn’t count.
They didn’t raise (dogs) indoors, unless it was really
quite a long time before.’

F: ‘Oh.’

M: ‘And it was later that they actually began to raise
Nonon.’

In (8), Y, both a restaurant owner and singer, tells his recipient why there are guitars in his store. He explains that originally he played a guitar when he was not busy in the store. Similarly, in (9), M tells F that his uncle and aunt did not raise dogs in their house except for a very long time ago. But now they have a dog called Nonon in their house. The conditional clause *chufei hen jiu hen jiu yiqian* ‘unless a very long time ago’ is used by M to present new information elaborating on the associated clause *tamen mei yang zai shinei* ‘They did not raise (dogs) in their house’.

In particular, causal clauses are most commonly used to provide further explanation in interaction. Clauses connected by *yinwei* across continuing intonation contours seem to occur to aid interaction. They are used not only to provide explanations, targeting what has just been said as needing explanation, but also to present material in response to interactional trouble (Ford 1993). Consider (10):

(10) F: ... (0.7) Oh?/
 oh



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.. zhege <E Kids E> wa,_
 this Kids PRT

.. zhe ben shu yeshi hen hao\
 this CL book also very good

... [Keshi]-
 but

M: [Eh],_
 eh

.. <E Kids E> shi bucuo\
 Kids COP not bad

F: ... Keshi wenti shi,_
 but problem COP

.. ta shi%--
 it COP

... (1) wo shi shuo ziji zai jia limian,_
 1SG COP say self at home LOC

.. ta jiu meiyou shenme xingqu,_
 3SG then NEG any interest

→ .. yinwei ta bushi luyingdai\
 because it is not video tape

(Conversation 10)

F: 'Oh? This (book) 'Kids', this book is also very good.
 [But]-'

M: '[Eh], 'Kids' is not bad.'

F: 'But the problem is, it's—what I want to say is, when my
 sons are at home, they don't have any interest, because
 it's not a video.'

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Here the clause to which *yinwei*-clause links states the speaker's view that *Kids* will not win her sons' favor, and the *yinwei*-clause gives the rationale behind the speaker's view. Notice that prior to the causal clause, there is a dispreferred statement¹¹ (see Levinson 1983:333-345; Pomerantz 1984), introduced by the contrastive marker *keshi* 'but'. Thus the causal clause is employed as a means of lessening the dispreferred response by the speaker.

So far, we have seen that in a final position after continuing intonation, adverbial clauses generally supplement the information provided by their associated clauses. While adverbial clauses following continuing intonation signal that the present utterance is still going on, adverbial clauses that appear after ending intonation play the role of independent units in terms of intonation (Ford 1993:102), as the temporal clause in (11) shows:

- (11) C: ... (4) *Keshi,*
 but
- .. *wo* *juede* *Lujun,*
 1SG feel Lujun
- .. *zhe* *duan* *shijian,*
 this CL time
- .. *ta* *haoxiang* *zhe* *duan* *shijian* *bijiao* *dichao.*
 3SG seem this CL time more depressed

¹¹ In conversation, there are some easily identifiable regularities in the ordering of two-turn units described as 'adjacency pairs' (Sacks et al. 1974). In a question/answer adjacency pair, the question is the first part, the answer the second part. However, certain kinds of adjacency pairs are marked by a preference for a particular type of second part. For example, requests, questions, and invitations have preferred and dispreferred answers. Generally, acceptances to requests, invitations, or offers, and agreements after evaluative assessments are systematically marked as preferred responses, while rejections to request and disagreements are systematically marked as dispreferred ones. Based on an observation of English conversation, both Levinson (1983) and Pomerantz (1984) point out that acceptances and agreements occur as structurally simpler turns; in contrast, disagreements and refusals take a variety of complex structures, such as the use of accounts, the display of long pause, and so forth.

→ .. Zicong shangci fasheng na ge tongshi,
 since last time happen that CL colleague
 .. ma guo ta.
 scold ASP 3SG

(Conversation 4)

C: 'But I feel that Lujun (for) this time, she seems more depressed this time, since from the last time before when one of her colleagues criticized her.'

The next example involves the use of the hypotheticality and backgrounding function of a final conditional clause as a means of presenting more detailed and precise information to supplement the speaker's prior statement *qishi ta ziji bushi hen xiang dao bianyibu qu* 'she actually didn't want to work in the Department of Editing and Translation', which is different from her addressee's:

(12) S: .. Wo xiang, _
 1SG think
 .. qishi ta ziji bushi hen xiang dao,
 actually 3SG self NEG very want to
 ..bianyibu qu.
 Editing Translation Department go

→ .. Ruguo, _
 if
 .. yi wo dui tade liaojie.
 according to 1SG toward her understanding
 (Conversation 4)

S: 'I think actually she herself didn't really want to go to the Translation and Editing Department, if I'm correct in my understanding (of what she wanted to do).'

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Consequently, in a majority of cases, adverbial clauses that occur after final intonation arise from interactionally significant circumstances which are best understood by reference to the preference structure of ordinary conversation, i.e., the tendency to move towards interactional negotiation of agreement.

Furthermore, in the spoken data, not only causal clauses across continuing intonation, but also those across ending intonation are a natural outcome of the impact of discourse interaction on grammar. In the following instance, L, a radio reporter, asks C1, a customer in a teashop, a question and then gives an account of it, introduced by *yinwei*:

- (13) L: .. Na pingchang nimen shibushi,_
 then often 2PL A-not-A
- .. chule liaotian ah,_
 besides chatting PRT
- .. huoshi yanjiu gongke zhiwai ho,_
 or study assignments in addition PRT
- .. shibushi haiyou ^changchangge\
 A-non-A still singing songs
- ... Yinwei,_
 because
- .. wo [kan],_
 I see
- C1: [^Chang]chang\
 very often
- L: (0) haiyou jita,_
 and have guitar
- .. changchang shibushi?/
 often A-not-A
- (Radio Talk 1)



C1: ..Mm.\
mm

L: 'Apart from having a chat (with each other) or studying homework, don't you do some singing? Because I can [see] (there's) also a guitar.'

C1: '[Quite often.]'

L: 'Quite often, right?'

C1: 'Mm.'

The conjunction *yinwei* in (13) is equivalent to saying 'this is why I'm asking'. L adds a causal clause which provides a rationale for her own question, and the recipient's response *changchang* 'very often' overlaps with the turn extension. It is possible that the speaker perceives some trouble in the interaction before the trouble has become overt. Such post-completion extensions (hereafter PCE's) occur in turns that clearly call for certain responses on the part of each recipient (for details, see Ford 1993:102). This type of PCE serves as an account for a question which precedes them. Let us look at another example:

(14) C: ..Ta yi tian shui duojiu?/
3SG one day sleep how long

S: ... Qishi shui=,
actually sleep

.. ta dagai ye keyi shui nage,
3SG probably also can sleep that

.. qishi wo bushi hen queding,
actually 1SG NEG very sure

.. ta meitian wanshang jidian shui\
3SG everyday night what time sleep

C: .. Mm.\
mm

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→ S: .. Yinwei,
because

.. wo doushi xian shui.\
1SG always early sleep

(Conversation 4)

C: 'How much does she sleep in a day?'

S: 'Actually sleeping, she probably able to sleep for—
Actually, I'm not very clear what time she goes to sleep
every night.'

C: 'Mm.'

S: 'Because I always go to bed first.'

In (14) C asks S how long her roommate sleeps in a day. S answers *qishi wo bushi hen queding ta meitian wanshang jidian shui* 'Frankly, I'm not sure when she goes to bed every night', and then she adds an explanation to her answer, which is introduced by *yinwei*. When the unit is about to finish, the speaker decides to add another modification or elaboration. Causal clauses, connecting back to utterances already closed with a final intonation, occur in turns that involve the description of events or the explanation of outcomes. The PCE itself is not a response to any evident trouble between C and her recipient; rather, it elaborates on the preceding utterance. Note that *yinwei* functions to introduce information that is loosely or not obviously connected to the preceding utterance.

Here we see that in language jointly produced by more than one individual, speakers not only organize the presentation of information, but also take part in producing conversation talk. The final adverbial clauses after ending intonation not only play a textual role in displaying relationships between the parts of a text, but also play an interactional role in signaling linkages across speakers (for a discussion, see Wang 1999).

Likewise, in the written data, final adverbial clauses, in sharp contrast to the function of initial adverbial clauses, function to delimit the interpretation of only the clauses to which they are immediately joined. They appear to serve a quite different function, commenting on a time, a condition, a concession, a cause, etc., relevant to the preceding modified clause; they only add something to the assertion made by its

associated material (e.g., (15)) or modify part of what is stated there (e.g., (16)), representing some sort of ‘parenthesis’ (Chafe 1984):

(15) Yuangong bu keneng dui xin mubiao
employees NEG possible toward new objectives

huoshi xin jiazhi fengxian jili,
or new values devote own strength

chufei tamen shenxin, weilai wei tamen
unless 3PL deeply believe future for 3PL

baoliu le xin jihui.
reserve PFV new opportunity

(CW Vol. 165, p.114)

‘It is impossible for employees to dedicate themselves to new objectives or values, unless they believe that new openings will be available to them in the future.’

(16) Ta shenqie jide ziji xiaoshihou
3SG impressively remember self as a little child

bu gan zai xuexiao shang cesuo,
NEG dare PREP school go to toilet

yinwei you zang you chou.
because not only dirty but also smelly

(CW Special issue 12, p.59)

‘He still remembered that as a little child he didn’t dare go into the toilets at school because they were so dirty and smelly.’

Considered in the light of the relationship between the adverbial clauses and their main clauses, both of the sentences listed in (15-16) are cases of subordination since they form an endocentric construction with a preceding clause as a head; i.e., the first clause serves as the nucleus of the second clause, as do the initial clauses in (4-7). The following

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example is similar, except that the first clause ends with a question mark, indicating that the linked clause is conceived subsequently and more independently¹².

(17) Weishenme yao tuanjie hezuo?
why have to unite cooperate

Yinwei gaoerfu qiuchang faling fuza.
because golf course regulations complex
(CW Vol. 167, p.208)

‘Why did the prosecutors have to co-operate with one another (to investigate the case)? (It was) because the regulations for golf courses are complex.’

The relationship between the main clause and its adverbial clause is much looser when the adverbial clause is postposed (Eifring 1991). Final adverbial clauses following a period or a question mark that ends the associated modified clause, such as the causal clause in (17), act as coordinate clauses, and most of them are causal (n=15) in the written data (see Table 3 in Section 3).

¹² Locating an initial adverbial clause so that it precedes its main clause across a period is rare in Chinese. I have found only one case in the written data:

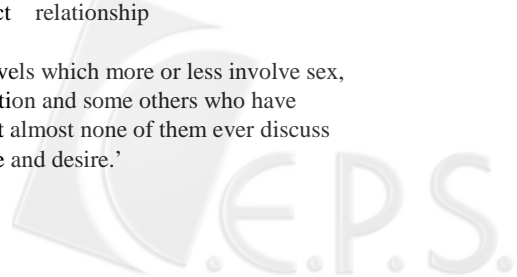
(1) Jinguan you xuduo aiqing xiaoshuo huoduohuoshao dou bu mian
Even though have many love novels more or less all NEG avoid

sheji chuangdi zhi shi; youde hanxunelian;
involve privacy of the bed DE affair some with implied deep meanings

youde mingmuzhangdan, lue wu guji. Dan jihu bu ceng tantao
some brazenly a little NEG scruples yet almost NEG ever discuss

guo ai yu yu de yinguo guangxi. (Unitas Vol. 47, p.32)
ASP love and desire DE cause-effect relationship

‘Even though there are many romantic novels which more or less involve sex, some authors describe it via deep implication and some others who have no scruples describe it quite brazenly. Yet almost none of them ever discuss the cause-effect relationship between love and desire.’



5. THE INFORMATION SEQUENCES OF ADVERBIAL LINKING IN CHINESE DISCOURSE

In recent years, a number of studies have focused on the placement of adverbial clauses in Chinese. Chao (1968) observes that Chinese subordinate clauses, such as clauses of condition, reason, time, and concession, usually precede the main clause, which reveals the order of the topic-comment utterance. Put differently, they serve as a topic to set the evaluative framework for the main clause. Hence Chinese has pairs of specific linking markers that occur in the initial position of both subordinate and the main clauses, such as *ruguo* ('if')..., *name* ('then')..., *suiran* ('although')..., *danshi* ('but')..., and *yinwei* ('because')..., *suoyi* ('therefore').... Therefore, Chao suggests that an adverbial clause, which usually occurs at the beginning of a sentence unless it is an afterthought, should be treated as a clause subject, and the main clause should be treated as the predicate. He emphasizes that initial adverbial clauses commonly appear in planned texts and final adverbial clauses in less planned texts. Following Chao, Tsao (1988) also considers that clauses of time, location, reason, concession, and condition should all be analyzed as primary topics of sentences. Additionally, in her analysis of data collected by recording Chinese speakers engaged in discussions in English, Young (1982, 1986) holds that the use of the connector pair, *because* and *so*, which occur frequently in the data, appears to play an important role in discourse sequencing and management; to be precise, the topic-comment relationship works at the level of discourse. She further argues that with this characteristic of Chinese, speakers of Chinese tend to place causes and reasons before the main argument, a pattern which is referred to as being 'inscrutable' by American English speakers. Similar observations are made by Kirkpatrick (1993) after examining discourse patterns speakers of Chinese tend to use when they present their points in verbal exposition based on spoken data limited to more formal situations, such as seminars, meetings, and conferences, which may be representative of one discourse type. He finds that Chinese speakers prefer to present materials supporting the main point before they explicitly deliver that point, so reason-preceding-main point is the preferred unmarked order in Chinese. However, different from Young, Kirkpatrick (1996) maintains that the discourse pattern of

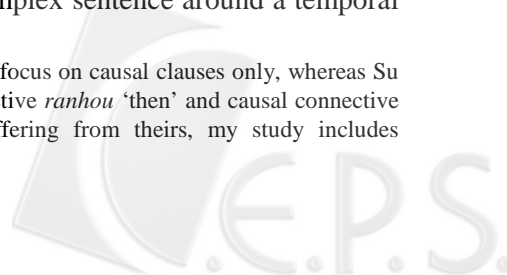
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Chinese adverbial clauses is not that of topic-comment; instead, the discourse pattern appears to adhere to a subordinate-main or modifying-modified information sequence.

Biq (1995) also characterizes the clausal order of causal clauses with reference to their patterns of occurrence in Chinese discourse. Her basic findings are that reason-preceding-main point is not necessarily the preferred order for expressing the causal relation and that interactional factors arising from the functional nature of text types may both motivate and constrain variations of grammatical patterning. In brief, a comparison of causal clauses between her conversation and reportage press data shows that the prevalence of the final *yinwei* ('because') is a natural outcome of the impact of discourse interaction on syntax. Similarly, based on an examination of adverbial clauses in a Chinese corpus, Tsai (1996) finds that causal clauses can take both preposed and postpost positions outside of their main clauses. She concludes that the argument that adverbial clauses should be considered topics and predicted to precede main clauses does not always hold true for causal clauses. Su's (2002) study of Chinese connectives further shows that *yinwei* is more often postposed in natural discourse, in order to fulfill its discourse functions of providing further explanation and holding the floor.

Pursuing this line of inquiry as initiated by Biq (1995), Tsai (1996) and Su (2002), I incorporate in this paper a wider range of Chinese adverbial clauses in both spoken and written discourse and focus on their distinctive uses¹³. The scope of this investigation, then, extends beyond those previously mentioned to understanding Chinese adverbial clauses in relation to their syntactic positions and intonation/punctuation. Similar to their findings about causal clauses, my study also suggests that the placement of causal clauses is quite different from that of other types of adverbial clauses. Specifically, in Mandarin conversation, *yinwei* is commonly used as an interactive device which signals that the speaker intends to further elaborate on a prior statement. Furthermore, in the written data, which were obtained from planned and edited texts, a majority of temporal clauses in the initial position are used to specify a time or situation, and to organize a complex sentence around a temporal

¹³ Both Biq's (1995) and Tsai's (1996) studies focus on causal clauses only, whereas Su (2002) deals in particular with temporal connective *ranhou* 'then' and causal connective *yinwei* 'because'... *suoyi* 'therefore'.... Differing from theirs, my study includes temporal, conditional, and causal clauses.



frame. By the same token, the placement of a conditional and a concessive in the initial position provides a framework for interpreting the propositions that follow. These three types of adverbial clauses, like topics, are presupposed parts of their sentences. Initial temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses may be thought of as establishing frameworks for the interpretation of the propositions that follow and seem to be prototypically textual in their functioning. In contrast, causal clauses in the written data occur much less commonly in the initial position than the other three types do: half of them (i.e., 43%) appearing in the final position are used to complete the meaning of the main clause, serving as afterthoughts, to use Chao's term, rather than to structure the discourse. That is, half of the causal clauses in the written corpus, akin to temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses, are used to introduce and provide background for their main clauses. However, the other half are used to extend prior discourse and are best understood, to some extent, as a product of the interaction between the writer and the reader(s) (for a discussion, see Ford 1994). As shown not only by the spoken data but also the written data, causal clauses in Chinese are used to play both textual and interactional roles in discourse linking.

As researchers began to recognize the importance of approaching grammar in terms of its natural contexts of use in interaction and cognition, in the late 1970s, a new area of functional linguistics began to emerge, which can be called discourse-and-grammar (for details, see Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson 1996:8-11). A central belief of the researchers working in this area from the beginning was that, if we assert that the function of language as a tool of human communication is the main motivation behind observed grammatical patterns, then the study of grammar involves both taking actual discourse as primary data and explicitly relating the structure of grammar to the structure of discourse (e.g., Halliday 1985; Thompson 1985). Later, even more explicit assertions began to be made with regard to the way in which grammatical structure is deeply related to, shaped by, and explainable in terms of discourse structure (Du Bois 1985, 1987; Givón 1984, 1990). Hopper (1988) captured this relationship with the term "emergent grammar", maintaining that grammar must be seen as emerging from discourse. According to his view, grammar is a product of language use; i.e., grammar is derived from use in discourse. The functions of particular structures and forms emerge from the communication that human language users do again and again. Thus, for a structure to

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emerge in particular discourse contexts, it presumably must serve a recurrent communicative need. The present study suggests that the production of these adverbial clauses is directly related to a developing sequence of interaction between the speaker and the recipient, manifesting the iconic relationship between grammar and discourse. We have seen how information sequences of Chinese adverbial clauses are deployed to achieve particular outcomes. Certain placement patterns of adverbial clauses arise repeatedly in spoken and written text tokens in response to fundamental discourse needs involving the management of preferred information sequences. For example, temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses are thematically associated with the preceding discourse as well as their main clauses. Thus, they mainly have a text-oriented function. In contrast, apart from organizing and structuring discourse, causal clauses are often used to negotiate the meaning and management of discourse, i.e., as a take-off point for further talk in conversation, and they also serve as comments added to the main clause in writing, and play interaction-oriented and text-oriented roles in discourse linking. On the whole, this study on adverbial clauses in Chinese discourse suggests that language use feeds back into and affects language structure. The Chinese adverbial clauses reveal that functional pressures leave their imprint on the structure. They demonstrate syntax-for-interaction, as a result of both cognitive and social interactional constraints and accommodation of these constraints. In a word, the preferred information sequences of each type of adverbial clause are natural outcomes of the impact of discourse on grammar.

6. CONCLUSION

Based on the results obtained in this study, several conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, as opposed to other adverbial clause types, such as temporal and conditional clauses that predominantly occur in modifier-modified sequences, causal clauses are most likely to appear after the material they modify, especially in spoken Chinese discourse. The data suggest that causal clauses are fundamentally different from temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses in their use. Secondly, as the results indicate, the number of causal clauses in the final position in the spoken data is much greater than that in the initial position, compared with the written data. Causal clauses in conversation are situated after

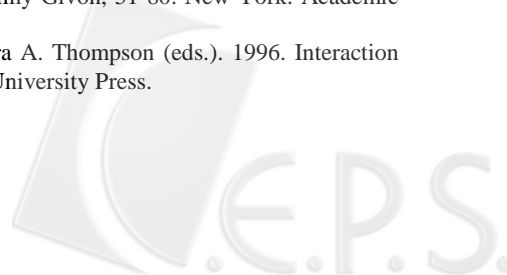
the material they modify in order to expand on it. Final causal clauses in conversation are a natural outcome of the impact of discourse interaction on grammar. Thirdly, the preferred sequences of adverbial clause linking are related to the types of information they usually introduce. Causal conjunctions usually introduce background, support, and motivation for their linked material, and seem to smooth interaction; consequently, they commonly occur after the material they link. In particular, final causal clauses that occur after ending intonation in conversation are more often coordinate clauses rather than subordinate ones, which comment on a cause, relevant to the preceding clause; they are associated with speaker-recipient negotiation and the extension of turns in the pursuit of agreement or common understanding. In contrast, temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses prototypically have the functions of discourse linking and framing; i.e., temporal clauses deal with time, conditional clauses involve hypotheticality, and concessive clauses serve to make concessions. Fourthly and finally, in Chinese discourse, adverbial clauses, such as temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses, are usually located before the material they link, except for causal clauses. Causal clauses in the data manifest functional diversity in different text types. Specifically, they commonly appear in the final position with respect to their associated material in the spoken data, while initial and final causal clauses are nearly evenly distributed in the written data.

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APPENDIX A

The discourse transcription symbols appearing in the examples provided in this paper are as follows:

Units

{ carriage return }	intonation unit
--	truncated intonation unit
space	word
-	truncated word

Speakers

:	speaker identity/turn start
[]	speech overlap

Transitional Continuity

.	final
,	continuing
?	appeal

Terminal Pitch Direction

\	fall
/	rise
—	level

Accent and Lengthening

^	primary accent
=	lengthening

Pause

...(N)	long
...	medium
..	short
(0)	latching

Vocal Noises and Laughter

(H)	inhalation
(Hx)	exhalation
%	glottal stop
@	laughter

Voice Quality

<@	@>	laugh quality
<Q	Q>	quotation quality
<F	F>	fast tempo
<A	A>	gradually faster
<D	D>	gradually slower



Adverbial Clauses in Chinese Discourse

<H	H>	high pitch
<L	L>	low pitch
<MRC	MRC>	each word distinct and emphasized
<i>Transcriber's Perspective</i>		
(())	comment
<X	X>	uncertain hearing
X		indecipherable syllable
<i>Special Notations</i>		
<E	E>	code switching from Mandarin to English
<T	T>	code switching from Mandarin to Taiwanese

APPENDIX B

I. The classification of the adverbial clauses in the spoken data:

A. Initial clauses

(1)

1	A:..我-	11	..很多, _
2	..我是, _	12	..很多的那個回饋.\
3	..今天做--	13	..不管是好的, _
→ 4	..做那份作業時候ho, _	14	..還是壞的, _
5	..我突然-	15	..都很希望說, _
6	..我突然^發現啦, _	16	..能從別人嘴裡, _
7	..我們不是輪流講, _	17	..知道, _
→ 8	..換講我的某部份時候, _	18	..我這個人, _
9	..那我就希望, _	19	..是什麼樣的人.\
10	..聽到很多, _		(Conversation 8)

(2)

33	J: ..我覺得看到她們答案都很失望.\	42	...不會, _
34	H: ..我覺得還好.\	43	..不會那麼陌生啦.\
35	(0)我-	44	J: (0)hum[hum].\
36	(0)我因--	45	H: [可以]這樣講.\
37	..因為我從小, _	46	..可是事實上, _
38	..從幼稚園到大學都是男女合班, _	47	..還是不是那麼容易瞭解.\
39	J: (0)mm.\	48	J: ..對對對.\
40	H: ..所以, _	49	H: ...如果交女朋友的話, _
41	..對女生的想法, _	50	..可能就比較嚴重.\
			(Conversation 7)

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B. Final clauses in continuing intonation

(3)

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|-----|-----|------------------|
| 483 | A:... | 所以, | 496 | ..然後寫他的壞處.\ |
| 484 | ..我今天就很好笑, _ | | 497 | @@ |
| 485 | ..我寫到一半啊, _ | | 498 | ..因為, _ |
| 486 | ..然後他們能夠- | | 499 | ..我們的想法-- |
| 487 | ..我覺得=, _ | | 500 | ..我們的結論是=, _ |
| 488 | ..很容易有一種傾向eh, _ | | 501 | ..其實有些動作-- |
| → 489 | ..在做那份作業的時候.\ | | 502 | ..有些東西是, _ |
| 490 | ..當妳 | | 503 | ..一件事情.\ -- |
| 491 | ..如果, _ | | 504 | ..可是, _ |
| 492 | ..妳- | | 505 | ..你怎麼看它, _ |
| 493 | ..妳發現他的<E gesture E>.\ | | 506 | ..就會有它的好, _ |
| 494 | B:..對.\ | | 507 | ..或不好.\ |
| 495 | A:..然後你先寫他的好處, _ | | | (Conversation 8) |
- (4)
- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|---|-----|------------------|
| 178 | S: [編] 譯這工作不是很有^成就感, _ | → | 184 | ..只要妳如果, _ |
| 179 | ..因為, _ | | 185 | ..翻譯部份沒問題.\ |
| 180 | ..妳就是=, _ | | 186 | S: ..對.\ |
| 181 | ..特別是報社的.\ | | 187 | ..但是編譯就是, _ |
| 182 | ..基本上就是妳把東西翻出來.\ | | 188 | ..別人看不到妳寫的東西.\ |
| 183 | C:..那個可能是消耗你時間最少的, _ | | | (Conversation 4) |

C. Final clauses in ending intonation

(5)

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|-----|------------------|
| 497 | L: ..那現在我看你們在-- | 506 | C1: [^常常].\ |
| 498 | ..好像在聚會ho, _ | 507 | L: ..還有^吉它, _ |
| 499 | ..是不是?/ | 508 | ..常常是不是.\ |
| 500 | C1:..對.\ | 509 | C1:..mm.\ |
| 501 | L: ..那平常你們是不是=除了聊天啊, _ | 510 | L: ..那. 以下好不好, _ |
| 502 | ..或是研究功課之外ho, _ | 511 | ..你們唱首歌怎麼樣.\ |
| 503 | ..是不是還有^唱唱歌.\ | 512 | ..要不要問問大家?/ |
| → 504 | ...因為, _ | 513 | C1:..好.\ |
| 505 | ..[我看], _ | | (Radio Talk 1) |



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- (6)
- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|-----|------------------|
| 413 | S:..她那天終於有一個時間, _ | 426 | ..其實]- |
| 414 | ..她-她可以一直^睡.\ | 427 | C: [X]很久.\ |
| 415 | ..說<Q 我好幸 Q>-- | 428 | S:(0)對.\ |
| 416 | ..說<Q 我今天好^幸福哦 Q>.\ | 429 | ..對.\ |
| 417 | @@ | 430 | ..其實辦公室那個環境ho, _ |
| 418 | ..睡覺時候, _ | 431 | ...(1.8) 但是, _ |
| 419 | ..我都不會吵她.\ | 432 | ..我不知道, _ |
| 420 | C:... (4)可是, _ | 433 | ..就是有些事情是, _ |
| 421 | ..我覺得綠君, _ | 434 | ..怎麼講, _ |
| 422 | ..這段時間=, _ | 435 | ...(3.1)你要不要去, _ |
| 423 | ..她好像這段時間比較低潮.\ | 436 | (0)在意的問題啦.\ |
| → 424 | ..自從上次發生那個同事罵過她.\ | | |
| 425 | S:..沒有啦, _ | | (Conversation 4) |

II. The adverbial clauses with respect to different patterns of punctuations in the written data:

A. ADV_ MN

- (1) 我剛上高中的時後就接觸到這本書。(p.182, 聯合文學 45 期, 1988 年)
- (2) 亞石仍埋頭在文件中--來當了替工後他總是這麼勤奮工作, 常自動超時工作。(p.74, 聯合文學 42 期, 1988 年)
- (3) 自小孩出生後德國父母可請領子女津貼, 直到子女完成學業為止。(p.32, 天下雜誌 162 期, 1995)
- (4) 「紅樓夢」雖古典卻現代。(p.176, 聯合文學 45 期, 1988 年)
- (5) 他坐在那裏想什麼? 倘若連靴子也沒有, 或者雖曾有過靴子但無錢可藏, 他還有什麼可想?(p.178, 聯合文學 41 期, 1988 年)
- (6) 而生產線必須儘量自動化、標準化。即使聘用外籍勞工也能控制品質。(p.34, 天下雜誌 167 期, 1995 年)
- (7) 如果有機會將到民間發展。(p.125, 天下雜誌 12 月特刊, 1994 年)

B. ADV, MN

- (1) 大學求學期間, 恐怕是一個人一生中對人生意義的探求, 對精神生活的嚮往, 最強盛的時期。如果這時候有幸讀到一本好書, 這本書可能會影響一個人一生的心路歷程。(p.171, 聯合文學 45 期, 1988 年)

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C. ADV; NN

- (1) 我國的兒童文學自本世紀初開始發微以來，其間歷經朝代的更迭、五四新文學運動、八年對日抗戰、兒童文學也由啓蒙、萌芽，而漸次成長。如果沒有晚清時期的思想家、文學家、音樂家像梁啓超（兒童文學理論、兒童詩等）、黃遵憲（兒童詩）、曾志戀（兒童音樂）、徐念慈（小說）、天笑（兒童小說）、李叔同（兒童音樂）等為近代中國兒童文學的啓蒙開華路藍縷的拓荒工作；如果沒有商務印書館和中華書局的率先出版兒童讀物，如果沒有民國九年全國教育會聯合會的建議（將國民學校的國文課改為國語課；國語課教學應以兒童文學為中心）；以及教育部訓令（規定全國各國民學校國語課教學以兒童文學為中心），如果沒有孔毓修、周作人、顧均正、徐調孚、趙景深、夏丏尊、張友松、葉聖陶等人有系統的翻譯外國兒童文學名著及童話創作，相信在抗戰前夕，兒童文學不會穩定的成長。（p.134, 聯合文學 42 期, 1988 年）

D. ADV。MN

- (1) 儘管有許多愛情小說或多或少都不免涉及床第之事；有的含蓄內斂，有的明目張膽，略無顧忌。但幾乎不曾探討過愛與慾的因果關係。（p.32, 聯合文學 47 期, 1988 年）

E. MN, ADV

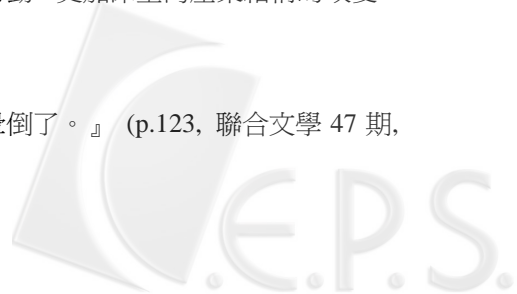
- (1) 被辦事員壓了三個月，直到清潔比賽前三天才「曝光」。（p.128, 天下雜誌 12 月特刊, 1994 年）
- (2) 黑道不可能治國，除非治國者用黑道來做為它的羽翼。（p.59, 天下雜誌 165 期, 1995 年）
- (3) 過去不論任何案件，都是單打獨鬥，各辦各的案，即使此次抓賄選出現小組辦案的形式。（p.52, 天下雜誌 165 期, 1995 年）
- (4) 歡迎大家一起投資，因為 DRAM 目前仍供不應求。（p.82, 天下雜誌 165 期, 1995 年）

F. MN。ADV

- (1) 包括石化業的輕油裂解廠、鋼鐵業的不鏽鋼廠和資訊業的半導體廠、都將陸續展開。因為這些重大投資的帶動，更加深臺灣產業結構的改變。（p.78, 天下雜誌 165 期, 1995 年）

G. MN? ADV

- (1) 『怕要準備一個擔架吧？萬一見血暈倒了。』（p.123, 聯合文學 47 期, 1988 年）



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- (2) 爲什麼需要團結合作? 因爲高爾夫球場管理法令複雜。(p.208, 天下雜誌 167 期, 1995 年)

H. MN--ADV

- (1) 沈從文的作品, 他生命的尊嚴, 是寫於一切中國人民的, 也屬於全人類 --不論他們是地方主義者、民族主義者, 還是國際主義者。(p.69, 聯合文學 45 期, 1995 年)
- (2) 這就是小劇場的明天--如果那三道曙光終將引出一光輝燦爛的明日。(p.140, 聯合文學 41 期, 1988 年)

I. MN! ADV

- (1) 受了五四以來新文化運動的影響, 我們總習慣拿人本主義的觀點看經學, 對其中的超自然部份至少是存而不論, 認爲不過是古聖先王「神道說教」罷了。所以從晚清到民初「六經皆史」的論調甚囂塵上, 胡適他們更致力於把經史子集的地位全拉平, 經學和小說戲曲都一般高了! 因爲如果都是人的產物, 憑什麼經書要高於小說? 小說大說還不都是人說的! 這就是人本主義的看法。(p.177, 聯合文學 45 期, 1988 年)

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中文副詞子句的信息順序

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本研究旨在從中文口語和書面語料中探討漢語副詞子句的語用功能及其常見的訊息順序結構 (preferred information sequence), 特別是將口語語料與書面語中的副詞子句的分佈做一比較。本研究顯示: 出現在主要子句前的副詞子句為引述下文之功用, 然出現在主要子句後的副詞子句是為補充解釋前面的句子。另一方面, 研究結果發現: 表時間、條件與讓步子句傾向於出現在主要子句之前, 但表原因的子句在一般日常會話中大多出現於主要子句後。此外, 絕大部份出現在主要子句後的表原因子句, 其所修飾的子句是一結束語調; 此表示說話者在說此類子句之前, 已經把本

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來意識焦點中想說的話說完了。換言之，大部份的表原因子句與其主要子句之間的關係極為鬆散，幾乎是獨立存在的子句。這表示在語法上表原因的連接詞其實是個對等連接詞 (coordinate conjunction)。一如口語語料，書面語中的表時間、條件與讓步的子句幾乎都出現在主要子句前，作為承上啟下之連繫文段(textual)功能；然表原因的子句出現在主要子句前後約各佔一半。可見表原因的子句之用法與其它類的副詞子句極為不同。此乃口語的特色，即說話者偏好於使用表原因子句來補充說明其前句話，或是回答對方的問題，以消除聽話者的疑惑，具有溝通互動的(interactional)功能。而在書面語中表原因的子句不僅作為承上啟下之連繫文段功能，亦如口語中的表原因子句，可作為補述前句用；此亦可視為作者使用後置的表原因子句作為與讀者產生某種程度互動的手段，正如會話中說話者與聽者的互動一般。