

The preferred information sequences of adverbial linking in Mandarin Chinese discourse¹

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Abstract

The research reported here is intended as a contribution to the understanding of adverbial clauses in both spoken and written Chinese discourse. The adverbial clauses in the spoken data were divided into (i) initial clauses linked by continuing intonation to the subsequent material associated with them, (ii) final clauses linked by continuing intonation to the associated material which preceded them, and (iii) final clauses separated by final intonation from the preceding material with which they were associated. Those in the written data were categorized as (i) initial or (ii) final clauses in relation to their main clause. Analysis of the spoken and written data shows that temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses tend to occur before the material associated with them, and that causal clauses are quite different to other adverbial clauses. Specifically, in the spoken data, they frequently appear in a final position relative to the associated material, while in the written data, initial and final causal clauses are almost evenly distributed.

Keywords: information sequences; initial adverbial clauses; final adverbial clauses; adverbial clause linking; Chinese spoken discourse; Chinese written discourse.

1. Introduction

All languages have devices for linking clauses together into what are called complex sentences. These tend to be classified in grammars according to functional-semantic principles (Hopper and Traugott 1993). For example, adverbial clauses (such as temporal, conditional, concessive, or causative clauses) function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions. However, the form of adverbial clause sequences may vary radically

among text types in one and the same language, from the quite simple coordination of relatively independent clauses characteristic of casual speech, such as (1), to complex dependent rhetorical constructions arising in the context of written grammar, such as (2):

- (1) A: Maybe if you come down, I'll take the car (then)
 B: t! We:ll, uhd–yihknow I–I don' wanna make any– thing definite.
Because I–yihknow I jus:: thinkin:g today all day riding on
 th'trai:ins,
 (Ford 1993: 116)
- (2) She got the job *because* she was the best candidate.

In addition, adverbial clauses may either anticipate or follow the clause to which they are explicitly linked. A number of studies (e.g., Chafe 1984; Ford and Thompson 1986; Ramsay 1987; Schleppegrell 1991; Ford 1993, 1994) have discussed the differences between initial and final adverbial clauses in spoken and/or written English discourse.

Chafe (1984) examines various types of adverbial clauses and looks for differences between the behavior of initial and final clauses in spoken and written discourse. He finds that a great majority of the initial clauses in his written data are not 'bound' to the clauses they modify; i.e., there is a comma separating the two clauses, or, in the case of spoken discourse, the two clauses are not in the same intonation group. As for final clauses, he observes that in his written data a majority of them are not bounded by a comma. Another part of his study, which consists of an analysis of the discourse roles that initial and final clauses play, indicates that an initial adverbial clause represents a limitation of focus, signaling a path or orientation in terms of which the following information is to be understood; a final clause, in contrast, merely adds something to an assertion made by the material with which it is associated or modifies part of what was stated there. Chafe's study suggests that adverbial clauses vary in function with respect to two factors. One has to do with their position in relation to the main clause; the other has to do with how tightly the adverbial clause is bound to its main clause. He maintains that initial and final adverbial clauses have different functions in discourse.

Another study along the similar line is Ford and Thompson's (1986) work on the discourse functions of conditional clauses in English. Examining conditional clause combining in English discourse, they find that conditional clauses appear most commonly in sentence-initial position. They use spoken and written data to support the claim that the function of initially placed conditional clauses in English is relevant to

discourse properties associated with the notion of topic. This correlation was originally suggested by Haiman (1978) in a cross-linguistic, sentence-level study of the marking and function of conditional clauses. Ford and Thompson hold that initial conditional clauses function to create a framework or background for the discourse that follows them. To be more precise, the semantics of hypotheticality make conditional clauses particularly useful for conveying a piece of information as given or shared background for the discourse that follows.

The pattern of predominantly initial placement of conditional clauses is also found in Ramsay's (1987) study. Her findings, based on data from an English novel, support the notion that initial conditional clauses have a discourse organizational function. Looking at the reference of subject NPs in conditional clauses relative to the preceding discourse, she finds the subjects of initial conditional clauses are referentially tied to a wider scope of the preceding text than are those of final conditional clauses. She also measures the continuity of subject NP reference as well as verb aspect patterns in initial versus final temporal clauses. Her findings, again, show that initial temporal clauses are tied to a larger span of the preceding text than are final ones. She concludes that the participation of initial conditional or temporal clauses in the presentation of main events in a narrative should be seen as a part of the discourse organization function of such clauses as opposed to final ones.

Two other researchers, Schleppegrell (1991) and Ford (1993, 1994), have also conducted studies on adverbial clauses in English spoken discourse. Schleppegrell, analyzing her data from interviews with elementary school children, in which they discussed classroom interactions of students and teachers, suggests that an adequate description of *because* must recognize its paratactic roles, including (1) discourse-reflexive uses that support or explain prior statements, (2) noncausal uses that indicate further elaboration, or express personal attitudes towards what is being talked about or towards others (for details, see Traugott 1982: 148), and (3) interactional uses that signal continuation and response in conversational discourse. The most important contribution her research makes is to show that the so-called causal clause with *because* or *'cause* is not restricted to merely indicating a causal relationship. It is also commonly used to justify why the speaker has made a prior statement, or holds a specific position, a use which results from conversational interaction in particular.

Ford (1993) discusses some factors involved in the positioning of various adverbial types in English conversation. In order to arrive at interactional functions for adverbial clauses, she makes especial use of evidence from the surrounding conversational context and the

participants' own interpretations. According to her analysis, initial adverbial clauses set up pivotal points in the development of talk and present explicit background for the material that follows. Conversely, adverbial clauses that appear after the clauses with which they are associated only complete a unit of information without creating discourse-level links or shifts. In particular, she finds that conditional clauses are most commonly used initially, whereas causal clauses tend to occur after the material they modify. Her study demonstrates that adverbial clauses in American English conversations not only manifest functional diversity in different contexts, but may sometimes connect upcoming talk to prior talk in multiple functional dimensions at once. In another study (1994), Ford focuses on the English conjunction *because* and its contexts of use, ranging from spontaneous conversation to more planned, edited text types. She contends that while there is often an immediate and clearly identifiable negotiation between conversationalists leading to elaborations introduced by *because* in the conversation data, in the more planned, edited texts the use of *because* emerges in specific, identifiable rhetorical contexts, possibly as the outcome of an internal dialogue with intended recipient(s).

All of the studies mentioned so far argue for a functional dichotomy between adverbial clauses which appear after the material they modify and those which introduce the material to be modified. These two positions are distinct in their functions in managing both the linear flow of information in a text and the attention of the listener/reader as it is guided through the text.

On the other hand, the form of adverbial clause sequences may differ radically from language to language as well. It has been customary to discuss Chinese adverbial clauses, e.g., temporal, conditional, concessive, and causal clauses, as part of a topic-comment format (e.g., Chao 1968; Young 1982; Kirkpatrick 1993). Until recently, however, little attention has been paid to the information sequences involved in adverbial clause linking. The present study is an attempt to provide a detailed picture of the information sequences involving adverbial clauses in Chinese discourse, while in turn answering the question of how Chinese people use adverbial clauses. In this article, I show first that causal clauses are very different from other adverbial clauses. I then focus on a few examples of initial and final (with respect to their main clauses) adverbial clauses in order to gain an understanding of adverbial clauses in spoken and written Chinese discourse and to find alternative ways of thinking about causal clauses. Before reporting on the specific findings of the present research, I would like to situate my investigation within the contexts of previous studies on Chinese adverbial clause linking.

2. Previous studies on Chinese adverbial clause linking

In Chinese, adverbial clause subordination is most commonly achieved through temporal, conditional, concessive, and causal conjunctions, such as *dang* ‘when’, *ruguo* ‘if’, *suiran* ‘although’, *yinwei* ‘because’, etc. Kirkpatrick (1993) and Biq (1995) characterize the clausal order of causal clauses with reference to their patterns of occurrence in discourse. Kirkpatrick examines discourse patterns Chinese speakers tend to use when they present their points in verbal exposition. Specifically, according to Kirkpatrick, Chinese speakers prefer to present supporting material for a main point before they explicitly deliver that point, so that ‘reason preceding main point’ is the preferred sequence for the expression of causal relations in Chinese. His findings support Chao’s (1968) argument that 50 percent of the utterances in Chinese show a topic-comment grammatical relationship. Kirkpatrick also agrees with Young (1982) that the topic-comment grammatical relationship is in sharp contrast to the preferred subject-predicate format of many Western languages, including English. In particular, Chinese subordinate clauses must precede the main clause, displaying the standard order of the topic-comment utterance. That is, they serve as a topic that sets the evaluative framework for the main clause. Hence Chinese has pairs of specific linking markers that occur in the initial position of both the subordinate and the main clauses, such as *ruguo ... name* ‘if ... then’, *suiran ... danshi* ‘although ... but’, and *yinwei ... suoyi* ‘because ... so’. Young claims that with such a characteristic in Chinese, its speakers tend to place causes and reasons before the main argument, a format described as ‘inscrutable’ by American English speakers.

However, both Young’s and Kirkpatrick’s data are limited to more formal situations such as seminars, meetings, and conferences, and may well be representative of only one discourse type. Using a somewhat less restricted corpus, Biq (1995) provides an in-depth discussion of the factors which play a role in the positioning of causal clauses either before or after a main clause. Her basic findings are that ‘reason preceding main point’ is not necessarily the preferred order for expressing a causal relation, and that interactional factors arising from the functional nature of text types may both motivate and constrain variations in grammatical patterning. In brief, a comparison of causal clauses from her conversation and press reportage data shows that the prevalence of the final *yinwei* ‘because’ is a natural outcome of the impact of discourse interaction on syntax.

Inspired by Biq’s study, the current research aims to explore adverbial clause combinations in Chinese spoken and written discourse. My primary

goal is to perform a contextual and quantitative analysis of the distribution of adverbial clauses in order to explore principles of adverbial sequencing in Mandarin Chinese and to discover to what extent sequencing is an important variable in Chinese spoken and written discourse. The data come from naturally occurring conversations, broadcast interviews and call-ins, and magazine articles, as detailed in the next section.

3. Data

In actual language use, utterances do not usually occur in isolation, but rather in larger contexts, as parts of dialogues, monologues, and conversations. In general, utterances spoken in close succession by one or several speakers will be related, otherwise communication would break down. Essentially, there are two kinds of linkage used to keep utterances coherent: forward linking and backward linking (Li and Thompson 1981). With respect to forward linking, utterances must contain at least two clauses because the first clause always requires the second for its meaning to be complete.² With respect to backward linking, on the other hand, the spoken clause requires a previous clause for its meaning to be complete. Normally this previous clause is produced by the same speaker, but in some cases it can be spoken by someone else engaged in the conversation. In many utterances composed of two linked clauses, each of the two constituent clauses may contain a linking marker. The markers which introduce temporal, conditional, concessive, and causal clauses in my data are listed in Table 1 along with their English glosses:

Table 1. *Adverbial connectors found in the Chinese data*

Temporal	<i>dang ... , ... de shihou</i> <i>meidang ...</i> <i>... zhiqian, ... yiqian</i> <i>... zhihou, ... yihou</i> <i>zicong ...</i> <i>yi ...</i>	'when' 'whenever' 'before' 'after' 'since' 'no sooner than'
Conditional	<i>ruguo ... , jiaru ... , ... de hua</i> <i>chufei ...</i> <i>yaoshi ... , tangruo ...</i>	'if' 'unless' 'in case that'
Concessive	<i>suiran ...</i> <i>jishi ... , zongshi ...</i> <i>buguan ... , burun ...</i>	'although' 'even though' 'despite'
Causal	<i>yinwei ... , youyu ...</i>	'because'

Writing and speech are two totally different systems: the two genres occupy what are almost the two extremes of a continuum of text types in terms of 'editedness' and 'plannedness', both of which deserve careful investigation (Biber 1988). It has been argued that written language is generally planned, while spoken language is largely unplanned (Stubbs 1983: 34). Based on this viewpoint, this study examines the distribution of adverbial clauses in Chinese and compares adverbial clauses appearing in different spoken and written text types.

The spoken corpus is drawn from two sources: naturally occurring conversation and radio programs. The former set of data comprises 23 two-party or multi-party conversations. All of the conversations are between adults. The parties to these conversations are diverse—students, colleagues, housewives, and the like—as are the situations—at home, in a dormitory, at work, and so on. The total length is 179 minutes and 49 seconds. The latter set of data consists of 15 interview or call-in broadcasts on local radio and television in Taiwan, totaling 179 minutes and 6 seconds. This set of data may have been planned and rehearsed overall, but it has clearly not been carefully rehearsed, since it is locally managed, utterance-by-utterance, to take account of the demands of social interaction. While the latter type of interaction is more formal and the speakers would be presumably more self-conscious, both sets of spoken data share the crucial feature that the speech is created 'on the spot'. On the other hand, the latter set of data is more planned than the former. All of the data were taped via audio cassettes and transcribed into intonation units, i.e., sequences of words combined under a single unified intonation contour, usually preceded by a pause (for details, see Cruttenden 1989). Adopting Ford's (1993) classification of adverbial clauses, the valid adverbial clauses in the corpus were divided into (i) initial clauses (which come before the material they link), (ii) final clauses (which follow the material they modify) in continuing intonation, and (iii) final clauses which follow ending intonation.

The written corpus is drawn from two sources: one from issues of *Common Wealth* (CW), a monthly news magazine, that were published between November 1994 and April 1995 and contain 17 texts, about 70,800 morphemes in total; the other from *UNITAS*, a monthly literary magazine (between March and September 1988), encompassing 25 texts with approximately 71,000 morphemes all together. The two sets of written data represent different genres, one related to literature (including literary criticism, short stories, prose, and the like), the other focused on social issues, such as business, economics, and education, although in contrast to the spoken data both of them are heavily edited, planned and

revised.³ Sequences between the adjunct and nucleus were analyzed.⁴ In Chinese written discourse, forward linking can either take a comma or have no punctuation at the end of the first clause, but there is no such requirement for backward linking; it can follow a comma, a period, or even no punctuation at all (Li and Thompson 1981). Hence, the various types of adverbial clauses associated with patterns of punctuation were calculated as well.⁵

4. An overview of the information sequences of adverbial linking in the spoken and written data

There are 399 adverbial clauses in the conversation data: 215 initial adverbial clauses, making up 53.9 percent of the total, and 157 final clauses, making up 39.3 percent, as shown in Table 2.

Of the initial adverbial clauses, 96 are temporal, 80 are conditional, eight are concessive, and 31 are causal. Of the final adverbial clauses, 11 are temporal, 13 are conditional, one is concessive, and 132 are causal. Adverbial clauses without their modified material are primarily causal ($n=22$). This table also shows that there are few concessive clauses ($n=10$) in my spoken data, similar to Ford's (1993) findings. In addition, we can find that adverbial clauses appear both before and after the material to which they are linked. However, among them, temporal, conditional and concessive clauses have a strong tendency to occur before the material they modify; their frequency of occurrence in this position is 86.5, 86, and 80 percent, respectively. In contrast with the former three types, only 16.8 percent of the causal clauses appear before their associated modified material, which suggests that they are very different from the other adverbial clauses in terms of distribution. The broadcast data display patterns similar to those in the conversation data except that the ratio of initial to final causal clauses (i.e., 32.9 to 62.1

Table 2. *Distribution of adverbial clauses in the conversation data by position and type (percentages in parentheses)*

	Temporal	Conditional	Concessive	Causal	Total
Initial	96 (86.5)	80 (86)	8 (80)	31 (16.8)	215 (53.9)
Final	11 (9.9)	13 (14)	1 (10)	132 (71.4)	157 (39.3)
No main clause	4 (3.6)	0 (0)	1 (10)	22 (11.8)	27 (6.8)
Total	111 (100)	93 (100)	10 (100)	185 (100)	399 (100)

percent, as shown in Table 3) is different to that in the conversation (i.e., 16.8 to 71.4 percent, as in Table 2).

All of the initial adverbial clauses in the data end in continuing intonation contours. These cases involve intonational and grammatical signals that more is to come. Unlike initial adverbial clauses, which always end in continuing intonation, when adverbial clauses occur after their associated modified material, they may be linked to that material across either continuing or ending intonation. This distinction reflects the speaker's decision to either signal that an utterance is not yet completed (through continuing intonation), or that it is possibly complete (through ending intonation). Tables 4 and 5 show this division along with the frequency of temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses following continuing and ending intonation in the conversation and broadcast data, as compared with that of causal clauses following the same two contours.

Table 3. *Distribution of adverbial clauses by position and type in the broadcast data (percentages in parentheses)*

	Temporal	Conditional	Concessive	Causal	Total
Initial	63 (92.6)	70 (89.7)	9 (100)	53 (32.9)	195 (61.7)
Final	2 (2.9)	5 (6.4)	0 (0)	100 (62.1)	107 (33.9)
No main clause	3 (4.5)	3 (3.9)	0 (0)	8 (5)	14 (4.4)
Total	68 (100)	78 (100)	9 (100)	161 (100)	316 (100)

Table 4. *Distribution of final adverbial clauses by intonation and type in the conversation data (percentages in parentheses)*

	Temporal	Conditional	Concessive	Causal	Total
Continuing	2 (18.2)	5 (38.5)	0 (0)	53 (40.2)	60 (38.2)
Ending	9 (81.8)	8 (61.5)	1 (100)	79 (59.8)	97 (61.8)
Total	11 (100)	13 (100)	1 (100)	132 (100)	157 (100)

Table 5. *Distribution of final adverbial clauses by intonation and type in the broadcast data (percentages in parentheses)*

	Temporal	Conditional	Concessive	Causal	Total
Continuing	1 (50)	2 (40)	0	41 (41)	44 (41.1)
Ending	1 (50)	3 (60)	0	59 (59)	63 (58.9)
Total	2 (100)	5 (100)	0	100 (100)	107 (100)

Both tables indicate that few temporals, conditionals, and concessives occur after their linked clauses. For example, in the conversation data, causal clauses more frequently follow final falling intonation: 79 (59.8 percent) of the 132 final causals follow ending intonation, whereas 53, or 40.2 percent, of the final causals follow continuing intonation. Similarly, in the broadcast data, 41 percent of the causal clauses follow final intonation; the remaining 59 percent follow continuing intonation.

To sum up, the Chinese spoken data reveal that an extremely large portion of temporal and conditional clauses occur before the material with which they are associated, but that causal clauses appear both before and after this associated material.⁶ In particular, final causal clauses are used frequently in naturally occurring conversation.

As for the written data, there are 285 adverbial clauses in the first set of data and 267 in the second. The sizes of these two sets of data are quite similar, but the former exhibits a slightly higher proportion of adverbial clauses.

Both Tables 6 and 7 indicate that temporal clauses ($n = 115$ in Table 6; $n = 103$ in Table 7) outnumber the other three types. In addition, an overwhelming proportion of temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses occur before their main clauses, accounting for more than

Table 6. *Distribution of adverbial clauses by position and type in the Commonwealth texts (percentages in parentheses)*

		Temporal	Conditional	Concessive	Causal
Initial	(subtotal)	114 (99.1)	50 (96.2)	47 (95.9)	42 (60.9)
	ADV MN ^a	11 (9.6)	1 (1.9)	1 (2)	4 (5.8)
	ADV, MN	103 (89.6)	49 (94.2)	44 (89.8)	38 (55.1)
	ADV; MN			2 (1.9)	
	ADV. MN				
Final	(subtotal)	1 (0.9)	2 (3.8)	2 (4.1)	27 (39.1)
	MN, ADV	1 (0.9)	2 (3.8)	2 (4.1)	21 (30.4)
	MN. ADV				5 (7.2)
	MN? ADV				1 (1.5)
	MN—ADV				
	MN! ADV				
Total		115 (100)	52 (100)	49 (100)	69 (100)

ADV adverbial clause

MN main clause

Table 7. *Distribution of adverbial clauses by position and type in the UNITAS texts (percentages in parentheses)*

		Temporal	Conditional	Concessive	Causal
Initial	(subtotal)	103 (100)	55 (96.4)	56 (98.2)	25 (50)
	ADV MN ^a	17 (16.5)	2 (3.5)	3 (5.3)	6 (12)
	ADV, MN	86 (83.5)	51 (89.4)	52 (91.1)	19 (38)
	ADV; MN		2 (3.5)		
	ADV. MN			1 (1.8)	
Final	(subtotal)	0 (0)	2 (3.6)	1 (1.8)	25 (50)
	MN, ADV				16 (32)
	MN. ADV				7 (14)
	MN? ADV		1 (1.8)		1 (2)
	MN—ADV		1 (1.8)	1 (1.8)	
	MN! ADV				1 (2)
Total		103 (100)	57 (100)	57 (100)	50 (100)

^aSee the appendices for an explanation of the abbreviations and symbols used.

95 percent of the cases (99.1, 96.2, and 95.9 percent, respectively in the *Common Wealth* texts; 100, 96.4, and 98.2 percent, respectively in the *UNITAS* texts). Moreover, these initial adverbial clauses tend to take a comma at the end of their modified clause (89.6 percent for the temporals, 94.2 percent of the conditionals, and 89.8 percent of the concessives in the *Common Wealth* texts). However, causal clauses show a (nearly) balanced distribution between sentence-initial and sentence-final positions with respect to their main clause: 60.9 vs. 39.1 percent in the *Common Wealth* texts and 50 percent each in *UNITAS*.

As a whole, both the spoken and written corpora indicate that the placement pattern for causal clauses is different from that for conditional and temporal clauses in both spoken and written Chinese discourse. Though not all the causal clauses are placed finally in written Chinese discourse, final placement of the causal clause does occur in almost half of the cases. This frequency is significantly higher than that for temporal, conditional, or concessive clauses. Further, as seen in Tables 4 and 5, a quite high number of final causal—as compared to final temporal and conditional—clauses are intonationally separated from their associated materials in the spoken data. These facts, along with our findings from the written data, lead us to the conclusion that causal clauses are very different to other adverbial clauses in Chinese.

5. Adverbial clauses in Chinese discourse

Although the spoken and written data examined in this study represent two different discourse genres, the recurring information sequences of temporal, conditional, and concessive clause linking display a similar pattern; these clauses all usually precede their main clauses in Chinese discourse. But the placement of causal clauses differs.⁷ In the daily conversation data, final causal clauses outnumber initial ones, while in the written data initial and final causal clauses are nearly evenly distributed. Before accounting for the differences between the causal clauses and the other adverbial clauses, I would like to look at the discourse function each type of adverbial clause plays based on its position with respect to the material it modifies.

5.1. *The functions of initial adverbial clauses*

Both the spoken and written data suggest that initial adverbial clauses are used to form pivotal points in the development of talk and present explicit background for the material that follows. That is, initial temporal clauses are commonly used to establish a temporal frame for assertions that follow; initial conditional clauses are used to establish an optional situation frame for the upcoming assertion. For example:⁸

- (3) S: .. *Yi Lunjun de gexing ta ye bu keneng qu tao.*\
 as for Lunjun DE personality 3SG also NEG possible go escape
 .. *keshi,*_
 but
 .. *ruguo ni jiao ta buyao jieyi,*_
 if 2SG ask 3SG NEG mind
 .. *na you hen nan.*\
 that also very difficult
 @@
 .. *dui ah.*\
 right PRT
 C: ..*<X Wo juede zhe liang zhong dou hen nan X>.*\
 1SG think these two CL both very difficult
 S: @@
 → .. *Yiqian wo zai Shoudu deshihou,*_
 once 1SG in Metropolis while
 .. *wo shi bijiao xiong yidian,*_
 1SG COP more bad-tempered a little
 .. *keshi,*_
 but

.. *wo nashihou luxian bijiao qingchu.*\
1SG at that time route more clear

S: 'Because of her personality, Lunjun will not escape. But, it is difficult for you to tell her not to mind. Right.'

C: 'I think both ways are very difficult.'

S: 'When I worked at Metropolis (newspaper company), my stand was very definite and firm. But my reporting job was very clear.'

S first comments to C on her friend's personality, and then she shifts the utterance to her own experience by means of an initial temporal clause. In my data the temporal clauses are used mostly at the beginning of a discourse episode to set the time frame for the discourse episode to unfold within, and so are the conditional clauses, as in (4).

(4) M: .. *Ta hui kan qingkuang.*\
3SG will see situation

F: ... [*Tian na*].\
God PRT

→ M: [*Ta jia*] *ru shuo chuqu dehua,*_
3SG if say go out in case

.. *jiu zuo dianti,*_
then take elevator

F: .. [Um].\
um

M: [*Jiaru*] *shi toupao chuqu dehua,*_
if COP secretly run out in case

.. *jiu pa louti.*\
then climb stairs

M: 'It depends on the situation.'

F: 'My goodness!'

M: 'If he goes out (with us), he gets on the elevator.'

F: 'Um.'

M: 'If he sneaks out, he goes down the stairs.'

Here M is telling F how wise his dog is. The conditional clause at the arrow is associated with the prior talk in that it encodes a contingency or possibility that becomes available at the point reached in the prior talk.

By the same token, initial *yinwei* acts as a link between causally related assertions, introducing causal material to be followed by the associated result, as manifested in (5):

(5) H: .. *Wo juede hai hao,*_
1SG feel ADV good

- (0) *wo—*
1SG
- (0) *wo yin—*
1SG because
- .. *Yinwei wo cong xiao,—*
because 1SG from childhood
.. *cong youzhiyuan dao daxue dou shi nannu*
from kindergarten to university all COP boy-girl
heban,—
co-education
- J: (0) *Mm.*
mm
- H: .. *suoyi,—*
Therefore
.. *dui nusheng de xiangfa,—*
toward girls DE opinions
... *bu hui,—*
NEG will
.. *bu hui name mosheng la.*
NEG will so strange PRT
- H: 'I think I understand girls. Because I went to co-ed schools from kindergarten to college.'
- J: 'Mm.'
- H: 'Therefore, I know how they (girls) think.'

Prior to (5), J has told H that he does not understand girls at all. After hearing J's talk, H tells J that he quite understands girls, since he went to co-ed schools from kindergarten to college. Here H expresses an opinion about his understanding of girls, different to J's, using a *yinwei* ... *suoyi* ... 'because ... therefore ...' conjunction.

The written data also show that initial adverbial clauses serve to set a frame for the following discourse, orienting the reader temporally, conditionally, causally etc. to the information in the modified clauses which follow. For instance, (6) is an initial clause without any punctuation between it and its modified clause, while (7) has a comma between them:

- (6) *Di er tian huanghun, tongshimen dou xiaban qu le,*
The second day dusk colleagues all leave office go ASP
Yashi reng mai zai wenjian zhong—lai dang le
Yashi still hide in documents LOC come act as ASP
tikong hou ta zongshi zheme qinfen kongzuo,
substitute worker after 3SG always so industriously work

chang zidong chaoshi kongzuo. Shangsi Baixiansheng ye
 usually voluntarily overtime work boss Mr. Bai also
chuanqi wanyi yao li qu le, heqidi shuo "ye bu
 put on coat will leave out ASP gently say also not
zao le, ni ye tingkong ba."
 early ASP 2SG also suspend work PRT

'On the second day, at dusk, all of the colleagues have left the office after working hours are over. Yashi still buries his head in documents, since arriving here as a substitute worker he is always industrious and usually works overtime voluntarily. His boss, Mr. Bai, also putting on his coat and leaving, says gently, "It's late in the evening, you can stop working."' (UNITAS vol. 42, p. 94)

- (7) *Daxue qiuxue qijian, kongpa shi yi ge ren*
 college pursue knowledge period would COP a CL person
yisheng zhong dui rensheng yiyi de tanqiu,
 a life LOC toward life meaning DE exploration
dui jingshen shenghuo de xiangwang, zui qiangsheng
 toward spiritual living DE longing most strong
de shiqi. Ruoguo zhe shihou you xing du dao
 DE period if this time have luck read to
yi ben hao shu, zhe ben shu keneng hui
 a CL good book this CL book probably will
yingxiang yi ge ren de xin lu licheng.
 influence a CL person DE heart way process

'College life would be the strongest phase for a person to explore the meaning of life and long for a spiritual lifestyle. If he is lucky enough to read a good book at this time, the book may influence his mental processes for life.' (UNITAS vol. 45, p. 171)

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

5.2. The functions of final adverbial clauses

Unlike initial clauses, in the spoken data adverbial clauses that follow their associated modified clauses only complete a unit of information without providing a pivotal frame for what follows. When placed after their modified clause but expressed with continuing intonation, adverbial clauses present new information elaborating on the

associated clause rather than create discourse-level shifts or links, as illustrated in (8):

- (8) A: ... *Suoyi*,₋
 so
 .. *wo jintian jiu hen haoxiao*,₋
 1SG today ADV very funny
 .. *wo xie dao yiban ah*,₋
 1SG write to a half part PRT
 .. *ranhou tamen nenggou*—
 than 3PL can
 .. *wo juede* = ,₋
 1SG feel
 .. *hen rongyi you yi zhong qingxiang eh*,₋
 very easy have one CL tendency PRT
 → .. *zai zuo na fen zuoye deshihou*.\
 ASP do that CL assignment while
 .. *Dang ni*—
 when 2SG
 .. *Ruguo*,₋
 if
 .. *ni*—
 2SG
 .. *ni faxian tade* <E gesture E>,₋
 2SG find his
 B: .. *Dui*.\
 right
 A: .. *ranhou ni xian xie tade haochu*,₋
 than 2SG first write his good points
 .. *ranhou xie tade huaichu*,₋
 than write his bad points
 A: ‘So, today I was really ridiculous. While I was writing half of it
 (the assignment), and they could—I think it’s very easy for us to
 have a tendency, while we were writing the assignment. When
 you— If you— you find his gestures,’
 B: ‘Right.’
 A: ‘then you first write down his merits, and then his demerits,’

In this dialogue, Speaker A and Speaker B talk about an activity in their psychology counseling class. Speaker A expresses her opinions about the activity. In my data, causal clauses are most commonly used as a vehicle for further explanation in interaction. Clauses connected across continuing intonation contours by *yinwei* seem to occur in response to

the need for interaction. They are used not only to provide explanations, targeting what has just been said as needing explanation, but also to present material in response to interactional trouble (Ford 1993). Consider (9):

- (9) F: ... (0.7) *Oh?*
 oh
 .. *zhege* <E Kids E> *wa,*
 this Kids PRT
 .. *zhe ben shu yeshi hen hao.*
 this CL book also very good
 ... [*Keshi*]—
 but
 M: [Eh],_
 eh
 .. <E Kids E> *shi bucuo.*
 Kids COP not bad
 F: ... *Keshi wenti shi,*
 but problem COP
 .. *ta shi*%—
 it COP
 ... (1) *wo shi shuo ziji zai jia limian,*
 1SG COP say self at home LOC
 .. *ta jiu meiyou shenme xingqu,* _
 3SG then NEG any interest
 → :: *yinwei ta bushi luyingdai.*
 because it is not video tape
 F: ‘Oh? The *Kids*, this book is good, too. [But]—’
 M: ‘[Eh], *Kids* is not bad.’
 F: ‘But my problem is, it is—I mean my sons will not be
 interested in it if they read it at home by themselves (without
 adults beside them) because it is not a videotape.’

Here the clause which *yinwei*-clause links states the speaker’s view that *Kids* will not win her sons’ favor, and the *yinwei*-clause gives the rationale behind the speaker’s view. Notice that prior to the causal clause, there is a dispreferred statement (see Levinson 1983: 333–345; Pomerantz 1984), introduced by the contrast marker *keshi* ‘but’.⁹ Thus the causal clause is employed as a means of lessening the dispreferred response by the speaker.

So far, we have seen that, after continuing intonation, adverbial clauses in final position generally supplement the information from the clauses associated with them. While adverbial clauses following such intonation signal that the present utterance is still continuing, adverbial clauses that

follow ending intonation represent independent units in terms of intonation (Ford 1993: 102), as does the conditional clause in (10):

- (10) C: .. *Ruguo,* _
 if
 .. *ta zhede shieryue di keyi qu bianyibu* _
 3SG really December end could go editing-translation dept.
 ho, _
 PRT
 .. *ta xiwang ta bantian suoyou shijian dou keyi yong.* \
 3SG hope 3SG daytime all of time all could use
 ... (1) *jiu zai jiaohui zuoshi.* \
 that in church do things
 ((9 IUs omitted))
 S: .. *wo xiang,* _
 1SG think
 .. *qishi ta ziji bushi hen xiang dao*
 actually 3SG self NEG very want to
 bianyibu qu. \
 editing translation dept. go
 → .. *Ruguo,* _
 if
 .. *yi wo dui tade liaojie.* \
 according to 1SG toward her understanding
 C: ‘If she really can transfer to the Department of Editing and Translation at the end of December, she hopes that she will be available in the daytime, that is, to assist in our church.’
 S: ‘I think that she actually doesn’t want to work in the Department of Editing and Translation, (if) according to my understanding of her.’

Example (10) involves the use of the hypotheticality and backgrounding function of an initial conditional clause as a means of presenting more detailed information.

Consequently, in a majority of cases, adverbial clauses that follow final intonation arise from interactionally significant circumstances which are best understood by referring to the preference structure of ordinary conversation, the tendency towards at interactional negotiation of agreement.

Furthermore, in the spoken data, causal clauses separated not only by across continuing intonation but also by ending intonation are a natural outcome of the impact of discourse interaction on grammar. In the

following instance, L, a radio reporter, asks C1, a customer in a teahouse, a question and then immediately gives an account of it, marked by *yinwei*:

- (11) L: .. *na pingchang nimen shibushi chule liaotian ah,* _
 than often 2PL A-not-A besides chatting PRT
 .. *huoshi yanjiu gongke zhiwai ho,* _
 or study assignments in addition PRT
 .. *shibushi haiyou ^changchangge.* \
 A-non-A still singing songs
 → ... *Yinwei,* _
 because
 .. *wo [kan],* _
 1SG see
 C1: [^Chang] *chang.* \
 very often
 L: (0) *haiyou jita,* _
 and have guitar
 .. *changchang shibushi?* /
 often A-not-A
 C1: .. *Mm.* \
 mm
 L: ‘In addition to chatting and studying, do you like to sing?
 Because I [see] there’s a guitar.’
 C1: [Very often.]
 L: ‘Very often, right?’
 C1: ‘Yeah.’

The conjunction *yinwei* in (11) is equivalent to meaning ‘this is why I’m asking’. L adds a causal clause which provides a rationale for her own question, and the recipient’s response overlaps with the turn extension. It is possible that the speaker perceives some trouble in the interaction before the trouble becomes apparent. Such post-completion extensions (PCEs) occur in turns that clearly call for certain responses on the part of recipients (for details, see Ford 1993: 102). This type of post-completion extension serves as an account for a question which precedes it. Let’s look at another example.

- (12) C: .. *Bianyi* *dehua,* _
 editing and translation TOP marker
 .. *jiushi shijian* =
 that is time
 ... *hen* <E free E> *ya,* _
 very PRT

- .. *yinwei*,_
 because
 .. *ta ye juede shuo*,_
 3SG also feel that
 .. *ta keyi zuo yixie shiqing*.\
 3SG could do some things
 .. *Keshi ta*,_
 but 3SG
 .. *ruguo yao caifang*,_
 if need cover
 .. *ta jiu suoyou shiqing*,_
 3SG ADV all of things
 .. *ta xiang zuo yixie jiaohui shiqing*,_
 3SG want do some church things
 .. *jiu meiyou banfa zuo*.\
 then no way do
 .. *ni shuo*,_
 2SG say
 .. *ta ye hen xiang*—
 3SG also very much want
 .. *Ta cong Meiguo huilai*,_
 3SG from America come back
 .. <E counseling E> *fangmian*,_
 counseling aspect
 .. *ta keyi kaishi yong*.\
 3SG can begin apply
 → .. *Yinwei*,_
 because
 .. *ta benlai chuguo jiushi nian zhege*.\
 3SG originally go abroad that is study this

- C: 'If she can do editing and translating, she will have much free time, because she thinks that she could do some things. But, if she is required to cover a news item, it would be impossible for her to do things for the church. You said that she would like to— Since she came back from the US. She could do some counseling. For that was her original purpose in studying abroad.'

In (12), C adds an explanatory portion to the talk, which is introduced by *yinwei*. When the unit is about to be finished, the speaker decides to add another modification or elaboration. This kind of causal clause,

connecting back to an utterance already closed with final intonation, occurs in turns that involve the description of events or the explanation of outcomes. The post-completion extension itself is not a response to any evident trouble between C and her recipient; rather, it is elaboration of the preceding utterance.

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

Likewise, in the written data, final adverbial clauses, in sharp contrast to initial adverbial clauses, serve to delimit the interpretation of only the immediate clauses to which they are joined. They appear to serve a quite different function, that of commenting on a time, a condition, a concession, a cause, etc., relevant to the preceding modified clause; they merely add something to the assertion made by the material with which they are associated (as in example [13]) or modify part of what was stated there (as in example [14]), representing some sort of ‘parenthesis’ (Chafe 1984).

- (13) *Jingchang, kongsi tichu yi ge weidade qiye yuanying,*
Usually company propose a CL great business vision
xiang yuankong baozheng geren you fazhan jihui,
to employees guarantee individual have development chance
suihou, jinjieerlai de jiushi jiegu xingdong.
follow approach and come DE that is dismissal action
Yuangong bu keneng dui xin mubiao huoshi xin jiazhi
employees NEG possible toward new objectives or new values
fengxian jili, chufei tamen shenxin, weilai wei tamen
devote own strength unless 3PL deeply believe future for 3PL
baoliu le xin jihui.
reserve PFV new opportunity

‘Usually, a company proposes a grand business vision and guarantees its employees that every individual will have opportunities for promotion. Then the employees are dismissed. It is impossible for the employees to devote themselves to the new objectives and new values, unless they believe that their company will reserve new opportunities for them in the future.’ (*Common Wealth* vol. 165, p. 114)

- (14) *Er ta sheji de gainian shi jiyu hen yuanshide*
 And 3SG design DE concept COP based on very primitive
tonglixin. Ta shenqie jide ziji xiaoshihou bu gan
 empathy 3SG impressively remember self as a little child NEG dare
zai xuexiao shang cesuo, yinwei you zang you chou,
 PREP school go to toilet because not only dirty but also smelly
Erqie yitian yao zai xuexiao dai ba xiaoshi de
 and one day have to at school stay eight hours DE
shijian, shi tongnian li tongkude jiyi.
 time COP childhood LOC suffering memory

‘And his design concepts lie in primitive empathy. He still remembers that as a little child, he dared not go to the school toilets because they were dirty and smelly. And he had to stay at school for eight hours a day, which is a miserable memory in childhood.’ (*Common Wealth* special issue 12, p. 59)

Considered in the light of the relationship between the adverbial clauses and their main clause, both examples (13) and (14) are cases of subordination since they form an endocentric construction with a preceding clause as a head; i.e., the first clause serves as the nucleus of the second clause; so do the initial clauses in examples (6) and (7). The following example is very similar, except that the first clause ends with a question mark, indicating that the linked clause is conceived subsequently and more independently.¹⁰

- (15) *Nenggou shunli puojie zhengshang guanxi,*
 can smoothly break into politics–business relationship
deli yu tuandui yunzuo, youyi yu pingri
 thanks to PREP teamwork operation different PREP ordinary day
jianchaguan de danqiang-pima. Weishenme yao
 prosecutors DE single spear ride house why have to
tuanjie hezuo? Yinwei gaoerfu qiuchang falin fuza,
 unite cooperate because golf court regulations complex
you sanshi duo zhong fagui yiji wushude xingzheng
 have thirty more CL rules and infinite administrative
mingling ke guan;
 orders can control

‘Thanks to teamwork, (the prosecutors) could easily uncover the illegal relation between politicians and businessmen, which is different to the usual method where one takes on the enemy alone. Why did the persecutors have to cooperate with one another (to investigate the case)?’

Because the regulations for golf courts are complex. There are more than thirty rules and numerous administrative orders to carry out.’ (*Common Wealth* vol. 167, p. 208)

Final adverbial clauses following a period, an exclamation mark, or a question mark at the end of their associated modified clause, such as the causal clause in (15), act as coordinate clauses, and in the written data most of them are causal (six in the *Common Wealth* texts; nine in *UNITAS*; see Tables 6 and 7 in Section 4).

6. The placement of causal clauses in contrast to that of other adverbial clauses

Thus far, we have seen that the placement of causal clauses is quite different to that of other adverbial clauses, especially in the spoken data. Chao (1968: 81, 113) points out that clauses of condition, reason, time, and concession may all occur with topic/interrogative particles in Chinese. Here is one example, signaling a concessive clause, a question, and a topic sentence with the final particle, *a*:

- (16) a. [Concessive]
Suiran wo xiang qu a, keshi ni bu rang wo.
Although 1SG want go PRT but 2SG NEG allow 1SG
‘Although I want to go, you won’t let me.’
- b. [Interrogative]
Ta shi nali de ren a?
3SG COP where DE person PRT
‘Where is he from?’
- c. [Topic]
Zhege ren a, ta yiding shi yi ge hao ren.
this person PRT 3SG certainly COP one CL good person
‘This person, he must be a good person.’

He therefore suggests that adverbial clauses, which usually occur at the beginning of a sentence unless they are an afterthought, should be treated as clause subjects and their main clauses as predicates. He emphasizes that initial adverbial clauses commonly appear in planned texts and final adverbial clauses in less planned texts (cf. example [17a–b]).

- (17) a. *Ta suiran shi ge lao pengyou, keshi wo haishi mei*
3SG though COP CL old friend but 1SG still NEG
fa bang tade mang.
way give his help

‘Although he is an old friend, I still have no way of helping him.’

- b. *Wo shizai mei fa bang tade mang—suiran ta shi ge*
 1SG really NEG way give his help though 3SG COP CL
lao pengyou.
 old friend
 ‘I really have no way of helping him, although he is an old friend.’

He also mentions that a reason or cause clause cannot come after its main clause except (a) as a nominal predicate ending in *de yuangu* ‘the reason that’ or (b) as an afterthought, as in (18):

- (18) a. *Wo bu qu kan xi, shi yinwei tian re de*
 1SG NEG go see show COP because the weather hot DE
yuangu.
 reason
 ‘That I am not going to the show is because (for the reason that) the weather is hot.’
- b. *Wo jintian bu qu kan xi le—yinwei tian tai re.*
 1SG today NEG go see show PRT because weather too hot
 ‘I am not going to the show today, for the weather is too hot.’

In the written data, which are from planned texts, a majority of temporal clauses in the initial position are used to specify a time or situation, and organize the complex sentence around a temporal frame. Similarly, the predominance of conditional and concessive clauses in the initial position serves as a framework for interpretation of the propositions that follow. These three types of adverbial clauses, like topics, are presupposed parts of their sentences. All of them may be thought of as establishing frameworks for the interpretation of the propositions that follow, which seem to be prototypically textual in their function. In contrast, causal clauses in the written data are much less common in the initial position than these three types; nearly 50 percent appear in the final position. The final causal clauses are used to complete the meaning of the main clause, serving as afterthoughts according to Chao’s definition, rather than structuring the discourse. In other words, half of the causal clauses in the written corpus—akin to the temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses—are used to introduce and provide a background for their main clauses. But the other half are used as extensions of prior discourse, which are best understood to some extent as products of interaction between the writer and the reader(s) (for a discussion,

see Ford 1994). Causal clauses in Chinese are noticeably distinct from other adverbial clauses, as revealed not only by the spoken data, but also by the written data; specifically, they play both textual and interactional roles in discourse linking. This is related to the type of information they usually introduce, as argued by Ford (1993: 135). For the material to which they are linked, causal conjunctions usually introduce background, support, and motivation, which seem to emerge in response to the needs of interaction. In particular, the final causal clauses following ending intonation in conversation are more like coordinate clauses which comment on a cause relevant to the preceding one than subordinate clauses; they are associated with speaker-recipient negotiation and the extension of turns in the pursuit of agreement or common understanding. On the other hand, temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses prototypically serve the purposes of discourse linking and framing; temporal clauses deal with time, conditional clauses involve hypotheticality, and concessive clauses serve to make concessions.

7. The information sequences of causal linking across discourse types

The data indicate that there are more concessive clauses in written texts, and that causal clauses are more frequent in speech than in writing. In addition, the frequency of final causal clauses is higher in the spoken corpus than in the written corpus. The temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses in the spoken data display patterns of occurrence remarkably similar to those found in the written data. However, compared to the written data, in the spoken data the number of causal clauses found in the final position is much greater than in the initial position.

To be more specific, in my database, there is correlation between the frequencies and kinds of causal clauses and the discourse type. While the written data show a much more balanced distribution between initial and final causals, the spoken data, especially the daily conversation data, display a heavy use of final causals. However, initial causal clauses occur more frequently in the broadcast data than in the daily conversation data. The results suggest that in an interview, 'the speaker is expected to "give a speech": she is both allowed the luxury—or, expected to meet the challenge—of giving the challenge—of giving an elaborate exposition' (Biq 1995: 56). Under such circumstances, speakers are allowed much more 'floor time' than in ordinary casual conversation. This, in turn, allows a speaker to develop the points he/she is making. To use Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) terms, the speaker's turns are, in a sense, 'preallocated' rather than 'locally allocated'. Interviews and call-ins are typical situations in which the speaker is asked to voice his or her opinions

or answer questions. Almost all of the broadcast data that I have recorded show that there is remarkably little turn stealing or interruption. This is the phase in which the legitimacy of one's taking the floor has to be proved. This is done mainly by making it clear that what is going to be said is directly related to what has been previously said. Thus, the spoken data prove that differences in the frequency of initial placement of causal clauses are related to operation of the turn-taking system in different genres. In other words, the ratio of initial to final causals in the broadcast data suggests that the distributional discrepancies in causal clauses are related to the functional differences between different text types. It further supports Biq's (1995) claim that the pre-allocated floor and the suspension of the turn-taking system facilitate this sequencing. This explains the extent to which the relative formality/spontaneity affects causal sequencing. Here we are led to the conclusion that in order to be able to use an initial causal clause as a point of realignment in the development of ideas, one must hold the floor if its content is to be well formulated. Moreover, the distribution of types of causal clauses in discourse genres reveals that interviews and call-ins belong to a genre primarily related to the exchange of opinions, while magazine editorials and articles serve to build argumentation. Consequently, the number of final clauses in formal interviews and call-ins may be higher than in magazine articles. In contrast, conversation requires a great deal of negotiation between participants (rather than unilateral announcements or reports), and is not normally argumentation centered. Therefore, an extremely large number of final causal clauses serve the function of elaboration in daily conversation.

8. Conclusion

In the present study, I have focused on examining the discourse functions of adverbial clauses in Mandarin Chinese based on data from both spoken and written texts. A comprehensive study of adverbial clauses should ideally consider the discourse functions of adverbial clauses from a cross-linguistic perspective or try to relate the synchronic diversity to the diachronic development: if temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses in Mandarin are grammaticalization of rhetorical relations, then it follows that the grammar of adverbial clause linking may differ radically from one language to another.¹¹ The interesting cross-linguistic issues such as how and to what extent the grammar of adverbial clause linking in a given language reflects the rhetorical organization of discourse in that language would be a possible extension of the present study. When that is undertaken, I believe that a better understanding of the discourse function

of adverbial clauses will be achieved. I leave that undertaking to a future occasion or to other interested discourse researchers.

Appendix A

The discourse transcription symbols appearing in the examples of this article are as follows:

Units

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

Speakers

:	speaker identity/turn start
[]	speech overlap

Transitional continuity

.	final
,	continuing
?	appeal

Terminal pitch direction

\	fall
/	rise
-	level

Accent and lengthening

^	primary accent
=	lengthening

Pause

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

Vocal noises and laughter

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

Voice quality

<@ @>	laugh quality
<Q Q>	quotation quality
<F F>	fast tempo
<A A>	gradually faster
<D D>	gradually slower
<H H>	high pitch
<L L>	low pitch
<MRC MRC>	each word distinct and emphasized

Transcriber's perspective

(())	comment
<X X>	uncertain hearing
X	indecipherable syllable

Special notations

<E E>	code switching from Mandarin to English
<T T>	code switching from Mandarin to Taiwanese

Appendix B

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses:

1SG	first singular person
2SG	second singular person
3SG	third singular person
1PL	first plural person
2PL	second plural person
3PL	third plural person
ADV	adverb
CL	classifier
COP	copula
CRS	current relevant state marker
DC	directional complement

EXP	experiential aspect marker
INT	intensifier
IRJ	interjection
NEG	negation
NOM	nominalizer
PFV	perfective aspect marker
PRT	clause final particle
Q	final question marker
RT	reactive token
TOP	topic marker

Notes

1. An earlier version of this article was presented at the Sixth International Conference on Chinese Linguistics held at Leiden University, Holland, 18–21 June 1997. Here the author would like to thank Shuanfan Huang, James H-Y. Tai, Shou-Hsin Teng, Chin-fa Lien, and Lily I-wen Su for their valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article. Special thanks also go to the anonymous referees of *Text* for their helpful and constructive comments on this article.
2. Chinese, like other languages, has a set of two clause constructions in which one clause can be said to modify the other in a way similar to that in which an adverb modifies a proposition, and which is termed an ‘adverbial clause’, as in the following causal or conditional clauses:
 - (i) a. *Yinwei ta bing le, zuotian ta bu de bu dai zai jia li.*
because 3SG sick PFV yesterday 3SG cannot but stay PREP home LOC
‘Because he was ill, he had to stay home yesterday.’
 - b. *Ruguo you ren gan yuyan ci shi de jieguo,*
if have person dare forecast this event DE result
na ta yiding shi ge lumang zhi tu.
then 3SG must COP CL rash DE guy
‘If he were to forecast the results of this event, he would be a rash man.’These clauses denote reasons and conditions, respectively, for the events in the clauses that follow. The relation between the two clauses of (ia) or (ib) is that of ‘part to whole’. In the present study, the term *modified material* refers to the material that is linked by an adverbial clause.
3. Both of the magazines are well respected by academics and professionals in Taiwan.
4. A complex sentence, syntactically defined, is a unit that consists of more than one clause. It may consist of a nucleus and one or more additional nuclei, or of a nucleus and one or more ‘margins’, relatively dependent clauses that may not stand alone but nevertheless exhibit different degrees of dependency (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 169).
5. The only clauses considered for this analysis were those that related to their main clauses as adverbial clauses. Thus I did not consider relative or complement clauses.
6. Since the frequency of occurrence of concessive clauses in the spoken data is much lower than that of the other clause types, I disregarded them in the analysis.
7. The analysis of causal clauses in my data was based on a description of because given by Schleppegrell (1991) and Ford (1993).

8. Details of the transcription conventions and abbreviations used in examples are given in the appendices.
9. In conversation, there are some easily identifiable regularities in the ordering of two-turn units described as 'adjacency pairs' (Sacks et al. 1974). In a question/answer adjacency pair, the question is the first part, the answer the second part. However, certain kinds of adjacency pairs are marked by a preference for a particular type of second part. For example, requests, questions, and invitations have preferred and dispreferred answers. Generally, acceptances to requests, invitations, or offers and agreements after evaluative assessments are systematically marked as preferred responses, while request rejections and disagreements are systematically marked as dispreferred ones. Based on observation of English conversation, both Levinson (1983) and Pomerantz (1984) point out that acceptances and agreements occur as structurally simpler turns; in contrast, disagreements and refusals are marked by various typical structural complexities, such as the use of accounts, the display of long pauses, and so forth.
10. Locating an initial adverbial clause so that it precedes its main clause across a period is rare in Chinese. We found only one case in the written data:
 - (ii) *Jinguan* you xuduo aiqing xiaoshuo huoduohuoshao dou bu
 Even though have many love novels more or less all NEG
mian sheji chuangdi zhi shi; youde hanxunelian;
 avoid involve privacy of the bed DE affair some with implied deep meanings
youde mingmuzhangdan, lue wu guji. Dan jihu bu ceng tantao
 some brazenly a little NEG scruples yet almost NEG ever discuss
guo ai yu yu de yinguo guangxi.
 ASP love and desire DE cause-effect relationship
 'Even though there are many romantic novels more or less involving sex, some authors describe it through deep implication and some describe it brazenly without scruples. Yet almost all of them never discuss the cause-effect relationship between love and desire.' (*UNITAS* vol. 47, p. 32)
11. Ford and Mori (1994) have done a cross-linguistic study on causal markers used to manage disagreement in Japanese and English conversations. They find that the Japanese clause-final causal connector *kara* seems to be well-suited to presenting mitigated dispreferred turns and to inviting collaboration, while the clause-initial causal connector *datte* is better suited for presenting strong disagreement. English, with the exclusive option of clause initial causal connection, offers other devices for mitigating and intensifying the strength of disagreement.

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