

TEXTUAL COHESION IN CHINESE

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Chapter One. Text Linguistics and Cohesion

1.1 A New Frontier

Text linguistics or discourse analysis has become one of the main concerns of contemporary linguists. Its great interest can be seen from the increase in numbers of abstracts listed in LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR ABSTRACTS during the past twenty years or so. While there were 84 items concerning discourse analysis in a period of five years from 1967-1971, there were 154 items under the same heading and 173 items under the new heading of text analysis in 1978.

The sentence has long been regarded as the basic unit of grammatical analysis, and many linguists and grammarians were not interested in the study of text grammar. They simply left the problem to rhetoricians, who, as a matter of fact, seldom attempted to make a scientific linguistic description of a text. One can still find a few linguists today objecting to exploring this new frontier, such as Martinet (1974), Dascal and Margalit (1974), etc. The former argued that as far as discourse analysis is concerned, "we venture outside the field of linguistics proper; we come to the world itself" and that there is nothing beyond the sentence which is not already within the sentence. In spite of all their arguments, they are losing their ground for the simple reason that quite a few linguistic properties in a text cannot be explained by traditional sentence grammars.

1.2 A Brief Review of Major Approaches

Among the pioneers who predicted a new frontier of text linguistics were anthropologists like Malinowsky (1935) and linguists like Firth (1935). They stressed the investigation of language function and the

organization of linguistic units above the rank of the clause. This view of language was more clearly expressed by Firth. (1956). He claimed that a major part of the semantics of a sentence could be stated only if the sentence was studied as a part of a text, occurring within a context.

It was Harris who made the first attempts at text linguistics in the United States by writing an article "Discourse Analysis" (1952), followed by two other books (1963, 1968). Harris's main contributions to text linguistics were that for the first time discourse was recognized as one of the main objects of study for linguists. Harris claimed that the sentence could be studied within the structural pattern of the text. These points were clearly stated in the following quotation: "Language does not occur in stray words or sentences, but in connected discourse — from a one-word utterance to ten-volume work, from a monolog to a Union Square argument. Arbitrary conglomerations of sentences are indeed of no interest except as a check on grammatical description." (Harris, 1952) Unfortunately, Harris limited himself entirely to a formal analytical procedure, i.e., analysing only the morphophonemic and syntactic structures of the text, excluding its meaning and content and ignoring the hierarchical relationship of the sentences. This is the reason why his work is little known by text linguists today. Nevertheless, Harris's pioneering early work has been elaborated by Prince (1977) so that the linguists today would not be oblivious of the early background.

Halliday (1962, 1964) and Winburne (1964) were among those who explored this new frontier in the early sixties. As the work of the former needs special treatment, the discussion here is confined to Winburne's.

Winburne defined discourse as "a set of continuous sentences". He distinguished four major types of discourse, namely, exposition, poetry, dialogue and song, with other discourse—narration, fiction, opera, description, argumentation, persuasion, etc., being one or a combination of two or more of the four major types. The basis of discourse structure is verbal, phonological, grammatical, or musical repetition. In his practical analysis of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (A discourse of exposition), he listed out semantic repetitions from sentence to sentence and concluded that discourse "contains classes of meaning, each distinct from, and in contrast to, other classes of meaning in the same discourse. Such a discrete class of meanings is designated a senseme, and each member of the class is an allosens." Sensemes are introduced into discourse in a wave with harmonics. The sensemes are classified as Senseme A and Senseme B according to the factor of their recurrence and regularity. A sentence is attached to discourse either by means of sentence attachment (to its predecessor and successor) or discourse attachment (prior to the immediately preceding sentence). Winburne's attempt is very interesting, but, as pointed out by Quirk, "more could be done in plotting and categorising the overt grammatical sequence items before letting oneself get involved in rather slippery judgments of 'semantic substitutes' and the like."

Gleason, Gutwinsky, Grimes, Longacre and Levinsohn are all distinguished for their work in the post-Harris development of discourse analysis in the United States.

Gleason (1965, 1968) and Gutwinsky (1976) follow the stratificational approach. They acknowledge three strata in language, namely, phonology, grammar and semology. The linguistic phenomena in the study of discourse belong to the grammatical stratum, but those discourse features are

constrained by the deeper, semologic structure underlying discourse. Thus, Gutwinsky's study of cohesion, dating back to the late sixties, was kept within the stratificational framework, and is characterized by the introduction of enation and agnation, which were first suggested by Gleason (1965).

Grimes's survey (1975) and his study of oral texts (1977) introduced some new findings of generative semantics, tagmemics, stratificationalism and much of his own findings. As reviewed by Dressler (1976), the basic categories and operations of Grimes's discourse grammar include role or (deep) case relationships, lexical predicates and rhetorical predicates which serve to join lexical propositions. The semantic base of a sentence is constituted by propositions made up of abstract predicates, arguments with referential indices, formation rules to which transformation rules are added, etc. Conjunctions are studied in the rhetorical structure. The conception and description of 'plot' are introduced. Cohesion is found to hold between 'information blocks', which reminds one of some influences from the Praguean and systemic theories. With regard to Grimes's attempt there is still much work involved to fuse these diverse approaches.

Longacre and Levinsohn have been working on a tagmemic model. (Longacre 1977, Longacre and Levinsohn, 1977). So far as analysis is concerned, they were mainly concerned with four levels, i.e., (1) Discourse constituents—a discourse consists of several functional slots, for instance, aperture, stage, pre-peak episodes, peak, post-peak episodes, closure and finis in the case of a narrative discourse. Each of these functional slots is expounded by either a paragraph or by an embedded discourse. (2) Participants—both major and minor. Within the former, there may be a central character. The co-authors

suggest three discourse level roles: initiator, undergoer and prop.

(3) Strands of cohesion—three interwoven strands are suggested by narrative discourse, event-line(events, times, places), agent-line and repartee-line. (4) Marking of peak—this can be achieved by rhetorical underlining, by a concentration of participants, by shifts of tenses, person modes or through the use of onomatopoeic words, by change of pace through variation in size of units or through use of fewer conjunctions and other transition signals, and by a change of vantage point or orientation—including role reversal. In all, their approach is marked by the following points: (1) Discourse analysis was studied at both the level of deep structure and that of surface structure; (2) Because of their tagmemic orientation, they paid more attention to the study of the paragraph, a rank between sentence and discourse; (3) At the clausal level, they borrowed quite a few notions from Fillmore's case grammar; (4) Their empirical data mainly came from languages other than English, such as indigenous languages of Columbia, Panama, Ecuador and New Guinea and the Inga language.

Linguists like Isenberg, Hartman, Van Dijk, Petofi, Rieser, etc. (Rieser, 1978) are mainly interested in text analysis of written passages. Their methods derived partly from TG's generative principle, partly from GS's logico-semantic relations, supplemented by the acceptance of a text-grammar of their own. Van Dijk (1972), Petofi and Rieser (1977) further maintained that they are interested in all the empirical problems tied up with the description of the structure of discourse. Over all, they were concerned with the problem of constructing a practical text theory which contains a working text grammar, the setting-up of a form formulation rule system in analogy to higher-order predicate logic, the application of many-sorted logic, the formation of the so-called

case labels, the development of a lexicon, the treatment of presuppositions, entailments and of the topic-and-comment relation, quantification and reference in discourse, the interpretation of texts relative to systems of possible worlds and other co-ordinates, and the rational interpretation of discourse by means of quasi-empirical hypotheses and meaning postulates. So far, their main efforts have been tied up with theory and natural logic in order to set up a formal but empirically adequate text grammar. Their work is still at the stage of formulating hypotheses because they viewed text as an abstract object, and analysed only some contrived non-spoken passages.

In the Soviet Union, there were about 700 publications on text linguistics from 1948 to 1977. (Gindin, 1977) In the early stages, the field of study covered word-forming repetitions, coupling of different personal pronoun forms, division of a syntagm between different sentences and semantic relations of the 'whole/part' type. In the 40s and 50s, the interest shifted to those intersentential links in terms of conjunctions, pronominal adverbs with a spatial and temporal meaning, demonstrative pronouns and to some extent the sequence of predicate tenses and word order. Since the 60s emphasis has been laid on lexical repetition, semantic repetition, suprasentential entity and the paragraph. Dressler (1977) was fair to point out that not too much of the huge Western literature on the subject is known by linguists in the Soviet Union and there is much duplication in their research. Similarly, their work is not much reported in the west either.

In opposition to the above-mentioned text linguists, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have made a breakthrough in discourse analysis. The co-authors were first enlightened by Firth's observation that in conversation "we shall find the key to a better understanding of what

language really is, and how it works." (1935), so that they started their work from examining real examples of discourse, especially those occurring in classroom teaching. In the course of their research, they found that the commonly-accepted notion of taking the utterances as a basic unit has to be abandoned reluctantly because there can be several moves within an utterance, to say nothing of several acts within a move. Modelled on Halliday's "Categories of a Theory of Grammar" (Halliday, 1961), they worked out the following categorizations:

Levels and ranks

Non-linguistic organization	Discourse	Grammar
course		
period	LESSON	
topic	TRANSACTION	
	EXCHANGE	
	MOVE	sentence
	ACT	clause
		group
		word
		morpheme

Since then, Coulthard (1977) has made a further study of discourse analysis. His interest has been extended to conversations other than the classroom interaction, intonation and literary discourse. What Sinclair and Coulthard have achieved for the moment is mainly in spoken discourse, but they have in their mind some long-term projects to extend their research to a written text.

Now to return to the work of Halliday which was mentioned previously.

Developing from the same Firthian tradition, Halliday already in 1961 showed an interest in extending the role of linguistics into literary studies. (1961) In the following year, he systematically advanced the system of cohesion in a text. (1962) Several years later, one of his influential articles "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English" was published. (1967, 1968) All this laid the foundations for a systemic-functional approach to the study of a text, the framework of which was expounded in the article "Language Structure and Language Function". (1970) In the article, Halliday suggested that there are three components of language in use, i.e., the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. The last one is an enabling function of the other two components, i.e., the linguistic means to ensure the formation of a text. Halliday recognized these means as the Theme/Rheme structure, the Given-New information and cohesion. Thus, the textual component in Halliday's systemic approach covers the lexicogrammatical, the phonological and the semantic interrelationship of a text. Although the thematic structure and the Given-New information mainly function within a clause, the point of departure of a sentence and the Given information are always related to the previous context. However, when one analyses a text as a semantic unit, it is cohesion that relates one element in the text to another. From the perspective of the systemic-functional approach to text linguistics, two more articles are worth mentioning here. They are "Text as Semantic Choice in Social Contexts" (Halliday, 1977) and "Text in the Systemic-Functional Model" (Hasan, 1977), from which, one can have a full view of the theory and methodology. Both articles stress the relation between text and context from the semiotic level. With respect to methodology, the former concentrates on linguistic realizations of the semantic components, whereas the latter

is more interested in text-structure and structural formula. Compared with all other models, the systemic-functional approach is theoretically sound, textually comprehensive and practically applicable. As the present dissertation is confined to a study of textual cohesion in Chinese, a more detailed discussion on the subject is carried on in the next section.

1.3 Cohesion

The notion of cohesion was first advanced by Halliday. (1961, 1962)
The principal classification is as follows:

A. Grammatical

1. Structural (clauses in sentence structure)

(a) Dependence

(b) Linking

2. Non-structural

(a) Anaphora

(i) Deictics and Submodifiers

(ii) Pronouns

(b) Substitution

(i) Verbal

(ii) Nominal

B. Lexical

1. Repetition of item

2. Occurrence of item from the same lexical set

In his description, Halliday explained that all structure is in the broadest sense cohesive, but "It is not the only cohesive factor operating at the level of grammar." There are certain grammatical items which do not stand in a fixed structural relation to other items in a text, such

as anaphoric items and lexical cohesion.

Starting from Halliday's model, Hasan (1968) made a thorough study of grammatical cohesion in the English text. By 1976, Halliday and Hasan published their comprehensive work "Cohesion in English". The co-authors defined the notion of text from the very beginning. The text in linguistics refers to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that is regarded as a unified whole semantically. Therefore, its relation to a clause or sentence is not by size but by realization.

The text consists of textual structure, linguistic structure and texture. With regard to the textual structure, it refers to the schematic structure, e.g., of a narrative, as expounded by Hasan. (1979) The linguistic structure refers to the hanging together of the parts of a sentence or a clause. There is indeed 'cohesive' force in it, but it is the main concern of sentence grammarians rather than text linguists.

The property of being a text lies mainly in texture. The concept of texture is a generalized abstract notion of instances of cohesion, a single instance of which is called a cohesive tie. Texture is thus realized by the number and types of cohesive ties. In English, five types of cohesive ties are noticed, namely, reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion in different texts.

With respect to H-H's approach, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) commented that H-H are not concerned with the structure of a text and the function of meaning of a given utterance or a sentence, but rather with the function of the presence and surface ordering of elements within a sentence. As for the first point, H-H have made it clear that the text in linguistics is a semantic whole, not a grammatical structure. Although in certain genres or registers, there is discourse structure,

such as paragraph or topic unit, it is far from being able to be generalized to fit in all texts, particularly structure of poetic registers. Apart from this, Hasan has been involved in this field for many years already. (1977) Coming to the second point, H-H have mentioned that "A text is not something that is like a sentence, only bigger; it is something that differs from a sentence in kind." Furthermore, H-H recognize that meaning is put into wording, and wording into sound or writing.

meaning	(the semantic system)
↓	
wording	(the lexicogrammatical system)
↓	
'sounding'/writing	(the phonological and orthographic system)

As the more general meanings are expressed through the grammar, and the more specific meanings are expressed through the vocabulary, cohesion is expressed partly through the grammar and partly through the vocabulary. Here, H-H imply that meaning is involved.

Huddleston (1978) has also made a detailed review of H-H's work and accepted the notion of cohesion. In his article, he provided some valuable insights, especially as to some exceptions to H-H's generalization of classification. Some of Huddleston's remarks are worth discussing and will be touched upon in Chapter two.

1.4 Text Linguistics in Chinese

On the whole, text linguistics has not been properly studied in relation to Chinese.

It seems that cohesive properties are more prominent and are more systematically categorized in some genres of classic literary styles than in others. The most suitable examples are 'Duilian', 'Jueju',

'Lushi' and 'Baguwen'.

A 'Duilian', or an antithetical couplet, consists of two sentences with equal characters and in the same word or class order, the meaning of which can be related by means of either superordination or meronymy. Therefore, this genre of literary style is prominent for its cohesion in lexis within the sentence structure and its use is limited. In most cases, 'duilians" are written on scrolls.

"Jueju' and 'Lüshi' first appeared in the North and South dynasties and matured in the early Tang dynasty. They are two varieties of classic poems of four or eight lines respectively, each containing five or seven characters, with a strict tonal pattern and rhyme scheme. The middle two sentences must be antithetical. This shows that the cohesive force partly derives from phonological structure, partly from lexical cohesion. As the cohesive force is also structurally constrained, any fruitful conclusions drawn from the study of these two forms are not always applicable to a text in general.

'Baguwen', or the 'Eight-part essay' is a literary form which was prescribed by the imperial examination system in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The first part 'Poti' plays the role of the topic-introduction with two sentences. The second part 'Chenti' is devoted to topic extension. 'Qijiang' serves as the beginning of the argumentation. 'Rishou' deals with the way to bring in one's arguments. Substantial argumentation is concentrated on the remaining parts, i.e., 'Qigu'(top-string), 'Zhonggu'(mid-string), 'Hougu'(back-string) and 'Shugu'(end-string), with 'zhonggu' as the focus of the whole text. The subject-matter is confined to "The Four Books" by Zhu Xi in the Song dynasty. From what is introduced above, the study of a text like Baguwen from the linguistic point of view should be kept within the domain of the

schematic structure of a particular text. As the field of discourse is confined to "The Four Books" and texts under this genre were written for the imperial examination during the feudal dynasties, there is little hope of our drawing any fruitful generalizations which will help with the study of text linguistics in its contemporary sense.

Nevertheless, the organization of the whole text, whether it be lexicogrammatically or phonologically or in paragraphing marked the main concern of the language-user or scholars at that time.

Modern grammar in China has a history of eighty years, dating back to the publication of "Ma Shi Wen Tong"(Ma's Grammar). After that, the study of grammar drifted away from the above-mentioned tradition and was narrowed down to taking the sentence as the highest unit, having been influenced by the western tradition. This has been continued by Chinese linguists after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Seminars were held on 'parts of speech' in 1953-54, on 'subject and object' in 1955-56, and on 'simple sentence and multiclaue sentence' in 1957. (Lu, 1979) Lately, Chen (1978) stressed again that grammar should deal with ways of organizing words and expressions into sentences, and that rhetoric should deal with the use of language with respect to subject matter and situational context. He did not touch upon the study of any possible linguistic property of a text.

In spite of all this, Lu's latest book "Problems Concerning the Analysis of Chinese Grammar" (1979) took an open and flexible view. The author said,

"Units larger than the sentence are the paragraph, metaparagraph and text(or chapter, section). Generally speaking, the analysis of grammar ends at the level of the sentence. The analysis of a text or paragraph is within the domain of the art of composition. As a matter

of fact, it often happens that the interrelations between sentences as well as paragraphs also rely on grammatical means (mainly particles); yet apart from this, there are other means, such as paired sentences, parallel sentences, question and answer, etc., and also the reliance on cohesion in meaning without formal realization. Therefore, the method of analysing the text and paragraph is widely different from that of analysing a sentence internally. There are good reasons for saying that fundamentally, grammatical analysis should end at the level of the sentence."(translated by the present writer)

Here, one can notice that Lu is right in pointing out that the sentence is the basic unit of grammatical analysis. Of course, what attracts us most is that Lu also realizes the existence of linguistic properties within a text. This is a signal that text linguistics is not fully excluded in the minds of Chinese linguists. It will sooner or later be put down on the agenda of their research program.

Some review articles introducing the work done by text linguists in other countries have begun to appear in Chinese language or linguistic publications (Xu, 1978; Z. Li, 1979). However, one cannot draw a clear overall picture of the development of text linguistics from these articles, because much of the content is concerned with articles written by Russian linguists, and the Russian linguists themselves are largely isolated from the huge amount of literature elsewhere.

Text linguistics about Chinese is studied by few linguists outside China. Chao (1968) touched upon the macrosyntactic use of conjunctions, which will be discussed later. It seems that some American linguists of Chinese origin are now doing some research in the direction of Theme/Rheme or Topic/Comment structure and communication theory, such as C. Li (1976), F. Li (1977), C. Liu (1977), etc. This might help push forward the study of text linguistics in Chinese.

Chapter Two. Some Considerations of Methodology

2.0 It has been suggested in Chapter 1 that the systemic-functional approach, especially the H-H model of cohesion, is more comprehensive and practical in the study of text linguistics than other models. It is natural then for the present study to be oriented in this direction, but this does not mean at all that every aspect of the theory is institutionalized and clear-cut, for there are various modifications derived from the same theory, and there are differences between languages.

2.1 The Basic Boundary for the Study of Cohesion

Some text grammarians hold the view that text grammar is concerned with a linguistic unit beyond the sentence. They are partly right because most instances in text linguistics are concerned with a rank beyond the sentence, but they fail to see that text linguistics should be semantically oriented rather than lexicogrammatically oriented. A text constitutes a unified whole both in form and meaning. It is not defined by its size, whether it be sentences, paragraphs, sections, etc. It is a unit of language in use, "a semantic unit: a unit not of form but of meaning." (H-H, 1976) That is to say, a proverb, or even a momentary cry of joy or cry for help can also be a text if it can cope with the situation.

Some text grammarians base their work on information theory. It follows that they take the message as the basic unit. This is reasonable, as some types of cohesive devices do contribute to the linking of messages into a text either within or beyond a sentence, but one has to admit that in most cases a message is realized by a clause. It follows that there is an overlapping of text grammar and sentence grammar at the rank

within the sentence. H-H (1976) stress that although there are 'cohesive' relations within a sentence, it is their inter-sentence function that is critical to text formation, because within the sentence there are already relations of grammatical structure. Therefore, the cohesive relation between clauses is regarded as structurally inherent. What merits our concern is the relation between non-structurally related messages or a level beyond the clausal rank. There are exceptions. The latter should not be taken to preclude any unit below a sentence. In Chinese, one can very often find long sentences which consist of several paratactic subsentences linked together by a semi-colon. In this case, each subsentence can be an independent sentence. For instance,

/2.1/ "....Zhi huochai-de yuanliao -- yaopin, mugeng, heziqiao, quan shi cong waiyang lai-de; jinjia yi gaozhang, zhexie yuanliao ye gen-zhe zhangjia, wo hai you haochu mo?" (".... The raw materials needed for making matches, such as chemicals, timber and boxes, are all imported; when the price of gold rises, with it the prices of raw materials: does that do me any good?....")

Example /2.1/ shows that the two components segmented by the semi-colon are of a loose structural relation. Consequently, the effect of cohesion should be recognized, such as the lexical cohesion by means of the repetition of the word 'yuanliao'(raw materials) and the referential cohesion by means of the demonstratives 'zhexie'(these).

Likewise, cohesion is recognized between two segments separated by a colon. For further discussion, see H-H (1976).

2.2 Types of cohesion

H-H acknowledge five types of cohesion, namely, reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion. They are all discussed under the textual component of semantic functions. So far as

metafunction is concerned, conjunction and lexical cohesion are also related to the ideational component and substitution and ellipsis to the interpersonal component. (Martin 1979a, 1980; Eiler, 1979) As Halliday (1976) has pointed out that "the textual component has an enabling function in respect of the other components: language can effectively express ideational and interpersonal meanings only because it can create text," the present study still follows H-H's classification. Only a slight realignment has been made. The types of cohesion are discussed under the heading of referential, syntactical, conjunctive and lexical respectively, so that the abstract nature will be more prominent. The term 'syntactical' is consistent with H-H's interpretation that ellipsis and substitution are two aspects of the same thing, except that parallelism is included in this category. They will be discussed in the relevant chapter.

2.3 Phoric, Phora and Phoricity

The three terms are used by H-H, Huddleston (1978) and Martin (1980) respectively. H-H's term 'phoric' is not used in a strictly philosophical sense as the term 'phora' defined by Huddleston. Huddleston insisted that 'phora' can only refer to an object in the real world. He argued that if a reference refers to a presupposed item in a linguistic environment, the relation is a matter of presupposition rather than the 'phoric' relation, and the presupposed item should be named the 'antecedent'. The notion of 'phoricity' used by Martin involves a concern with what a speaker assumes that his hearer knows in a given utterance and is structured into language, while the term 'presupposition' involves a concern with the truth condition of an utterance when it is negated, and is not structured into language. Martin reports three

kinds of phoricity in English text, namely, reminding phoricity, relevance phoricity and redundancy phoricity. They are exemplified by the following examples.

- /2.2/ a. John picked a mango. Mary took a bite of it. (reminding: you know my identity.)
- b. John picked a mango. Mary picked a riper mango. (relevance: you know the identity of a participant related to me.)
- c. John picked a big mango. Mary picked a small one. (redundancy: you know my experiential content.)

The system of locations for presumed information is given in Fig.1.

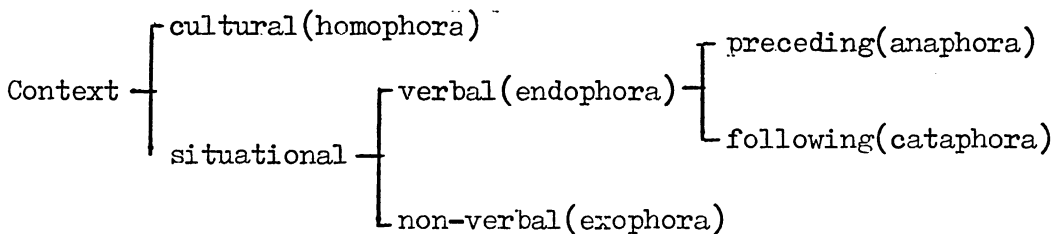


Fig. 1 The system of locations for presumed information

One can see clearly that there is not much difference in the definition of 'phoric' and 'phoricity' between H-H and Martin, but it has to be pointed out that apart from reference items and ellipsis and substitution, Martin extends the range of phoricity to tonicity, theme predication, identification and continuity. Although some of these items are not included in the present study, it has to be admitted that terms concerning 'phoric' or 'phoricity' are used in a relatively loose sense here.

Chinese does not have the lexical form for the realization of homophora. Compare the following set of examples.

- /2.2/ a. Taiyang gang xia-le dipingxian.
- b. The sun had just sunk below the horizon.

The uniqueness of 'the sun' and 'the horizon' are obvious in English,

as marked by the definite article 'the', but it is not specified in Chinese. As for the rest of the items in Fig.1, all can be found in Chinese.

/2.3/ Anaphora

Zhang Su-su suiran diantou, que zuo-zhè bu dong. Ta zai zhuiyi gangcai he Li Yuting-de taolun.... (Zhang Su-su nodded but did not move. She was still reflecting on her discussion with Li Yuting....)

/2.4/ Cataphora

"....Keshi, wo you shi di er-shi-san ming de zhege!"
Zuihou liang-ge zi shi tebie yong li-de. Dajia du bu dong 'zhege' shi shenmo. Xing-er Zhen Jia-ju yijing cong kuodai li tao-chu liang-zhang zipian lei, yizhang shi ta-de mingpian, ling yi-zhang jiushi ta xing de-de dangzheng.
("What's more, I'm the twenty-third of this!" He laid stress on the word 'this', but nobody appeared to understand what he meant. To everybody's relief, Zhen Jia-ju quickly fumbled out two cards from his pocket: his visiting card and his party card.)

/2.5/ Exophora

"....Ni zhe yishen yifu shizai kan-le jiao ren xiao." ("... You do make me laugh with this get up.")

/2.3/ is an instance of anaphoric reference. The personal pronoun 'ta' has to refer to the referent 'Zhang Su-su' in the previous sentence. On the contrary, /2.4/ is a very good illustration of cataphoric reference. Neither the hearer in the presumed speech situation nor the reader of the novel can understand the referential meaning of 'zhege' uttered by the speaker until the hearer-participant saw the two cards in person or the reader was informed by the narrator through his description of the scene which was put down into words. The reference came out first, and then the referent was given. On the whole, cataphoric references appear much less than anaphoric references in Chinese as they do in English. The exophoric reference is a relation between a linguistic item and a non-verbal situation of context, as exemplified in /2.5/. The speaker

was pointing at the dress of the addressee when she used the demonstrative 'zhe'. It cannot be retrieved from the text, so its cohesive force is hardly to be recognized in a verbal text.

Both anaphoric reference and cataphoric reference can refer to a referent within the same sentence.

/2.6/ Sun Zhi-ren haishi mantuntun-de shuo, dan ta-de xiao naodai que yue huang yue kuai. (Sun Zhi-ren spoke slowly and deliberately, but his little head wagged with excitement.)

/2.7/ Caopeng li mei-you bie-de ren, zhishi tamen sange: Zhu Gui-ying, Li Mazi, Tu Wei-yue. (There were only the three of them in the hut: Zhu Gui-ying, Pockmarked Li and Tu Wei-yue.)

The referents 'tade' and 'tamen' have to retrieve anaphorically in /2.6/ and cataphorically in /2.7/, but as they all appear in the same sentence, their effect of cohesion is differentiated according to what has been explained in section 2.1. For instance, the use of 'ta' in /2.6/ is non-cohesive, whereas that of 'tamen' in /2.7/ is cohesive.

2.4 Word and Morpheme

There used to be four ranks recognized in a Chinese text, namely, 'zi'(character), 'ju'(sentence), 'zhang'(chapter) and 'pian'(text). (Lu, 1979) The notion of 'zi' here not only covers orthographic square-shaped characters, but also syllabic signs in speech, whereas the notion of 'ju' refers to that passage of expressions between two pauses when reading and speaking, irrespective of the completeness of meaning. Today, many Chinese linguists favour the idea of a five-rank category, i.e., morpheme, word, phrase, clause and sentence. It is the terms 'morpheme' and 'word' that need special interpretation. The word 'morpheme' is defined as the smallest morphophonemic unit in Chinese, whether it be an independent word or a constituent of a word. Therefore it is neither

used in the sense of a morphological element (opposite to semanteme) in a word as defined by J. Vendryes (1925) and J. Marouzeau (1951), nor is it limited to the sense of a constituent of a word by the Russian linguists, because a single morpheme does sometimes presuppose a word. It follows that the term 'word' can be a single morpheme or a cluster of morphemes.

With this in mind, the Chinese personal pronouns, say, 'ta'(third person, singular), 'tamen'(third person, plural), 'tamende'(third person, plural, head or possessive) are all regarded as independent words with the morpheme 'ta' meaning third person in all the three words, and the morpheme 'men'(meaning plural) in the last two words. The referential cohesion to be studied is based on the word rather than on the morpheme. As a result, the traditional notion of 'zi'(character) is discarded.

Furthermore, if one reads through Lu Xun's short story "The Madman's Diary", one can find that many words have the same morpheme 'xin'(heart), such as 'xinsi'(secret thoughts, obsession), 'xiongxin'(fierceness), 'xinyuan'(heart's desire), 'liangxin'(heart), 'yixin'(suspicion), 'fangxin'(at ease), 'zhenxin'(the bottom of your hearts), 'shangxin'(heart broken), etc. The lexical cohesion to be studied will not be based on the repetition of morphemes, but on words with respect to their meaning in the experiential component.

Further points will be dealt with in the relevant chapters.

2.5 Texts under Study

The data of this dissertation are mainly collected from one of Maodun's novels, "Midnight", which was published during the thirties and reprinted in 1952.

A few examples are borrowed from Lu Xun's short story "The Madman's

Diary".

Only a very small number of examples are supplied by myself.

Chapter Three. Referential Cohesion

3.0 Referential Cohesion.

By referential cohesion, one can retrieve the information by means of reminding phoricity and relevance phoricity.

H-H classify referential cohesion in English into personals, demonstratives and comparatives. All these types of referential cohesion can be found in Chinese.

/3.1/ Zhe ci shi Lin Peishan de lian shang fanhong le. Ta dui Zhang Susu cui-le yi sheng, jiu shanshan-de zou-kai le.
(This time it was Lin Peishan's turn to blush. She snorted and walked off in a fluff.)

/3.2/ "Xinshi! Nimen nianqinren jiu xihuan zhe yi tao dongxi!"
("Modern poetry, eh? You youngsters are very fond of this sort of thing, aren't you?")

/3.3/ "....Dajia gankuai pin ming qu gan,....Lao Li, lingwai you ji jian shi pai-gei ni!" ("....All of you go and put your backs into it....Li, I've got some other jobs for you!")

The information of the third person pronoun 'ta'(she) in /3.1/ is obtained from the proper noun 'Lin Peishan' in the previous sentence. In /3.2/, the referential meaning of the demonstrative 'zhe'(this) refers to 'xinshi'(modern poetry) in the previous sentence. The 'lingwai'(other) in /3.3/ refers to the kind of jobs other than what all the rest were assigned to do. All this shows that the referential meaning is concerned with the semantic correspondence. The presupposed referent can appear in any form.

3.1 Personal Reference.

Personal reference is reference by means of function in the speech situation and through the category of person. In Chinese, it can be

generalized in the way shown in Table 1.

Although the general framework in Chinese is similar to English, some explanation is needed.

Table 1. Personal Reference

	Semantic category	Existential	Possessive	
	Grammatical function	Head	Head	Modifier
	Class	Noun(Pronoun)	Determiner	
Person	speaker	wo	wo-de	wo(-de)
	with other person	women	women-de	women(-de)
	addressee	ni	ni-de	ni(-de)
	with other person	nimen	nimen-de	nimen(-de)
	other person, object, passage or text	ta	ta-de	ta(-de)
	other persons, objects	tamen	tamen-de	tamen(-de)
	generalized person (self-referring)	ziji	ziji-de	ziji(-de)
	generalized other person	dajia, bieren	dajia-de bieren-de	dajia(-de) bieren(-de)

When the reference refers to other person, object or passage of text, there is 'ta' and its possessive derivative 'tade' as given in the table. There is no distinction of male and female, human and non-human so far as pronunciation is concerned, but there are allomorphs in written Chinese, '他' for male, '她' for female, '它' for non-human. This distinction is due to decades of influence of English personal pronouns on modern Chinese. (Wang, 1944)

Only one form of 'speaker with other people', i.e., 'women' is listed in the table. In fact, there is a distinction of inclusiveness

and exclusiveness in some northern dialects, the former taking the form of 'zanmen'. This can be distinguished by the co-occurrence of 'women' and 'zanmen' in the following example.

/3.4/ Women shi beifangren, nimen shi nanfangren. Zanmen du shi Zhongguoren. (We are northerners, you are southerners. We are all Chinese.)

As there is no distinction between the two expressions in southern dialects and 'zanmen' is restricted in informal situation even in northern dialects, 'women' is a more common expression.

The possessives of personal pronouns, whether they be head or modifier in a sentence, are all marked with a suffix 'de', such as:

/3.5/ a. Zhe shu shi wo-de. (This book is mine.)
b. Wo-de shu (My book)

But the function of 'de' is different in the two instances. In /3.5a/, 'de' is a morpheme bearing the meaning of being a 'head', and the whole word 'wode' is regarded as a single word, like 'mine' in English. In /3.5b/, the picture is different. The suffixed 'de' is a possessive marker (see also ex./3.6a/ and /3.6c/) and can sometimes be omitted (ex. /3.6b/ and /3.6d/).

/3.6/ a. Wo-de fuqin (my father)
b. Wo fuqin (my father)
c. Nimen-de laoshi (your teacher)
d. Nimen laoshi (your teacher)

To sum up, the use of personal reference is a matter of role choice in the 'Person' system. It can be represented by a single system.

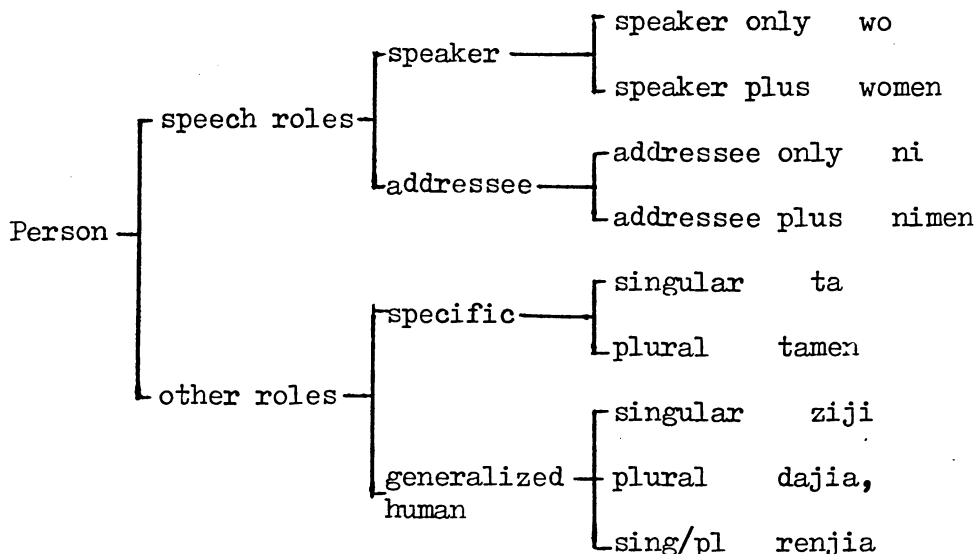


Fig. 2 The system of personal reference in Chinese

3.1.1 Reference with Speech Roles

From the system, we can see that the first person and the second person are a specification of speech roles, either as speaker or as addressee. The first person is very often interpreted exophorically at a speech situation, or, in a narrative text with the narrator being one of the participants, such as,

/3.7/ Zhiyu wojia dage, ye haobu yuanwang ta. (As for my elder brother, I have also good reason to suspect him.)

The first person refers to the writer of a diary. Naturally, its referent cannot be retrieved in the text. In a speech situation, the referent of 'ni' (second person) is not to be found either, but it can be retrieved from the written passage sometimes, such as,

/3.8/ Dage diandian tou. Yuanlai ye you ni! (My brother nodded. So you are in it too!)

Undoubtedly, 'ni' is anaphoric and cohesive, as it refers back to 'dage' (elder brother) in the previous sentence.

Instances for endophoric use of first and second person are as follows,

- /3.9/ "Biaosu, ren-de wo ma? Susu, wo shi Zhang Susu a!"
("Uncle, don't you recognize me? I'm Susu, Zhang Susu!")
- /3.10/ "Zhe yi pan li cheng-jiao duoshao, ni you-dian shu mo?"
Li Zhuangfei kaodao Han Mengxiang shen-bian qin-sheng wen.
(Have you any idea how much changed hands altogether this session?" Li Zhuang-fei inquired of Han Mengxiang.)
- /3.11/ Liu Yuying chichi-de xiao-zuo shuo: "Mei! Xiabian malu shang you ren kan ni!" (Liu Yuying tittered and exclaimed: "Mei! Someone down in the street is looking up at you!")

The first person reference in /3.9/ finds its referent cataphorically in the following sentence. So does the second person reference in /3.10/. The second person reference in /3.11/ is retrieved from the vocative "Mei". In all three examples, the use of 'wo' in /3.9/ is a special case and both 'wo' and 'ni' are deictic rather than phoric, but they become phoric for a reader/listener in certain contexts, typically in certain kinds of narrative.

3.1.2 Reference to Other Persons and Objects

Unlike reference for first person and second person, third person reference is inherently phoric and is more widely used in an anaphoric way, such as,

- /3.12/ Gu taitai shuo dao zheli yi dun,....Ta zheng xiang jie-xiaqu shuo.... (Mrs Tu paused,....She was going to say something more.)
- /3.13/ "..., Name Zhongguo-de chouduan zhizao chang yong-de shi sheme si?" ("..., where do our own silk goods manufacturers get their silk?")
"Tamen yong women-de ci-deng huo." (They used to buy only our second-grade silk.)

Instances of cataphoric use are often found in oral text. The speaker, at first thought, is either unaware of the hearer being present or assumes that the information is shared by the hearer, but he comes to realize quickly that the referent has to be clarified, otherwise the message cannot be passed on unmistakably to the hearer. This can be

shown from the following example.

/3.14/ "Ta sheme shihou lai? Ai, wo shuo-de shi Xiao Ming."
("When will he come? Oh, I mean Xiao Ming.")

If the speaker does not specify the referent for 'ta' in this situation, the use of 'ta' would be exophoric. The hearer has to decode it by reflecting internally on the speaker's intention and the speech environment. But it often happens that the hearer would make a confirmation request to clear the matter and the speaker would make a reply to the request, such as,

/3.15/ --"Ta sheme shihou lai?" ("When will he come?")
--"Ni shuo-de shi shui a?" ("Who are you talking about?")
--"O, wo shuo-de shi Xiao Ming." (Oh, I mean Xiao Ming.)

Under this circumstance, the first 'ta' can still be regarded as cataphoric and possess its cohesive effect.

Third person with endophoric reference can occur within the same structural unit and therefore non-cohesive.

/3.16/ "...Ah-Xiang shi changli de jicha, ye geng-zhe daoluan, fei ban ta bu-ke!..." ("...Ah Xiang's an overseer, and if he has a hand in making trouble, of course he must be punished!...")

3.1.3 Generalized Reference

3.1.3.1 Self-referring

In English, there is a set of reflexive pronouns, such as 'myself', 'yourself', 'himself', 'herself', 'ourselves', 'yourselves' and 'themselves'. The referential meanings depend on the morphemic constituent deriving from personal pronouns. Corresponding forms can also be found in Chinese, such as, 'woziji'(myself), 'niziji'(yourself), 'taziji'(him/herself), 'womenziji'(ourselves), 'nimenziji'(yourselves), 'tamenziji'(themselves). There is a choice of forms in both English and Chinese

in the phoricity system and their cohesive force depends on the context. If the item can be recovered from the text, the relevant referent is cohesive. 'Niziji' in /3.17/ is cohesive because it can be traced back to 'Yuting'.

/3.17/ "zheme? Yuting! He, niziji qu zhaozhao jingzi...."
("Why? Yuting! What's the matter with you?....")

However, there is a slight difference between English and Chinese. In Chinese, the other morpheme in the word, i.e., 'ziji'(self) can occur independently. It functions as a pronoun grammatically but its referential meaning varies with the participants in the speech situation.

- /3.18/ a. Wo ren-bu-zhu, bian fang-sheng da xiao qi-lai, shifen kuaihuo. Ziji xiaode zhe xiaosheng limian, you-de shi yiyong he zhengqi. (I could not help roaring with laughter, I was so amused. I knew that in this laughter were courage and integrity.)
- b. "Nimen yao bu-gai, ziji ye hui chi-jin...." ("If you don't change, you may all be eaten by each other....")
- c. Chenjin zai ziji sixiang zhong de Du Xueshi que shi sheme ye meiyou ting dao,.... (Absorbed in his own thoughts, Xueshi did not hear the quip meant for him.)

In the examples, 'ziji' refers to the first person in /3.18a/, the second person plural in /3.18b/ and the third person in /3.18c/. The first example is anaphoric to 'wo'(I) in the previous sentence, although 'wo' itself is exophoric in the text, whereas the last two are structurally bound.

3.1.3.2 Indefinite Plural Reference

There is only one indefinite person pronoun bearing plural meaning in Chinese, i.e., 'dajia'(everyone). Its referential meaning also varies with the situation.

/3.19/ a. Zhe budan Wu Zhisheng jue-de zhayi, Qiu Sun he Li Yuting

ye momingqimiao. Dajia wei-zhu-le Du Xueshi kan-zhe ta. (Not only was Wu Zhisheng surprised at this, but Qiu Sun and Li Yuting were also puzzled. Everybody clustered round Du Xueshi, waiting for him to go on.)

- b. "Nimen du kan wo-de lao mianzi jiang hele ba! Dajia shi ziji ren." ("Can't the two of you come to some peaceable arrangement, if only to save an old man's old face? After all, you're really old friends—")
- c. "Nimen deng wo yixia hao ma? Dajia yiqi zou!" ("Couldn't you wait for me? Let's all go together!")

The indefinite person pronoun 'dajia' in /3.19a/ includes all the people present except "Du Xueshi". In /3.19b/, the speaker is not included. And in /3.19c/, it refers to all the people present, even including the speaker. Thus, the indefiniteness lies in the choice of 'inclusiveness' and 'exclusiveness' of the speaker or the central figure in a particular situation.

3.1.3.3 Indefinite Reference

If singularity or non-singularity marks the difference of 'ziji' and 'dajia', the indefinite person pronoun 'renjia' can be used in both senses.

- /3.20/ a. Kuangqie, yijing he renjia yue-hao-le de, ke/zenme ban! Ta huanghu kanjian yue-hao-le-de na ren-er bai-chu yizhong you shiwang you huaiyi-de bujianbuga-de lianse. (Besides, she had already made a date with a friend, so how could she back out now? In her mind's eye she could already see her boy friend's disappointed and suspicious looks if she called off the holiday programme.)
- b. "...Ga pengyou zongde xiaoxin, buyao rang renjia pian-le ni—" ("...You must be very careful who you make friends with, and not let them take advantage of you....")

'Renjia' in /3.20a/ is cohesive and cataphoric to a referent which represents an individual, whereas in /3.20b/ it is anaphoric but non-cohesive. Its referent represents a number of persons.

One should not be misled into thinking that the indefinite person

pronoun 'renjia' corresponds only to a person other than the speaker in the text, such as the girl's boy friend(s) in /3.20/. In spoken Chinese, 'renjia' can also refer to the speaker himself. Chao (1968) provided the following example:

/3.21/ "Ni lai-de name chi, jiao renjia deng-le zhome bantian!"
("You have come so late, you have made me wait for such a long time.")

'Renjia' is exophoric in this speech situation, but it can be endophoric if it appears in a reported speech, because the reader can always find the referent from the reporting clause.

3.1.4 Abstract Reference

It is easy for people to retrieve the meaning of first and second person references when they refer to speech participants and the third person when it refers to another person or object. In a literary work, the second person reference can sometimes be extended to an inanimate participant or an abstract notion. For example,

/3.22/ "...:Ni, huangjin-de hongshui!" ("....And you, deluge of gold, may you overflow,....!")

Here, the abstract notion 'huangjin-de hongshui'(deluge of gold) became personified under the poetic imagination of the speaker. The use of 'ni' here is cataphoric, but structural. It follows that abstract reference appears more often in poetic work. Its occurrence contributes to the study of register.

3.2 Demonstratives

Demonstrative reference is a form of verbal pointing by the speaker who identifies the referent by locating it on a scale of proximity in terms of place and time. In Chinese, the meaning of specificity is merely expressed by the morphemes 'zhe' and 'na', which can either be

used as a word independently or as a constituent in a word. Their combinations in the grammar can be easily shown in the following table.

Table 2. The Category of Demonstratives

Semantic category	Participant	Circumstance
Grammatical function	Modifier/Head	Adjunct
Class	Determiner/Noun	Adverb
<hr/>		
Proximity:		
near	zhe, zhexie	zheli, zheshi, zheyang, zheme, etc.
far	na, naxie	nali, nashi, nayang, name, etc.

There is no distinction between 'selective' and 'non-selective' in Chinese demonstratives as in English, because the English definite article 'the' does not exist in Chinese, for reasons to be explained later. Nor is there a neutral meaning of proximity between the two extremities. This leads to the ambiguity of 'zhe'(this) and 'na'(that) on certain occasions. Thus the system of demonstrative reference is as follows:

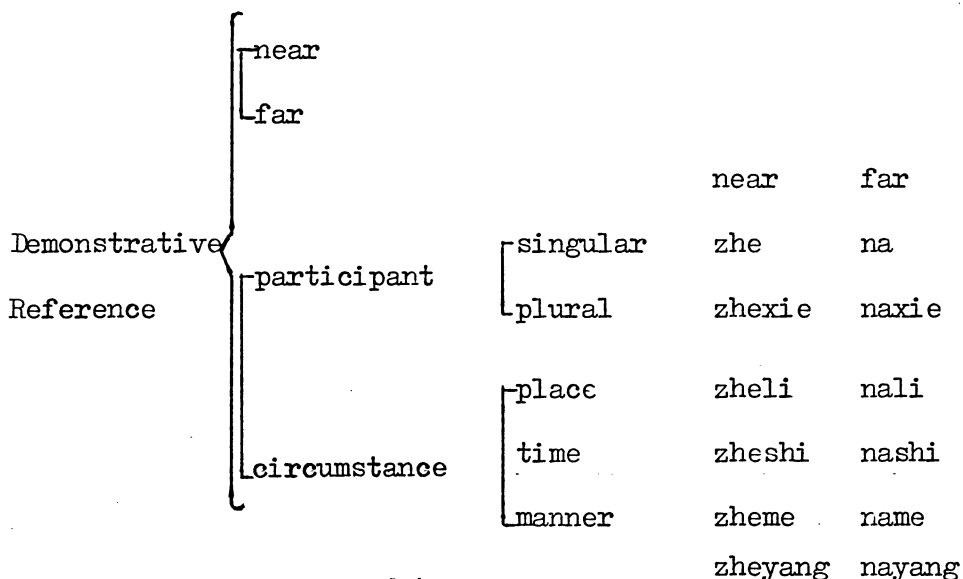
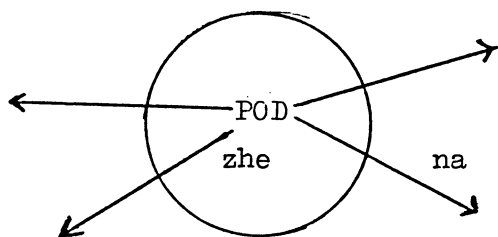


Fig. 3 The System of Demonstratives

In the diagram, the term POD stands for 'Point of Departure'. It is used in a multiplicity of senses. It can refer to a point in space or time from the point of view held by the speaker or narrator, or even by the relevant person or object in the context. However, this diagram only shows the similarity of 'zhe' and 'na' with respect to space and time; but does not reveal their dissimilarity. When proximity is concerned with space, the linear direction can move in any direction, as represented in the following diagram.



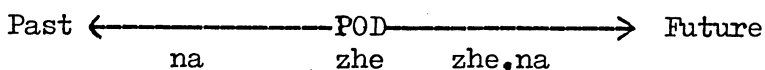
Any point within the circle is related to POD by the demonstrative 'zhe', while those beyond the circle by the demonstrative 'na'.

The picture is different in the case of temporal proximity. Compare the following two examples:

- /3.26/ a. "Huang Fen, ni ji-de shi-liu nian wu yue women zai Jing-Han Xian shang zuozhan-de qingxing ma? Nashi, women si jun shiyi jun sishang-le liang-wan duo...." ("....Huang Fen, don't you remember when we were fighting along the Peking-Hankow Railway in '27? At that time, the casualties among our 4th and 11th armies were well over twenty thousand....")
- b. "....Shi bu-ding hui die-luo liang san yuan. Nashi women jiu bujin?" ("....There may be a drop of two or three dollars. Then we cover, I suppose?")

In /3.26a/, 'nashi' refers to a period in May 1927 when there was a war, but the same 'nashi' in /3.26b/ refers to a time when there will be a drop of two or three dollars in the stock market. This is similar to 'then' in English. This shows that: (1) the proximity in time is more clearly marked by immediacy and non-immediacy rather than by nearness

or non-nearness. Immediacy only coincides with POD in time. Any point beyond this is non-immediacy; (2) It follows that non-immediacy is not only a point of time in the past but also a point in the future. When a point of non-immediacy is in the past, only 'nashi' can be used, whereas both 'zheshi' and 'nashi' can be used for a point of non-immediacy in the future. So the 'nashi' in /3.26b/ can be replaced by 'zheshi'. Thus, the diagram representing the proximity of demonstratives with respect to time should be suggested as follows,



(3) Finally, the proximity in time can only be expressed in two linear directions, while the proximity in space can be represented in multi-directional lines.

What makes the distinction more complicated is that both 'zhe' and 'na' appear in the same text referring to the same referent at about the same distance. For instance,

/3.27/Wu lao tai-ye kanjian yi tuan pengpengsongsong-de toufa luanfenfen-de pi-zai bai-zhong-dai-qing-de lian shang....
modi zhe pi-toufa niu-le yi niu,....Si xiao-jie ca-zhe na
pi-toufa xia-qu le. (....Old Wu saw a round, clear-skinned
face beneath an unruly mop of wavy hair,....Suddenly, this
lady with wavy hair tilted her head,....Huei-fang stepped
out brushing against that young lady with wavy hair.)

Both 'zhe' and 'na' in this example have the same referent in the previous context, i.e., a lady with a round, clear-skinned face beneath an unruly mop of wavy hair. The principle of 'nearness and non-nearness' does not fit in this situation. One might say it is a matter of first mention and second mention. We use 'zhe' for the first mention and 'na' for the second mention. This account is partly true as it can be substantiated by other examples, such as,

/3.28/ Zhe shihou bowu yeyi san-jin,.....na shi ba-dian-ban guangjing. (By now the fog had lifted completely,..... It was about half past eight.)

Nevertheless, this is not always true, because we can find other examples to counter this principle, i.e., 'na' can be used for the first mention and 'zhe' for the second mention. The text provides us with this very example.

/3.29/you yi-wei jiang-jin san-shi sui de nan-zi,.....shishi ba yanguang she-zhu-le shen-bian-de na yi-dao men. Zhe men xianzai guan-zhe. (.....a man of about thirty.....was glancing every so often at that door beside him. This door was closed.....)

Therefore, on the one hand we admit that the distinction between 'zhe' is not very strict, on the other hand, we have to study the relation between the demonstrative reference and the presupposed item in connection with the internal mental activity of the participant in question. The 'na' in /3.27/ is more or less influenced by a contrast between Huei-fang and the lady with wavy hair. As Huei-fang became the central figure in Old Mr Wu's eyes in the clause, the lady with waxy hair had to be to some degree remote. In /3.28/, superficially the narrator was talking about the same point of time, actually he was not. The motion of time is like that of water. It keeps on moving; it does not remain stationary. Once the point of time is mentioned, its immediacy is lost. This is one of the reasons why the distinction between 'zhe' and 'na' with respect to location and time cannot be clearly explained by only referring to nearness and non-nearness. Some other factors are also involved. The set of opposites in /3.29/ gives another example. The description of the scene is like a camera shooting at a fixed object. The object in the scene does not seem to move, but it is focussed by the lens from a wide angle gradually moving to a narrower one. The same object looks remote and small when the angle is

wide, and near and big when the angle is narrowed. This also fits the situation in /3.27/. All this is a firm proof that the meaning of a particular word in a sentence can only be fully grasped in the total environment. The more closely the word is related to the situation in the text, the greater the cohesion. If this argument is valid, the same suggestion can apply to those situations where both 'zhe' and 'na' can be expected.

- /3.30/ a. "Bowen zhe ren jiu shi ge zhan-bu-zhi-de ruan gutou!"
("Bowen is a spineless young man who doesn't dare stand up for himself!")
- b. "Nimen gai bushi zai zheli taolun ji liang ji qian de biao-jin he huasha ba? Nage, wo shi quanran waihang!"
("Not talking about gold and cotton yarn and the prices again, are you? Quite beyond me, all that sort of thing!")

In these two instances, both 'zhe' and 'na' can be used. That is to say, 'na' can replace 'zhe' in /3.30a/, especially when the person concerned is not present at the speech situation, so can 'zhe' replace 'na' in /3.30b/ as they are just talking about the subject matter concerning gold and cotton yarn. However, the choice of 'zhe' in the system for /3.30a/ is not only to show that the two participants are just talking about 'Bowen', but also to show the close relation underlying the hearer and her intended lover. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that the problem is being discussed by the speech participants present in /3.30b/, from the point of view of the speaker, this problem is beyond his knowledge and so is mentally remote, so he prefers to use 'na' instead of 'zhe'. All this reveals that ambiguity lies in the co-existence of external proximity and internal proximity. The choice options from the system depend on which factor is to be stressed.

3.2.2 'Zhe' and 'na' as Modifiers

As mentioned in Table 2, 'zhe' and 'na' can be used as modifier in a nominal group with the function of a Deictic. Generally speaking, they take the first position in a nominal group in the order of Deictic, Numerative, Unit, Epithet, Classifier and Thing.

/3.31/

Deictic	Numerative	Unit	Epithet	Classifier	Thing
zhe				ren	(this man)
zhe	xie			dian	zhang (these bills)
zhe			bugan- bujing- de	dang-er	(this inopportune moment)
zhe			hongse qi	che	(this red car)
na			kaojin- yuetaide	Faguo wutong	(that plane-tree in front of the balcony)
na	liang	pai		jingjiren	fangjian (the two rows of brokers' offices)
na	yi		dai-kuozi- shi-de lan	gan	(the latticed balustrade of the gallery)

This order of constituents in a nominal group in Chinese is like that in English, but there are some differences.

First, the numerative in a Chinese nominal group is often followed by a unit word such as 'pai' (row) in 'liang pai' (two rows) in /3.31/, and, in many cases, it is very difficult to match a corresponding word in English, such as 'ju', 'gu' and 'zhi' in /3.32/.

Second, there can be two deictics in Chinese, one specified by the possessor, another by verbal pointing. This is also shown in /3.32/.

/3.32/

Deictic	Num.	Unit	Epithet	Classifier	Head
ni zhe					hua (these words of yours)
Liu Yuying zhe	yi	ju	helang-lang-de	xiao	sheng (this tinkling laugh of Liu Yiying)
ni zhe	yi	gu		haizi	qi (this childishness of yours)
ta na	yi	zhi	shengqi-le-de		shou (that raising hand of his)

As there are two ways of specification, it follows that there could be two types of Deictics in a single nominal group. The Deictic concerning the possessor comes before the other. In English, it has to take the position of a Postmodifier.

Third, a Postmodifier with the function of Qualifier is very rare in Chinese. Such a Qualifier always goes before the ordinary nominal group. Compare the set of examples in /3.33/.

/3.33/ a. English

Structures	the	two	high	stone	walls	along the roadside
Logical	-----Premodifier-----				Head	Postmodifier
Experiential	Dei.	Num.	Epi.	Cla.	Thing	Qualifier
Classes	Det.	Num.	Adj.	Noun	Noun	Prep. gr.

b. Chinese

Structures	yanlude	na	liang	pai	gao	shi	qiang
Logical	-----Premodifier-----					Head	
Experiential	Qual.	Dei.	Num.	Unit	Epi.	Cla.	Thing
Classes	Prep.gr.	Det.	Num.	Noun	Adj.	Noun	Noun

Sometimes, the qualifier can take the position of epithet, such as 'na

kaojin-yuetai-de Faguowutong"(that plant-tree in front of the balcony), the order being 'd + t + q' in English, and 'd + e + t' in Chinese.

Postmodifiers in Chinese have a rather loose relation to the Head. If there is one, it is separated by a comma in a written text or a pause in the speech situation.

/3.34/ Youqi shi ta bu-an de, shi shen-bian haiyou yi ge Huang Fen, sulai guan fang dapao. (He was embarrassed especially with the indiscreet Huang Fen at his side.)

Postmodification in Chinese fulfils the function of making an additional statement or emphasis. (Xiandai Hanyu Yufa Zhishi, p.60) As mentioned before, this postmodifier can be fronted in the form of 'yige sulai guan fang dapao de Huang Fen'(an indiscreet Huang Fen.)

Fourth, although in Chinese the uniqueness of a proper noun or a pronoun is already specified, proper nouns and pronouns can accept descriptive modification. What is more extraordinary in Chinese is that both proper nouns and person pronouns can take modification. For instance,

/3.35/

	Deictic	Num.	Unit	Epithet	Classifier	Thing
a.			yi(a)			Huang Fen
b.				daizainalide (standing there)		Zeng Jiaju
c.	na(that)		ge			Zhao Botao
d.	zhe(this)			danpidanliande (imperturbable)		Zhou Zhongwei
e.				qiyejiade (industrialist)		ta(he)
f.	Li mazi (Pockmarked Li)					tamen(they)

Ex. a means a man like Huang Fen; Ex. b shows a non-restrictive attribution with the meaning of 'Zeng Jiaju, who is standing there'; examples c and

e give appositional relations, similar to 'That man Zhao Botao' and 'he, an industrialist'; the last one shows that Pockmarked Li serves the referent of ta, meaning Pockmarked Li and his bullies. Contrary to examples in /3.31/ where all the heads in nominal groups are focussed, it is those modifiers that often bear the focus.

Coming back to demonstrative reference, the demonstrative 'nage' in expressions like 'nage Zhao Botao' can be exophoric or endophoric, depending on the existence of the referent in the text. But 'zhe' in expressions like 'zhe danpidanliande Zhou Zhongwei' (this imperturbable Zhou Zhongwei) must be endophoric, because the speaker is more concerned with the description of a person already named in this speech situation.

Apart from this generalized type of demonstrative reference, the singular form of 'zhe' and 'na' as modifier can refer to an extended text.

/3.38/ Turan na rangnaode rensheng si yiyang jing le.... Keshi zhe jinzhangde chenmo like you polie le. (A deathly hush suddenly descended on the room.... Almost at once the tense silence was broken.)

In this instance, the demonstrative 'zhe' carries the meaning expressed by the previous text which cannot be measured quantitatively nor can be pointed at nonverbally.

3.2.3 'Zhe' and 'Na' as Head

'Zhe' and 'na' together with their plural forms 'zhexie' and 'naxie' can also be the Head in a nominal group, except that they differ in their usage in some respects. When 'zhe' and 'na' refer to a person, they are restricted to identifying a person by nonverbal pointing or inquiring about someone mentioned in discourse.

/3.37/ "Zhe/na shi shui a?" ("Who's this/that?")
"Zhe/na shi Wang xiansheng." ("This/that is Mr Wang.")

The person mentioned is at a distance from the speech participants. At least he himself is supposed not to overhear the inquiry and response. When the speaker wants to have some information about the third person at his presence, 'zhe wei' and 'na wei' are preferred, in which 'zhe' and 'na' are modifiers.

There is no restriction for 'zhe' and 'na' to stand for an inanimate object (ex/3.38/) or an event (ex/3.39/).

/3.38/ "Ni zhe yisheng yifu shizai kan-le jiao ren xiao. Zhe hai shi shi-nian-qian-de zhuangshu." ("You do make me laugh with your get-up. This might have been in fashion ten years ago.")

/3.39/ "Tai Shang Gan Ying Pian!" Zhe shi li-bo-shi-de yisheng guai jiao. ("The Supreme Book of Rewards and Punishments!" This was a strange, strident cry.)

In /3.39/, 'zhe' does not stand for the name of the book or an object, but the way it was uttered. The same principle can apply to the plural form of 'zhe' and 'na'.

'Zhe' and 'na' can also be extended to demonstrate a fact or a passage of text. This use is much more frequent than identifying a person or an object, because unit words 'ge' and others can be added to them.

/3.40/ a. "Ni shuo shi-liu nian wu yue Jing-Han-Xian shang de zhanshi ma? Na he xianzai shi neng bu xiangtong de a!...." ("Did you mention the battle of '27 along the Peking-Hankow Railway? That was altogether different from what's happening now....")

b. "....Renhe xisheng du de qu gan! Zhe shi mingling!" ("....Whatever the cost, it must be done! This is an order!")

3.2.4 Some Variants of Demonstrative Reference

Undoubtedly, 'zhe' and 'na' and their derivatives are the most common forms of demonstrative. In spite of this, there are quite a few variants which merit our attention. For instance, the meaning of 'xianzai' (now) is quite close to 'zheshi' (at this time).

/3.41/ "...Nashi-de sishang duo, yinwei shi pinming chongfeng!
Dan Xianzai, dagai shi de qi fan ba?" ("....The casualties
were heavy then because our men fought and died with a
will. But, now, I'm sure it's quite a different story,
eh?")

In /3.41/. 'xianzai' corresponds to the occurrence of 'nashi' in the previous sentence.

Some variants are related to idiomatic usages or media. In the former case, 'qi' in /3.41/ is a case in point, where it carries the neutral meaning between 'zhe' and 'na', which refers to 'sishang duo, yingwai shi pingming chongfeng' in the previous sentence. If English has non-selective demonstrative reference or neutral proximity, 'qi' is the right word corresponding to this notion, but it is not exactly equal to 'the'. One might say 'qi' appears more often in idiomatic expressions.

In a descriptive passage of a written medium, 'zhe' and 'na' sometimes can be replaced by 'ci' and 'bi' respectively, but the occurrence of 'bi' is much less frequent today.

/3.42/ Zhe ju hua xiang guzhui yiban dade Wu laotaiye quanshen
fa dou. Ran-er hai bu zhi ci. (The text....drummed on
his mind, and he shuddered. But this was not the last.)

In /3.42/, 'ci' corresponds semantically to 'this'. They appear very often in written texts, especially in idiomatic expressions.

One more pair of demonstrative references are 'ben' and 'gai'. They appear in formal documents as exemplified in the opening of a business letter.

/3.43/ Jingqizhe--Ben hui die ju Guangdong Tuzao Huochaihang
Shangye Gonghui han chen, ju gai sheng ji Xianggang baozhi
xuanchen,.... (Dear Member--This association has received
a letter from our Guangdong branch informing us that,
according to reports appearing in newspapers in that
province and Hongkong,....)

Here, 'ben' refers to 'All-China Association of Match Manufacturers'

elsewhere in the text, and 'gai' refers to the afore-mentioned Guangdong province. They have the same meaning as 'zhe' and 'na' in this environment and are explicitly anaphoric. The differences lie first in formality scale. 'Ben' and 'gai' are more formal than 'zhe' and 'na'. Nevertheless, the use of 'ben' is more often than 'gai' with respect to the pointing of time, such as 'ben yue er-shi-si hao' (the 24th of this month). Second, the use of 'ben' and 'gai' is restricted to modification. They cannot be used as Heads. Third, as far as the speech role is concerned, the meaning of 'zhe' is not directly related to the speaker, but 'ben' always refers to the first person.

3.2.5 Definiteness and Specification

It is well known to linguists that there is no definite article in Chinese, but it does not mean that definiteness and specification do not exist in the language either. The commonly-accepted explanation is that the Chinese sometimes use 'zhe' and 'na' when 'the' in English is expected.

Examples.

- /3.44/ a. Ta zhidao yong zhe famen keyi zhefu na gangbi henla de Wu Sunfu.
b. He knew that this was a good way of bringing the violent, refractory Wunfu to heel.
- /3.45/ a. Zhe laotou-er jin-lai-de shihou,....
b. As the old man came in,....

In the above examples, one can see that speakers of different cultures have different ways of dividing their range of experience in proximity and distance in their respective languages, just as they do in dividing the range of colour and time.

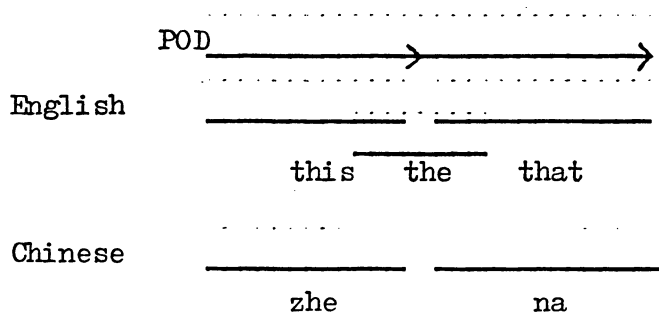


Fig.4 Contrast in Definiteness and Specification
between English and Chinese

This explication conforms to Whorf's observation. Nevertheless, it cannot exhaust all the linguistic phenomena in Chinese, because it can always be found that there is neither 'zhe' nor 'na' before a nominal group when definiteness is expected in the English convention. To the present writer, two more reasons are worth mentioning, one based on the thematic structure and Given/New information*, another on the logical structure.

In the former case, Theme takes the first position in a clause and is the point of departure of a clause. In most cases, an unmarked Theme corresponds to an unmarked Given information in an oral utterance. Therefore, the word taking the first position is assumed to bear the meaning of definiteness inherently. This presumption helps explain the absence of definite article in some instances in Chinese. Compare the following sets of examples,

- | | |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| /3.46/ a. Wo yao kan <u>dianying</u> . | I want to see <u>a film</u> . |
| b. <u>Dianying</u> kan-le ma? | Have you seen <u>the film</u> ? |
| /3.47/ a. Na-er you <u>shu</u> ? | Where can I get <u>books</u> ? |
| b. <u>Shu</u> zai na-er? | Where are <u>the books</u> ? |

The two sets of examples reveal the fact that although there are no definite articles to mark definiteness in Chinese, definiteness can

*This idea originates from Chao(1968), but Chao bases his theory on Topic/Comment instead of Theme/Rheme theory.

be retrieved from the thematic position taken by the nominal groups in /3.46b/ and /3.47b/ as well as from the given information which is supposedly to show that the presupposition is given already.

In addition to this interpretation, definiteness can sometimes be shown by the order of modification in a logical structure. An English speaker knows quite well the function of 'the' in the 'the + N1 + prep + N2' structure. The use of 'the' is to inform the listener that the Head is restricted and the referent can be retrieved cataphorically. The logical structure of this kind of nominal group is a ' $\beta_2 \alpha \beta_1$ ' one. But when the postmodifier is shifted to the front position, the deictic function of 'the' is weakened or even redundant. As a result, 'the' disappears and the logical structure is simplified into a ' $\beta \alpha$ ' one. It is at this very point that some Chinese nominal groups coincide with those of English, because the modifier goes before the Head. When the premodifier functions as Deictic, the definiteness is clearly expressed. Following are the logical variants of English examples in /3.48/ and their Chinese parallels.

/3.48/

	English		Chinese
	the+N ₁ +prep+N ₂	N ₂ +N ₁	N ₂ +N ₁
	$\beta_2 \alpha \beta_1$	$\beta \alpha$	$\beta \alpha$
a.	the lecture by Prof Halliday	Prof. Halliday's lecture	Han Lide jiaoshou de ke
b.	the Nanjing Road in Shanghai	Shanghai's Nanjing Road	Shanghai de Nanjing Lu
c.	the theory of translation	translation theory	fanyi lilun

The same principle can also apply to the structural 'the' before a restrictive attributive clause in English and its absence in Chinese.

As the present thesis is concerned with textual cohesion, we can

assign different values for the above-mentioned features in Chinese.

(1) The use of 'zhe' and 'na' for an equivalent meaning of 'the' in English is cohesive so long as their presupposed items exist in other linguistic environments; (2) The initial position of noun groups is related to presupposed items in the text in many cases and 'cohesive' in this sense, but its realization by means of a zero-marker makes the cohesive force implicit rather than explicit; (3) The structural 'the' in English is cataphoric but non-cohesive, whereas its parallel in Chinese does not exist at all. Seeing that different cultures have different ways of expressing participant identification (Martin, 1980b), a further study of this problem is needed.

3.3 Comparative Reference

Table 3 shows some of comparative reference items in Chinese.

Table 3. Comparative Reference in Chinese

Grammatical function	Modifier Deictic / Epithet	Submodifier / Adjunct
Class	adj.	adv.
General Comparison		
Identity	yiyangde, tongyangde, tongdengde, etc.	yiyang, tongyang, etc.
Similarity	chabuduode, xiangshide, yiyangde, etc.	chabuduo, xiangshide, yiyang, etc.
Difference	butongde, xiangfande, etc.	butongde, buyiyangde, etc.
Particular Comparison	geng+adj; adj+deduo / yidian; bijiao+adj	geng/bijiao+adv; adv+deduo / yidian, zheyang, zheme, ruci, etc.

There are two kinds of comparison, one general and the other particular. General comparison shows that the relation between reference and referent is one of sameness, likeness and difference. That is to

say, an item (person, object, notion or text) can either be identical, similar or different to another item. The last property is the negation of both identity and similarity. The referential property of a particular comparison lies in the comparison of quantity and quality between two corresponding items. The referent serves as a standard of reference.

Adjectives of comparison (e.g. 'tongyangde'(same) in 'tongyangde xinqing'(the same feelings) and adverbs of comparison (e.g., 'buyiyang'(differently)in 'Xiao Wei biao xian buyiyang.'(Xiao Wei behaves differently.) are used in general comparison. The former functions in a nominal group and the latter functions in a premodifier or clause.

Comparative adjectives and comparative adverbs, i.e., these ordinary adjectives and adverbs which can take comparative forms (geng+adj/adv; adj/adv+deduo/yidian) are used in particular comparison. The adjectives function within the nominal groups as Numerative (e.g. 'geng duo de jiemu'(more programs)) and Epithet (e.g. 'geng hao de jiemu'(better program)). Adverbs present a more complex picture. They can function as (a) Adjunct in a clause, such as "Xiao Li bi Xiao Wang pao-de kuai-deduo." (Xiao Li runs much faster than Xiao Wang.) (b) Submodifier within an Epithet, e.g., "Zheme gao de fangzi" (such a high building); (c) Submodifier within a Numerative, e.g., "Ruci duo de ren" (so many people); (d) Submodifier within an Adjunct, e.g., "Ta biao xian zheyang bu hao." (He behaved so badly.)

There is no inflection for comparative adjectives or adverbs in Chinese, although 'deduo' or 'yidian' in the form 'adj/adv + deduo/yidian' can be regarded as a comparative morpheme, but it is better to regard it as a comparative element in a comparative structure. Whatever it may be, the meaning and function remain the same.

Comparative reference can be expressed in a system as follows,

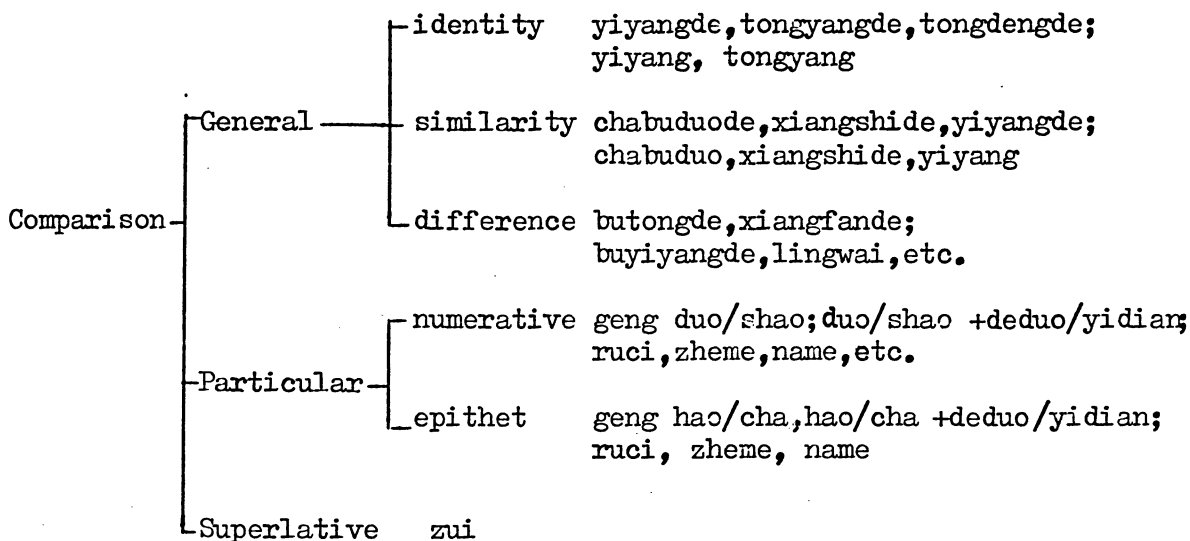


Fig.5 The System of Comparative Reference

3.3.1 General Comparison

Some instances of general comparison are exophoric or structural, the referent of comparison being retrievable in the situation or in the structure. For brevity's sake, they will not be discussed here. Besides this, there is a kind of comparison which is internal in nature, such as,

/3.49/ Tamen liang-ge ren you butongde beijing. (The two of them have different backgrounds.)

The comparison is made between the two people mentioned in the same sentence. Its referent of comparison cannot be found elsewhere in the text.

3.3.1.1 Identity

Identity expresses the property of being the same identical thing or place, such as 'tong' in /3.50/.

/3.50/ Tamen jiang zai shangci tong yige difang jian mian. (They'll meet at the same place as they met last time.)

Although the place was visited twice, it was the same place.

The meaning of sameness in adjectives and adverbs of comparison derives mainly from the morpheme 'tong', but it should be treated differently from the same morpheme in some compound nouns and verbs such as 'tongbao'(countryman), 'tongwu'(roommate), 'tongban'(companion), 'tongzhu'(live together), etc. They do not have the property of comparison syntactically.

3.3.1.2 Similarity

Similarity is only concerned with likeness. The two items compared do not refer to the same thing.

- /3.51/ a. Tiankong jiman-le huise-de yunkuai, daizhizhi-de bu dong. Ta lianshang-de qise he chuang-wai-de tiankong chabuduo. (The sky was heavy with becalmed banks of grey cloud,...., his face looks about the same as the sky.)
- b. "He Weng de gaojian ne?" ("What's your opinion, He Weng?")
"dazhi Chabuduo, keshi...." ("Almost the same; but....")

Ex. /3.51a/ shows the comparison between the face of a person and the appearance of the sky. Naturally, they can never be identical. But in /3.51b/, the comparison is made between two persons with regard to their opinions on starting a bank. The standard of reference for 'chabuduo' must exist somewhere in the text, otherwise the reader or hearer could not see what the likeness is about. It is not identical as one can see from the structural Theme 'keshi'(but) coming next.

Ambiguity often arises with the fact that some adjectives or adverbs of comparison in Chinese can carry the meaning of both identity and similarity. Compare:

- /3.52/ a. Ni zhe yishen daban gen shangci yiyang. (Your get-up is the same as last time.)
- b. Ta zhe yishen daban he ni yiyang. (Her get-up is the same as yours.)

In /3.52a/, one can understand that the addressee wears the same dress as she did the last time. It is identical in this sense. This is very unlikely to be the case in the situation expected in /3.52b/. 'Yiyang' only shows the close similarity in dressing between two different persons. It is very difficult to achieve a state of identity or equality, to say nothing of difference in materials or in size.

The following example is also an interesting one.

/3.53/ Bingqie zhe danchun-de chouhen you yin ta dao-le mohu-de jiao-ao: tade nu-er bu shi zougou! Xiao Sanzi he Jin Heshang ye xiang feng you-le zhe tongyang-de xinqing.
(Then out of this burning hatred there grew a vague kind of pride in her mind: her daughter was not a blackleg! Jin Heshang and Little Sanzi seemed to be infused with similar feelings.....)

Some might see it as a case of identity, because 'tongyangde' is specified by the deictic 'zhe', and the process 'feng' means to 'share' the feelings held by the old woman other than the feelings held by Jin Heshang and Little Sanzi themselves. So the feelings refer to the same notion. On the other hand, some might see it as a case of similarity, as three people are involved, and after all, it is hard to achieve a state of absolute equality of feelings in each one's mind, to say nothing of another process verb 'xiang'(seemed) which dominated the likeness of similarity. The view held by the translator of the English version is a proof. Therefore, whether the general comparison is one of identity or one of similarity depends on the context of situation. This is where the advantage of a text grammar lies.

H-H define that the likeness may take the form of identity, where 'two things' are, in fact, the same thing; or of similarity where two things are like each other. The classical examples are:

/3.54/ a. It's the same cat as the one we saw yesterday. (the cat which was named Mimmy.)

- b. We have received exactly the same report as was submitted two months ago. (without altering a single word or being retyped.)

The two examples show that (a) there are two visible and touchable things; (b) Actually they are the same thing, seen by people on different occasions. We now analyse the following example.

/3.55/ Lao Long mai-le yi tai Sony shou-lu liang-yong ji. Wo ye mai-le yi tai yiyang de. (Old Long has bought a Sony radio-cassette. I have also bought one, exactly the same.)

At first look, as there are really two things which cannot be the same one, they cannot be identical. But people would be inclined to accept the notion of 'identity' rather than 'similarity' in this instance because their 'brand' is identical, especially when they are of the same series. Therefore, the items for comparison should extend to some notions other than visible and touchable objects.

3.3.1.3 Difference

There are more expressions in Chinese for general comparison of difference or dissimilarity. The commonest adjectives are the antonyms of 'tongyangde', 'yiyangde', such as 'butongde', 'buyiyangde', etc.

/3.56/ Zheli yidian ye meiyou bi zhong butongde fengjing. (The scenery here is not different from other places at all.)

/3. 7/ Yizhao xianglaide xiguan, ta zhe wusheng-de wenrou-de kangyi, keyi yin-chu Lin Peishan-de jiju hua, ying-er shiqing bian wangwang jiu you zhuanhuan-de kenengxing. Dan jintian Lin Peishan que butong le. (In the ordinary way, his gentle passive resistance would have made Lin Peishan say something which he could have used to bring about a favourable turn in the situation. But today she was different from her former self.)

The grammatical functions of 'butong' in the two examples are different.

In /3.56/, 'butong' is a modifier with the function of an Epithet in a nominal group, whereas in /3.57/ it is regarded as an Attributive in

Halliday's term. Besides, the 'butong' in ex./3.56/ is structurally bound, while /3.57/ is anaphoric and cohesive. But the more important thing is that the latter is an instance of extended comparison. The meaning of the Chinese comparative of difference 'butong'(different) has to refer to the whole passage, which shows that Lin Peishan behaves differently from the way she used to, i.e. she was not made to say something to bring about a favourable turn in the situation. Without this referent, the meaning of 'butong' would be vague.

The following examples basically fit well to H-H's model.

- /3.58/ "Kan-lai ni-de xingzi hen gangqiang." ("You appear to be a young man of strong will.")
"Bucuo, wo meiyou bie-de dongxi keyi zi fu." ("Yes, there's nothing else I've got that I can take a pride in.")
- /3.59/ "San xiansheng liangci jiao wo lai, jiu weide yao ba zhe fan hua dui wo shuo ma?" ("Mr Wu, was it just to tell me all this that you summoned me here twice?")
"Shema? Nandao ni lingwai hai you xiangwang?" ("Eh? What else were you expecting?")

The two examples are anaphoric. 'Biede'(Epithet:adjective) and 'lingwai'(Adjunct:adverb) and some other variants such as 'qita'(other) carry the meaning of introducing something other than what was presupposed. The referents should all be retrieved.

In comparison, inherently there must be two items or values, one comparing and the other being compared. All two items have to be given in the text unless they are exophoric. Otherwise, the comparison would make no sense. There is one more point that needs further discussion. If this point is valid, then comparison of difference is somewhat different from comparison of identity or similarity. In the latter case, when the presupposed item (the item being compared or the standard of reference) is established, the hearer or reader would not be lost because he knows the other item is identical or similar to the presupposed. The

picture is entirely different in comparison of difference. We might know through the cohesive effect something about the presupposed and we might also know there is something different from the presupposed (if it is not given structurally), but we cannot stop there, because this is not likely to be our experience in dealing with a text. In order to understand the context, we are anxious to retrieve the comparing item from the following passage. This kind of anxiety is a manifestation of the other aspect of the cohesive effect due to the comparison of difference. It is this that has been ignored in the study of comparison of difference. Example /3.60/ is a good illustration.

/3.60/ "Ni kan, bu daying ye yao ba zhe fengchao jieshu!--"
("You see, the trouble has to be ended without you giving in to them.")

"Bu daying ye xing. Danshi shi lingyiyangde jieshu."
("You can refuse if you like, but if you do, the trouble will end in quite another way.")

"Gongren gan baodong ma?" ("You think the workers would dare to riot?")

After the speaker used the expression 'lingyiyangde jieshu' (end in quite another way), he should make it clear what kind of trouble it is that will end differently. If not, it is natural for the hearer to take over the speech role and make a confirmation request. The same is true in /3.57/. After the narrator mentioned that Lin Peishan was different from her former self, he went on telling the reader by using a quoted speech through Lin Peishan's own mouth "Wo shi yao hui-qu le. Kan-zhe ting-zhe sheme, du jiao wo shengqi." ("I really do want to go home! I'm just fed up with everything here.") We should also call this a kind of cohesive effect expected from the comparison of difference in a cataphoric way. It is because of this that the cohesive effect was brought into full play. It is one of the reasons why a text as a unified whole is best studied by relating each sentence both backwards and forwards.

Some expressions in general comparison of difference such as 'xiangfan' carry the meaning of opposition in property. The following example illustrates this point.

/3.61/ "Wo ting-shuo you ren zai nali ba ni he Xiao Shan zuohe-qilai ne!" ("I hear they're going to make a match between you and Lin Peishan.")

"Wo ye ting-dao yixie xiang-fan-de yilun." ("I've also heard a different story.")

Compare the Chinese origin^{al} and the English translation, and one will find that the degree of difference is much stronger and more specific in the former. 'Xiangfan' carries some property entirely opposite to the original statement, but the meaning of 'different' in English does not necessarily go as far as that.

3.3.2 Particular Comparison

Particular comparison compares between things a particular property in terms of quantity or quality through comparative adjectives and adverbs together with other comparative elements. At the level of grammatical function, the adjectives and adverbs are either numerative (/3.62a/) or epithet (/3.62b/). For example,

/3.62/ a. Wo bi ni gao er li-mi. (I'm 2 cm taller than you.)

b. Ta-de shengti bi ni jiankang. (He is healthier than you.)

Particular comparison can also be expressed in terms of degree of comparison. There are mainly three types, inferior, equal and superior.* They are mainly expressed by comparative adjectives, such as 'duo/shao' (more/less), 'hao/cha' (better/worse) and 'ruci' (so)/'zheme (such)/

*Chao (1968) suggests 5 scales of degree, namely, equal, superior, inferior, superlative and anti-superlative degree.

'yiyang' (same, similar) + quantifier/epithet. Following are the examples.

/3.63/ a. Inferior

Wo-de chengji bi ni-de cha. (My result is worse than yours.)

b. Equal

Shui he huò yiyang weixian. (Water and fire are equally dangerous.)

c. Superior

Zhè ju hua guanjin Feng Yuqing-de erduo bi lǎi hai xiang xie. (The mere mention of this expression into Feng Yunqing's ear is even louder than the thunder.)

However, all these examples are structural as the standard of reference is given within the sentences. Cohesion comes into effect only when the standard of reference has to be retrieved elsewhere in the text. This is shown in the following sections.

3.3.2.1 Numerative

Example /3.64/ is typical of particular comparison of numerative in the anaphoric sense, the standard of reference for 'zaiduo' (more) and 'zaishao' (less) being beyond the structure. This implies that the presupposed item must be something measurable. Here, it should be 'san-shi wan' (three hundred thousand dollars).

/3.64/ "zhengzheng san-shi wan! Zaiduo, women bu-kan; zaishao, tamen ye bu-gan." ("Altogether three hundred thousand dollars. We can't afford more, and they won't do it for less....")

3.3.2.2 Epithet

Unlike the numerative, a particular comparison of epithet is one of quality which cannot be measured in terms of figures.

/3.65/ Zhang Axin zhan-zai laji^{du}-shang wo-zhe jianbo kuanghu....
Chen Yue-e yong-le geng xiang-de shengyin jiezhe haidao:....
(Zhang Axin shrilled from the top of a rubbish-heap and
gesticulating wildly,....Chen Yue-e continued in a voice
which was even louder....)

In /3.65/, the comparison is made between the loudness of the shouting from two women workers. The referent of the woman worker other than Chen Yue-e is given in the previous context. What is more, although we could not find the same comparative adjective there, the meaning of 'loud' is expressed by the verb 'kuanghu' (shrilled). As we are interested in the semantic cohesion of a text, the comparison can still be regarded as one of epithet.

Particular comparison is different from general comparison. As was mentioned elsewhere, 'two things' are involved in comparison. Therefore, if the 'two things' are not given structurally, we have to find out one of the 'two things', i.e., the standard of comparison, from the previous context. But in particular comparison, it is more complicated. Apart from the requirement of 'two things', the shared knowledge of two properties being compared is needed. In the following example,

/3.66/ Yu da naxi zhumen-de shasha-de shengyin, xianzai shi geng
ji geng xiang le, lei zai caopeng dingshang gun; keshi na
yi bang caopeng-de rensheng bi yu bi lai geng xiang.
(The hiss of the rain on the bamboo doors even louder and
and more insistent than ever and overhead the rumble of
thunder still rolled across the sky; but the sound of
which rose from the huts was even fiercer than the anger
of the storm.)

leaving aside the first instance of comparison of epithet, 'geng ji geng xiang' (louder and more insistent) with its referent being retrieved elsewhere, we might say that the 'two things' in the second instance of comparison are given in the structure, the sound of the voices from the huts on the one hand and the storm on the other hand and that the

property is concerned with 'fierceness'. However, one would like to know more about how fierceness is interpreted in the text. If there is not a standard of fierceness somewhere in the text, the true meaning of fierceness would not be completely transmitted to the reader. With this purpose in mind, if we look back to the passage before the semi-colon, we will find that apart from the rain and thunder, we are also given the message about the loudness and insistence of the rain and the rumble of thunder. With all this information, we can then fully grasp the meaning of comparison of epithet. The same is also true in the case of particular comparison of numerative. When two 'things' and two 'figures' are involved, the presupposed items should cover both of them.

3.3.3 Superlative

The cohesive force of a superlative degree of comparison is judged by the occurrence of the standard of reference for the superlative degree of comparison within or beyond a sentence. If it is already given within the structure, it is non-cohesive, such as,

/3.67/ bingqie ta you zixin zhe shi duanlian qidu-de zui hao fangfa.
(and he also regarded it as the best method of self-discipline.)

In /3.67/, the superlative degree 'zui hao' (the best) is self-contained within the expression duanlian qidu-de zui hao fangfa' (the best method of self-discipline). There is no need for one to trace back to the previous context.

If the standard for reference exists beyond the structure, it is cohesive. In /3.68/, the meaning of 'zui hou liang ge zi' (the last two characters) would be vague if the sentence is isolated from the previous utterance. Only by resorting to finding out the last two characters in

it can one recover the meaning of 'zhe ge'(this).

/3.68/ "....Keshi, wo you shi di er-shisan ming de zhe ge!"
Zui hou liang ge zi shi tabie yong li de,.... ("....
What's more, I'm the twenty-third of this!" He laid
stress on the last two characters,....)

Chapter Four. Syntactical Cohesion

4.0 Syntactical Cohesion

Syntactical cohesion is characterized by replacement, omission or parallelism of an item corresponding to a counterpart in a presupposed grammatical item. This relevant item may be a word, a word group or a clause. One should not be misled into thinking that syntactical cohesion is only concerned with form and is therefore beyond the scope of text linguistics which is based on meaning or the study of semantics. Meanings are related to each other in a text through different types of cohesive ties. In an instance of referential cohesion, the reference and the referent have the same identity, but they may differ in grammatical function. For instance,

/4.1/ Wu laotaiye bi-le yanjing. Quan shen du fa dou le. Ta
jue-de ta-de toulu fangfu shi zai jingbozi shang xuanzhuan.
(Old Mr Wu closed his eyes tight in terror, trembling all
over. He felt as if his head was spinning....)

In /4.1/, both 'ta' and 'ta-de' have the same referent 'Wu laotaiye' (Old Mr Wu), although the former is a personal pronoun functioning as head, and the latter a possessive personal pronoun functioning as modifier.

Unlike referential cohesion, the notion of syntactical cohesion means that two meaning-related items are realized by a formal correspondence between two grammatical units. Examples.

/4.2/ Hehuo chi-wo-de ren, bian shi wo-de gege! Chi ren de shi
wo gege! (The accomplice in eating me is my elder brother!
The eater of human flesh is my elder brother!)

/4.3/ "...Laozi-men yao fanghuo le! Fang huo le!" ("We're setting fire to it now! Setting fire!")

'De' in the second sentence of /4.2/ is a subordinative 'de', reminding the reader that the Head is omitted. The ellipted word should be decoded by finding out the Head of the presupposed item.

Similarly, the omitted words 'Laozi-men yao' in the second sentence of /4.3/ can only be recovered by comparing the two syntactical structures, through which it can be found that the subject and modal are missing in the second sentence. Therefore, substitution, ellipsis, parallelism and sentence-sharing are the four categories in syntactical cohesion. Their cohesive effects are confined to the text.

4.1 Substitution

Substitution here is not used in the sense held by some linguists. Wang (1944) used the term substitution to mean person system, which was covered in the previous chapter. Chao (1968) differentiated between pronouns and substitutes, but his notion of substitutes is much wider.

4.1.1 Nominal Substitution

Nominal substitution is the use of a substitute word to replace the Head of a corresponding nominal group. The noun functioning as Head is always countable.

There is no substitute word for the Head of a nominal group in Chinese exactly corresponding to 'one' in English. The word which merits discussion is 'de'.

'De' often appears as a subordinative 'de' with the Head ellipted.

Examples.

/4.4/ "Ran-er ta ye pa-jin geshigeyang-de nuren. Zuotian wo kanjian de, haoxiang shi mou renjia de guafu." (And he

grabs anything in the way of woman, too. Only yesterday I met him with a certain widow.")

/4.6/ "Danchu ben gongsi faqi de zongzhi,.....jiu shi natian Wufu dajia ouran tan-qi de,....." (".....The aim for us to have set up this company,.....the very one we happened to discuss at Old Mr Wu's funeral,.....")

In both two examples, 'de' is retained when the nominal group is filled. Thus textual cohesion is realized by means of ellipsis when the ellipted word can be retrieved from the linguistic context.

Some linguists (Chao, 1968; Zhu, 1961, 1966) argued that 'de' can be a nominalizer or a nominal substitute under certain circumstances. For instance, Chao (1968) used the term "substitute 'de'" for those 'de's in the following set of examples,

/4.7/ zhanggui de (owner or manager of an old-style store)
yaofan de (beggar)
daza de (general-purpose servant)
zuofan de (cook)
saojie de (street-cleaner)

As the use of 'de' in /4.7/ has no relation at all with a presupposed noun-Head, it is better to call it a 'nominalizer'. The meaning of 'de' here is like the suffix '-er'(one who) in English. Chao himself made it clear that this kind of 'de' serves as Head independently in Chinese without any presupposed nominal groups. It follows that it is not cohesive.

Zhu (1961, 1966) rejected the view that 'de' in Chinese is always subordinative and elliptical. He pointed out that in some cases, 'de' has the same value of the word 'one' in English, that is to say, 'A(= monosyllabic adjective) + de' in Chinese is about the same as 'Adjective + one' in English. He further pointed out that even in English, the meaning of 'a red one' cannot be understood if it is isolated from the

context. Here, Zhu was referring to something concerning textual linguistics, but he did not provide examples to further illustrate his points.

It seems that the 'de's in the following examples are similar to a nominal substitute.

- /4.7/ "Wo hai shou-mai de bi Han Menxiang geng yaojin-de ren ne!"
(I've also bought over someone even more important than him!")
"Yexu haiyou geba nü de!" ("Oh, yes, a female one, perhaps!")
- /4.8/ "Wo ~~meimai~~ xiang mai yi liang nan che." ("My sister wants to buy a bike designed for boys.")
"Hai shi mai nü de hao." ("It's better to buy one designed for girls.")

In /4.7/, the position of 'de' corresponds to that of 'ren' in the previous nominal group, therefore we can replace 'de' with 'ren'. The word meaning of 'ren' is thus carried over by the substitute word 'de'. The same is true to 'nu de' in /4.8/. The meaning of 'de' in this nominal group has to be traced back to the noun-Head 'che' in the previous nominal group. In either case, 'de' cannot be retained when the presupposed noun-Head is added to the noun-Classifier 'nu'(female).

It has already been mentioned that 'yiyangde' is a reference item, but this very word can also be used as a nominal substitute. The 'de' is of a subordinative nature in the first usage, but a nominalizer in the second one. Unlike the 'one' in English, 'Yiyangde' can presuppose the whole nominal group including modifier, if any, whereas 'de' is restricted only to the noun-Head. This is because the semantic meaning of 'yiyangde' presupposes the semantic meaning of the relevant modifiers in the presupposed nominal groups. Compare the following examples.

/4.9/ a. tongta lai shi yi yang-de tuwu (the same unexpectedness as he first came)

b. "Wo yao yi bei kafei." ("I want a coffee!")

"Wo yao yi yangde." ("I want the same.")

'Yiyangde'(the same) in /4.9a/ is an instance of general comparison acting as modifier with the referent in the previous context. It may be mediated by a couple of sentences. While in /4.9b/ it stands for 'yi bei kafei'(a coffee), i.e., Premodifier + Head. Usually the presupposed item is found in the nearest sentence, so that the reader or hearer can recover it by means of its grammatical identity in its corresponding sentence.

4.1.2 Clausal Substitution

There are several substitute words in Chinese which can stand for a clause in a sentence. They are 'zheme', 'zheyang' and 'ran'.

4.1.2.1 Zheme and zheyang (so, like this, as such)

Apart from their use as reference items, 'zheme' and 'zheyang' can be used as nominal substitute. Examples:

/4.10/ a. Lao Shang ku bu shi duotou a! Zheme ziji xinli you yi wen. (Old Shang was not buying long! He asked himself in the mind as such.)

b. Qianmian yi huo xiaohaizi, ye zai nali yilun wo; yanse ye tong Zhao gui-wen yiyang, lianse ye du tieqing. Wo xiang wo tong xiaohaizi you shenme chou, ta ye zheyang. (A group of children in front were also discussing me, and the look in their eyes was just like that in Mr Zhao's while their faces too were ghastly pale. I wondered what grudge these children could have against me to make them behave like this.)

'Zheme' and 'zheyang' stand for the clause or clause complex in the previous sentences. H-H have made a distinction between reference and substitution. Reference is basically a non-verbal relation. A reference

item may point in any direction. On the other hand, substitution is a verbal relation and essentially confined to the text. This has been proved by the fact that all the presupposed items in the above examples have grammatical relations with the substitute words in a sentence.

The use of 'ru ci'(like this) is different from 'zheme' and 'zheyang', because 'ci'(this) is more often recognized as an independent word, and therefore a reference item. It refers to a presupposed clause or clause complex. For example,

/4.11/ "Paizi zui lao, ziben zui da de yijia Zhongguo Yancao Gongs
si ye yao ba Shanghai de zhizaochang zanshi ting-zhi
le. Shechipin gongye shangqie ru ci." "Even the China
Tobacco Company with the best-known brands and the biggest
capital, is shutting down its Shanghai factory for the time
being, such is the fate of the luxury industries."

4.1.2.2 'Ran' (so)

The use of 'ran' as a nominal substitute can be found in expressions like 'bu...ran'(not...so), 'yao bu ran'/'bu ran de hua'(if not), which stand for 'negative + (reported)clause'. The positive meaning of the clause is kept by the word 'ran' with the negation transferred into the reporting clause.

/4.12/ "Na shi zhengfu tai dui buzhu women you tianchan de ren le."
("If that's the case, then the government is definitely
failing to do its duty for us landowners.")
"Ye bu jin ran." ("I don't think so.")

Ex./4.12/ shows that the reported clause can be replaced by the substitute word 'ran'.

As to whether the negation should occur in the reported clause or in the reporting clause in Chinese, it seems that this is not very strict in Chinese as either of the two forms can be accepted.

/4.13/ a. Wo renwei ni zai zhege wenti shang shi bu dui de. (I
think that you are wrong in this matter.)

- b. Wo bu renwei ni zai zhege wenti shang shi dui de.
(I don't think that you are right in this matter.)

The fact that the expression 'bu yi wei ran' (don't think so) has been used by the Chinese for thousands of years would serve as a proof that negation in a reporting clause has also been rooted in Chinese for a long time. Compare,

/4.14/ Chinese Wo bu yiwei ran.
English I don't think so.

The difference between 'zheme' and 'zheyang' on the one hand and 'ran' on the other lies in the difference of their functions in a sentence. The former functions as an adjunct, while the latter is a complement.

4.1.3 Verbal Substitution

The most frequently occurring verb substitution in Chinese is 'lai' as suggested by Chao (1968). His classical example is,

/4.15/ "Ni hua-de bu xiang, deng wo lai." ("The thing you draw is not like it. Let me do it!")

Originally, 'lai' is an abbreviation of the expression 'lai hua' (come and draw it), but Chao noticed that its use is so generalized that "it can be used to substitute for any verb, even with a direct object after it." Example /4.15/ is an instance of 'lai' with the presupposed item within the same structure. Instances about its uses beyond the sentence boundaries can be exemplified in /4.16/.

/4.16/ "Ta hui da pai ma?" ("Does he play mahjong?")

"Ta bu hui, bu neng rang ta lai." ("He doesn't know how, you can't let him play mahjong.")

Here, it makes no sense to regard 'lai' as possessing the literal meaning of 'come here'.

Another verb substitute which is also widely in use is 'gan'(do). It can replace the verb together with other elements in the predicate, such as in,

- /4.17/ a. "Xiao Qi, ni chang zhi ge gei
dajia ting hao ma?" ("Xiao
Qi, will you sing us a song?")
- b. "Ba shouyinji kai xiang yi
dian!" ("Turn on the radio a
bit louder.")
- c. "A Wei zhang-da le yao dang
dai fu ba!" ("A Wei will be
a doctor when he grows up!")
- "Bu, wo bu (gan).
("No, I won't.")
- /4.18/ a. "You shui yuanyi he women
yiqi da lanqiu?" ("Who would
like to play basketball with
us?")
- b. "Women yao liang ge ren bang-
manzhan zhuozhi." ("We need
two people to help move the
desk.")
- c. "Meiyou ren ken hua er-shi
kuai qian qu kan yi chang geju."
("No one will pay 20 dollars for
an opera.")
- "Wo gan." ("I'll do it.")

It is clear that the meaning of 'gan' can be recovered from the presupposed items in all the examples shown in /4.17/ and /4.18/, but one has to admit that the Chinese 'gan' is closer to the English pro-verb 'do' than the substitute verb 'do'. There are also differences. First, the Chinese substitute verb 'gan' can cope with verbs bearing different tense markers in English. Second, 'gan' in Chinese can only take the end position, whereas there is no restriction for the English substitute verb 'do', such as "So do I". Third, the pro-verb 'do' in English must take a complement, while the Chinese 'gan' does not.

4.2 Ellipsis

Ellipsis is used in the sense that something is ellipted in a structure but the missing part can always be recovered from another structure within a sentence or beyond a sentence. The former is non-cohesive and the latter cohesive. Elliptical cohesion always appears anaphoric. Like substitution, ellipsis can also be studied in terms of nominal ellipsis, verbal ellipsis and clausal ellipsis.

4.2.1 Nominal Ellipsis

In the previous chapter, it was already mentioned that a fully-fledged nominal group in Chinese consists of Modifier and Head. At the experiential level, they can be expressed in the order Deictic, Numerative, Epithet, Classifier and Thing. Strictly speaking, whenever there is a nominal group, there must be a Head, and it is very often realized by the Thing. When the Thing is omitted, one of the elements in the Modifier must take the role of the Head, but the reader can recover the omitted Thing from the presupposition. Therefore, one can also treat ellipsis as an instance of substitution by nothing. The key to recovering the ellipted item is to look for the similar structure in another sentence. The choice of Head goes in the order of the Classifier back to the Deictic, i.e., from right to left, although one never finds an instance which takes the Classifier as Head. This is the notion of nominal ellipsis in a restricted sense as defined by H-H.

Ellipsis can also be seen from the other way round, that is, in the order of from left to right. In this case, one or more elements in the Premodifier is omitted. Nevertheless, the reader is still conscious of the shortened nominal group bearing the whole meaning of the original

presupposition. The cohesive force is there, in spite of the fact that the reader does not very often feel the need for recovering the presupposition.

4.2.1.1 Right-to-left Ellipsis

Right-to-left ellipsis refers to the omission of the Head in a nominal group. Instances of taking the Classifier as Head is not found in Chinese. As is well-known, the Classifier itself is a noun and can be a Thing. There would be confusion for a reader who checked all the time with the presupposed item in order to make sure whether the Classifier is a Head or a Modifier. In avoiding any misunderstanding, people resort to adding a substitute 'de'. (see exs. /4.7/ and /4.8/)

In English, when an Epithet stands for the Head, it is always restricted by a Deictic to remind the reader that the structure concerned is a nominal group and the noun-Head is ellipted. In Chinese on the other hand, the Epithet goes together with a subordinative 'de' so as to remind one of the existence of the ellipted noun-Head. For instance,

/4.19/ "Wo hai xiang zhao nimen-de xiao zimei tan yi tan, na jige shi hao de, nimen yin wo qu." ("I'd like to go and have a chat with some of your girls first. You know which of them are reliable, so you can take me round.")

The ellipted noun-Head 'xiao zimei' (girls) can be added to the subordinative 'de'.

The most incontrovertible instances of nominal ellipsis are found in taking the Numerative or the Deictic as the Head.

/4.20/ Si xiaojie you yu-dao renshi-de ren le. Shi san ge.
(The Hueifang caught sight of some familiar persons.
There are three.)

/4.21/ Zhe yu ye ba youwan-de renmen cui-hui jia lai. Wu shao-nainai shi di-yi-ge. (The rain sent all the people scurrying back home. Mrs Wu was the first.)

The words that the Numeral 'sange'(three) modifies are the Epithet and the Thing in the previous nominal group 'renshi-de ren'(familiar persons). This shows that when a Numerative becomes the Head, the presupposed item should also include the Epithet-Modifier, because the Epithet comes after the Numerative in a nominal group. Example /4.21/ is an illustration of nominal ellipsis with the Deictic as the Head. The ellipsed items are the Epithet and the Thing. Confusion arises when 'renmen'(people) in 'youwan-de renmen'(the people scurrying) is a noun with a plural suffix, but the Deictic expects a nominal Head singular in meaning. This confusion arises from the misunderstanding of the notion of ellipsis. Although there is a very high degree of identity between the ellipsed item and the presupposed item, ellipsis is used in the lexicogrammatical sense, i.e., a corresponding 'Thing' or 'Epithet + Thing' is omitted. Recovery of the omitted word(s) can come only from the corresponding structure. Singularity or non-singularity of a particular word is not obligatory in correspondence.

4.2.1.2 Left-to-right Ellipsis

More instances can be found in this category of nominal ellipsis, when the Head remains unchanged, except that some Modifiers are omitted from the presupposed items, but the reader has no difficulty in understanding that the two expressions are actually the same thing. Following are some of the examples.

/4.22/ "Meiyue-de shanggong jia ban cheng, Duanyang Jie lingwai mei er yuan de tebie jiang." ("They want a five percent rise in the monthly bonus and a special two-dollar bonus for the Dragon-boat festival.")

"Shenme! Shanggong jia ban-cheng, hai yao tebie jiang." ("What! A bigger bonus! And a special bonus!")

/4.23/ "Zheli yi ge da maobing! Da mao bing!" ("There's a great flaw in this! A very great flaw!")

Example /4.23/ is an instance of Numerative ellipsis with the numeral and the unit word 'yi ge'(a) ellipsed. Example /4.22/ illustrates that the two Epithets 'meiyuede'(monthly) and 'Duangyang Ji lingwai mei er yuan de'(two dollar for the Dragon-boat festival) are omitted. The two examples show that the textual meaning of a particular ellipsed nominal group is realized by its grammatical presupposition.

4.2.2 Verbal Ellipsis

The verbal system in Chinese is entirely different from that in English with respect to finiteness and tense. To put it more explicitly, they are not found in Chinese. This is the reason why quite a few Chinese linguists and grammarians today do not take pains over elaborating the verb system in Chinese.

Wang Li is one of the linguists who stressed the study of the verb system in Chinese. (1944) He pointed out that although there are no voice and tense in Chinese, there does exist 'aspect'. (1944) Of course the notion is defined with respect to the specific situation in Chinese, i.e., "Aspect refers to those matters concerned with proximity, length and stage in temporal expressions." The definition would be clearer from the negative point of view, i.e., "In language, aspect refers to those expressions of process which do not lay stress on past, present and future but are concerned with temporality." (translated by the present writer) Following this guideline, Wang reported seven types of aspects (including the common aspect) in Chinese. They are:

1. Zero aspect
2. Progressive aspect, e.g. Feng Jie zheng shu-zhe qian. (Feng Jie is counting the coins.)
3. Perfective aspect, e.g., Feng Jie xi-le shou. (Feng Jie has washed her hands.)

4. Recent aspect, e.g. Wo fangzai you dafa ren jin-qu lai-zhe.
(I have just asked someone to send for Sister.)
5. Inchoative aspect, e.g., Ta pang-qilai le. (He has started to get fat.)
6. Successive aspect, e.g., Ni zheyang ban-xiagu, yiding hui you chengji de. (If you go on doing it like that, the result will certainly be good.)
7. Transitory aspect, e.g., Kankan(just look); xiexie (rest a little)

Wang's model is basically echoed in Chao's "A Grammar of Spoken Chinese"(1968), where the recent aspect is not mentioned. Besides, 'guo' is classified as 'the indefinite past aspect' by Chao whereas Wang stresses that 'guo' can also be used in a period of time other than in the past.

In addition, there are three subtypes of verbs existing in Chinese. (Lu, 1979) They are (a) root modals, expressing modality and modulation, such as 'neng'(can), 'keyi'(may), 'hui'(can), 'gai'(ought to), 'yingdang'(should), 'bixu'(must), 'de'(have to), 'gan'(dare), 'yao'(will, to be to do), 'yuanyi'(to be willing to), etc.; (b) copula verbs, such as 'shi'(be); (c) directional verbs, such as 'lai'(come), 'qu'(go), 'shang'(up), 'xia'(down), 'jin'(in), 'chu'(out), etc. All these auxiliary verbs form part of a compound verb by following the main verb. In English, this function is mainly played by prepositions syntactically.

With all this in mind, verbal ellipsis in Chinese is discussed in the following sections.

4.2.2.1 Lexical Ellipsis

Lexical ellipsis occurs when the main verb in a verbal group is ellipted but it can be recovered from the presupposed verbal group.

- /4.24/ "Lao Huang, ni bu yao suibian shuohua." ("Old Huang, don't talk such nonsense!")
"Wo gangcai-de hua shi bu shi suibian?" ("Nonsense! Did I?")

- /4.25/ "Gongsi li zongjinli yi zhi qing ni daili." ("I hope you can take over from me as general manager of the company.")
"Na bu xing! Hai shi qing Wang Hefu ba!" ("Out of the question. You'de better ask Wang Hefu to do it.")

As an aspect marker should be attached to the main verb, once the main verb is ellipted, naturally the aspect marker is also ellipted.

- /4.26/ Wu Zhisheng tamen du you xiao-qilai le. Lian Fan Bowen ziji ye zai nei. (Wu Zhisheng and the others laughed. And even Fan Bowen himself.)

4.2.2.2 Left-to-right ellipsis

Left-to-right ellipsis here refers to the omission of the root modals in front of the main verb. Therefore ellipsis occurs on the left side of the verb group.

- /4.27/ a. "Xian yao shen ta!" ("We'll try him first!")
"Xian shen ta! Xian shen ta!" ("Try him! Try him!")
b. "Ta hun-jinlai yao dating xiaoxi!" ("She is to spy on us here!")
"Qian Qiaolin ye shi lai dating xiaoxi de." ("Qian Qiaolin is to spy on us too!")

In both of the two examples, the modal verb 'yao'(will/is to) is ellipted in the responses. Generally speaking, the omission of modulation occurs more often than modality, because the latter is concerned with the speaker's judgement, and one cannot expect this meaning of the speaker's to be carried over to the addressee. For instance,

- /4.28/ "Shanghai zong gai bu yaojin ba?...." ("Anyway, Shanghai should be safe enough....")
"Bu yaojin!...." ("Oh, yes, Shanghai is safe!....")

Although the modality 'zonggai'(should) does not appear in the response, this is by no means a case of ellipsis, because the second speaker is more certain of the situation in Shanghai.

4.2.2.3 Right-to-left Ellipsis

Right side ellipsis refers to the omission of those aspect markers following the main verb. From the data, it mainly occurs in the ~~performative~~^{ec} aspect, for instance,

- /4.29/ a. "Shanghai daying-le ma?" ("Did the Chamber of Commerce agree?")
"Ziran daying." ("Of course. It did!")
- b. "Wo lengxiao-le ma?—Ruguo wo lengxiao,...." ("Have I smiled? If I have....")

The directional verb which constitutes a part of the compound verb can also be omitted if one wants to.

- /4.30/ "Zhe ge shihou ni shang nali qu a?" ("Where are you off to at such a moment?")
"Dao Gong-an-ju youdian gongshi." ("I'm going to the police station on some official business.")

4.2.3 Clausal Ellipsis

Clausal ellipsis takes the presupposing clause as a basic structure where ellipsis occurs in constituents like the subject, complement, predicator and adjunct. The missing parts can be recovered from the corresponding presupposed structure in another sentence. Undoubtedly, the whole clause can also be ellipted. As there are different combinations, some of the frequently occurring instances will be cited below.

4.2.3.1 Ellipsis of the Whole Clause

4.2.3.1.1 Ellipted as a Constituent in Another Sentence

A clause(or clause complex) can be a constituent of another sentence and be ellipted. Examples,

- /4.31/ a. "Wo jiu qu zhao tamen lai." ("I'll run and fetch them.")
"Lin xiaojie, ni zancheng ma?" ("Miss Lin, do you agree?")
- b. "...Gui xiang jing lun wei feigu...." ("Your home town has been captured by the rebels....")
"Women du shi jingtian jian-le bao, cai zhidao." ("We've only just learned it today in the newspapers!")

The first utterances in both examples are omitted, but one can gather from the following utterances that when one uses processes like 'zancheng'(agree) or 'zhidao'(learn), he must refer to some facts which were mentioned in the previous context, otherwise people wouldn't understand what they have really agreed, learned or rejected.

4.2.3.1.2 Polarity + (clause)

Sometimes, a speaker uses only polarity or words carrying the meaning of polarity in his utterance while the clause itself has to be recovered from the presupposed utterance. Examples for the use of polarity are:

- /4.32/ a. "Nandao ni lingwai hai you xiangwang?" ("Does it mean that you were expecting some other things?")
"Meiyou." ("No.")
- b. "...Shashi he Yichang yi-dai, zapaijun he hongjun bian-zuo-le mao shu tong xue er ju--" ("....In Shasi and Yichang, the local troops and the Reds get on famously together—like cats and mice living in the same hole!—")
"Dui-le." ("Right.")

In /4.32a/, the complete clause should be "Wo lingwai meiyou xiangwang." ("I were not expecting anything.") with the underlined words recovered from the previous context. In /4.32b/, the complete form should be something like "Duile, Shashi he Yichang yi-dai, zapaijun he hongjun bian-zuo-le mao shu tong xue er ju." ("It is right that....") These examples show that in dealing with clausal ellipsis, the occurrence of polarity depends on the functional need of an adjacency pair of speech

acts. The notion of clause here is used in a broad sense. It covers either a single clause or a clause complex. Therefore, example /4.33/ is still an instance of clausal ellipsis which should appear in the form "It is exactly that...." or one can use the more original pattern with 'yes' and then repeat the whole clause complex if he wants to.

/4.33/ "...Lao Zhao shi youming-de dahu duotou, ta yi chu long, sanhu tuotou jiu gengjia konghuang, pinming yao tu-shou le, ergie yiding hai you xuduo xing kongtou hui cheng shi tiao luo!" ("...If Old Zhao, the famous bull, sells, the small fry holders will panic and rush to sell out. Then, of course, when people see the market is falling, a lot of new bears will be coming on the scene.")
"Shi a!" ("Exactly!")

Positive polarity can also be expressed by the use of a sort of tag question like 'ke bushi'(isn't it) in Chinese. The tone is similar to tone 1 in English.

/4.34/ "Wo qunian dao xiangxia qu guo, ye mei kanjian xiang ni zhe yishen laoshi-de yiqun." ("When I went home to the country last year, I didn't see any of the country girls wearing such old-fashioned clothes as yours.")
"Ke bu shi." ("Didn't you!")

4.2.3.1.3 Modality + (Clause)

In speech acts, when the hearer wants to repeat something expressed by the first speaker, he can do so by using modality to express his own view without mentioning the whole clause again. Examples,

- /4.35/ a. "Xiang bu dao ni shi huanying tamen da zhang?" ("Do you mean to tell me you like wars?")
"Ye bu yiding." ("Not always.")
- b. "Qishi xiangxia ye hai taiping...." ("I think it's quite peaceful in the country.")
"Taiping! Bu jian-de ba!" ("Peaceful? Not necessarily!")

As modality often takes the mid-sentential position when the omitted clause is recovered, the sentence in /4.35a/ should be read as "Wo ye bu yiding shi huanying tamen da zhang." ("I do not always like wars.")

The complete response in /4.35b/ should be "Xiangxia bu jian-de ye hai taiping ba!" ("It is not necessarily true that it's quite peaceful in the country!")

4.2.3.1.4 Modulation + (Clause)

The same is also true if one uses modulation with the clause ellipted.

/4.36/ "...Nandao wo jiu zhi neng xie houzi-shi-de xunpu, wugui yiyangde tiejiache? Dangran bu neng." ("....Is it that I could only describe the policemen prancing around like a lot of monkeys and the armoured cars crawling along like great tortoises? No, I couldn't....")

The complete clause with modulation in /4.36/ should be read as "Wo dangran bu neng jiu zhi xie houzi-shi-de xunpu, wugui yiyangde tiejiache." ("No, I couldn't only describe.....")

4.2.3.2 Ellipsis of the Nominal Group

The nominal group functions as the subject or complement in a clause. When the whole nominal group is ellipted, it can only be recovered from the corresponding clause, i.e., in a clausal environment or at a level higher than the nominal group itself.

/4.37/ "Lao Zhao fa piqi!" ("Zhao Botao's furious!")
"Shenme--fa piqi!" ("What! - Furious?")

As the predicates are identical in both utterances, the ellipted nominal group in the second utterance must be the corresponding one in the first utterance, without which the reader would be simply left in the dark, without any knowledge about the person who is furious. Sometimes, more than one nominal group can be ellipted in a single utterance. In recovering them from the presupposed clause, the reader has to be aware of the order and function of the relevant nominal groups.

/4.38/ "Ni ren-de na ge ren ma?" ("Do you know that man?")
"--Ren-de." ("I do.")

Both the subject and the complement are ellipted in /4.38/. Allowing for the shift of the speech role, the first ellipted nominal group in the second utterance should be 'wo', because it functions as subject and appears before the verb, 'na ge ren'(that man) can also be recovered from its grammatical function as a complement in the predicate.

4.2.3.3 Verbal Group

The section here is different from Section 4.2.2 in the sense that the whole verbal group is ellipted and can only be recovered at the clausal environment.

/4.39/ "Daodi da-de zenyang le? Zenyang le?" ("what really is going on? Going on?")

Example /4.39/ shows that an element of the verbal group 'da-de' can be found in the following sentence. To recover it one has to resort to its relation with 'zenyang le'(going on).

4.2.3.4 Adverbial

Adjuncts can also be omitted as shown in /4.40/.

/4.40/ "Women jia-li lai-guo meiyou?....Lai-guo meiyou?" ("Has she ever been to our house?....Has she?")

4.2.3.5 Ellipsis with More Than One Constituent

Ellipsis can not only occur singly with the nominal group, the verbal group or the adverbial in a clause. It can appear in much more complicated forms in terms of various combinations of these constituents. However, they mainly fall within two categories, characterized by the subject and characterized by the predicate. That is to say, one is

subject-centred, the other predicate-centred.

4.2.3.5.1 Subject-centred

An instance of subject-centred ellipsis is one where the subject is ellipted together with some other constituents (or some subconstituents) in the clause. Following are some examples.

/4.41/ (Subject) + (Modal:Modality)

"Shanghai zonggai bu yaojin ba?...." ("Shanghai should probably be safe enough?")

"Bu yaojin." ("Safe enough!")

/4.42/ (Subject) + (Modal:Modulation)

"Tebie shi Yuhua chang, mingtian yiding yao zai ba-xialai!Mingtian ba-xialai." ("Especially the Yuhua Factory must be on strike again tomorrow....Be on strike again tomorrow!")

/4.43/ (Subject) + (Aspect Marker)

"Shanghai daying le ma!" ("Did the Chamber of Commerce agree?")

"Ziran daying." ("Of course, it agreed.")

/4.44/ (Subject) + (Verbal Group)

"Ni cai women haizi ai chi shenme?" ("Guess what our child loves to eat?")

"Bingqilin!" ("Icecream!")

/4.45/ (Subject) + (Verbal Group) + (Adjunct)

"Ni dao chang-li ji nian la?" ("How long have you been at the factory?")

"Liang nian you shi tian." ("Two years and ten days.")

All this shows the variability and complexity of subject-centred ellipsis. The meaning of those ellipted constituents can only be recovered by comparing with the presupposed sentence item by item.

4.2.3.5.2 Predicate-centred

Predicate-centred ellipsis includes ellipsis of verbs together with

some other constituents other than the subject. Examples are:

/4.46/ (Predicate), + (Complement)

"...Xuyao yige ren anwei wo, guli wo. Ma Jin, ni ken ma?"
("....I need some one to comfort me, someone to encourage me. Would you, Ma Jin?....")

/4.47/ (Predicate) + (Clausal Adjunct)

"--You ren cheng women yadi-le jiaqian jiu ba-jin! -- O, O! Bu shi Lao Zhao, shi xin mutou?...." ("....Somebody buying in while we're holding the price down?....Eh? Not Zhao Botao? A new bull?")

/4.48/ (Predicate) + (Complement) + (Clausal Adjunct)

"O—hai na wo lai du dongdao ne! Ye you Fan Bowen zai nei" ("So you bet on me, did you? Fan Bowen, too....")

In /4.46/, only the subject and model(modulation) appear in the second sentence with the predicator and the complement ellipted. Both 'Zhao Botao' and 'A new bull' in /4.47/ have to recover their predicator and clausal adjunct from the previous sentence. Example /4.48/ illustrates the ellipsis of all three constituents.

4.3 Parallelism

Syntactical cohesion can also be realized by means of parallelism in clausal constituents.

The notion of parallelism here is different from Gleason's enation and agnation. (1965) According to Gleason, "Two sentences may be said to be enate if they have identical structures, that is, if the elements (say, words) at equivalent places in the sentences are of the same classes, and if the constructions in which they occur are the same." Thus, one can say /4.49a/ is enate to /4.49b/.

/4.49/ a. The dog bit the man.

b. The cat ate the canary.

Although there is grammatical identity (or enation) in the two sentences, the two sentences are not related in meaning.

There is sameness of meaning in Gleason's term 'agnation'. For instance,

/4.50/ a. He delivered.

b. He made a delivery.

/4.51/ a. He decided.

b. He made a decision.

Although there is similarity in meaning in each pair of sentences, they differ in structures and therefore there is no parallelism. This can be studied in the category of lexical cohesion in H-H's system.

Parallel cohesion here can have three options within the system, namely, repetition, alternation and merging.

4.3.1 Repetition

Repetition is confined to the occurrence of the same structure with the same order in two sentences, such as,

/4.52/ "Meiyou shenme! A, meiyou shenme!" ("It's all right! Oh, it's all right!")

/4.53/ "Danshi Su jie, wo bu yuanyi zai zhuzai jia-li le! Yi tian ye bu yuanyi!" ("But Susu, I don't want to live in that house again! Not a single day!")

.....

"Wo bu yuanyi zai zhuzai jia-li le! Yi tian ye bu yuanyi!
Su jie, wo yao gen ni tong zhu, bai ni zuo laoshi!" ("I don't want to live in that house again! Not a single day! I want to live with you, Susu, and have you teach me what to do!")

The underlined items in each pair of utterances in both /4.52/ and /4.53/ are exactly the same, although the two utterances in /4.53/ are mediated for a distance. There is in /4.57/ lexical cohesion in expressions like 'Su jie'(Susu), 'yuanyi'(want), 'zhu'(live), 'jia'(house), and 'yi tian'

(a single day), and referential cohesion between 'ni'(you) and 'Su jie'(Susu), but neither type of cohesion can cover the cohesive relation realized by the function words like 'bu'(not), 'zai'(again), 'zai'(at), 'li'(in), and 'le'(aspectual mood marker), to say nothing of the expression 'meiyou shenme'(It's all right). The most acceptable way is to take the whole structure as a unit. It follows that the second expression is anaphoric to the first one.

Addition can also be listed under this heading. The presupposed item is extended to a certain degree without altering the original structure. The structure can be a clause or a group. The common instances are:

/4.54/ Addition of Particle

"Chong chang! Chong chang a!" ("March into the other factories! Hurrah, march into the other factories!")

/4.55/ Addition of Intensifier

"Bu shi! Yidian ye bu shi!" ("No! Not at all!")

/4.56/ Addition of Modal

"Meiyou weixian! Zhuzhai, yiding meiyou weixian!....."
("There's no risk attached to it! Zhuzhai! There's no risk attached to it, I'm sure!.....")

/4.57/ Addition of Aspect Marker

"....Bushì wo daying ni zhongzhong ban ta ma? Hou lai bushì jiao jingcha ban-le ta ma?" ("....I promised to punish him for you, didn't I? And didn't I get the police to punish him....")

/4.58/ Addition of Modifier

"Zhao Botao? Zuo gongzhai-de Zhao Botao ma?" ("Zhao Botao? The one who goes in for government bonds?.....")

/4.59/ Addition of Subject and Verb

"meiyou banfa!.....Zhe zhen shi meiyou banfa!" ("Can't be helped!.....It can't be helped!")

/4.60/ Addition of Complement

"Na jiu yao ni jiao wo!" ("What would you suggest?")

"Wo jiu jiao ni gen ta da guansi." ("I would suggest that you take him to court!")

Combinations of two or more constituents for addition can be expected.

4.3.2 Alternation

Alternation is essentially a co-occurrence of ellipsis and addition with the structure unchanged.

/4.61/ "Wo ye meiyou yi ge ren keyi gaosu, keyi shangliang!"
("I've no one to confide in and no one to advise me!")

According to the norm set up at the very beginning, the alternation of 'shangliang'(advise) with 'gaosu'(confide) here has a weak cohesive force structurally. The cohesive force proper occurs in the following instance where two sentences are closely tied together.

/4.62/ "Tang zai cai yuan-li! Tang zai di-xia!" ("Hide in the kitchen-garden! Hide in the back!....")

The structures of the two predicators are identical in /4.62/, but the adjuncts vary by alternating 'dixia'(in the back) with 'cai yuan-li' (in the kitchen-garden). Therefore, in an instance of parallelism with alternation, some items in the constituent have to give way to a new item. The notion of repudiation is avoided here, in which there is always a sort of contrast with exclusiveness in the presupposed item when two items are compared. However in alternation, the stress is laid on contrast with inclusiveness. Although new meaning is added to the presupposed constituent, there is no repudiation of the deleted item. Both alternation and addition are important cohesive devices in literary genre. A writer can never be successful by neglecting this point.

Example /4.63/ shows how parallelism with alternation is employed in a

literary text.

/4.63/ Ta yaojin-zhe yaguan fanfu zi wen dao: "Wei shenme wo nayang ming ku? Wei shenme lundao wo jiu bu yinggai? Wei shenme bie renjia nan nu zhi jian keyi suisuibianbian? Wei shenme tamen duiyu A Shan zhuang long zuo ya? Wei Shenme wo jiu di tou tingping tamen mozhe, yidian-er meiyou banfa!....." (She asked herself through clenched teeth: "Why should I have all the bad luck? Why should I be treated differently from everybody else? Why should the other girls be allowed to go out with boys just as they like? Why should they pretend not to notice the way Peishan goes on? Why should I give in and let them treat me like this?.....")

From the example, one can see that all the sentences in the reported speech have the same structure beginning with 'Wei shenme' (Why should), and that all the meanings are related to the thoughts going through the mind of a teenage girl who has been jilted.

4.3.4 Merging

Before bringing this chapter to an end, one cannot help mentioning the merging of two expressions by two speech participants into a single structure. It is called 'sentence-sharing' by Gregory and Carroll (1978), for example,

/4.64/ A: Are you going to—?
B: Go to the dance? Yes.

We cannot say B's utterance is an instance of addition to A's, because they are not parallel structures. Nor can we say B's utterance is an ellipsis to A's, because A's utterance is not complete at all. What we are interested in here is that they are cohesive in the sense that they can merge into one expression, the full meaning is realized by combining the two utterances into one. Similar examples can be found in the Chinese text under study.

/4.65/ "...Meiyou jianzi jiu bu neng kai gong, bu neng kai gong jiu yao—" ("...If he hasn't got the cocoons, he can't

keep his factory running, and if he has to close down—")
 "Jiu yao zeng jia shiye gongren...." ("Then there'll be
 more unemployed....")

From the above example, one can suggest that (a) merging occurs in an oral discourse when two participants are involved; (b) the first speaker does not know how to complete his utterance at the very moment, or he deliberately wants the hearer to fill in the rest of his utterance (it often happens in classroom situation), or his speech is cut in on by someone who wants to take over the speech role.

Through all the examples cited in Section 4.3, one can conclude that parallelism is not merely a formal repetition of a structure. The speaker makes use of its function to repeat a statement, to paraphrase, to further elaborate or to repair a statement. When the original statement is to be recovered from the presupposed sentence, it follows that cohesion is involved.

4.4 The System of Syntactical Cohesion

Summing up the sections discussed in this chapter, one can suggest a system of syntactical cohesion for Chinese.

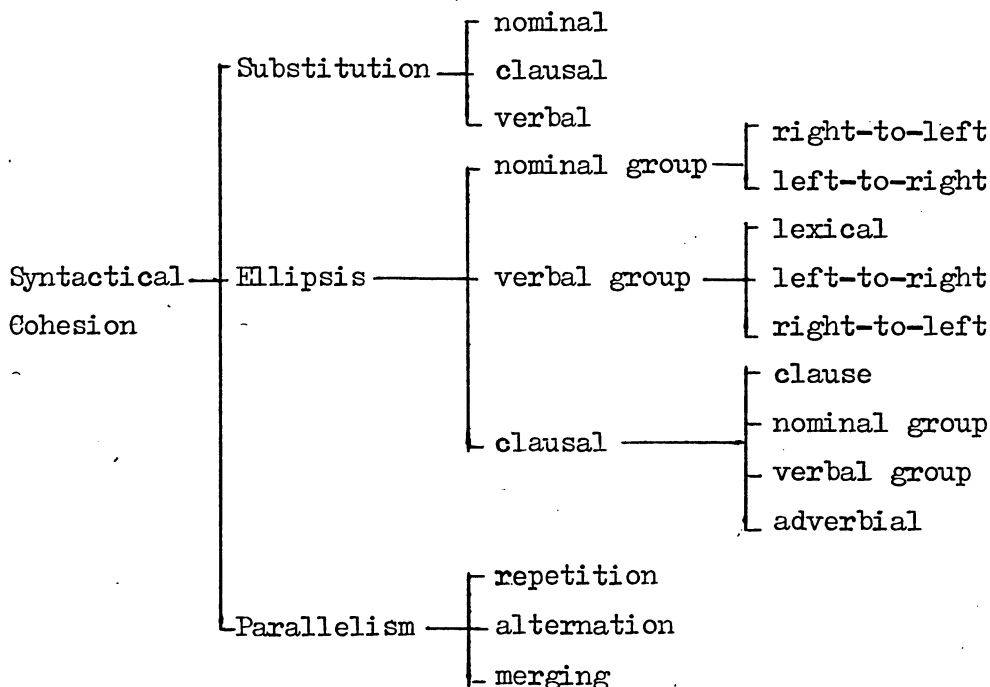


Fig.6 The System of Syntactical Cohesion

Chapter five. Conjunctive Cohesion

5.0 Conjunctive Cohesion

Conjunctive cohesion in a text grammar can be studied either in a narrow way in terms of the logical relation between consecutive sentences (H-H, 1976), or in a broad way in terms of the logical relation between consecutive events irrespective of their being two sentences or two clauses in a clause complex (Martin, 1979a). The two approaches are exemplified in /5.1a/ and /5.1b/ respectively. Of course, this does not cover all the differences.

- /5.1a/ a. He was very uncomfortable. Nevertheless he fell asleep.
(Adversity)
- b. You need to cleanse the skin well, (then) to use a good cleaner. (Consequential)

In spite of their difference, both the examples show that from what has been said in the first sentence or event one can predict what is going to follow next. Such relation is achieved by the use of a conjunctive or can be checked by the possibility of its insertion. The present study is following H-H's approach, incorporating some of Martin's notions.

The conjunctives in a text grammar include some conjunctions commonly described in a traditional grammar, such as 'suoyi/yin-er'(therefore), etc., and some adverbs or adverbial phrases which possess the conjunctive meaning. For instance, in /5.2/

- /5.2/ "Jinwanshang ni qingxiaopengyou, jishi kuai qian pa bu gou ba? Huitou wo gei ni yi bai...." ("Have all your friends in this evening to celebrate. Will fifty dollars be enough! Later I'll give you a hundred....")

the expression 'huitou'(later) is treated as an adverbial in a sentence

grammar, but it functions as a temporal conjunctive to relate the two events in terms of their time relation.

Xu (1954) reported that adverbs can be connective elements in a multi-clause sentence in Chinese, but he did not extend his observation to cases beyond the sentence boundary. In contrast, Chao's report (1968) is worth mentioning. He found many conjunction-like words in Chinese occupy the typical position of English adverbs, and he named them adverbial conjunctions. With respect to conjunctions proper in Chinese, Chao said that "a speaker can begin a sentence with 'danshi' (but) after completing a previous sentence or in commenting on something another person has said. The occurrence of such a word is therefore dependent on something outside of the sentence in which it occurs, somewhat as pronouns are dependent on their antecedents. Such dependence is not syntactic, but macrosyntactic." Chao especially stressed that he was talking about the macrosyntactic use of conjunctions. It can be seen that Chao's concept of 'adverbial conjunction' and 'the macrosyntactic use of conjunction' is channelled in the direction of defining text-forming properties of adverbs and conjunctives in a Chinese text.

Conjunctive cohesion in Chinese can be classified into four main types, namely, additive, adversative, contrastive and temporal.

5.1 Additive

The term additive is distinguished from the term coordinative, because coordination in a sentence grammar implies the relation of a purely paratactic type, and the positions of the two related items are interchangeable in most cases, such as:

/5.3/ "shenme hua? You zuo baoren, you jian gongduan!" ("What? A guarantor as well as a judge!")

In /5.3/, the expression 'you zuo baoren, you jian gongduan' (a guarantor as well as a judge) can be realigned as 'you jian gongduan, you zuo baoren' (a judge as well as a guarantor) with a slight alteration of the meaning. But in a text grammar, as sentences have to succeed one another, it follows that the conjunctive which introduces the second sentence always carries the meaning 'there is something more to say'. It is no longer paratactic in its proper sense. It is for this reason that the term additive is preferable. This feature was touched upon by Xiao (1954). He mentioned that the coordinative relations between things can be expressed by conjunctions such as 'he/tong/gen/ye/bing/ji' (and), but these words cannot be used to connect sentences or clauses with different subjects. To cope with the latter case, some other conjunctions are needed. Undoubtedly, they are concerned with the conjunctives under study here.

Conjunctives under this category are 'zai/you/ye/hai/bingqie/er/erqie' (and), 'zai zhe/haiyou' (moreover), 'ciwai/kuangqie' (besides), etc. Apart from the additive proper, comparative relations and appositive relations are also included under this heading. The conjunctives for the former are 'tongyang' (similarly), etc. The latter uses conjunctives such as 'jiushi/ji' (that is), 'wo shi shuo' (I mean), 'huan yan zhi' (in other words), etc. Hence, they all express meanings in addition to those previously mentioned. They will be discussed respectively in the ensuing sections.

5.1.1 Additive Proper

5.1.1.1 Positive

Simple additive relations are mainly expressed by monosyllabic words, such as 'zai/you/ye/hai'(and), etc. Examples:

/5.4/ "Toucai kai-chu le, kai-chu le! Dezhu liang wei! Kuai shang-qu a! Zai kai er-cai!" ("That's the first prize gone! Half each! Up you go again and we'll see who gets the second prize!")

/5.5/ We Sunfu zou-zhe meitou kuxiao....Wu Sunfu xiang-zhe you ren bu zhu xiao-qilai. (Wu Sunfu frowned and smiled grimly at himself,....Again, Wu Sun-fu could not repress a smile as he thought of it.)

/5.6/ Qiu Sun huida, you weixiao. Li Yuting ye xiao le. (Qiu Sun replied with a smile. Li Yuting also laughed.)

/5.7/ "Ni zhi xiao-de yige Han Menxiang ma! Wo hai shou-mai de bi Han Menxiang geng yaojin de ren ni!" (Han Menxiang's not the only one! I've also bought over some one even more important than him!")

The examples show that the usage of conjunctives here cannot be explained merely through the introduction of a coordinative structure in each case. The meanings of these conjunctives go far beyond that. They inform the reader that the event concerned is not only semantically related to an event somewhere in the text, but also the events happen on different occasions and one follows another.

Linguistically, the two events involved are expressed by two successive sentences, such as /5.6/ and /5.7/, but they can be mediated by other sentences, such as examples/5.4/ and /5.5/, because it is their semantic relation in a text that counts.

Another linguistic feature is the position of these conjunctives. As they closely relate the events to each other, they appear before the verbs. More precisely, they are between subject and verb, taking the position of a modal adverb.

There are more bisyllabic additives in Chinese, e.g. 'bingqie/kuangqie/hekuang/erkuang'(and), 'zaishuo'(furthermore), 'zaizhe'(moreover), 'erqie/ciwai'(besides), 'youqi'(especially), etc., all expressing the

meaning that in addition to what has already been mentioned, one more point is to follow. It either reflects the speaker's view(/5.8/), or the narrator's (/5.10/ and /5.11/). The distinction between internal and external will be discussed in Section 5.5.

/5.8/ "Na ke buxing ne! Zai shuo, zhi you si bai duo kuai, zenme jiu yao yi-wan yinzi de cunzhe zuo diya—" ("It wouldn't be right! Moreover, it's only a matter of four hundred dollars or so. You can't expect a passbook for ten thousand dollars as a pledge for that amount—")

/5.9/ Keshi tazhun zhidao Xu Manli yiding ting-de hen qinchu. Bingqie ta hai kanjian zhewei jiaojihua shifu quanshen yi zhen. (But he knew very well that Xu Manli could still hear it. And he noticed that she seemed to be trembling all over....)

/5.10/ Ran-er daodi xin-li youxie suanliuliu-de guai bu shufu. Ciwai geng you yidian shi ta lao da shaoxing. (Nevertheless he felt rather upset and ill at ease. Besides, what perturbed him more was....)

/5.11/ Xianzai shi ta shengqi de, dao shi Fei xiaohuzi de ban shi bu minjie, bu shiji. Zaizhe, Wu Sunfu ji yu yao zhidao jiaxiang jie hou canyu jiuqing hai you duoshao... (It was Fei Little Beard's dithering and incompetence that made him so furious. Moreover, he was on tenterhooks to know how much money was left over after the losses....)

Although all four expressions can be used in spoken or written text, their proximity to the two extremes can be presented by a scale:

spoken zai shuo bingqie ciwai zaizhe written

Unlike the monosyllabic conjunctives, they mainly take the initial position of a sentence except that 'bingqie' can appear also before the verb. They are sentence connectors rather than predicate-connectors. In this case, their semantic function is to connect two points of reasoning except that there might be two or more points mentioned before 'ciwai'. The bisyllabic word 'bingqie'(and) can be contracted to a monosyllabic word 'bing'. If so, it is not to be placed at the initial position of the presupposing sentence.

'Erqie', 'kuangqie', and 'hekuang' (and, besides) are another set of conjunctives.

/5.11/ Nan-nü puren tou dapai, ta ^hsi juedui jinzhi de. Erqie shaonainai tamen bu zai jia, you shi de Wu Sunfu huo shang tian you de zhenmu-qilai. (He had strictly forbidden his servants to gamble! What is more, when he found that his wife and everybody else were out he became angrier still.)

/5.12/ "Meiyou zhezhong banfa. Kuangqie meiyou yuxian shuoming." ("Simply it isn't done. Besides, we didn't agree on this beforehand.")

/5.13/ "Wo cong mei jian guo ta ban yijian shi yao hua bantian gongfu! Hekuang shi name yidian xiaoshi,...." ("....I've never seen him dithering and dawdling over anything! To say nothing of a piddling little problem like this....")

'Erqie' differs from 'kuangqie' and 'hekuang' in the sense that it is used descriptively. The second thesis is a supplement to the first, whereas 'kuangqie' and 'hekuang' introduce a newly added point of reasoning which is more practical, convincing and forceful. The latter implicitly carries the meaning of a conditional relation: if A is so and so, then B should also be so and so.

There is another level of meaning carried by 'hekuang'. It can be used in a rhetorical question to bring the reasoning onto a new level. As the hearer is assumed to accept the fact or reasoning already given, it follows that the new point, though minor or less important, is to be accepted too. It has the meaning of 'let alone', 'to say nothing of' or 'not to speak of'.

The use of 'er' is more complex. Leaving aside its meaning within a sentence, it can be used as a contracted form of 'erqie' textually, such as in,

/5.14/Zao gai shi tuixiu de Zeng Canghai que hai bu neng you you sui yue,....Er zhuijin liang san nian lai, ta-de yunqi yue bu xing. (....Zeng Canghai, who should have been enjoying his retirement by now, had to continue to manage the household affairs on his own.... Besides, for the last two or three years he had had a run of bad luck.)

Next, when 'er' appears at the beginning of a sentence, it sometimes carries the meaning of introducing something already mentioned in the previous text so that this can be further elaborated. Thus, the two sentences are more closely linked.

/5.15/ Shi fenzhong nei, Ding yisheng jiu keyi dao; er zai ta wei dao yiqian, qie mo jingrao bingren. (The doctor would be over in ten minutes. And before the doctor arrives, the patient should lie undisturbed.)

'Er' and 'erqie' sometimes differ in meaning. This can be fully seen by comparing the following examples. The first underlined word 'er' can be replaced by 'erqie', but it sounds odd when 'er' substitutes for the second underlined word 'erqie'.

/5.16/ "Wo shi zhidao you yige guojia. Er guojiade duo yinggai fangzai gangyi-de tiezhang li; zhong zai zuo, buzai shuo konghua! Erqie renhe ren bu neng fandui zhe guanli guojia-de tiezhang!...." ("I recognize only the state. And the helm of the state must be in the firm grip of men of iron. What's important is to get things done, not to theorize about them. Besides, no one should be permitted to oppose these men of iron who rule the state!....")

The function of 'er' is to introduce the repetition of the word 'guojia' (state), whereas 'erqie' introduces a new point in addition to the first reasoning: What's important is to get things done, not to theorize about them.

'Er' can also be used to contrast two items with opposite meanings. This will be discussed in the relevant section.

'Er' and 'kuangqie' can be combined into one word 'erkuang'.

/5.17/ ...ta nazhong shenqi shi kan-de chulai de; erkuang ta you lingjiao guo ta-de xinqing he sixiang. (...he had a shrewd idea of her intentions from her expression; what is more, he was well enough acquainted with her temperament and ideas to be able to guess.)

Another emphatic form of additive is 'youqi', which carries the meaning of introducing an extraordinarily important event which may be or may not be included in the previous events, but its importance far

exceeds those events. The former is exemplified in /5.18a/ and the latter in /5.18b/.

- /5.18/ a. Guoqu de san xiao shi nei, ta shi-le duoshao xinji, buliao quan pan lukong le. Youqi shi zhe zuihou de wu wan yuan bu neng dao shou.... (During the past three hours he had thought up many wonderful plans, but now they had all fizzled out. He had even failed to get that fifty thousand dollars....).
- b. Shen wei xianyi junren de ta, duiyu zhexie xunwen, dangzhen nan yi huide. Youqi shi ta bu an de, shi shen bian hai you yige Huang Fen, sulai guan fang dapao. (As an officer on the active list, he was naturally embarrassed at such a conversation. Especially with the indiscreet Huang Fen at his side.)

In /5.18a/, the attempt to get fifty thousand dollars was one of the plans, but the most important. Slightly different in /5.18b/, the presence of Huang Fen was a cause of embarrassment much more serious than those Col Lei had encountered in a conversation.

'Haiyou', 'shunbian shuo/ti yixia'(by the way, in passing) are on the other side of the scale. The speaker does not emphasize the newly introduced point, but lists it as a sort of afterthought after all the important items have been mentioned. They occur more frequently in casual speech and informal written texts than in formal speech or texts. The meaning of the latter is quite clear. With regard to 'haiyou', Li and Liu (1955) saw its function as an afterthought within a sentence. As a matter of fact, it is also widely used beyond the sentence boundary.

/5.19/ "...yimian qing Gonganjū pai jingche baohu gongchang, yimian chengbao Shehuiju.... Hai you, nage Du Weiyue jiao ta lai jian wo...." ("...you can call in policeman from the Bureau of Public Security to guard the factory, and send a report to the Bureau of Social Affairs about the trouble. In passing, send round that fellow Du Weiyue to me this morning....")

5.1.1.2 Negative

Connection of two negative events is expressed by the addition of

'you' to negative particles such as 'bu' and 'meiyou'(not) in the second sentence.

/5.20/ "Zhao bu dao Sunfu.... Wo you bubian daochu luan wen...."
("I couldn't find Sunfu anywhere about the house.... And I couldn't very well go around asking everybody I met....")

According to Pan (1954), apart from expressing the continuation or repetition of an event and the existence of two events or conditions, 'you' has also the function of emphasizing a negative sentence or rhetorical sentence. Ex. /5.20/ illustrates this.

5.1.1.3 Alternative

An alternative is used to connect two or more sentences, in which one is to be chosen. The most frequently occurring alternatives in Chinese are 'huozhe/huoshi...huozhe/huoshi', 'shi...haishi', 'bushi...jiu shi', 'yaome...yaome', 'yao jiushi...yao jiushi'. The first two pairs can apply to a choice among several items, and the rest are only limited to a choice between two items.

In most cases, the alternative is structurally bound, i.e., it functions within a sentence, and is therefore non-cohesive, as in

/5.21/ a. Bu shi touxiang Lao Zhao, jiu shi Yi Zhong Gongsì pochan.
(To surrender to Old Zhao, or to see the Yi Zhong Company go bankrupt!)

b. Zhang Susu yao tou, shui ye bu mingbai zhe yaotou shi biao shi bu pa liudai ne, haishi bu zhidao jieshang de huzao jiu jing shi shenme xingzhi. (Zhang Susu shook her head, but it was not clear whether this meant she was not afraid of stray bullets, or whether it meant she did not know what all the noise in the street had been about.)

In spite of this, one can still find instances of alternative conjunction beyond a sentence. For example,

/5.22/ Shi 'yinjian' you yiwen mo? Haishi shenmo shang suan cuo?
(Was there anything wrong with the seal? Or was the figure incorrect?)

There are two Chinese equivalents 'naishi' and 'huozhe' for the 'or' in English. But the two Chinese alternatives are quite different in their mood and usage. 'Huoze' has only the meaning of choice, but 'haishi' can have interrogative meaning in addition. See example /5.22/. Even in an affirmative sentence, the interrogative meaning can be recovered from the process at a high level, such as 'bumingbai' (was not clear) in /5.21b/.

When 'haishi' is used singly and affirmatively, its meaning has changed. Although there are two choices, the speaker is inclined to persuade the hearer to choose the second item. This is equivalent to the use of "'d rather/better" in English.

/5.23/ a. "Ni yige zou, changmenkou-de guanmenren ken fang ni chuqu ma? Haishi gen Wang Jinzhen yikuai-er zou ba?" ("How do you imagine you can get past the watchman at the main gate if you're on your own? You'de better go out with Wang Jinzhen.")

b. "...Xintuo-de zhuzhang jianzhi bu xing! Haishi wo-de!--" ("...Xintuo's theory just wouldn't work! Now, I've got a better one!")

It might be argued that 'haishi' is not an alternative any more. This is not the case. The speaker is inclined to one proposal, but the choice ultimately rests with the hearer, so 'haishi' in these instances can still be regarded as an alternative. In /5.23a/, the hearer still has the right to be on her own or to go out with Wang Jinzhen; and in /5.23b/, the audience can choose between Xintuo's theory and the speaker's.

When 'huozhe' is used singly in the presupposing sentence, its meaning is similar to 'huoxu' (perhaps), so it has the meaning of modality instead of conjunctive cohesion. The ambiguity can be cleared up by our judging whether the presupposing item and the presupposed are juxtaposed

/5.24/Liang ge du bi Zeng Jiaju gaoming-de duo. Huozhe zhe liang ge sheng kan zaojiu.... (....They both looked quite a bit brighter than Zeng Jiaju. Perhaps he might be able to make something of them....)

5.1.2 Comparative

The conjunction of comparative is mainly realized by expressions like 'tongyangde'(similarly, likewise). They are differentiated from comparative reference by their initial position in the sentence, so that on the one hand they compare the presupposing sentence with the presupposed one; on the other hand they play the role of conjunctive, enabling the two sentences to cohere.

/5.25/ Zai kexue yanjiu gongzuo zhong, women bu yingdang hushi lilun. Tongyang, women ye bu yingdang hushi shijian.
(In scientific research, we should not neglect theory. Likewise, we should not neglect practice.)

When the meaning is about dissimilarity, there are expressions like 'lingyifangmian'(on the other hand), 'dui bi zhi xia/xiang xing zhi xia'(by contrast), 'yu ci xiang duizhao de'(as opposed to this), 'fan-er'(on the contrary) to form the negative comparison.

/5.26/ Aodaliya di duc ren shao. Duibi zhi xia, Riben quefa tudi ziyuan, renkou guo duo. (Australia is a country with vast territory and a small population. By contrast, Japan is overpopulated and lacks land resources.)

5.1.3 Appositive

The conjunction of appositive can be divided into two subtypes, expository and exemplifactory, which can be characterized by the use of the symbols, 'i.e.' and 'e.g.'.

5.1.3.1 Expository

The expository is realized by using expressions like 'jiu shi/ji' (that is), 'zhe/na jiu shi shuo'(this/that is to say), 'huan yan zhi' (in other words), 'wo shi shuo/wo shuo de shi'(I mean), etc. to introduce a sentence, which is actually the rewording or paraphrasing of a previous

sentence. Naturally, the meaning of the second sentence bases itself on the previous one. Therefore those expository markers are textually cohesive. Some of the examples in the text are:

- /5.27/ a. "San xiansheng! Hai you yidian shi—"...."Jiu shi
Weicheng xiong-he Jingshan xiong liang wei,...." ("Mr
Wu! There's just one other thing—"...."That is, about
Weicheng and Jingshan,....")
- b. Hai you liu cheng de canyu. Na jiu shi shuo, hai you
liu qi wan xian kuan keyi you ta zhipai. (There's a
good chance of getting back sixty percent. That is to
say, about sixty or seventy thousand dollars in cash
at his disposal.)

In /5.27a/, the other thing the speaker wanted to mention is about Weicheng and Jinshan, and in /5.27b/ the amount of money that would be brought back is about sixty or seventy thousand dollars in cash. The expository relation between the two sentences in each example is realized by the conjunctive 'jiushi'(that is) and 'na jiu shi shuo'(that is to say) respectively.

5.1.3.2 Exemplifactory

This is expressed by using expressions such as, 'liru/ji'(for example), 'piru'(such as), 'juli lai shuo'(for instance), etc. The difference between expository and exemplifactory can be explained by comparing the formulas 'A=B' and 'A>B'. In the former, the two sentences are equal in meaning, whereas in the latter, sentence B is only several examples of A. It can only account for sentence A partly. Therefore A includes B, but not vice versa. For instance,

- /5.28/ "...zai youxie shiqing shang, jiu yi zaoji; piru ta he Bo
weng zhengzhi-de liang jian shi." ("...Mr Wu gets quite
short-tempered sometimes. --For example, there are a couple
of things he can't agree with you about.")

A couple of things are examples of Mr Wu's being short-tempered, but they

by no means exhaust all the manifestations of his behaviour.

5.2 Adversative

The semantic meaning of adversative is 'contrary to expectation'. On the highest scale is adversative proper, i.e., in spite of what has been expected, the outcome is just the opposite. (See example /5.29/) Next, the outcome serves as a contrast to (or 'as against') the former expectation. (ex. /5.30/) Thirdly, the speaker starts on something but he suddenly changes his mind by rewording his utterance, which is somewhat different from what he expected to say. (ex. /5.31/) Fourthly, the adversative relation is of a generalized one with the meaning 'no matter what happens, it still....'. (ex. /5.31/) These examples are named adversative proper, contrastive, corrective and dismissive respectively in the present study. Sometimes the same conjunctive can function in more than one category, depending on the context.

- /5.29/ Wu laotaiye jizhong quan shen zuihou-de shengmingli yao yi xia tou. Keshi shui ye meiyou li ta. (Old Mr Wu summoned his last ounce of strength to shake his head. But nobody noticed it.)
- /5.30/ Fan Bowen tamen du xiao--qilai le. Zhang Susu que bu xiao. (Fan Bowen and the others roared with laughter. Yet Zhang Susu did not laugh.)
- /5.31/ "...Zhengduo gonghui de shihou jiu bu yizhi; jia zai daigong fengchao zhong du xiang liyong gongren lai dadao duifang-de shi hou, ye bu yizhi; laoshishuo, cifan gongchao yanchang dao jiangjin yi xingqi, xiaoban-de yuanyin ye jiu wei de tamen liang ge gou tou bu yizhi,..." ("....They're far from being in agreement when it comes to fighting for power in the union or taking advantage of trouble among the women to score off one another. As a matter of fact, the main reason why this go-slow trouble has dragged on for nearly a week is that these two scoundrels have been at loggerheads....")
- /5.32/ Zhou Zhongwei huran hehe-di da xiao le. Wulunruhe, ta changchang nenggou xiao. (Zhou Zhongwei suddenly laughed. Whatever happened, he could always laugh.)

5.2.1 Adversative Proper

There are quite a few adversatives under this heading. 'Dan(shi)', 'ke(shi)', and 'buguo'(but) are of one category. In spite of their frequent occurrences to conjunct two clauses within a sentence, they are still widely used in a textual environment.

- /5.33/ a. "Jiu shi zheme yihui shi! Danshi, Ji weng zhi zhi qi yi, wei zhi qi er!---" ("That's it! But Mr Sun only knows one side of the question!....")
- b. "shimian shang de xiaoxi yexu guo shen qi ci. Keshi zheci laide shangbing zhen shi bu shao...." ("Perhaps the rumours are exaggerated. But there's no end of wounded coming in just now....")
- c. "Wo zhi zuo-le si wu jian yifu a, Baba!" ("I only had a few dresses made, Daddy!")
- "Ai, -- Buguo jintian ni you yao yi-bai kuai,...." ("Hm-- but now you're asking for another hundred dollars,....")

In this kind of adversative relation, the event in the first sentence can be factual (ex. /5.33a/ and /5.33c/) or non-factual (ex. /5.33b/), whereas the second event must be a fact. Emphasis is laid on the second event. In most cases, this set of adversative relations is experiential.

Even the conventionally structure-bound conjunctions 'suiran' or 'suize'(although) can be textually cohesive when they are used as an afterthought in the text. In this case, the experiential nature remains unchanged, but the emphasis is laid on the first sentence.

- /5.34/ "...cong shi-wu hao dao jintian, bushi bubu zhang ma? Suiran meitian buguo zhangshang liang san jiao." (Ever since the fifteenth prices have been rising steadily. Even though it's only been a matter of twenty or thirty cents a day.)

Some interpersonal adjuncts, such as 'xing-er'(fortunately), 'kexi'(unfortunately/regrettably), 'buliao'/'pianpian'(unexpectedly) can also carry the meaning of adversative in a text. The requirement for the use

of these conjunctives is that they must be contrary to the expectation in the previous context. Otherwise, their use is not logically sound. Note that this kind of 'unexpectedness' only reflects the writer's or the speaker's view. See the following examples.

- /5.35/ a. Liang ge ren duili-zhe zhou meitou. Xing-er paotang-de xiang-chu banfa. (The two of them were disappointed and frowning. Fortunately, a waiter made a suggestion.)
- b. Zicong si-shi sui shang, ta sheng-le yiwei baogui erzi yihou, ta nazhong tancai linse kepo de tianxing jiu tiebie fahui. Kexi ta zhewei erzi sui ming wei 'Jiaju', shizai hai bi bu shang yitiao 'jiaogou'. (Since at the age of forty, he had had his first and only son, whom he doted on, his greed, avarice and meanness had become worse than ever. Unfortunately, though named as 'Jiaju' (stallion), the boy was nothing better than 'Jiaogou'(dog).)
- c. Ta jian-qile erdou, dasuan zuo-zhu Zhu Yinqiu de mei yige zi. Buliao jiezhe lai de que shi Chen Junyi de shengying. (...She strained her ears to catch every word Zhu Yinqiu might be saying for her benefit. Unexpectedly it was Chen Junyi's voice that she heard next.)

The adjunct 'buliao' should be distinguished from the verb group 'liaobudao'(did not expect). Although their lexical meaning is alike, their textual meaning is different. 'Buliao' is an adjunct in a sentence and serves as a conjunctive in the text. On the other hand, 'liao bu dao' is a process in a sentence. That is to say, the expression itself with its complement has to be connected by a conjunctive to the previous text, if necessary. Compare /5.35c/ with the following example.

- /5.36/ Du Xueshi zhe hua ke geng la le,....Liao bu dao hui fasheng zheyang de zenan, Zeng Jiaju.... (Du Xue-shi asked in a voice more caustic than Fan Bowen's had been,.... Zeng Jiaju had not expected a rebuff like this,....)

5.2.2 Contrastive

Some of the conjunctives mentioned in the last section can sometimes carry the meaning of 'as against' instead of 'in spite of'. They are 'dan(shi)', 'ke(shi)' and 'que'(but). Examples:

- /5.37/ a. "Nashi de si shang duo, yinwei shi pingming chongfeng. Dan xianzai, de gai shi de qi fan ba?" (...."The casualties were heavy then because our men fought and died with a will. But, today, I'm sure it's quite different, eh?")
- b. Zhu Guiying liji ye zhan-le qilai. Keshi Du Weiyue lanzhu-le ta. (Zhu Guiying immediately stood up. But Tu Weiyue stopped her.)
- c. Dajia du zheng-zhu le. Si xiao jie que mingbai laotaiye yao-de shi shenme. (Nobody knew what had happened. But Huifang understood what it was her father wanted.)

In all three examples, there is no direct relationship between expectation and what is contrary to expectation. The conjunctives merely fulfil the function of making a contrast between two events. In /5.37a/, the morale of the soldiers was different in the two battles; in /5.37b/, the girl wanted to leave and the other wanted her to stay; and in /5.37c/, not a person present knew the old man's intention except his young daughter.

Similar to the above set of contrastives is another set of expressions, all bearing the character 'er'. They are 'er', 'ran-er', 'erqie', 'fan-er'(yet).

- /5.38/ a. Ben-nian Shanghai shuru Riben-de renzhaosi jiu you yi wan ba qian duo bao,.... Er xianzai, changsi Ou xiao tingzhi, (This year alone Shanghai merchants have imported over eighteen thousand bales of Japanese rayon!....And at present the export of Chinese silk is at a standstill,")
- b. Shang Zhongli....you xiaomimi-de kan-le Zhao Botao yi yan. Ran-er Du Zhuzhai hai shi bu mingbai. (Shang Zhongli.... smiled at Zhao Botao. Yet Du Zhuzhai was still in the dark.)
- c.Pengyou zhongjian gei ta qi de hunming jiao 'Hongtou huochai',.... Ta-de zhen xingming Zhou Zhongwei fan-er yin ci bu zhang. (....He was nicknamed 'Red-tipped Match'),And his real name—Zhou Zhongwei was eclipsed in a way by this nickname.)

The function of 'er' is entirely different from what we came across in section 5.1, because 'er' can not only connect two items with similar

meanings, but also connect two items with contrastive meanings. (Ting, 1952)

The third set of contrastives are 'zhishi', 'zhiyou', 'weiyou' (only, except that). Some examples are cited below.

/5.39/ a. Si xiaojie ye jiu maogu songran. Zhiyou bu hen dong shi de A Xuan yiran zhangda-le zui huhu-de xiao. (Huifang also shivered inwardly at this, but A Xuan, who did not quite understand what it was all about, just threw back his head and laughed.)

b. "Meiyou shenme. Zhishi lao shuo tou xuan." ("Pretty well. Though he kept saying that he felt giddy.")

As shown by the examples, the common features of this set of contrastives are: first, the presupposing sentences carry the meaning which is different from what has been expressed before; second, the meaning of these contrastives presuppose that more than one item is mentioned in the previous text. The additive 'ye' (also) in the first sentence in /5.39a/ implies that some other people apart from Huifang in the speech situation had the same feelings of horror. The two sentences in /5.39b/ suggest that the old man was fine in every aspect except that he felt giddy. Therefore, there are good reasons to include these expressions as conjunctives.

The meaning of 'fan' and 'fanzhi' varies with the context. The following two examples are actually instances of a contrast between two items.

/5.40/ a. Danshi Lei canmou suo shanchangde wanyi-er, zhe Huang Fen que shi quan waihang; fanzhi, zhe Huang Fen ai gan de 'gongzuo', Lei canmou zhong shi yao tou. (.... the things in which Col. Lei was interested and at which he excelled were a closed book to Huang Fen. Conversely, when the conversation came round to Huang Fen's work, on which he was so keen, Col. Lei always shook his head.)

b. Han Mengxiang dan-zhe lian xiao, shifu meiyou shenmo bu yuanyi. Fan shi na laolian-de Xu Manli liwai-de xinse-qilai. (Han Mengxiang was smiling darkly and seemed to have no objection. By contrast, it was Xu Manli, for all her rich experience of men, had become strangely shy.)

Example /5.40a/ reveals that a contrast is made between Col. Lei's interest and Huang Fen's. And in the next example, Han Mengxiang's behaviour is contrasted with Xu Manli's.

The contrastive relation with the meaning of avowal is expressed by 'qishi'(as a matter of fact) and 'shizai'(in fact).

/5.41/ a. ".... Qishi xiangxia ye hai taiping." ("As a matter of fact it's quite peaceful in the country.")

b. Li mazi huanghuangzhangzhang-de ti ta-de hao pengyou bianhu le. Shizai ta xinli shifen bu yuanyi zai he Qian Baosheng tamen dou-xiaqu,.... (Pockmarked Li stuck up for his friend anxiously. In fact, deep down inside, he was longing to put an end to all this quarrelling with Qian Baosheng....)

In /5.41a/, the meaning is something like 'as against the present instability in the country, the fact of the matter is that it is still quite peaceful in the country.' As for /5.41b/, as against defending his good friend, Pockmarked Li's real intention is to shy away from quarrelling with Qian Baosheng. Thus, the two items in each instance serve as a contrast, one being expressed in the form of avowal.

5.2.3 Corrective

This section includes conjunctives which introduce propositions which are more clearly and actually defined than the previous ones. In this case, the new propositions presuppose some statements which need refinement or correction. Expressions occurring in the text are:

/5.42/ a. "Wu laoban ye he Wang xiansheng de pengyou laiwang. Shuo-qilai, ye keyi suan shi yilushang-de ren,...." ("Mr Wu keeps in touch with friends of Mr Wang Jingwei, so, when you come to think of it, you and Mr Wu are going the same way, as it were....")

b. Ta-de lixiang hen duo hen duo. Shuo de zhenquexie, shi dang ta tang zai chuangshang-de shihou, ta you yichang duo de lixiang.... (He has many many ideals. To be more accurate, when he was lying in bed, his head swarmed with ideals....)

- c. "....Buguo wo shi ai da buping de! Laoshi shuo, wo kan-de Changlin tamen tai wei-qu, Qian Baosheng tamen tai badao le!...." ("I believe in seeing fair play! Frankly, I think Gui Changlin and his supporters are being treated really badly and that Qian Baosheng's being too high-handed!....")

In /5.42a/, the first proposition is to start from the relation between Mr Wu and a pro-Japanese renegade Wang Jingwei, but what the speaker really aimed at was to point out the close relation between the hearer and Mr Wu. This is an instance of refinement or accuracy. Ex./5.42b/ makes it clearer that the word 'ideal' was not clearly expressed at first. One could gather from the following proposition that the writer actually suggests words like whimsies, illusions, fantasies, etc. This is an instance of correction. The last example is a correction of the speaker's attitude. He claimed at first that he believed in seeing fair play, but when he laid bare his mind, he did not hesitate to declare openly that he sided with one of the two quarrelling parties.

In addition to the above expressions, there are also 'bing bu shi' and 'ye bu shi'. Their main function is to correct a proposition which was not clearly defined.

/5.43/ a. Ta manman-de wang shafa shang yi heng, bian zhuanru-le chensi. Ta bing bu shi zai nali pansuan-zhe laotaiye-de kaisang.... (He now sprawled on a sofa, lost in thought. He was not, of course, thinking about his father's memorial service....)

- b. "....Zhu-guo le jue-de bu guan, cai shi zhen-de bu guan! Ye bu shi fanzi he chi shi bu guan, shi lingyizhong bu guan." ("I've been long enough to be absolutely certain that I don't like the place! It's not that I don't like the house or the food or anything like that.. It's something else I can't explain....")

Whether 'bing bu shi' and 'ye bu shi' should be regarded as processes needs further exploration.

Furthermore, Deng (1954) made a thorough study of new contrastive uses of 'danshi' (but) in contemporary Chinese. One of them is that the second sentence is actually a further explanation of or restricted

supplement to the first sentence. For instance,

/5.44/ Zhongguo qieshi xuyao tongyi. Danshi yinggai tongyi yu kangzhan, tongyi yu tuanjie, tongyi yu jinbu. (China certainly needs accord. But it must be accord for war of resistance, accord for unity and accord for progress.)

As there were different political interpretations of 'accord' in China during the war of resistance against Japanese invasion, the presupposing sentence can be regarded as a corrective definition defined by the Communist Party of China contrasting with that proposed by the then Kuomintang government. Another example quoted by Deng is:

/5.45/ Zhongguo yinggai tongyi, bu tongyi jiu bu neng shengli. Danshi shenme jiao tongyi ne? Tongyi jiushi yao dajia kang Ri,..... (China should achieve accord, without which there will be no victory. But what is accord? Accord means that everyone should fight against the Japanese aggressors,.....)

When speaking of some important matter, the speaker feels that a problem will arise if he goes on with his speech. Therefore the speaker takes the initiative to raise the question himself, then he develops the thesis by means of explanation. Deng illustrated it by the backing of a train before it starts. The zigzag movement forms a contrast.

5.2.4 Dismissive

Dismissive presupposes an item which is regarded as including all circumstances without exception. The presupposed item may be remote in the text. Dismissive is realized by expressions like 'buguan zenmeyang', 'wilunruhe', 'fanzheng'(in any case), etc. Some examples are given below.

/5.46/ a. "Wo jide san xiansheng de 'gongchang Guanli Guize' shang bing meiyou zhe yi xiang de guiding!" ("I don't remember seeing anything of the kind in your Factory Regulations, Mr Wu.")

Wulunruhe, ni shi bu yinggai shuo de....." ("In any case, you shouldn't have told them.....")

- b. "Guan ta shi shenme shi! Fanzhen bu hui chu luanzi."
("Who cares what happened! In any case, it couldn't
be serious.")

The two examples show that the dismissive is a kind of adversative in a specific sense. Example /5.46a/ means that even though a particular regulation was not covered by Factory Regulations (and there might be some other loopholes!), the second speaker wanted to silence the first one by warning him that he had no right to act in any circumstance. Thus, the warning is based on the first utterance. Example /5.46b/ means that although something might happen, nothing could be serious. The literal meaning of the word 'fanzheng' is 'negatively and positively', i.e. every aspect of the possibility has been thought of. In this case, the first statement is grounded on the reasoning of the second one.

To conclude, the dismissive relation suggests that (i) whether it happened or not, whether it happened this way or that way, it has no influence at all on the following proposition; (ii) when the presupposed proposition is given, the use of the dismissive is a closed one (e.g. /5.46a/); when not, it is an open-ended one (e.g. /5.46b/); (iv) as all the possibilities are regarded as irrelevant to the proposition following the dismissive, there is no point in sticking to the same subject. So it often suggests a change of subject.

5.3 Causal

The causal relation is undoubtedly cohesive in a textual environment, as it must consist of two elements, cause and effect. Logically, a cause precedes an effect, but in a real speech situation, people sometimes start with the effect and then find its root in the cause. In any case, the logical relation remains unchanged, that is to say, 'because a, then b' has the same value as 'b, because a'. Parallel

to the causal relation, there is the conditional relation. While the causal relation is concerned with the real fact(s), the conditional relation mainly deals with the formula 'if a, then b' or 'b, if a', where the condition 'a' functions as the cause implicitly, without which there will be no result. Furthermore, respective relations are also included in this section, in the sense that when the speaker sticks to some points or shifts to some other points, he does it under the assumption that an understanding has been reached between the speech participants. Therefore, the causal relation can be further specified as causal proper, conditional and respective.

5.3.1 Causal Proper

Four subtypes are listed under this heading. They are cause, result, reason and purpose.

5.3.1.1 Cause

Although result, reason and purpose are also variants of the causal relation, this section is reserved for the general causal relation. That is, a sentence headed by a conjunctive 'yinci' (so) can always presuppose a previous sentence as cause.

/5.47/ Chen Junyi...shifen ton³qing ta; yinci jiu hen kenqie-de shuodao:..... (Chen Junyi...fully sympathized with him; so his voice was earnest as he went on.)

The morpheme 'ci' in the conjunctive word 'yinci' refers to the causal sentence anaphorically, but as it becomes a constituent of a word, the cohesive factor is more of a conjunctive nature than of a referential one.

There is also a reversed form of the causal relation, i.e., cause is expressed by the presupposing sentence to account for the effect in

the previous sentence. It often appears in spoken Chinese.

/5.48/ a. "Zenme wo shi youqing-de guandian?" ("What? I'm taking a rightist view of things?")

"Yinwei ni huaiyi qunzhong-de weida-de geming liliang," ("Because you doubt the great revolutionary power of the masses....")

b. "Wo--wo kan buqi zichan jieji-de huangjin!" ("I despise the bourgeois's gold!")

"Yinwei zichan jieji ye kan buqi ni-de xinshi." ("Because they despise your modern poetry!")

5.3.1.2 Reason

The most frequent conjunctive to express 'reason' is 'suoyi' (therefore).

/5.49/ "...Moliao turan bianyi yangshang. Suoyi, women-de gongsi zai zhe shangtou yiding bu neng hanku,...." ("In the end they play into the hands of the foreigners. So we must be careful not to bungle things in the same way in our own enterprise,....")

The difference between 'suoyi' and 'yinci' was explained by Ge (1954). In the case of 'yinci', the result is deduced from the cause mentioned in the previous sentence, whereas in the case of 'suoyi' a judgement or decision is based on the reason given in the previous sentence. Of course, there is no clear-cut borderline between the two, and ambiguity often arises. For instance, the presupposed sentence in the following example can be the cause to account for one's absence, but it can also be the reason to ask permission for being excused.

/5.50/ Lao Li bingle. Jintian wan shang-de hui ta bu neng qu canjia. (Lao Li is ill. He is not able to attend the meeting this evening.)

As the conjunctive is not explicitly given, the choice is to be decided by the linguistic context elsewhere, or is simply left to the hearer.

Apart from 'suoyi', 'nanguai' (no wonder) and 'ziran' (naturally)

are emphatic forms used for presupposing the previous sentence as a reason which accounts for what has happened in the presupposing sentence. In /5.51a/, the heavy thunderstorm accounts for the telephone being out of order. In /5.51b/, the reason for the speaker to write something about his opponents is his refusal to be a cringing poetaster.

- /5.51/ a. "Hao da-de lei a! Nanguai dianhua ye bu lingle!...."
("Whew, what a thunderstorm! No wonder the phones are out of order.")
- b. "Wo bu shi nayang a-yu quanshi de jia shiren! Ziran ye de xie duifang." "I'm not a cringing poetaster licking the hand of authority. Naturally, I should also write something about the opponents."

By contrast, 'xianran' and 'yuanlai' (obviously) express a reason in the presupposing sentence, which accounts for the outcome in the presupposed sentence.

- /5.52/ a. Ta deng-chu yi dui da yanjing, zhigu daidai-de dui-zhe ta fuqin qiao. Xianran shi ta duiyu zhejian shi shi-er-fen-de bu yongyao.... (Jiaju could only gape and stare foolishly at his father. He was obviously not at all keen on the idea....)
- b. Keshi Zhu Guiying que ting-zhe le jiu xinli yi tiao,... lianse wanquan hui bai. Yuanlai hai bu shi xiang diao banzi,.... (It came as a great shock to Zhu Guiying and the colour drained from her cheek. So he was not planning to philander as she had expected.)

Ex. /5.52a/ reveals that the reason for Jiaju's staring at his father is his passive attitude towards the idea. In /5.52b/, what made Zhu Zhu Guiying shocked was that something even more serious had happened unexpectedly.

5.3.1.3 Result

The monosyllabic adverbs 'dao', 'bian' and 'jiu' (thus) and the bisyllabic conjunctives 'yushi' (then) are all expressions of result. They also presuppose a weak form of reason in the previous sentence.

However, the emphasis is laid on the result.

- /5.53/ a. Wu Sunfu...juede wan shi mofei qian ding, renli bu neng mianqiang! Ta dao xin ding-xie le. (Wu Sunfu...was beginning to believe that everything was pre-ordained and that human efforts made no difference! Thus he felt slightly calmer.)
- b. Yipian sheng huan jiaofu. Jiu you yi jia yuxian zhunbei hao-de da tengyi you liangge jingzhuang-de jiaofu tai-le chuqu. (Somebody summoned. So two stout porters who had been standing by took up a canechair and carried it off.)
- c. Liang wei nülang xiangshi er xiao, du bu chu sheng. Fan Bowen bian you dian jiong le. (The two girls just smiled knowingly at each other. Hence Fan Bowen was beginning to feel rather embarrassed.)
- d. Ta zhidao Du Zhuzhai suiran hao li, que you yichang duo yi.... Yushi ta jiu guyi fangsong yibu. (He knew that Zhuzhai, although he always had an eye for the main chance, was extremely wary.... So he qualified his remarks....)

Among the four expressions, 'yushi' is closed in meaning because it introduces a result only, but the meaning of the rest is open-ended, depending on the meaning of the previous sentences, as 'dao', 'bian' and 'jiu' can also pair with a conditional sentence.

5.3.1.4 Purpose

'Weile' and 'wside'(for) are expressions of purpose. 'Weile' is used only in a clause complex, in which the presupposing clause headed by 'weile' serves as the purpose for the action taken in the ensuing proposition (e.g., ex./5.54a/). Being structurally constrained, 'weile' is non-cohesive. On the other hand, 'weide' can only apply to an event which functions as the purpose to account for the previous event.

- /5.54/ a. "Weile san mu wu mu de jin chu, fei de koushe ke bu xiao ne!" ("How much breath you have to waste over a mere half acre of land!")
- b. Yao ta jing shou jie qian ma! Ta meiyou shenme bu yuanyi.

Weide jiran jingguo ta de shou, ta jiu keyi kouxia yibufen. (If he wanted her to get him a loan, she had no objection: the money would pass through her hands, and she could take her commission.)

5.3.2 Conditional

The logical relation of condition is defined by H-H in the way that 'possibly a; if so, then b'. Thus, the presumption is a hypothesis, not a fact. Sometimes, the presumption is a known fact, then the speaker is first to assume a certain event which has occurred, and further conclude that even under this circumstance, it is impossible to repair the present situation. The specific use of conditionals in a text is given in the following sections.

5.3.2.1 Positive

The positive conditional relation means that an event will happen or an action will be taken on the ground that the condition is given and it is supposed that the condition will come out to be true. In Chinese, it is expressed by the expression 'name(zhe)' (then).

/5.55/ a. "Maoxian-de shiqing wo shi bu gan de!" ("I won't do anything risky!")

Name, women fang zai Yi Zhong de guben suan shi baidiu!" ("If that's your attitude, we may as well say goodbye to the money we've put into the company!")

b. "Xu Manli nabian, ni de lajin-xie hao jiao Lao Zhao yizhi yixin ta, yizhi bu li ta. Namezhe, wo qian hui zao de yaoyan bu hui rong jiang." ("You'll have to get round Xu Manli and stick closer to her so that Zhao Botao will go on suspecting her and give her the cold shoulder. Then, we can make sure that she doesn't give me the lie....")

The literal meaning of 'name' is 'if(that being) so'. This can be substantiated by the morphemic 'na' in the expression, which corresponds to 'that' in English. As the expected condition can only be recovered

from the previous linguistic environment, naturally the function of 'name' in this use is cohesive. 'Namezhe' is more colloquial than 'name', and is more popular in northern dialects.

5.3.2.2 Negative

'Buran'(if not, otherwise) expresses the negative expectation of condition. It is a compound word made up of two morphemes 'bu(not) + ran(so)'. Therefore it has the same meaning as 'if this is not so' or 'if not'. The sentence before 'buran' is always a fact which has been confirmed and is then supposedly subject to negation. (Hu, 1958) The presupposing sentence following 'buran' can have two meanings: (1) It is a fact and the fact cannot be accounted for if the previous condition is negated (see /5.56a/); (2) If the presupposed proposition cannot be realized, the consequence will be like this. (ex. /5.56b/)

/5.56/ a. "...Zhe jiu zhengming-le qianxian que shi chijing. Buran, jiu bu hui diao-dao ta." ("....That proves that they're ~~had~~ pressed there, otherwise they wouldn't have posted him there.")

b. "....Suoyi women ba ge chang jiu de gankuai qieshi xiang fa. Buran, qiantouren die-xiaqu de kang, haide yao women ye die-xiaqu cou yige chengshuang!" ("....We'll have to make a swift, realistic decision about what we're going to do about these eight factories of ours. If we don't, we're going to go under the way the others have done!")

Therefore, one can say that although the previous sentence seems to be negated in form, the real intention of the speaker is to make a positive statement.

The alternative form of 'buran' is 'fouze'(otherwise). The latter is more formal.

'Zaiburan'(or if) is different from 'buran'. The presupposing sentence following 'buran' is a fact or a consequence, but the one following 'zaiburan' is a new proposal or hypothesis for the situation

where the one mentioned in the presupposed sentence is denied. Thus, it is a complex form of 'alternative + condition'. See the following example,

/5.57/ "Na jiu shi Qingdao ba! Zaiburan, yuan yixie, jiu shi Qinhuangdao ye xing!" ("Qingdao, without a doubt! Or if you like to go further afield, Qinhuangdao is quite pleasant!")

5.3.2.3 Emphatic

'Chufei' (unless, except that) is a reversed emphatic form of the conditional relation. The linguistic environment for this expression consists of four elements, i.e., (1) under certain circumstance or situation; (2) if one is aiming at something; (3) the only way is....; (4) then the result will be.... Generally speaking, some elements are implicit in a natural language, but in the case of the third element, the condition must be fully expressed. (Bao, 1955)

In most cases, 'chufei' implies that the condition is either unacceptable (/5.58a/) or irrelevant to the thesis (/5.58b/); then the statement in the presupposed sentence cannot be changed, whether it is positive or negative.

- /5.58/ a. "Shenme? Ni shuo shi mashang! Yuting, wo Lao Zhao mianqian ni mo shuo jiahua. Chufei ni ba ban nian liuge yue ye suan zuo mashang...." ("What? Did you say he will soon realize it? Oh, no, Yuting, don't think you can fool me—Zhao Botao! Unless, of course, by 'soon' you mean a good six months....")
- b. "Na haobi huangmeitian pihuo-li hui sheng zhuchong yiyang, zi-ran-er-ran sheng-chulai! Ni jintian zuo-wan le, mingtian you sheng-chulai! Chufei deng guo le huangmeitian!" ("They're like moths in a fur in the rainy season. They just keep appearing one after the other! You catch them all today, but tomorrow there's another lot there! Unless you wait until the rainy season is over....")

As one can hardly accept the 'soon' as being the same as 'a good six months' in /5.58a/, the speaker certainly has no intention of changing his

previously expressed view. On the other hand, the thesis in /5.58b/ is not to prove that one can catch all the moths after the rainy season is over. Thus the emphasis lies in the statement that one cannot catch all the moths during the rainy season. As the suggested condition is irrelevant to the thesis, it has no force in opposing an argument.

5.3.3 Respective

At first look, respective relations expressed by prepositional groups such as 'jiu...lai shuo'(with regard to), 'zai mou yi dian shang'(in a way), etc. have nothing to do with the causal relation. The reason for including them here is that sentences with those expressions are semantically and logically related to the presupposed sentences. Besides, there is always an understood condition that "we leave aside what has been discussed before and now we turn to or narrow down to the following point."

Example /5.59/ shows that the presupposed sentence is only an instance out of some points defined by the presupposing sentence, i.e., 'a**c**'. There is restriction, but it is indefinite. By restriction, it means that the observation is true in a certain way, but not in any way. Nevertheless, the boundary of restriction is not clearly given.

/5.59/ Du Xintuo...qu ye duiyu Fan Bowen-de jici jingyu dian tou zanxu. Zai mou yi dian shang, zhe liang ge ren yuanlai shi he-de-lai de. (Du Xintuo...nodded his appreciation of Fan Bowen's criticism. They were, in a way, the best of friends.)

In contrast, the restriction is definite in /5.60/, where the validity of the proposition in the presupposing is entirely based on the presupposed sentence.

/5.60/ Ta hai shichang jia-zhe zheyang de jielun: Zhongguo bushi

meiyou qian ban gongye, jiu kexi. suoyou-de qian duo hua zai junzhengfei shang le. Ye shi zai zhe yi dian shang, Tang Yunshan he Wu Sunfu xinjin jiu cheng-le mo ni zhi jiao. (And his invariable conclusion was: China has plenty of money for industry, but military expenses eat it up. Right at this point, a close relationship had lately sprung up between Tang Yunshan and Wu Sunfu.)

The reason for the close relationship between Tang and Wu in /5.60/ is restricted to the point of view voiced in Tang Yunshan's conclusion, and nothing more. The respective relation is then one of 'a = b' semantically.

Other expressions for respective relation are 'zai zhe fangmian (kanlai)'(in this respect/connection), 'zheli'(here), 'jiu ci lai shuo'(with regard to this), 'zai qi ta fangmian'(in other respects), 'chu liao zhe yidian'(apart from this), etc.

5.4 Temporal

Sentences in a text are also tied together by their temporal relation, because a text is not a collection of unrelated processes, such as a dictionary of quotations. A text must be a unified whole, reflecting the whole process of an episode. Being an episode, the event or the story has to develop in accordance with the sequence of time. Here, the temporal relation is classified into five types, i.e., simple temporal relations, complex temporal relations, conclusive and correlative relations, here and now relations and summary relations. They will be discussed in the following subsections. A special section will be devoted to the distinction between internal and external in H-H's work.

5.4.1 Simple Temporal Relations

Generally speaking, the first sentence refers to an earlier event, and the following sentence the later event. Of course, the two events

can occur simultaneously or the second event can refer to a previous event. Temporal markers in a text which express this sort of relation are regarded as simple temporal markers.

5.4.1.1 Sequential

The sequential relation is one of sequence in time when two successive sentences are involved. That is to say, the second sentence is subsequent to the first. In Chinese, this is expressed by 'yihou' and 'ranhou' (subsequently), 'jiezhe' (consecutively), 'huolai' (later), etc. Examples:

- /5.61/ a. Du gunainai xiao-le yi xiao, Ranhou, liang ge ren jiu kao-zhe you di sheng tan-le jiju. (Mrs Du smiled; then the two women stood with their heads together and conversed in an undertone for a while.)
- b. Yushi chenmo-le yihui-er. Yihou jiu shi jicu-de yi wen yi da. (There was a moment's silence. Then, there was a rapid exchange of questions and answers.)
- c. Si-yang chenji-de yi sha-na! Jiezhe shi baolei ban de jiao bu sheng. (For a brief moment you could have heard a pin drop! Then there was a rush of feet.)

The temporal markers in the three examples presuppose that some events took place earlier, without which the reader would not understand what particular events are for the presupposing sentences to follow. It is for this reason that these temporal markers are cohesive. The following example is different.

- /5.62/ Qidi di-er-ci dudu-de jiao le, bi qian geng chang geng xiang. Jiao guo le hou, Tu Weiyue hai jue-de er'dou li you dian wenwenran. (The hooter went a second time, this time longer and louder than the first. After it had stopped, Tu Weiyue's ears still rang for a few seconds.)

Here, the temporal relation is structurally established between the two clauses in the second sentence in /5.62/, i.e., 'jiao guo le hou' is a clause with the subject 'qidi' (the hooter) ellipted instead of an adjunct.

If there is any relation between the second sentence and the first one, based on the Chinese original, I should say that it is the lexical cohesion that relates the second sentence to the first one.

5.4.1.2 Simultaneous

The simultaneous relation expresses the fact that two events happen at the same time. The most frequent expression is 'tongshi' (at the same time),

/5.63/ Keshi chuang-li-de xiao haizi que ku-de geng lihai.
Tongshi, fangwai loutishang jiaobu shengyin xiang le....
(The child cried louder still. In the mean time footsteps pounded up the stairs.)

5.4.1.3 Previous

The previous temporal relation is the opposite of the sequential relation, but it is much rarer, because people tend to describe an event according to its sequential order. Expressions suitable for this context are 'zaoxian'(earlier), 'shiqian'(before that), 'yiqian'(previously), etc.

/5.64/ "Zhe yihui gongren hai qixin, hao xiang yuxian you guo shangliang de." ("This time, the workers seem to be more united, as if it's all been arranged beforehand.")
"Shiqian zenme yidian-er ye bu zhidao...." ("Before that, you didn't have a clue what was going on....")

5.4.2 Complex Temporal Relations

With complex temporal relations, the meaning is more specific, often in conjunction with some additional elements, which will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

5.4.2.1 Immediate

The meaning of immediate is 'then + immediacy', i.e., the second event immediately follows the first event. This is expressed by adjuncts such as 'liji/like', 'mashang'(immediately). The second expression is more colloquial.

/5.65/ a. Tu WeiYue...jiao ta guan-le che. Like quan chejian jing dangdang-de meiyou yidian shengyin,.... (Tu WeiYue signalled to her to have the machines switched off. Immediately, a dead silence descended on the workshop,....)

b. "...Buxu renhe ren bu zhixing mingling! Mashang he Yue dajie huiqu fadong mingtian-de douzheng!...." ("...the Party member is not permitted to disobey orders! You will go at once with Chen Yue-e and mobilize for tomorrow's struggle!....")

Example /5.65a/ shows that the state of silence was achieved after the machines had been switched off, but it was so soon that no time was lost. The same is also true to /5.65b/. As soon as the criticism was made, an order was issued. Here, we can see the difference between simultaneity and immediacy. Since the immediate relation can refer to the sequential relation, it can also refer to the previous relation. This is expressed by the adjunct 'gangzai'(just before). The emphatic form is 'ganggang'.

/5.66/ "Yige jingyao de xiaoxi! Gangcai Xu Manli lai baogao de!" ("something urgent! Just had a report from Xu Manli!")

To the present writer, some adjuncts which express the meaning of suddenness actually have also the property of immediacy, such as 'huran/turan/e-er'(suddenly).

/5.67/ Danshi leisheng honghong-de zai kong zhong panxuan, ta-de haisheng wuxiao. Huran you yidao shandian, zhao-de yuan-yuan-jin-jin xue liang. (But the noise of the thunder as it rumbled across the sky drowned her voice. Suddenly, another flash of lighting flooded the scene with a glare of white light,....)

Here, the noise of the thunder came first, and immediately the flash of lighting. So we can say that one of the emphatic forms of immediacy is

'suddenly'. The following example can further substantiate this point:

/5.68/ Zhe shi er-xi shengying, jizhe que ting-de A Jin xiao. Turan you shi erzi kuang hou, er-xi you ku you ma. Yihou jiu shi lun cheng yipian-de kuma he sida. (The voice was his daughter-in-law's and was answered by a laugh from the concubine A Jin. Suddenly, the son's voice broke in with an angry roar, while his wife sobbed and swore, and soon the sounds of weeping, cursing and fighting had blurred into a chaos of noise.)

In this symphony of human voices, the sequence of sound is clearly presented in the following order: his daughter-in-law's voice— the concubine's laugh — his son's angry roar — his daughter-in-law's sobbing and swearing, weeping and cursing — the noise of fighting. Obviously, 'turan' in this context has its temporal meaning. To be more accurate, 'turan' and 'huran' express a more complex temporal relation, i.e., 'sequential + immediate + sudden'.

5.4.2.2 Interrupted

The meaning of an interrupted relation is 'then + after an interval'. The expressions found in the text are 'yihui-er'(after a while), 'huitou'(later), 'bujiu'(shortly soon), 'bu jiu yiqian'(shortly before), etc. Here are some examples.

- /5.69/ a. "Jinwan shang ni qin xiao pengyou, jishi kuai qian pa bu gou ba? Huitou wo gei ni yi bai...." ("Have all your friends in this evening to celebrate. Will fifty dollars be enough? Later, I'll give you a hundred....")
- b. Que you yiliang mansheng hongse de...dachezi ting zai na difang le. Yihui-er, zhe hongse qiche ye kai-zou le. (A red police van drew up and stopped nearby. It soon drove off again,.....)

In terms of time sequence, in each case the second sentence succeeds the presupposed sentence. But there is an interval between the two events. The reader does not know how long this interval lasted. This

means that there is an indefinite interrupted period of time, before or after another event occurs.

5.4.2.3 Specific

Specific relation is similar to the interrupted relation, except that the duration of the interval is known, such as in,

- /5.70/ a. "...Yue dajie, muli qu fadong.... Zai guo ban ge zhongtou, wo jiu lai zhao ni...." ("...Now go and do your best to stir up the girls, Yue-e. In half an hour, I'll come and see you....")
- b. Yi ri jiu shi youming de 'Wu Sa Ji Nian Jie',.... (The next day was the anniversary of the famous 'May Thirtieth Massacre',....)

There is a slight difference between the two examples. In /5.70a/, there is a close temporal relation between the two sentences, because the counting of half an hour started after the speaker issued the order. In /5.70b/, superficially the temporal relation is not confined to a particular sentence, but it is related to a remote sentence, a passage or a chapter, so long as they carry the meaning of 'the previous day'. This is one of the reasons why a textual grammar is not merely one of relations between sentences. We should always take the full text into account, especially when an example like /5.70b/ is the first sentence of a chapter. Its temporal relation should be found in the previous chapter. Even so, its cohesive force cannot be denied.

Similar expressions are 'di-er-tian'(the next day), 'liang xiao shi qian'(two hours earlier), etc.

Niu (1955) made a distinction between '...yihou'(after...) and '...yilai'(since). They both start from a definite point of time, but 'yilai' stops at the time of speaking, whereas 'yihou' does not. Next, 'yilai' can start from the beginning of an event, whereas 'yihou' can extend to the future time beyond the time of speaking or express a very

short period of time, but 'yilai' cannot.

5.4.2.4 Repetitive

The repetitive relation is not measured by time but bases itself on the sequence of occurrences, or, we can say, 'then + repetition'. This is expressed by adjuncts such as 'xia ci'(next time), 'ling yi ci'(on another occasion), 'zheci'(this time), 'shangci'(last time), 'qian ci'(on a previous occasion), etc. Following is an example:

/5.71/ "...Tamen youyaoqiu mitie. Qian ci mijia zhangdao er-shi yuan yi shi shi cengjing yao qiu-guo,...." ("....They are demanding a cost-of-living allowance, too. Last time, they made the same demand when the price of rice went up to twenty dollars per picul....")

In this example, the presupposing sentence fronted by 'qianci' reveals the fact that there had been a demand in the past, and a similar demand was repeated by the workers at the time of speaking.

5.4.2.5 Durative

The durative relation is concerned with a period of time instead of a point of time, such as:

/5.72/ "Jiu shi Shanghai, wei ji ye yitian bi yitian shenke. Zhe jitian nei, faxian Shanghai fujin-de jundui li you Gongchandang hun ru,...." ("Even in Shanghai the situation is getting worse day by day. Only these last few days they discovered that Communists had infiltrated into units stationed around Shanghai,....")

From the first sentence, we are told that the situation in Shanghai was worse and worse. Undoubtedly, this refers to a relatively long period of time, during the last two days of which the Kuomintang government discovered the infiltration of Communists into military units. Thus, the logical relation of the two sentences is realized by the use of the duration marker. The duration can be either indefinite (as in /5.72/) or definite (as in 'zai ci qijian'(all this time/during this period)).

Adjuncts such as 'qianjitian'(several days ago) and 'jin lai'(lately, recently) are all durative conjunctives.

5.4.2.6 Terminal

The terminal relation carries the meaning of 'then + termination'. In other words, the terminal point of time is given. The meaning of the terminal point of time is expressed by the presupposing sentence, whereas the starting point of time has to be recovered from the previous text. This is expressed by conjunctives such as 'zhidao'(until), 'dao nashi'(by that time), etc.

/5.73/ "Zhuzhai shuo, xianzai-de Gongchandang zhen lihai, jiu liu san jiao li, dao chu du you, fang bu sheng fang. Zhidao xiang lei yiyang dadao ni yanqian, ni cai juedao."
("Zhuzhai says the communists are up to all sorts of tricks now. They are everywhere. You'll find them in all walks of life, and there's no stopping them. And until they strike a bolt from the blue, you don't even know they're there.")

5.4.2.7 Punctiliar

The meaning of the punctiliar relation is a combination of 'simultaneity + punctuality', i.e., the two events occur exactly at the same point of time. For instance,

/5.74/ Ta...tuiran luo zai yizhang yizi li. Qiahao zhe shihou men kai le. (He...sank back into a chair. Just at that moment the door opened,.....)

From the example, one can see the punctuality of the two events. There are many variants of expressions in the Chinese text, all bearing the same meaning, such as 'qiahao', 'zheng zai zhe shihou', 'qia zai zhe shihou', 'qia jiu zai zhe dang-er', 'qia jiu zai zhe shihou'(just at that (very) moment).

Punctiliar is to be differentiated from simultaneous. The latter is concerned with the simultaneous occurrence of two events at the

same period of time.

5.4.3 Conclusive and Correlative

The conclusive relation differs from those in the previous sections in the sense that it is one-directional, i.e., the event is subsequent (not previous or simultaneous) to all the events in a particular passage. This is clearly expressed by the function of the adjunct 'mohou' (at length) in /5.75/.

/5.75/ Li Yuting chayi-de kan-le Du Xintuo yihui-er, you wangwang Wu Zhisheng, Fan Bowen tamen, shifu xiang zhao yige zhuang yan de ren. Mohou, ta qingqing tan yi-kou qi shou:--(Li Yuting gazed in amazement at Du Xintuo for a while, then looked at Wu Zhisheng, then at Fan Bowen. He seemed to be looking for someone to join him in a serious conversation. At length, he went on with a sigh....)

The use of the conclusive relation can also extend to processes supposed to happen in the future, as in ex. /5.76/, where it still expresses the meaning of 'finality' in the order of various processes.

/5.76/ "...Yu Wen, ni yao zhidao, yi zhong qiye fangzai bu hui jingying-de yuandatou shou li, zhen shi kexi you ke tan! Duiyu ta geren, duiyu guojia, du shi yidian haochu ye meiyou de. Moliao, turan bianyi yangshang." ("Yu Wen, it's a crying shame when an enterprise is left in the hands of incompetent fools. They do neither themselves nor their country any good, and in the end they play into the hands of the foreigners.")

Similar expressions under this heading are 'zuihou' and 'zhongyu' (finally).

The conclusive relation is sometimes used alone to show the temporal cohesion in a passage, and sometimes used together with other temporal relations to form a correlative relation, such as,

/5.77/ Ta xian qu kan-le guanlibu na yidui dapo-de bolichuang, ranhou you xunshi-le kongdangdang-de sichejian, you xunshi-le quan chang-de ge bu fen,....zuihou, Wu Sunfu dao ta-de bangongshe zuoding,.... ting Tu Weiyue-de baogao. (He went first to look at the broken office window, then made a tour of inspection through the deserted workshop

and every other part of the factory....Finally, he went into his office and settled down to hear Tu Weiyue's report.)

In /5.77/, those temporal conjunctives 'xian', 'ranhou', 'you' and 'zuihou' are correlated to each other to form a sequential order in time.

The same principle for the correlative relation can also apply to the listing of one's points in a passage of discourse.

/5.78/ Di-yi, jing shi yi-feng bu-zhe-bu-kou-de putong bao-sang dian...; di-er, shi zhe bao dao de qi you ci li de tai man; di-san, na wei bao gui waisheng ye bu ba ta jiufu fang zai yan li le,.... (First, what annoyed him was that this was nothing more than a commonplace notice of death,.... Second, the telegram had been delivered appallingly late. Third, his nephew had failed to show the courtesy due to an uncle....)

The example shows the sequence of thoughts experienced by the person concerned. Once the word 'di-yi'(first) appears, one is sure to predict that some other points will follow subsequently, otherwise it makes no sense in the context. Therefore, we can say this is a case of cataphoric cohesion. Similar expressions in Chinese are 'yilai'(firstly), 'er-lai'(secondly), etc.

Apart from the conclusive relation being one of the elements, the correlative relation may refer to temporal relations other than the conclusive relation.

/5.79/ Zeng Jiaju fu zai dishang, zuichu yiwei ziji shi si le; houlai ba shoujiao dong yi xia,.... (Zeng Jiaju, hugging the ground, at first thought it was all up with him. Then he tentatively moved his limbs and found....)

In /5.79/, 'houlai'(then) corresponds with 'zuichu'(at first), but it does not necessarily express the last event.

5.4.4 Here and Now Relation

The 'here and now' relation refers to the very time when the speaker

is speaking in a real situation. As it is expressed by the speaker in a communication like other deictic elements (e.g., first and second person pronouns), the meaning of 'here and now' is to be interpreted with reference to the previous linguistic environment. So it has its cohesive force. Compare the following two examples,

/5.80/ a. "...Xianzai Nanjing Lu shang hai shi jinzhang, Hu-ju lu-san-de qunzhong dao chu quan shi. Da shangdian du quan shang tieshanmen—" ("....Even now, the atmosphere in Nanjing Road's still very tense. Big crowds everywhere, milling round and round. And all the big shops are bolted and barred—")

b. "Zhexie jiu hua tan ta shenme! Muqian wo yao wen: ni hai dasuan zai zuo gongzhai ma?" ("What's the point in going over it all again. Now tell me: are you going to have another go at the stock business?")

In /5.80a/, the speaker was in a restaurant when speaking, but the adjunct 'xianzai' (now) refers anaphorically to the time before entering the restaurant. So it is a reference item. In contrast, in ex./5.80b/, the adjunct 'now' means 'here and now', there is no referent in the previous text, but there is a temporal relation: the speaker asked his friend to stop talking nonsense, and he wanted his view on the stock business 'here and now'.

The 'here and now' relation can be expressed in past, present or future form. They are expressions such as 'xianzai' (now), 'qi jin wei zhi' (so far, up to this point), etc. for the past, and 'cong jin (yi) hou' (from now on), 'cihou' (hereafter), 'cong ci yi hou' (hence forward) for the future.

5.4.5 Summary Relations

Summary relations are an extension of the correlative relation in the sense that after all has been said or done in its sequential order it is time for one to sum up. Although many adjuncts do not have temporal meaning literally, such as, 'yijuhua/zongzhi' (in a word), 'zong er yan

zhi'(to sum up), 'jiandan-de shuo'(to put it briefly), 'zong-de kan lai'(on the whole), etc., there is a temporal relation with respect to other processes in the text.

/5.81/ Ta-de wenti hen jiandan. Zenyang ba dao qi yakuan yandang guoqu, bingqie zenyang neng gou yi bu bi 'rentong' maichu jianjia-de si, you keyi shi ta-de sichang-renjiu kai gong. Zongzhi, ta-de wenti shi ruhe nong dao yipi xiankuan. (...his own personal problem was simply how to carry over his security loans so that he would not have to sell his silk at a painfully cheap price, and so that he could keep his factory running at the same time. In a word, his problem was to obtain ready cash.)

The conclusion beginning with the conjunctive 'zongzhi'(in a word) can only be made after all the previous statements were made and the content was a summary of his problem 'to obtain ready cash'. It is for this reason that summary relations are regarded as temporarily cohesive.

Parallel to the cumulative use of summary relations, there is also the retrospective relation, expressed by adjuncts such as 'hua you de shuo hui lai'(to resume), 'yan gui zhengti'(to get back to the point), etc. It often happens that a writer or a speaker branches off in the course of his discussion or narration. In order to recapture the main theme, he has to get back to his topic or an earlier point which he has already mentioned. With respect to the two markers, the former is colloquial and the latter written.

5.5 External and Internal

Language is not only used to reflect the experience of the internal world of the speaker as well as the real world, but also to imply some kind of reasoning or argument from a premise. This property cannot but be reflected in the use of conjunctive reference. That is to say, a conjunctive in a particular case can either be external or internal. For instance,

/5.82/ Du Zhuzhai yang-qi tou lai bi-le yanjing,..... Du Zhuzhai zai zhen kai yan lai. (Du Zhuzhai tilted his head back and closed his eyes..... Du Zhuzhai opened his eyes again.....)

/5.83/ ".....Yao ni ziji kan feng shi peng! Zaizhe, ta shi nide haopengyou, ni zonggai zhidao tade cujing ruhe?....."
(".....You'll just have to sail with the wind. Moreover, she's a friend of yours, you must know just how jealous she's likely to be.....")

The additive 'zai' in /5.82/ is external, because the reopening of one's eyes is a physical process after they have been closed for a while.

The use of 'zaizhe' in /5.83/ is internal, because the speaker wanted to introduce the second point of his arguments, therefore it reflects the speaker's viewpoint.

Strictly speaking, in a narrative register, the internal relation can be further subdivided into one that reflects the speech participant's view, and one that reflects the writer's or narrator's view. Examples.

/5.84/ a. ".....Ai,--Shen-an, natian ni ye you dian shi yu jisuan; ni-de Beiyang pai pengyou bu ken gaosu ni laoshi hua--"
(".....Ah! You made a bit of a blunder this time, Shen-an! Your friends in the North, the Beiyang clique, have been leading you up the garden path--")

"Zong er yan zhi, women du shi gai si,....." ("In a word, it serves us right!.....")

b. Ta ziji ye you dian nong bu mingbai daodi shi zai tonghen nu-er de 'buxiao' ne, hai shikexi zhe He Shen-an gongxian-de miaoji jing bu neng shixing; zongzhi, ta juede yiqie du shibai, quanpan luokong le. (He felt a strange sensation, for he was not sure whether to be furious with his daughter for her bad behaviour and her disregard for him, or whether to be piqued that such an affair, with a man of her own choice, might stand in the way of the plan which He Shen-an had suggested. Whichever it was, he felt that all was now lost.)

In /5.84a/, the summary meaning expressed the view of a speaker in the speech participant, whereas in /5.84b/, the summary meaning actually reflects the narrator's description of a character in the novel. Whether a conjunctive is external or internal in meaning, it is cohesive so long as it functions beyond the structure of a sentence.

5.6 Explicit and Implicit

So far, we have only dealt with conjunctive cohesion by way of different kinds of conjunctives. From the presupposing sentence with the conjunctive marker, we can always find out the sentential relation in a text. Therefore, the conjunctive cohesion is explicitly represented. However, this is not always the case because in a real speech situation, the conjunctive cohesion is sometimes implicitly presented, such as,

- /5.85/ a. "Na haobi huangmeitian pihuo-li shang zhuchong yiyang, ziran er ran shen-chulai! (Zhe jiu shi shuo) ni jintian zhuo-wan le, mingtian you shong-chulai." ("They're like moths in a in the rainy season — they just keep appearing one after the other! (That is to say), you catch them all day, but tomorrow there's another lot there!")
- b. Dajia yiting zhe hua tai lugu, shui ye bu yuanyi duo zui. (Weiyou) Huang Fen shifu hen tongqing yu Zhu Yinqiu. ("They all thought Zhu Yinqiu was being rather too outspoken and nobody seemed willing to make any comment. (Only) Huang Fen seemed sympathetic....")
- c. "Piru Zhu Yinqiu de ganjian yakuan bu neng zhao Sunfu de xiwang qu jiejie, na ta mashang jiu yao bu de liao. (Yinwei) meiyou jianzhi jiu bu neng kaigong,...." ("....Say, for example, this problem of getting Zhu Yinqiu's cocoons as a pledge can't be resolved this way. Wu Sunfu wants it, then he's going to be in a fix: (because) if he hasn't kept his factory running....")
- d. Ranhou liang ge ren jingkao-zhe you disheng tan-le jijue, Wu shaonainai langlangde xiao le qilai. (Cihou) tamen zhuan shen jiu zou dao na paizhuo bian,.... (Only a few words had passed between them when Mrs Wu burst out laughing. (Afterwards) They turned and walked back to the table,....)

All the implicit relations between the sentences in each passage are bracketed. In /5.85/, the implicit relation concerned is 'additive: appositive:exemplificatory:internal'; in /5.85b/, Huang Fen is the only person who showed sympathy for Zhu Yinqiu. This is implicitly related to the previous sentence by the adjunct 'weiyou'(only). The conjunctive word 'yinwei'(because) can be added to the second sentence in /5.85c/.

Finally, ex. /5.85d/ is a 'temporal:simple:sequential:external' relation with the adjunct 'cihou'(afterwards) understood.

As we approach textual cohesion mainly from its linguistic features, it is much easier for one to grasp the relation with the help of conjunctive markers. The implicit form of conjunctive relation is on the borderline between semantics and pragmatics. For one thing, it can be recovered from the linguistic environment in the text. On the other hand, it often happens that there is ambiguity when more than one choice of the type of conjunctive relation is concerned. For instance, in the following example,

/5.86/ Qingchen wu shi xu, shushuluoluo xia-le jidian yu. You feng. (About five o'clock next morning there were a few drops of rain. The wind came.)

One can suggest a conjunctive relation from all four main types for this passage.

/5.87/

Qingchen wu shi xu,
shushuluoluo xia-le
jidian yu. (About
five o'clock next
morning there were a
few drops of rain.)

- a. (Hai) You feng. (And the wind came.)
- b. (Buguo) You feng. (But there was the wind.)
- c. (Yinci) You feng. (Therefore, there was wind too.)
- d. (Jiezhe) You feng. (Then the wind came.)

All four choices are justifiable. In /5.87a/, the relation is additive, as one more description is added to the previous one. /5.87b/ suggests that there was wind in spite of the fact that there were only a few drops of rain. This gives the meaning of 'adversative:contrast'. The causal relation in /5.87c/ suggests that the wind is a consequence of rain. Finally, sentence /5.87d/ is a matter of temporal relation. The rain came first, then the wind came.

Obviously, this sort of ambiguity wouldn't bother most readers. All that the reader can do is to choose one of the conjunctive meanings out of his own knowledge or understanding. This then is a pragmatic process.

5.7 The System of Conjunctive Cohesion

Figure 7 shows the system of conjunctive cohesion for Chinese, in which it is obligatory for one to choose one item from each set of the three subsystems. (See next page.)

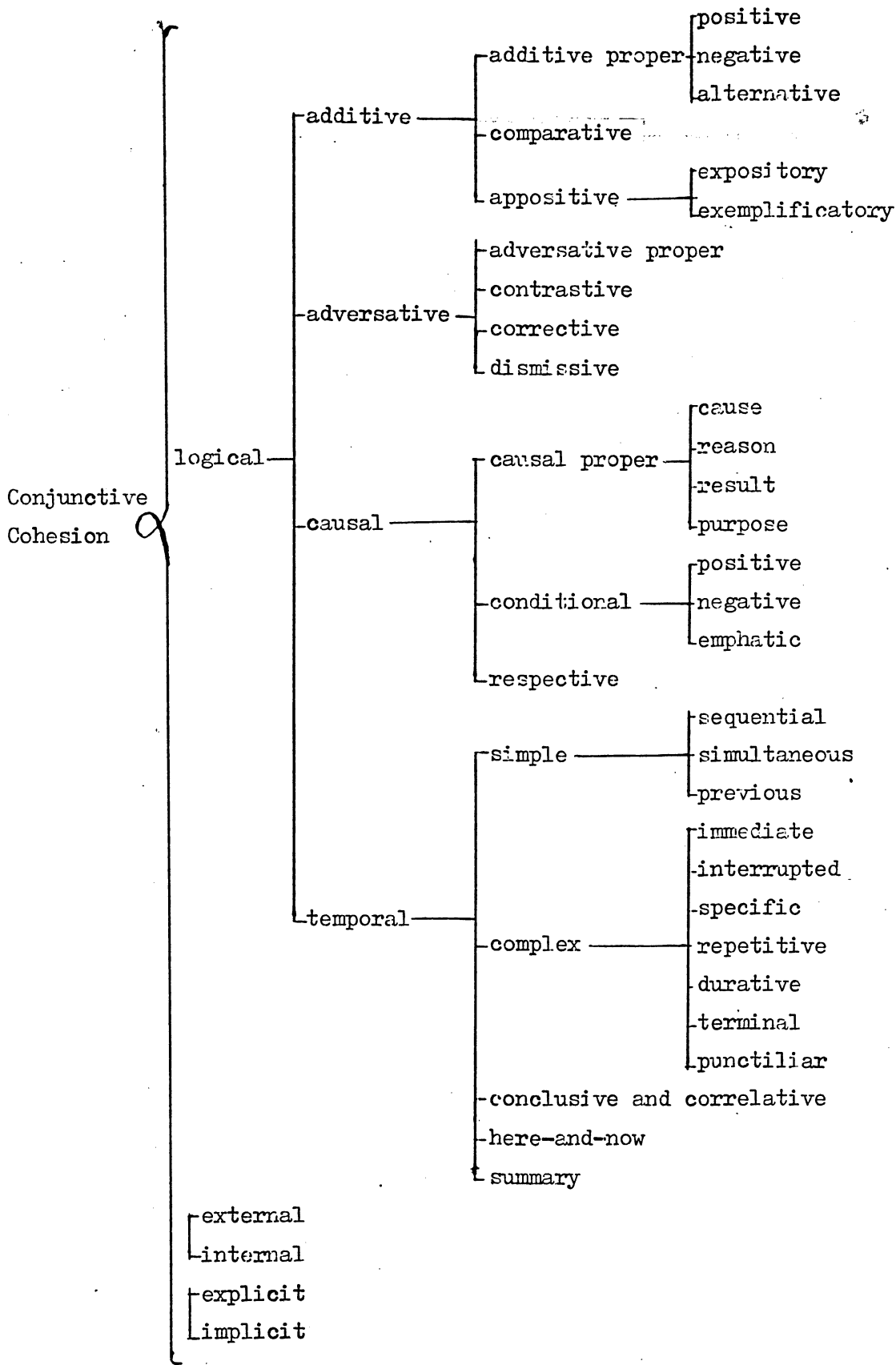


Fig. 7. The System of Conjunctive Cohesion

and Sinclair (1966), the literature on this subject has been increasing. A comprehensive review was done by Martin (1981). The present study bases itself mainly on H-H's approach (1976), incorporating some valuable insights contributed by other linguists, particularly some subcategories which have not been exhaustively studied by H-H.

6.1 Types of Lexical Relation

H-H classify lexical cohesion into two main categories, reiteration and collocation. Under reiteration, there are four subtypes, namely, repetition, synonym, superordinate and general word. In this study, the subtypes are listed as general word, repetition, similarity, taxonomic and collocation.

6.1.1 General word

In the lexis system of Chinese, there is the class of general nouns, which have generalized reference within the major noun classes, such as 'human noun', 'object noun', 'fact noun', 'place noun', etc.

'Ren'(man) is the general noun for human participants. In /6.2/, it includes 'Zhang A-xin' cataphorically.

/6.2/ Tu Weiyue he liang ge ren niu-da zuo yi tuan. Canghuang zhong ta kanqing-le yige zheng shi Zhang A-Xin. (Tu Weiyue was now wrestling frantically with two people. In the confusion he caught a clear glimpse of one of them: it was Zhang A-xin.)

'Object noun' such as 'dongxi' and 'wu'(thing) can refer to material objects in a text, such as,

/6.3/ Ta...ba dashu-de tianqi, jieju, cunzhe, du wang koudai-li sai. Zeng Canghai yi huang, shou-li de dongxi du luo zai dixia. (He....took out a large sheaf of land-deeds, IOUs and passbooks and stuffed them into his pockets....Zeng Canghai dropped the papers in terror....)

In /6.3/, 'dongxi' stands for land-deeds, IOUs and passbooks in the previous

sentence. In the text under study, 'dongxi' can also stand for electric fan, corpse, books, gold ring, party card, etc., depending on the presupposed items in the passage. Another term 'wu'(thing) stands for car in the text.

/6.4/ Ta zhongyu you shang-le zhe 'zi buyu' de guai wu -- qiche....
Changshezhen-shide yichuan hei guai wu, toudang du you
yidui da yanjing fangshe-chu jiao ren mu xuan de qiang
guang. (He was finally thrust into the strange thing of
a motorcar.... A snake-like stream of black strange things,
each with a pair of blinding lights for eyes....)

The two words 'wu' all stand for 'qiche'(car) in /6.4/, but the first one is structurally bound. On the whole, the general word 'wu' is not as colloquial as 'dongxi'.

For those abstract items expressed in English about business, affair and matter, there is a general word 'shi(qing)' in Chinese.

/6.5/ "...Menglie-de ciji? Zhen shi guai shi!" ("...Over excitement? Really a strange thing.")

Similarly, there are 'huodong'(move) for different kinds of actions, 'difang'(place) for nouns about location, 'wentu'(problem) and 'xiangfa'(idea) for fact nouns.

General nouns are non-cohesive when they are not related to a presupposed item. In the following example, it was not mentioned what these things are, so the word has no cohesive effect.

/6.6/ "Baba! Wo yao mai jiyang dongxi—" ("Daddy! I want to buy some things —")

6.1.2 Repetition

This refers to the same lexical item with the same meaning occurring more than once in the same text. Example /6.7/ is a good example to show the repetition of the word 'si'(die) five times in a short passage.

/6.7/ "...Xiangdao yi ge ren hui si, erqie hui turan-de jiu si,
wo zhen shi nanguo ji le! Wo bu ken si! Wo yiding bu neng
si! ("I can't bear to think about people dying, and dying so

suddenly. I don't want to die -- I won't die!")

"Keshi women zong you yitian yao si." ("But we all have to die one day.")

The difference between repetition in lexical cohesion and that in syntactical cohesion lies in the fact that the former is not subject to the restriction of grammatical structure. The cohesive force exists in the correlation of meanings of the lexis.

There is no denying that proper nouns, being names for the speech participants in a speech situation, will be repeated frequently. When the identification of a person is expressed by some common words other than a proper noun, the repetition of the same word may or may not be preceded by a demonstrative. This is illustrated by the second and third mention of 'shouchangzi' (tall, thin young man) in /6.8/.

/6.8/ ... , neizhong you yige shouchangzi...huida:.... (... , a tall young man said:....)

Shouchangzi yimian shuo, yimian jiu la guo yiba yizi lai fang zai san laoye de beihou.... (When he was speaking he drew up a chair and placed it behind Mr Wu.)

San laoye... dui nage shouchangzi pie-le yiyang,... (Mr Wu glanced at the tall, young man,....)

6.1.3 Similarity

Similarity consists of both synonymy (including near synonymy) and antonymy.

6.1.3.1 Synonymy

Synonymy refers to the relation between different words bearing the same meaning or nearly the same meaning for a particular person, object, process or quality, etc. In /6.9/, the word items 'tongqian yinzi' (coppers and silvers) and 'jinqian' (gold coins) have the same value in contextual meaning. This can be shown by the repeated occurrence of 'money' in the English translation.

/6.9/ "Ye you ta hen pei de, liru zai tongqian yinzi shang de dasuan." ("He's certainly very good at some things -- money matters, for instance.")

"O -- you shi he jinqian you guanxi?" ("Oh! -- So it's a question of money, is it?")

The choice of synonym is often influenced by the attitude of the speaker or the social relation between the participants concerned.

Compare the following sets:

/6.10/ a. ruisheng(a shrill voice), guaijiao(a strident cry)

b. liqi(a modern conveyance), guaiwu(this monster)

c. Wu Sunfu, sandi(brother), san laoye(Mr Wu), laojiezhang (old brother-in-law)

d. gangqiang(strong will), jueqiang(obstinacy)

In /a/, 'ruisheng'(a shrill voice) is an ordinary expression for a sharp voice, but 'guaijiao'(a strident cry) carries the extra meaning of the hearer's attitude toward the voice. The pair in /b/ shows that a car is a modern conveyance to those people who own it or are familiar with it, but it is a monster to countryfolk. All the terms in /c/ refer to the same person, i.e., 'Wu Sunfu', which is used by the narrator who took a neutral role. 'San laoye'(Mr Wu) is a term used by those people who are inferior to Wu Sunfu. And when family relations are involved, the same person is sometimes called 'sandi'(brother) or 'lao jiezhang'(brother-in-law). The last pair deals with the character of a young man. When the boss took a positive view toward his employee, he was interested in the strong will of the young man; when he took a negative view, it turned out to be 'obstinacy'!

Synonymy can also apply to the same process types. For instance, 'jian'(see) and 'kan'(look) are all related to the process of visual perception. More examples are given in /6.11/.

- /6.11/ a. ting(stop) po(moor)
b. si(die) duanqi(stop breathing)
c. dazhang(go to war) kaihuo(fire)
d. gundan(sling out) gunchuqu(sling out)

Example /6.12/ is an exemplification of a pair of synonymous terms occurring in the text. where 'dazhang'(wars) and 'kaihou'(firng) actually have the same contextual meaning.

- /6.12/ "Xiang bu dao ni shi huanying tamen dazhang—" ("Do you mean to tell me you like wars?"
"Ye bu yiding. Wo zuo shuijuzhang, jiu bu huanying kaihuo" ("Not always. When I was an inspector of taxes, I was anything but pleased about firing."))

The word expressing the property of a thing can be synonymous with another word. For instance, 'da' in 'daheng'(big boss) is synonymous with 'ju' in 'jutou'(top man). They are both used to express the property of 'being powerful'. Similar examples are:

- /6.13/ a. lao tou-er(the old fellow) you-le yiba nianji de(senior)
b. qingnianren(young man) xiao huozi'younsters)

6.1.3.2 Antonymy

The function of antonymy is that a contrast between two word items can be expected. It can be further divided into four subtypes, namely contrary, complementary, relational, opposite and ordered series.

Contrary relation refers to those pairs of opposites that are gradable, such as big and small. (Lyons, 1968) As more than two grades can be found, the denial of the one in the pair does not imply the assertion of the other. Following are some pairs of examples from the text:

- /6.14/ a. cidenghuo(second-grade), shangdenghuo(top-grade)
b. xiaoyu(small fry), dayu(big fish)
c. lao-de(old), zhongnian-de(middle-aged), nianqing-de
(young)

In /6.14a/, in addition to the two words, one can still find in the lexis system expressions like 'youdenghuo'(first-grade), 'liedenghuo'(lower grade), 'dengweihuo'(ungraded), etc. Besides 'dayu'(big fish) and 'xiaoyu'(small fry) in /6.14b/, one can list 'budabuxiao-de yu'(fish of medium size).

Complementary relation consists of a set of only two opposites. Thus, the denial of the one implies the assertion of the other, and the assertion of one implies the denial of the other. (Lyons, 1968) The two expressions 'shengzhang'(victory) and 'baizhang'(defeat) in ex. /6.15/ are an instance of complementary relation.

- /6.15/ "....Hua-le qian keyi da shengzhang, zhe shi dajia du zhidao de. Danshi hua-le qian ye keyi jiao ren da baizhang, na jiu meiyou jige ren xiang-de dao le...." ("....Everybody knows that an army can be bribed to win, but nobody seems to have thought of bribing it to lose a battle....")

More sets of examples from the text are abstracted in /6.16/.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| /6.16/ a. bi(closed) | zheng(opened) |
| b. ranqi(kindle) | pumie(put out) |
| c. youqian ren(the rich) | qiongguangdan(the poor) |
| d. zhuanqian(make profit) | kuiben(lose) |
| e. facai(make a fortune) | pochan(go bankrupt) |
| f. lilun(theory) | shijian(practice) |
| g. zhang(rise) | die(fall) |
| h. ming(bright) | an(dark) |
| i. Zhongguo gongye(Chinese industry) | wai guo gongye(foreign industry) |

The relational opposite is termed 'converseness' by Eiler (1979). Unlike the complementary relation, the two opposites in a relational set are mutually dependent and co-existent, such as,

- /6.17/ a. yisheng(doctor) bingren(patient)
b. gongren(worker) laoban(boss)
c. jiaoshou(professor) xuesheng(student)
d. zhangfu(husband) laopo(wife)

Finally, antonymy can be expressed in terms of ordered series. Each item in the series is against the others, but there are more than two opposites and each item is arranged in rank or in order. As a result, they are non-gradable. See example /6.18/,

- /6.18/ a. chun(spring), xia(summer), qiu(autumn), dong(winter)
b. dong(east), nan(south), xi(west), bei(north)
c. ba dianzhong(8 o'clock), jiu dianzhong (9 o'clock), etc.

The example for /6.18c/ in the text runs like this:

- /6.19/ "Jiu shi ba dianzhong, eh, zong you jiu dianzhong le;
Saonainai, shi jiudianzhong! Hong Chang Dang huoshao le.--"
("It was eight o'clock, er, no, nine--that's it, nine
o'clock, Madame, when the Hong Chang Pawnshop went up in
flames.--")

The relation between the two 'jiu dianzhong'(nine o'clock) is an instance of repetition, but the relation between 'ba dianzhong'(eight o'clock) and 'jiu dianzhong'(nine o'clock) is one of ordered series. They are all cases of lexical cohesion.

Apart from this, different colours and other items can also be listed under this category.

6.1.4 Taxonomic

It is commonly accepted that superordination is for class and subclass relation, and meronymy part/whole relations. Both constitute

a set of choices under the taxonomic. As general word, repetition and similarity have already been discussed separately, what is left is hyponymy and meronymy, so H-H's superordinate is renamed as taxonomic in this study. In addition, Martin's terms of collective and consistency are also included.

6.1.4.1 Hyponymy

Hyponymy is fully studied by Lyons (1968), Leech (1974), Palmer (1976) and Eiler (1979). The main idea is 'inclusion', i.e., a lower term(hyponym) is included in an upper term (the superordinate). The relation between two lower terms is that of co-hyponym. Instances for superordinate-hyponym relation are:

- | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /6.20/ a. | yinyue(music) | tonggusheng(patter of kettle-drums) |
| b. | chezi(vehicle) | qiche(car) |
| c. | zuoshengyi-de ren
(businessman) | yinhangjia(banker) |
| d. | baiye(business circles) | dangpu(the pawnshop), qianzhuang
(the local bank), dianchang(the power house), michang(rice-mill), youfang(the oil refinery) |
| e. | juanshui(taxes) | chuchanshui(production duty),
xiaochangshui (market duty),
tongguoshui(transit duty) |

In /6.20/, all those words listed on the left column are superordinate and their counterparts are hyponyms. As those words on the right side of examples /d/ and /e/ are at the same level, they serve as instances of co-hyponyms at the same time. One example will suffice to show their occurrence in a text.

/6.22/ Zai zhe shu de jie-kai de yemian shi yiduo kuwei-de bai meigui! (Between the pages was a faded white rose....)
"...Zhe duo hua, zhe ben shu de lishi, meiyou yike bu zai wo-de xintou!...." ("....These are the only things I've treasured all my life: the book and the flower!....")

The expression 'meigui'(rose) is a hyponym. It has its superordinate in the expression 'hua'(flower) cataphorically.

6.1.4.2 Meronymy

Meronymy presents a part/whole relationship. Consequently, the relation between two parts is one of comeronym. They can be exemplified as follows,

/6.22/	a. chiche(car)	chemen(door)
	b. chuanzhi(ship)	cang(cabin)
	c. qiao(bridge)	gangjia(frame)
	d. tilan(basket)	huan(handle)
	e. peng(hut)	zumen(door), qiang(wall)
	f. shenti(body)	bi(arm), lian(face), xiong(chest), jian(shoulder), zuichun(lips)

Those on the right are parts of their corresponding items on the left. The relation is more explicitly started. Again, in the last items, i.e., /6.22e/ and /6.22f/, there are several lower items respectively. They are all parts of the same thing, and therefore have a relation of comeronyms. Comeronyms are widely used in the text under study, such as,

/6.23/ Feng Yunqing dou-de xiao-qilai shuo, jihu dafan-le yanpan-li de yandeng. Yitaitai pian-qi zuichun heng-le yisheng, heng zai yantazhang shang na-qi yanqiang huhu-de jiu chou. (Feng Yunqing answered hastily, springing up and all but overturning the opium lamp as he did so. His concubine pursed her lips in annoyance and snorted scornfully, then lay down on the couch, picked up the pipe, and began noisily puffing at it.)

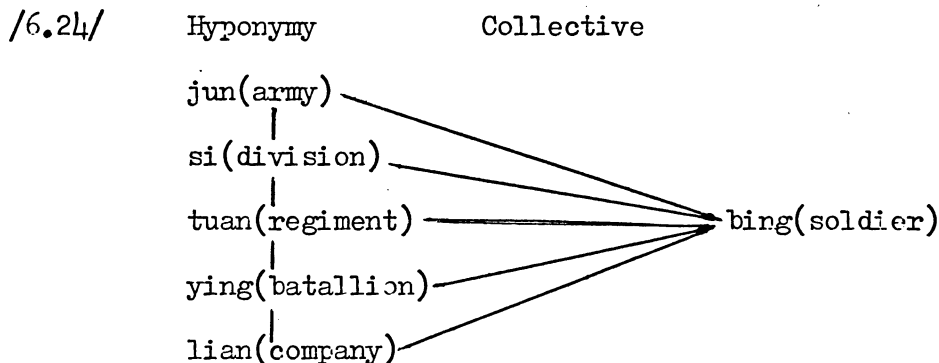
All the underlined words are opium things used in the old China.

6.1.4.3 Collective

The term collective refers to groups of individuals, such as the relation between 'ban'(team) and 'ren'(person) in the expression 'zhe

yi ban de ba ge ren' (this team of eight persons). The collective word item 'ban' in this particular case consists of eight individuals, whereas meronymy presents another picture, those parts of the whole being different from each other.

The difference between the collective relation and hyponymy can be shown by the following example.



6.1.4.4 Consistency

Consistency expresses the relation whereby something is made up of something else. See the following examples.

- | | | |
|--------|----------------------|-------------|
| /6.25/ | a. changdeng(bench) | mu(wood) |
| | b. chi(pond) | shui(water) |
| | c. jiezh(ri)ng(ring) | jin(gold) |

6.1.5 Collocation

Collocation does not depend on the taxonomic organization of word items, because many word items belong to classes other than the noun, such as verbs, adjectives and adverbs, which are difficult to organize taxonomically. However, the function of its contribution to forming a text should not be ignored. Several subtypes are noticed here. They are by no means exhaustive.

6.1.5.1 Resultative

This shows the relation of one item leading to the outcome of another item, such as kill-die, rain-wet in English. Eiler (1979) expressed it as cause-effect relation. In ex./6.26/, the relation between 'hongshui'(deluge) and 'fanlan'(overflow) and 'chonghui'(smash through) is a case in point.

/6.26/ "....Ni, huangjin de hongshui! Fanlan ba! Fanlan ba!
Chonghui-le yiqie difang!...." ("....And you, deluge
of gold, may you overflow, may you overflow, overflow and
smash through your dykes!....")

More sets of examples are given in Ex. /6.27/.

/6.27/	a. chengzan(praise)	kuaihuo(pleased)
	b. he(river)	liu(flow)
	c. feng(wind)	chui(blow)
	d. yi(chair)	zuo(sit)

6.1.5.2 Modificational

The term modificational is used by Martin (1981) to show the relation holding between an item and one of its inherent qualities, e.g., 'run-fast' or 'bright-sun'. Ex. /6.28/ presents several sets of modificational relations in Chinese.

/6.28/	a. shengyin(voice)	hongliang(loud); qingxi(clear)
	b. lian(face)	cangbai(pale)
	c. yu(rain)	hao(heavy)
	d. lei(thunder)	xiang(loud)

6.1.5.3 Contextual

This differs from the resultative relation in the sense that the word items do not represent a cause-effect relation, but expectation

can be made between the process and the participant. The words concerned are merely nouns and verbs. For instance,

- /6.29/ a. lunchuan(ship) ting(stop), po(moor)
b. fangzi(house) gai(build)
c. difang(dike) chonghui(smash)
d. zichan(assets) pochan(go bankrupt)

In /6.29c/, one will find that the relation between 'difang'(dike) and 'chonghui'(smash) is different from that between 'hongshui'(deluge) and 'chonghui'(smash) in /6.26/, because there is no cause-effect relation between the former, but the process and the participant often go together in the experiential world.

Apart from this, the relation of things or objects that tend to occur together in the contextual situation can also be included under this heading. Examples:

- /6.30/ a. chezi(car); chefu(driver)
b. wuyun(dark cloud); shandian(the flash of the lightning);
leisheng(the crash of the thunder)
c. he(river); an(bank)
d. chuan(ship); matou(yard)
e. shuzhai(study); shubao(books and newspapers)
f. celüe(tactics); youqing(the rightist view)
g. zhengjuan shichang(stock business); jiaoyisuo(the
Exchange); toujijia(speculationist); biaojin(gold bars)
gongzhai(government bonds)
h. ticunkuan(withdraw deposit); lixi(interest); tiexian
(discount); yinqianye(banking business), dingqi(fixed)
huoqi(current)

6.2 Referential Relation

So far, the discussion about lexical cohesion is limited to the types of lexical relations. Leaving aside the collocational items, there is a matter of referential relation between the presupposing item and the presupposed if the noun class is involved. This relation can be expressed in terms of same referent, inclusive, exclusive or unrelated.

6.2.1 Same Referent

This refers to those lexical items having the same referent. For instance, in ex./6.10c/, these lexical terms such as 'sandi'(brother), 'san laoye'(Mr Wu) and 'laojiezhang'(old brother-in-law) all refer to 'Wu Sunfu' in the text. And then, 'ruisheng'(a shrill voice) and 'guaijiao'(a strident cry) in /6.10a/ refer to the same process performed by Old Mr Wu. Section 6.1.2 provides more instances of this.

6.2.2 Inclusive

In some instances, the relation is one of inclusion, that is, the content of one item is not equal to but included in another item. For instance,

/6.31/ Wu Sunfu que hen mingbai Fan Bowen zhe ju hua de yiyi; ta hen zhezhong mainong xiacongmin-de qiaopikua, ta yiwei zui wuliaode ren fangcai xiangyong zhe zhong koushe shang de xiao xifa lai boqu nürenmen-de canxiao. (Wu Sunfu understood quite well what Fan Bowen meant. He detested people who showed off their cleverness in glib phrases, and believed that only a nincompoop could indulge in such petty tricks just to get a laugh from the ladies.)

In this example, 'ren' is a general word to cover the proper noun 'Fan Bowen', but the more important point is that the meaning of 'ren' is restricted by its modifier, therefore the range of 'ren' is much wider

than this proper noun. It means persons like Fan Bowen, and thus the meaning of 'Fan Bowen' is included in the word 'ren'.

6.2.3 Exclusive

The other side of the picture is exclusive. In /6.32/, there is a general word 'dongxi'(thing).

/6.32/ "Kanlai ni-de xinzi hen gangqiang." ("You appear to be a young man of strong will.")

"Bucuo, wo meiyou bie-de dongxi keyi zifu, zhi hao na zhe gangqiang lai zifu le." ("Yes, except for my will power, there's nothing else I've got that I can take a pride in.")

At first glimpse, because 'dongxi'(thing) is a general noun for 'strong will', it seems the relation is an inclusive one. In fact, the expression 'dongxi' is restricted by the modifier 'biede'(other). It means those characteristics other than 'strong will'; obviously, the referential meaning of 'strong will' is not included in 'dongxi'(thing).

6.2.4 Unrelated

From the referential point of view, even when two expressions are exactly the same, they may have no referential relation at all.

/6.33/ Zhe sichang gongren-de quan quyü zai da yu he xunlei xia yichang huodong! Ling yi zhong lei, jiang zai zhe yidai caopeng-li chongtian zhi hong! (The whole settlement of workers from the silk factory was a hive of activity with the heavy rain and thunder raging overhead! Another kind of thunder was about to break in this little shanty-town!)

The same word 'lei'(thunder) appears twice in /6.33/, but the first one is used in its literal sense, whereas the presupposing one is used metaphorically. Yet this by no means implies that there is no cohesive force. For one thing, they are the same word lexically. On the other hand, the presupposing word derives its force of imagery from the physical force of the presupposed word.

6.3 Systematic, Field-bound and Text-bound

The last thing remaining to be discussed is the difference between the systematic, field-bound and text-bound within the system as studied in detail by Eiler (1979).

By systematic we mean that the choice of lexis is constrained by the options provided in the lexis network. For example, it is easy for a native speaker of Chinese to find out that 'si'(die) and 'duanqi' (stop breathing) mean the same thing and that 'shengzhang'(victory) and 'baizhang'(defeat) are a set of two opposites, because these expressions are related under a lexis network.

Next to the systematic relation is the relation of a field-bound nature: "these relations are such that they can extend to more than one text within the register but are not such that they represent any personal angle or perception...." (Eiler, 1979) In /6.23/, lexis such as 'yandeng' (opium lamp), 'yanta'(opium couch), 'yanpan'(opium plate) and 'yanqiang' (opium pipe) are accepted as co-meronyms because they are all items connected with opium smoking. Their relation is established within a register. So long as they are used within this register, they will always have cohesive effect. Otherwise, people could not find out the relation of 'pan'(plate) and 'qiang'(pipe) with 'deng'(lamp) and 'ta' (couch). Furthermore, as the text under study is a microcosm of China's society in the 30s, some lexical items were collocational to each other in this particular period, such as those arising from the civil wars between Kuomintang and the Communist Party as well as the wars between warlords. As a result, such kind of relation can extend to other texts dealing with the same subject at that period, because they have the same field at the semiotic level.

Lastly, some relations are entirely related to a particular text. Eiler uses the term 'text-bound', which is broader in meaning than Hasan's 'instantial' (1978). Text-bound cohesion can only be recovered from the context of a particular text. For instance, the relation between different forms of address and the proper name of a participant identity occurring repeatedly in a text. Such relation is not bound to occur in another novel. Besides, the use of idioms, metaphors or humorous expressions directed at a previous utterance is also purely experiential and instantial. This can be illustrated in ex./6.34/.

/6.34/ "Fanbian-le gu jin zhong wai de lishi, meiyou yige guojia ceng-jing yong zhezong suowei shiwei yundong er biancheng-le ji fu qie qiang.... Bai shi you yu, cheng shi bu zuo!"
("Just go through all the history books — Chinese and foreign, ancient and modern — and you won't find a single country making herself wealthy and strong by such methods as agitation and demonstration. They're destructive, not constructive, acts.")

In /6.34/, the idiom 'Bai shi you yu, cheng shi bu zuo!' (They're destructive, not constructive, acts.) is experientially related to the speaker's previous statement on agitation and demonstration. Thus there is no systematic or field-bound relation in it.

To conclude, the following system of lexical cohesion for Chinese is suggested. (See next page.)

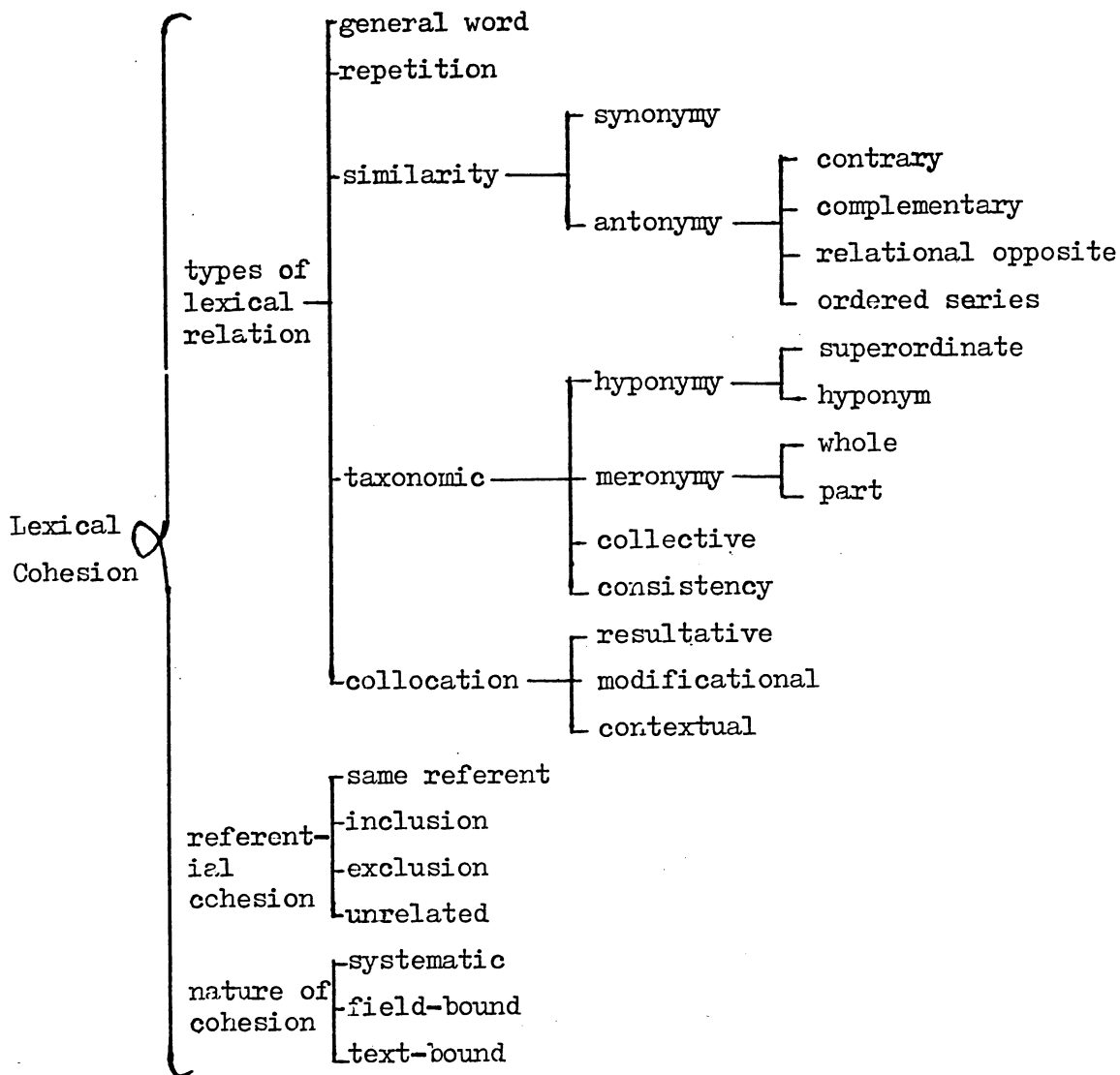


Fig. 8. The System of Lexical Cohesion

Chapter Seven. Future Prospects in the
Study of Textual Cohesion in Chinese

As mentioned at the very beginning, the present study bases itself on the H-H approach, but it does not mean at all to exclude those meaningful insights advanced by other linguists as well as my own tentative exploration. This is especially important when a language other than English, such as Chinese, is involved. A careful reader will find no difficulty in locating some of the points already mentioned.

Because of the limitation of the scope of the present thesis, it is regrettable that some valuable approaches in the study of textual cohesion have to be left aside.

Perhaps the most promising is the study of speech acts and adjacency pairs. By channelling the different lists of speech acts proposed by Austin (1962) and others into Halliday's notion of speech function, Martin (1979, 1980) has proposed a basic set of 17 speech acts for English. What attracts us most is their combination into adjacency pairs, which, I should say, play the function of communicative cohesion in an oral text. Its possible application in Chinese can be exemplified as follows.

/7.1/ Call(CI) and Response to Call(RCI)

→CI	"Shen-an--"("Shen-an")
└RCI	"Ni bu yao da cha!"("Don't interrupt!")

/7.2/ Command(C) and Response to Command(RoC)

→C	"--Qiche!" ("And now the car!")
└RoC	"Shi!" ("Yes.")

/7.3/ Offer(O) and Acknowledgement of Offer(AO)

→O "...Buguo Wu laoban suiran kuiben, kan-dao shouyi hao you gui ju de ren, zong hai shi gei ta yige gongdao, tiao sheng ta yixia!" ("....Although he's making a loss, Mr Wu still sees to it that those who work hard and behave themselves are fairly treated. That's why you're getting special promotion!")

—AO "Xie-xie Tu xiansheng!--" ("Thank you very much, Mr Tu--")

/7.4/ Statement(S) and Confirmation(Cf)

→S "--Zhuzha zai zheli-de shengfangjun jiu yiyi!" ("--We've got a whole batallion of troops stationed here!")

—Cf "Yiyi!--" ("A whole batallion!")

/7.5/ Statement(S) and Acknowledgement of Statement(AS)

→S "Ming-er san xiansheng shengqi, ke bu guan wo-de shi!" ("If Mr Wu cuts up rough about it tomorrow, don't blame me!")

—AS "Ziran!" ("Of course not!")

/7.6/ Statement(S) and Confirmation Request(CfRq)

→S "Lao Zhao fa piqi!" ("Zhao Botao's furious.")

—CfRq "Shenme—fa piqi?" ("What—Furious, is he?")

/7.7/ Question(Q) and Confirmation Request (CfRq)

→Q "Ni zheme zhidao yiding bu zhongyong?" ("How can you be so sure about that?")

—CfRq "Wo zheme zhidao?" ("How can I be sure?")

/7.8/ Question(Q) and Response to Question(RsQ)

→Q "Yun Fei lun kuai dao-le ma?" ("Is the Flying Cloud arriving soon?")

—RsQ "Kuai-le, kuai-le!...." ("Yes, very soon....")

/7.9/ Confirmation Request(CfRq) and Response to Confirmation Request(RCfRq)

→CfRq "...Shi Dai Sheng Chang ba?" ("The Dai Sheng Company, isn't it?—")

—RCfRq "Kebushi!...." ("Of course it is.")

As the speech function is realized through the mood system in English, a further study of the system underlying the speech acts in Chinese is undoubtedly inseparable from the study of the mood system (including the key system) of the language. This kind of 'cohesion' is especially important in studying conversation. Furthermore, passages of the reported speech in a written text can still be related to each other by means of communicative cohesion.

Above the level of adjacency pairs is the study of textual structure or contextual configuration (CC). This is the concrete representation of Firth's notion of contextual construct or schematic structure, which is concerned with the correlation of semiotic components, namely, field, tenor and mode. The elements of the structural formulas are determined by the values of the CC pertaining to the genres in question. (Hasan, 1977) For instance, in some service encounters Hasan suggests that there are obligatory elements such as identification, application, offer and confirmation, as well as optional elements such as greeting, query, documentation, summary and finis. The relation between these elements, I think, might be called contextual cohesion. Similar analyses are approached by Labov and Waletzky (1967), Labov (1972), Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and others. As this sort of contextual configuration is genre-bound and non-exhaustive, there is wide scope for linguists to explore this.

Some of the valuable findings of rhetoricians are covered in the relevant chapters, such as choice of words (Chapter 6), metaphor and comparison (Chapter 3), substitution (Chapter 4), personification (Chapter 3), contrast (Chapter 5), repetition (Chapter 4), etc. In spite of this, some other items might also be helpful in the study of textual cohesion, for instance, antithesis, progression, self-query

and rhetorical question, etc. These appear quite often in a Chinese text.

All this suggests that with the development of text linguistics, and especially, with the help of the systemic-functional approach, there is hope that the study of textual cohesion in Chinese will proceed on a much larger scale in the near future.

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